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HERODOTUS

I

BOOKS I-II

Translated by

A. D. GODLEY

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

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HERODOTUS

I

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HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

A. D. GODLEY

HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II

Herodotus
1

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A

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

Herodotus was (it is agreed on all hands) a native of Halicarnassus in Caria; and if his birth fell in 484, he was born a subject of the Great King. His early life was spent, apparently, in his native town, or possibly in the island of Samos, of which he shows an intimate knowledge. Tradition asserts that after a visit to Samos he "returned to Halicarnassus and expelled the tyrant" (Lygdamis); "but when later he saw himself disliked by his countrymen, he went as a volunteer to Thurium, when it was being colonised

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by the Athenians. There he died and lies buried in the market-place."[1] This is supported by good evidence, and there seems to be no reason for doubting it. It is also stated that he visited Athens and there recited some part of his history; this may have happened, as alleged, about the year 445. It is evident from his constant allusions to Athens that he knew it well, and must have lived there.

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

[1] Suidas.

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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 ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. But as the dates of his travels are unknown, so is their intention. Did he travel to collect materials for his history, its scheme being already formed? or was that history the outcome of the traveller's experiences? We only know that Herodotus' wanderings and the nine books of his narrative are mutually interwoven.

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

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

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

[1] How and Wells' *Commentary on Herodotus.*
[2] R. W. Macan, *Herodotus IV–VI.*

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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 at truth (naturally!) but he is consistent with a current opinion which is nearer to truth than earlier con-

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

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

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

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Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὴν παντάπασιν οὐκ ὀφείλω (Bk. vii.); τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκέεται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἑκάστων 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

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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

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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.*

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

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

[1] Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 874–7.
[2] Hermogenes, περὶ ἰδεῶν

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B

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

The text of Herodotus rests mainly on the authority of nine MSS., of which a "Laurentianus" and a "Romanus" of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are considered the best. The merits of all the nine MSS. and the problems which they present to an editor are fully discussed in Hude's preface to the Clarendon Press edition. The text which I have followed is that of Stein; in the few passages of any importance where I have thought fit to follow any other authority, the fact is noted. In the spelling of names I have not attempted to be consistent. I use the familiar transliteration of κ and *o*, 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.

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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

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

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

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

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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.

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HERODOTUS

BOOK I

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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Α

1. Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Περσέων μέν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνέεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος. τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένῃ χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἢ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα· τὸ δέ οἱ οὔνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τὠυτὸ τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν

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HERODOTUS

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.

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Ἰνάχου· ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὁρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῦνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἁρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

2. Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὔνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἁρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἴησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρῆτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἶάν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τἆλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἁρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτέειν τε δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτέειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσάν σφι δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὦν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

3. Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταῦτα, ἐθελῆσαί οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἁρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. οὕτω δὴ ἁρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶ-

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stood about the stern of the ship: and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.

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

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

[1] This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.

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τὸν πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτέειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς αἰτέειν. τοὺς δέ, προϊσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἁρπαγήν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφι παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μὲν ὦν τούτου ἁρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μέν νυν ἁρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἁρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρέειν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἁρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἡρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἁρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα[1] οἰκηιεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἥγηνται κεχωρίσθαι.

5. Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν εὑρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσῃσι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἁρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ

[1] ἔθνεα [βάρβαρα] Stein.

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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

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Αργεῖ ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μέν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τὠυτῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

6. Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίης μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξιεῖ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου ἐὸν πρεσβύτερον οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἁρπαγή.

7. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιῆλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρα-

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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

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κλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. ἦν Καυδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Καυδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος. οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος, ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Καυδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

8. Οὗτος δὴ ὦν ὁ Καυδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Καυδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Καυδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. "Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἴδεος τῆς γυναικός (ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίεε ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι γυμνήν." ὁ δ' ἀμβώσας εἶπε "δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποι-

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the descendants of Heracles,[1] fell to the family of Croesus—the Mermnadae as they were called—in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis, and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom all this Lydian district took its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. From these the Heraclidae, descendants of Heracles[1] and a female slave of Iardanus, received the sovereignty and held it in charge, by reason of an oracle; and they ruled for two and twenty generations, or 505 years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules, son of Myrsus.

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

[1] *Descendants of Heracles* seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sungod identified with Heracles by the Greeks.

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ναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἓν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων."

9. Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μή τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "θάρσεε, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμέ, ὡς σέο πειρώμενος[1] λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μή τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὄπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἓν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένῃ, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅκως μή σε ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων."

10. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἕτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ ἵματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ

[1] πειρώμενον Stein.

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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

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ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἑωυτῇ, ἑτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "νῦν τοι δυῶν ὁδῶν παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλεαι τραπέσθαι. ἢ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἢ αὐτόν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὡς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μή σε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἤτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βουλεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα." ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἱκέτευε μή μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδέειν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὔκων δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. "ἐπεί με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ." ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη "ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμη ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γύμνην, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται."

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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."

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12. Ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ᾽ ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Καυδαύλεα) εἵπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί, καί μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυομένου Καυδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.[1]

13. Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Καυδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὠυτὸ οἵ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἢν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλῃ μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἢν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἥξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ

[1] Stein brackets the words τοῦ καὶ—ἐπεμνήσθη as superfluous and therefore probably spurious.

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

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

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

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τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἓξ χρύσεοι ἀνακέαται. ἑστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθέι δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἠετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεω Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

15. *Ἐσέβαλε μέν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος ἐπείτε ἦρξε ἔς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἷλε· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἷλε ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἷλον.*

16. *Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἑνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δυώδεκα, Σαδυάττεω δὲ Ἀλυάττης. οὗτος δὲ Κυαξάρῃ τε τῷ Δηιόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος*

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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 Sadyattes, who reigned for twelve years; and after Sadyattes came Alyattes, who waged war against Deioces' descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon),

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

[2] Many Greek states had special "treasuries" allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.

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κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μέν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἁδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι· ὁ δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18. Ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἕνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἔν τε Λιμενηίῳ χώρης τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μέν νυν ἓξ ἔτεα τῶν ἕνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν· Σαδυάττης οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἑπόμενα τοῖσι ἓξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντετα-

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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 Sadyattes 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 Sadyattes' son Alyattes, who, as I have before shown, inherited the war from his father and carried

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μένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χῖοι μοῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

19. Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτεϊ ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὡς ἅφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἅψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπίκλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθεὶς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδις ἐνόησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δέ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νούσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ.

20. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι· Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοισι, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅκως ἄν τι προειδὼς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλεύηται.

21. Μιλήσιοι μέν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δέ, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομέῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ

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it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians: these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves; for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

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

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

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

[1] A small town or village near Miletus.

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ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ σῖτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεέ τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς ἰδών τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἐόντας ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδών τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἥ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτός τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ ὧδε ἔσχε.

23. Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας· ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστῆναι, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον,

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

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

23. Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth. As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin. This Arion was a

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ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24. Τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὁρμᾶσθαι μέν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγεϊ ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μέν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. οὔκων δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαί μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην· ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδή σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἑδωλίοισι ἀείσαι· ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἑδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαί μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτὸν ὡς εἶχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα

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

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

[1] The dithyramb was a kind of dance-music particularly associated with the cult of Dionysus.

[2] Tarentum.

[3] The *ὄρθιος νόμος* was a high-pitched (and apparently very well-known) song or hymn in honour of Apollo.

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δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων. ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μέν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος.

25. Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἔτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

26. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοισι

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

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

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

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

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ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρεϊ ἑκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρευρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπιφέρων.

27. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτῃσι. ἐόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἑτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην· "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι." Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν "Αἶ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτῃσι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι." τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὔξασθαι νησιώτας ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἠπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἤ, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;" κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καί οἱ, προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

28. Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμ-

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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 Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρῆικες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι[1] κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, 29. ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὁρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἔτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὥς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. "Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται

[1] εἰσὶ . . . Πάμφυλοι and καὶ . . . Λυδοῖσι bracketed by Stein.

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

30. For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis: and when he had come, Croesus entertained him in his palace. Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it; and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him: "Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of

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πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν[1] τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίης εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον." ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον." ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἴρετο ἐπιστρεφέως "Κοίῃ δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοί τε κἀγαθοί, καί σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἥκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καί μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

31. Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε "Κλέοβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμη σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐούσης ὁρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἔδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκληιόμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνίαι

[1] Stein brackets εἵνεκεν.

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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 roused the curiosity of Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. Solon answered: "Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Here toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves

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ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἷλκον τὴν ἅμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης δέ σφι ὠχέετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἵων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὔχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἑωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἵ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἐστί. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἐν τέλεϊ τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων."

32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἶπε "Ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτᾷς ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ

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

32. So Solon gave to Cleobis and Biton the second prize of happiness. But Croesus said in anger, "Guest from Athens! is our prosperity, then, held by you so worthless that you match us not even with common men?" "Croesus," said Solon, "you ask me concerning the lot of man; well I know how jealous is Heaven and how it loves to trouble us. In a man's length of days he may see and suffer many things that he much 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.[1] But if every

[1] The "intercalary" month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus' reckoning here would make the average length of a year 375 days.

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δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοὔτερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὧραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τουτέων τῶν ἁπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιέων καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἡ ἑτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὦν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορή. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνεαι καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἴρεό με, οὔκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μή οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσί, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὃ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὃ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὔπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητέεις, ὁ ὄλβιος κεκλῆσθαι ἄξιος ἐστί· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὄλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μέν νυν ταῦτα

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second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now

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συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἔοντα ἀδύνατον ἐστί, ὥσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἑωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἣ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἓν οὐδὲν αὔταρκες ἐστί· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελέῃ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ὦ βασιλεῦ δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε."

33. Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεὶς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὕδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὗτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρέῃ βληθέντα. ὁ δ' ἐπείτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ

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no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin."

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

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

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τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ.

35. Ἔχοντι[1] δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας, ἐὼν Φρὺξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληίου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε· "Ὦνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἥκων ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε· "Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου, συμφορήν τε ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλεῖστον."

36. Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ ὑὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὁρμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες

[1] ἔχοντος Stein.

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

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

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

[1] Or, perhaps, "in the women's quarters."

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ποιέεσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἑλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἄν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης." οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης."

37. Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὼς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. "Ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀπόκλησίας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὄμμασι ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μέν τις τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δέ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέτες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκως 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."

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38. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. "Ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδών τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι. εἷς γάρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναί μοι λογίζομαι."

39. Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσιδε. "Συγγνώμη μὲν ὦ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμέ τοι δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. φῄς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ὑὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσὶ χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρέη τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὅ τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δή σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπείτε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτες με."

40. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος "Ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετίημί τε σὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην."

41. Εἴπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Ἄδρηστε, ἐγώ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τήν τοι οὐκ ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς

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38. "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

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

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

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits

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σὲ χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι· πατρώιόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει."

42. Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἤια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἰκός ἐστι ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἧσσον ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπείτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἕτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδά τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."

43. Τοιούτοισι ἐπείτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἤισαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίῃσι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὄλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὑρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὗν τοῦ μὲν ἁμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παίδος. ὃ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τήν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ.

44. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλόν τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε· περιημεκτέων

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

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

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

44. Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody

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δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἴη ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἑταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὑρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.

45. Παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὄπισθε δὲ εἵπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροίσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τήν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη, οὐδέ οἱ εἴη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τόν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκηίῳ τοσούτῳ καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "Ἔχω ὦ ξεῖνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἷς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μέν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ᾔδεε βαρυσυμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυτόν.

46. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθεϊ μεγάλῳ

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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

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κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίη καταιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ ὦν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἄμμωνα ἀπέστελλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηίων ὅ τι φρονέοιεν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὑρεθείη, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὁρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὅ τι ποιέων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἁλυάττεω· ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὅ τι μέν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

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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 Amphiaraus and Trophonius,[1] and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he bade others go to inquire of Ammon in Libya. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should take in hand an expedition against the Persians.

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

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

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Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.
ὀδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἑψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρεεσσιν,
ᾗ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48. Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἴχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὦλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν φεροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν· ὃ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μοῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἧψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς.

49. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντήιου ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὦν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

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

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

49. Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of 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.

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50. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἵματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαιστιαῖα. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἕλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἵδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἕβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθεϊ μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν εἴνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς

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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.

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γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικίρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δέ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεταί μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἴδωλον χρύσεον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσεον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53. Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον,

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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.

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ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες "Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾷ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὠυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

54. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὖτις ἐς Πυθὼ Δελφοὺς δωρέεται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατῆρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

55. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον· ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυ-

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

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

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

[1] The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus' stater was probably about twenty-three shillings of our money.

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χρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ τάδε.

Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἕρμον
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56. Τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἥσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὧν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους, ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὄσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.

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duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows:

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

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

[1] Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.

[2] The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnese are all in northern Greece.

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57. Ἥντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὅμουροι κοτὲ ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἠνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

58. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσσῃ μὲν ἐπείτε ἐγένετο αἰεί κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐὸν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμώμενον αὔξηται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι.

59. Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ

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

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

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

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

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Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἱπποκράτεϊ γὰρ ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔζεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἱπποκράτεϊ πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἄγεσθαι τέκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. οὕκων ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστὰς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἑωυτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἵ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένῃ στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἑλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἵποντό οἱ ὄπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ

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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

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οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τὠυτὸ φρονήσαντες οἵ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὔκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον αὖτις ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι ὁ Μεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοισι Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὑρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεί γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐηθείης ἠλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγομένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανιέι ἦν γυνὴ τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής· ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἅρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέεσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες· οἳ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· "Ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν

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with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

60. But after no long time the faction of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. Thus did Pisistratus first win Athens, and thus did he lose his sovereignty, which was not yet firmly rooted. Presently his enemies who had driven him out began once more to be at feud together. Megacles then, being buffeted about by faction, sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to wife and the sovereign power besides. This offer being accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back, which, to my mind, was so exceeding foolish that it is strange (seeing that from old times the Hellenic has ever been distinguished from the foreign stock by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the cunningest of the Greeks. There was in the Paeanian deme[1] 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.

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αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν." οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61. Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μέν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὖ φράζει τῇ ἑωυτῆς μητρί, ἣ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθην τοῖσι στασιώτῃσι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισί. Ἱππίεω δὲ γνώμῃ νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἤγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἵτινές σφι προαιδέοντό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

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

61. Having won back his sovereignty in the manner which I have shown, Pisistratus married Megacles' daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he had already young sons, and the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly wed wife should bear him children, and therefore had wrongful intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the matter: presently she told her mother (whether being asked or not, I know not) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry that Pisistratus should do him dishonour: and in his wrath he made up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was afoot, went by himself altogether away from the country, and came to Eretria, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.

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62. Ἐξ Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὁρμηθέντες διὰ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταῦτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἤισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὠυτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν χρησμολόγος ἀνήρ, ὅς οἱ προσιὼν χρᾷ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων·

"Ἔρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται,
θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός."

63. Ὁ μὲν δή οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾷ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τράπουσι. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτε-

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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

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χνᾶται, ὅκως μήτε ἁλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἶεν· ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προέπεμπε, οἳ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ.

64. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισί τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι), πρός τε ἔτι τούτοισι τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὧδε· ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηνέων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἳ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμεωνιδέων εφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκηίης.

65. Τοὺς μέν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεήτας μούνους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατά τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσμι-

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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.

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κτοι· μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυκούργου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήιε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἥ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

"Ἥκεις ὦ Λυκόοργε ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηόν
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.
δίζω ἤ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἢ ἄνθρωπον.
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε."

οἱ μὲν δή τινες πρὸς τούτοισι λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτῃσι· ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτεω, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν· μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρός τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος.

66. Οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἱρὸν εἱσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθεϊ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν, καὶ δή σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾷ τάδε.

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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:

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"Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὔ τοι δώσω.
πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
οἵ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω·
δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι."

ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἳ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ

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

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

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

[1] That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.

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ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστεω, ἔπεμπον αὖτις τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

"Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται.
ἔνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα,
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσσῃ."

ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπεῖχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς οὗ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἑκάστου· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ.

68. Τούτων ὦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. ἐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἦν ὁρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου "Ἦ κου ἄν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἴδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώ-

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tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god[1] to ask of the place where Orestes lay: and the priestess said in answer to their question:

"There is a place, Tegeē, 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 ἐς θεόν, explained as = τὴν ἐς θεὸν ὁδόν. τὴν ἔνθεον (= the inspired one: after ἐπειρησομένους) would be an easy correction. But all MSS. have ἐς θεόν.

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μαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ ἐπταπήχεϊ· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίης μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκεϊ ἴσον ἐόντα τῇ σορῷ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω." ὁ μὲν δή οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπεε, ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὀρέων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὕρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τόν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πήματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρῴατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69. Ταῦτα δὴ ὧν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἳ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον "Ἔπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων

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

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

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βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. Ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἤσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξι τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἵδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροῖσος δέ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

70. Τούτων τε ὦν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἱρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι ἐπαγγείλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζῳδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάθεϊ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητὴρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητὴρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἡλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας

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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 requital to Croesus. This bowl never came to Sardis, and for this two reasons are given: the Lacedaemonians say that when the bowl was near Samos on its way to Sardis, the Samians descended upon them in warships and carried it off; but the Samians themselves say that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl, being too late, and learning that Sardis and Croesus were taken, sold it in Samos to certain private

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

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δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναί μιν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μέν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

71. Κροῖσος δὲ ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὔνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· οὔνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεαι, οἳ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἴνῳ διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δή, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσεαι, τοῖσί γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἢν νικηθῇς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μέν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσῃσι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς." ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἁβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰο οὖρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς

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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

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καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμος, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἁπάσης· μῆκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

73. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε εἵνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἱμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἵλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξαρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω, ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ ὡς ἐόντας ἱκετας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεόμενος αὐτούς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεί τι φερόντων, καί κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι

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[1] τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω means here and elsewhere in Hdt. the western part of Asia, west of the Halys (Kizil Irmak). The

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

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χερσὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἦν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείῃ. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἕνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρῃ δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δῆθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἱκέται ἐγένοντο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κυαξάρῃ, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο· διαφέρουσι δέ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτεϊ συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι, οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπείτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἑωυτοῖσι 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

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empty-handed, Cyaxares (being, as hereby appeared, prone to anger) treated them very roughly and despitefully. The Scythians, deeming themselves wronged by the usage they had from Cyaxares, plotted to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces, then, dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the chase ; and after that, to make their way with all speed to Alyattes son of Sadyattes at Sardis. All this they did. Cyaxares and the guests who feasted with him ate of the boy's flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alyattes for protection.

74. After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it chanced, at an encounter which happened in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was suddenly turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen.[1] So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night they ceased from fighting, and both were the more zealous to make

that this latter was not total in Asia Minor: and Pliny's mention of the phenomenon places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age in 548 B.C.

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οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἵδε, Συέννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὅρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύηνιν Ἀστυάγεϊ τῷ Κυαξάρεω παιδί· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ὅρκια δὲ ποιέεται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τά πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75. *Τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω· τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅκως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναί κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέειν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅκως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα*

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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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ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥεέθρων, καὶ αὖτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε ἐπείτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι· κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν;

76. Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπείτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης τὸ[1] ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κῃ κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους· καὶ εἷλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο, εἷλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἐόντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἠντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὁρμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειρᾶτο σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἴωνες μέν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφότερα οὕτω ἠγωνίσατο.

77. Κροῖσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στράτευμα (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθείς, ὡς

[1] [τὸ] Stein.

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

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

77. Croesus was not content with the number of his force, for his army which had fought was by far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, seeing that on

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τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὅρκιον (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἤ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος), ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἁλίσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρείς, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπεὶς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ Σάρδις.

78. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω

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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,[1] to inquire concerning it; but though his messengers came and learnt from the Telmessians what the portent should signify, they could never bring back word to Croesus, for he was

[1] These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. *τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων* is contrary to Greek usage, *ἐξηγ.* being a substantive: Stein suggests that the true reading may be *Τελμησσέων τῶν ἐξηγητέων.*

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σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἥλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μέν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

79. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατόν, βουλευόμενος εὕρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἁλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθεε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρηιότερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί.

80. Ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ἅλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἕρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς

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a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. Howbeit, this was the judgment of the Telmessians—that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came it would subdue the dwellers in the land: for the snake, they said, was the child of the earth, but the horse was a foe and a foreigner. Such was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and the king himself; but when they gave it Croesus was already taken.

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

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

[1] Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybele.

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μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἁρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ εἵποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἁλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προϊέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἕπεσθαι τὸν πεζον στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὄπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὡς δέ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἢν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτοῦ ὁρέων οὔτε τὴν ὀδμὴν ὀσφραινόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσύφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ᾖ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῷ δή τι καὶ ἐπεῖχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήισαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὤσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν

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

81. So then they were beleaguered. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, sent

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πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθέειν ὡς πολιορκεομένου Κροίσου.

82. Ἔς τε δὴ ὧν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκεε ἔρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας ἐούσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ χώρη καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίη νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένῃ, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁρῶντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσουμένους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιεν. συνθέμενοι ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκήνωρ τε καὶ Χρομίος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης· ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νενικηκότες ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης

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

82. So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves had a feud on hand with the Argives, in respect of the country called Thyrea; for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not the mainland only, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off; then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won should possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle; for it was feared that if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party would render help to their comrades if they saw them losing. Having thus agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side were left and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, of six hundred there were left only three, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othryades of the Lacedaemonians: these three were left alive at nightfall. Then the two Argives, deeming themselves victors, ran to Argos; but Othryades, the Lacedaemonian,

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σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξι εἶχε ἑωυτόν. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρῆσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἳ μὲν ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οἳ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς· τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μέν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλάς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι ἑωυτόν.

83. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἧκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπείτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν. καί σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἑτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυντο.

84. Σάρδιες δὲ ἥλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσ-

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

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

84. Now this is how Sardis was taken. When

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καιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ὑροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἁλῷ κοτέ. ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνῃ οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τόν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον[1] τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐὸν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. ὁ ὦν δὴ Ὑροιάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκεε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἡλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθέετο.

85. Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὦν παρελθούσῃ εὐεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς

[1] τὸ χωρίον is bracketed by Stein.

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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[1] called Hyroeades essayed to mount by a part of the citadel where no guard had been set; for here the height on which the citadel stood was sheer and hardly to be assaulted, and none feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. This was the only place where Meles the former king of Sardis had not carried the lion which his concubine had borne him, the Telmessians having declared that if this lion were carried round the walls Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion round the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. It is on the side of the city which faces towards Tmolus. So then it chanced that on the day before this Mardian, Hyroeades, had seen one of the Lydians descend by this part of the citadel after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it, and now he himself climbed up, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus was Sardis taken and all the city like to be sacked.

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

[1] The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.

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περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λώιον ἀμφίς
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἤματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.

ἁλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἤιε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μέν νυν ὁρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδέ τί οἱ διέφερε πληγέντι ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ "Ὠνθρώπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον." οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγξατο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης.

86. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον καὶ δὶς ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεῳ δή, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ

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oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess thus answered him:

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

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

86. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him: either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a god-fearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. It is related

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ποιέειν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἑστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσούτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὥς οἱ εἴη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζωόντων ὄλβιον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσσστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεικάμενόν τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρὶς ὀνομάσαι "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν· Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν "Τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν." ὡς δέ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἴπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγέεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἁμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἑωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρός τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ[1] καὶ

[1] πῦρ is bracketed by Stein.

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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

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καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσου. καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.

87. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστῆναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε καταρραγῆναι καὶ ὗσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναί τε τὴν πυρήν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον ὡς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστῆναι;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπρηξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἱρέεται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι."

88. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεῖσέ τε ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθίῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος ἥσυχος ἦν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφείς τε καὶ

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

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

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

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ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραΐζοντας εἶπε "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;" Κῦρος δέ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων "Οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὅμιλος τί ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει." Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο "Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά."

89. Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἴρετο Κροῖσον ὅ τι οἱ ἐνορῴη ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐπείτε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλον σοί, δικαιῶ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταὶ εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἢν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιίδῃς διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχῃ, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαί τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποίησον ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἳ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διί. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι βίῃ ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνόντες ποιέειν σε δίκαια ἑκόντες προήσουσι."

90. Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερήδετο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροῖσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε.

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

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

90. When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good; and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus

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"Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιέειν, αἰτέο δύσιν ἥντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὦ δέσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ." Κῦρος δὲ εἴρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος δέ οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαερθεὶς τῷ μαντηίῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβαινε αὖτις παραιτεόμενος ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε "Καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ' ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέῃ." ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὔ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντηίοισι ἐπαείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας· ταῦτα τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαριστοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι.

91. Ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. "Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ· Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἁμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικηΐῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Λοξίεω ὅκως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς

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had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what charge he brought against the god that he made this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidae, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should

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παῖδας τοῦ Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἷόν τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὗται, ἤνυσέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἅλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος ὡς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοισι ἁλοὺς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω· τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμιόνου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνεε, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέος, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνοίκεε." ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνήνεικαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

92. Κροίσῳ δὲ ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν

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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.

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γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἵ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπὶς χρυσέη μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεόντα, τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι[1] . . . . τὰ μέν νυν ἔς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκήιά τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρωίων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττῃ, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπείτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἕλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

93. Θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἓν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κρυίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ

[1] The sentence is incomplete, lacking a predicate.

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There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus[1] there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Proneïa at Delphi, a golden shield.[2] All these yet remained till my lifetime; but some other of the offerings have perished. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I have heard, are equal in weight and like to those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaraus were his own, the firstfruits of the wealth inherited from his father; the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and half-brother of Croesus: Croesus was Alyattes' son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding-comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings.

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

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

[2] The temple of Athene Proneïa (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.

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ἡ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὗροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καί σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἓξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι· καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστί.

94. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι, ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ Ἄτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίζησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων

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

94. The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men (known to us) who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia. This is their story: In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when there was no abatement of the famine, they sought for remedies, and divers plans were devised by divers men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and

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πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἴδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν· τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί. ποιέειν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἑτέρην σιτέεσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνῃ τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν, ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς, ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνούς.

Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐδεδούλωντο.

95. Ἐπιδίζηται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. ὡς ὧν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω,

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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 Tyrrhenus, of those who departed. Then one part of them, having drawn the lot, left the country and came down to Smyrna and built ships, whereon they set all their goods that could be carried on shipboard, and sailed away to seek a livelihood and a country; till at last, after sojourning with many nations in turn, they came to the Ombrici,[1] where they founded cities and have dwelt ever since. They no longer called themselves Lydians, but Tyrrhenians, after the name of the king's son who had led them thither.

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians.

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

[1] In northern and central Italy; the Umbria of Roman history perpetuates the name.

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ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.

Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καί κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίεε τὠυτὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι.

96. Ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἤπειρον, ὧδε αὖτις ἐς τυραννίδα περιῆλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δηιόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηιόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίεε τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλόν τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκεε· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιον ἐστί. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μιν ἑωυτῶν αἱρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δή, οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, ποιέων τε ταῦτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κώμῃσι ὡς Δηιόκης εἴη ἀνὴρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμῃσι, τότε ἐπείτε ἤκουσαν ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτων παρὰ τὸν Δηιόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο.

97. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν

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

When the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years[1] 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.

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κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηιόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὔτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι· οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημελημένα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐούσης ὦν ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τὠυτὸ καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηιόκεω φίλοι "Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμὲν οἰκέειν τὴν χώρην, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἥ τε χώρη εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα." ταῦτά κῃ λέγοντες πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

98. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων ὅντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηιόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληίης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι· ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι· οἰκοδομέουσί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρης, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτράπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἓν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἧσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμη-

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accorded with the truth. Then Deioces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioces' friends), "Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness" By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

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

[1] Modern Hamadân, probably: but see Rawlinson's note.

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χάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μέν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει κολωνὸς ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλήια ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κῃ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι· δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ ὃ μὲν καταργυρωμένους ὃ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηιόκης ἑωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηιόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαί τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρός τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἅπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν μὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοίατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὁρῶσι.

100. Ἐπείτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἑωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων

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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.[1] 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.[2]

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.

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χαλεπός· καὶ τάς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ· εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο κατ' ἀξίην ἑκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίευ, καί οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἦρχε.

101. Δηιόκης μέν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τούτου ἦρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

102. Δηιόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος Δηιόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μούνων Μήδων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἳ Νίνον εἶχον καὶ ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἑωυτῶν εὖ ἥκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν

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man in the observance of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then would he adjudge upon what was brought him and send his judgments out. This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he took order too about other matters; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as befitted each offence: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his dominions.

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

102. Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who inherited the throne at Deioces' death after a reign of fifty-three years.[1] Having so inherited, he was not content to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Persians, he attacked them first, and they were the first whom he made subject to the Medes. Then, with these two strong nations at his back, he subdued one nation of Asia after another, till he marched against the Assyrians, to wit, those of the Assyrians who held Ninus. These had formerly been rulers of all; but now their allies had dropped from them and they were left alone, yet in themselves a prosperous people: marching then against these Assyrians, Phraortes himself and the greater part of his army perished, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

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

[1] Deioces died in 656 B.C.

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προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τούς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμὶξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νὺξ ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καί οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθύεω παῖς· οἳ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἀπίκοντο.

104. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἓν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.

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warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.[1]

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

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

[2] The Maeetian lake is the Sea of Azov.

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105. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤισαν ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον· καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοίνικες εἰσὶ οἱ ἱδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἐόντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς διακέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

106. Ἐπὶ μέν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπό τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίης ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσον παρ' ἑκάστων τὸν ἑκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῦνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τήν 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.

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εἶλον (ὡς δὲ εἷλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης.

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαξάρης μέν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ, ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς τὴν βασιληίην.

Καί οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς τὴν ὄψιν· ὃ δὲ Πέρσῃ διδοῖ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὕρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῷ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου.

108. Συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτεϊ εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν, ἐδόκεε δέ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταῦτα δὴ ὦν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἅρπαγον ἄνδρα 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

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καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε. "Ἄρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἑλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσῃς· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεῳ αὐτὸς βούλεαι." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρεῖδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως."

109. Τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἄρπαγος, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἤιε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἣ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει "Νῦν ὦν τί σοὶ ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται "Οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὔ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστι ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου· εἰ δ' ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν."

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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."

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110. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἠπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα· τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαι εἰσὶ τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου· ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρη πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινή ἐστι κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλή τε καὶ ἴδῃσι συνηρεφής, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρη ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τάδε. "Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅκως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη· καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεῷ τρόπῳ περιποιήσῃς, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι ἐγώ."

111. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἤιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅ τι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἅρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἴρετο προτέρη ὅ τι μιν

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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,[1] the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said: "Astyages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death: and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed."

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

[1] In the north-western part of Media: modern Azerbaijan.

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οὕτω προθύμως Ἅρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὦ γύναι, εἶδόν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἁρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἤια ἔσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἅρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὀρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μή σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὁρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἕμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἁρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καί μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί."

112. Ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήιζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν· ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἁρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαί τε κάκιστα ἢν μή σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν

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

112. And with that the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell a-weeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could do no other; for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did not obey. So then being unable to move her husband, the woman said next: "Since I cannot move you from your

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οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθες, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἁλώσεαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὅ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληίης ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχήν."

113. Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρη τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦιε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἁρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἕτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὔνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.

114. Καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὗται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἵλοντο ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα

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

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

114. Now when the boy was ten years old, it was revealed in some such wise as this who he was. He was playing in the village where these herdsmen's quarters were: there he was playing in the road with others of his age. The boys in their

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εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δέ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσων. εἷς δὴ τούτων τῶν παίδων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὡς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἑωυτοῦ παθών, μᾶλλόν τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἤντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοὔνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ ὡς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιυβρίσμεθα," δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους.

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τόν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη "Σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἐόντος πρώτου παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀεικείῃ τοιῆδε περισπεῖν;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε. "Ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παίζοντες

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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

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σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι."

116. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήιε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καί οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὅ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν· μόγις δὲ δή κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ, "Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεά πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μοῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἔτι παρ' ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι, ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήιε τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

117. Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο,

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in their play to be their king: for they thought me the fittest to rule. The other boys then did as I bid them: but this one was disobedient and cared nothing for me, till he got his deserts. So now if I deserve punishment for this, here am I to take it."

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

117. When the truth had been so declared Astyages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but

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Ἁρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δέ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἅρπαγος, εἴρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης "Ἅρπαγε, τέῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τόν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;" ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ τράπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδον, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἁλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅκως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἴην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ἐντειλάμενος, θεῖναί μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἢν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε ὦ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς."

118. Ἅρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τόν οἱ ἐνεῖχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μέν, κατά περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἁρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὥς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς· "Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ" ἔφη λέγων "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ

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

118. So Harpagus spoke the plain truth. Astyages hid the anger that he had against him for what had been done, and first he related the story again to Harpagus as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after so repeating it, he made an end by saying that the boy was alive and good had come of it all. "For," so he said in his speech, "I was greatly afflicted by what had been done to this boy, and it weighed

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τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὦν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τοῦτο δέ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμὴ αὕτη προσκέεται) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον."

119. Ἅρπαγος μὲν ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτάς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχῃσι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο, ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἦν γάρ οἱ παῖς εἷς μοῦνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει ἰέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐὼν φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὡς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Ἁρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν τὰ μὲν ὤπτησε τὰ δὲ ἥψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὔτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἕτοιμα. ἐπείτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἵ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἅρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλεαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Ἁρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τἆλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἁρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἅλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἴρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῇ θοίνῃ. φαμένου δὲ Ἁρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἅρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν.

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

119. When Harpagus heard this he did obeisance and went to his home, greatly pleased to find that his offence had served the needful end and that he was invited to dinner in honour of this fortunate day. Coming in, he bade his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages' palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife all that had happened. But when Harpagus' son came, Astyages cut his throat and tearing him limb from limb roasted some and boiled some of the flesh, and the work being finished kept all in readiness. So when it came to the hour for dinner and Harpagus was present among the rest of the guests, dishes of sheeps' flesh were set before Astyages and the others, but Harpagus was served with the flesh of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a basket. And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, "Are you pleased with your meal, Harpagus?" "Exceeding well pleased," Harpagus answered. Then those whose business it was brought him in the covered basket the head and hands and feet of his son, and they stood before Harpagus and bade him uncover and take of them what he would. Harpagus did so;

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πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτευ θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἁλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120. Ἁρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλεύων ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἳ τὸ ἐνύπνιόν οἱ ταύτῃ ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν. οἳ δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε. "Ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καί μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθέι λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἦρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" εἶπαν οἱ Μάγοι "Εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινός, θάρσεέ τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἔνια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται." ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ὦ Μάγοι ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καί 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

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εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδεν. ὅμως μέν γέ τοι συμβουλεύσατέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν." εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστι κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σήν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιιοῦσα ἐόντα Πέρσην, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐόντες Μῆδοι δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεῖνοι· σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, ἐόντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προοπτέον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοὶ προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαῦλον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους."

121. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε. "Ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὄψιν ὀνειρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκεον, τῇ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίειν· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὑρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ."

122. Ταῦτα εἴπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γειναμένοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι, ἱστόρεόν τε ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὃ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ

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have no more to fear from him. Nevertheless consider well and advise me what shall be safest both for my house and for you." The Magians said, "King, we too are much concerned that your sovereignty should stand: for in the other case it goes away from your nation to this boy who is a Persian, and so we Medes are enslaved and deemed of no account by the Persians, being as we are of another blood, but while you are established king, who are our countryman, we have our share of power, and great honour is paid us by you. Thus, then, it behoves us by all means to take thought for you and your sovereignty. And at the present time if we saw any danger we would declare all to you: but now the dream has had but a trifling end, and we ourselves have confidence and counsel you to be like-minded. As for this boy, send him away from your sight to the Persians and to his parents."

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

122. So said Astyages and sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses' house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him heartily, for they had supposed that long ago he had straightway been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that till now he had known

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εἰδέναι ἀλλ' ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ ὀδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἴη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥτέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἣν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε.

123. Ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρηιοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἅρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων· ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα, Κῦρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης. κατεργασμένου δέ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἑτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος Ἅρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομένεων, ὃ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε· λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τά οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν

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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,

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οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῦντι παρεῖναι.

124. Ταῦτά τε δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε· εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορῶσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευ· σύ νυν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τῖσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεούς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις· τά σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχει χώρης, ταύτης ἁπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτεε ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἤν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεαι, ἤν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἀστυάγεα καταιρέειν πειρήσονται. ὡς ὦν ἑτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίεε ταῦτα καὶ ποίεε κατὰ τάχος."

125. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὑρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίεε δὴ ταῦτα. γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἁλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. "Νῦν τε," ἔφη

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giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was charged to give Cyrus the hare and bid him by word of mouth cut it open with his own hands, none other being present.

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

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

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λέγων, "ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κῦρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὦλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλέες οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἵδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες εἰσί, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

126. Ὡς δὲ παρῆσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντῃ, τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δεύτερά σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὠυτὸ ἔθυσε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἴνῳ τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἴρετο σφέας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἴη αἱρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεοῦσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα

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

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λόγον, λέγων "Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὦν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἥγημαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τἆλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὦν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

127. Πέρσαι μέν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον ταῦτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἥξοι παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβὴς ἐὼν Ἅρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τά μιν ἐόργεε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἳ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἳ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὦς Κῦρός γε χαιρήσει." τοσαῦτα εἴπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οἵ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε

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

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

128. Thus the Median army was foully scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, "that even so he should not go unpunished"; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed

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τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστεϊ τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρῃσι ἐσσώθη, καὶ αὐτός τε Ἀστυάγης ἐζωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

129. Ἐόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγεϊ προσστὰς ὁ Ἅρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τό μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὅ τι εἴη ἡ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ὁ δέ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἑωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἅρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἑωυτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μέν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῳ τεῷ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτου ἐόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130. Ἀστυάγης μέν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληίης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον.

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the Medes who were left in the city, the youths and old men. Leading these out, and encountering the Persians, he was worsted: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

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

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

[1] 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634–606 B.C.

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ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφθησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε.

Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον, τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἦρξε.

131. Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι· οἳ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

132. Θυσίη δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε· οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἑκάστῳ θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χῶρον

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

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

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

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

[1] In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription. [2] See note on ch. 105.

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καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνῃ μάλιστα. ἑωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὔ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθά, ὃ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσῃσι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλέι· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσῃσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήιον ἑψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἁπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἵην δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν λόγος αἱρέει.

133. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἁπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιεῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἁλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι. οἴνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται, καί σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδῃ σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι

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beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a wreath on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having boiled the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

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

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προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται, καὶ ἢν μὲν ἄδῃ καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄδῃ, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

134. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἄν τις διαγνοίη εἰ ὅμοιοι εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἢν δὲ ᾖ οὔτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἢν δὲ πολλῷ ᾖ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνέει τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἑωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετά γε ἑωυτούς, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἑκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον[1] τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἑκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἑωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον.

135. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας· καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπι-

[1] κατὰ λόγον [τῷ λεγομένῳ] Stein.

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and if being sober they still approve it, they act thereon, but if not, they cast it aside. And when they have taken counsel about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.

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

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

[1] This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.

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τηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται.

136. Ἀνδραγαθίη δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιέεται, ἵνα ἢν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

137. Αἰνέω μέν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἢν εὑρίσκῃ πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεόμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἐόντα ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δή φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι τόν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

138. Ἄσσα δέ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος,

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

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

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

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all and next to that debt; for which they have

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πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καί τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὔτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσῃσι· φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἁμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

139. Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὔ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὑρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν· τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἑλκυσθῇ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἳ μὲν γὰρ ἁγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ

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

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

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

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ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκάς τε καὶ ὄφις καὶ τἆλλα ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

141. Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προὔσχοντο ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρύσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς "Παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι." Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἴωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο ἕκαστοι καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὅρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ' οἷσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρέειν.

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and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first,[1] I return now to my former story.

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

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

[2] See ch. 148.

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142. Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὠυτὸ ποιέει τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην,[1] τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἵδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἔφεσος Κολοφὼν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείσῃσι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἵδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μέν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὠυτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μοῦνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὴ ὦν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτῃσι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσάν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ

[1] οὔτε τὰ πρὸς . . . ἑσπέρην bracketed by Stein.

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

143. Among these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear; for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves shipmen. But they of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians in no other way save as I shall show. The whole Hellenic race was then but small,

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γένεος, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκλῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι)· 144. κατά περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέες, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὧν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρὴν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὧν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἁλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μέν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην ἐπέθηκαν.

145. Δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ

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

145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of

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οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δυώδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μέν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγειρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἐστί, ἀπ' ὅτευ ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὤλενος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οἳ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

146. Τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι, μωρίῃ πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοί σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκέες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριέες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ

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

146. For this reason the Ionians too made twelve cities, and for no other; for it were but foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; seeing that not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and that there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian seceders from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, 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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ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον.

147. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἳ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἳ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἳ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλόν τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὁρτήν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὁρτὴν τῇ ἔθεντο οὔνομα Πανιώνια. [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὔτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὁρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατά περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.][1]

149. Αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιες εἰσί, αἵδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, 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.[1] All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood.

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

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

[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.

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Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια. αὗται ἕνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δυώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὡρέων δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

150. Σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὁρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἔπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἕνδεκα πόλιες καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας.

151. Αὗται μέν νυν αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ οἰκημενέων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἕκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἴκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένῃσι ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μέν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατά περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἕαδε κοινῇ Ἴωσι ἕπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

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

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

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

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

[2] A group of small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.

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152. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα), εἵλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χρηίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔ κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἴωσι. οἳ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέει, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι· πυνθανόμενον δέ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην "Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι· τοῖσι, ἢν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήια." ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὠνῇ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας

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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 themselves and deceive each other. These, if I keep my health, shall have their own mishaps to talk of, not those of the Ionians." This threat he uttered against the whole Greek nation, because they have market-places and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves use no market-places, nor have they such at all. Presently,

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τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τόν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύῃ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπεῖχέ τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

154. Ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπό τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἑωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι.

155. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὡς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ᾖ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὁμοίως γάρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο· ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἴ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι." ὁ μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνόεε ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσῃς ἀναμάρ-

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

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

155. When Cyrus had news of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, "What end am I to make, Croesus, of this business? it seems that the Lydians will never cease making trouble for me and for themselves. It is in my mind that it may be best to make slaves of them; for now methinks I have done like one that should slay the father and spare the children. So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then forsooth I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and thus answered him: "O King, what you say is but reasonable. Yet do not ever yield to anger, nor destroy an ancient city that is guiltless both of

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τητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγώ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὡς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι· ἄπειπε μέν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὦ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι."

156. Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρετώτερα ταῦτα εὑρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοί, ἢν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι· καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά τέ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἳ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν.

157. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἤθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἰόντα δείσας οἴχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ

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the former and of the latter offence. For the beginning was my work, and on my head is the penalty; but it is Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, who does this present wrong; let him therefore be punished. But let the Lydians be pardoned; and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you; send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt."

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

157. Having given these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was drawing near, was affrighted and fled to Cyme.

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Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δή κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὗρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι· ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

158. Πέμψαντες ὦν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· ὁρμημένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς ὃ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι ἤισαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

159. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. "Ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δέ μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἱκέτην

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

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

159. When they came to Branchidae Aristodicus speaking for all put this question to the oracle: "O King, Pactyes the Lydian hath fled to us for refuge to save him from a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, bidding the men of Cyme to give him up. But we, for all that we fear the Persian power, have not made bold

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ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης ἐποίεε τάδε· περιιὼν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρεε τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε "Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιέειν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις;" Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν "Ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἱκέτῃσι βοηθέεις, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἱκέτην ἐκδιδόναι;" τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε "Ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἱκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον."

160. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δή· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησσόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἱροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέι μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος

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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 nesting birds that were in it. But while he so did, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, "Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?" Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: "O King," said he, "wilt thou thus save thine own suppliants, yet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?" But the god made answer, "Yea, I do bid them, that ye may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you."

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

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τῆς Μυσιης, Λεσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μέν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

161. Χῖοι μέν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν· Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε ληίην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὡσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ.

162. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἅρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὠνὴρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἵρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι· ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

163. Πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τόν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες· ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων,

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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, giving it up to his army to pillage, and Magnesia likewise. Immediately after this he died of a sickness.

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

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

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

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τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαιέες οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαιέας, ὃ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὔξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσί, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκεε αὐτούς, προϊσχόμενος ἔπεα ὥς οἱ καταχρᾷ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαιέες προμαχεῶνα ἕνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἴκημα ἓν κατιρῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέεσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δ' Ἅρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοιεν ποιέειν, ὅμως δέ σφι παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ Ἅρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

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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."

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165. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες, ἐπείτε σφι Χῖοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνευμένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλησιθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη. Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ἣ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἁρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃσι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπερημίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἠθέων τῆς χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον.

166. Επείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἑκάτεροι ἑξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἑόντα ἀριθμὸν ἑξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισ-

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165. The Phocaeans would have bought of the Chians the islands called Oenussae[1]; 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,[2] 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.

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γόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Καδμείη τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσην οἷαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον.

167. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ [διέλαχον, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι][1] ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαιέες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαιέων τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίης ταύτην ἥτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλέεται· ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

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

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battle, and the Phocaeans won, yet it was but a Cadmean victory[1]; 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,[2] 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[3] city which is now called Hyele[4]; this they founded because they learnt from a man of Posidonia that when the Pythian priestess spoke of founding a settlement and of Cyrnus, it was the hero that she signified and not the island.

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

[2] Later Caere in Etruria.

[3] Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history). [4] Later Elea (Velia).

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168. Φωκαίης μέν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτω ἔσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπείτε γὰρ σφέων εἷλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἅρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἄβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

169. Οὗτοι μέν νυν Ἰώνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἁρπάγῳ κατά περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἁλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἦγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἅρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

170. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδὼ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἁπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δέ σφι ἐν τῇ

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

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

170. When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, as I have heard, gave them very useful advice, which had they followed they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and bearing rule over others, they would be rid of slavery and win prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he

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Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς ἐκέλευε ἓν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἧσσον νομίζεσθαι κατά περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν· οὗτοι μὲν δή σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. Ἅρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἳ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἅτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἁπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα. καί σφι τριξὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἵ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρᾶσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικεί-

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

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

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μενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρῆτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοισι οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἠπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172. Οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πύσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἱδρυθέντων δέ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἠέρα, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἵποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

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the neck and over the left shoulder.[1] Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians and so came to the mainland. This is the Cretan story about the Carians; but they themselves do not consent to it, but hold that they are aboriginal dwellers on the mainland and ever bore the name which they bear now; and they point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but none of any other nation, though they learned to speak the same language as the Carians.

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

[1] This is the management of the Homeric "man-covering" shield, as shown in the *Iliad*. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the τελαμών it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.

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173. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τὠρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι)· διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληίης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἳ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἕως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἳ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἓν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων· εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἢν μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἢν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174. Οἱ μέν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἁρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώρην οἰκέουσι· οἰκέουσι

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

174. Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among

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δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οἳ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίης, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὤρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἅρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγίνετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμός ἐστι τὸν ὤρυσσον. καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾷ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε.

Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε·
Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἁρπάγῳ ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

175. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ ἱρείη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἶσχε. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην

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

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

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

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

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ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἁρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

176. Πηδασέες μέν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν· Λύκιοι δέ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἱστιέων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἅρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

177. Τὰ μέν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἅρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μέν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δέ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστί, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

178. Κῦρος ἐπείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἠπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης ἐστὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλήια κατεστήκεε, ἦν Βαβυλών, οὖσα

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

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

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

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

[1] 606 B.C. Ninus = Nineveh.

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τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μέν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέη ὕδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιληίων ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλήιος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.

179. Δεῖ δή με πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὅντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθευον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἑλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς ὤπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χείλεα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μονόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοί τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἴς οὔνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὔνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον. οὗτος ὦν

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describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side an hundred and twenty furlongs in length; thus four hundred and eighty furlongs make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city whereof we know. Round it runs first a fosse deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall of fifty royal cubits' thickness and two hundred cubits' height. The royal cubit is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.[1]

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

[1] Common cubit, 18¾ inches: royal, 20½.
[2] The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.

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ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ πολλούς, ἔνθεν ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη.

180. Ἐτετείχιστο μέν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεα τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Εὐφρήτης· ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξιεῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὦν δὴ τεῖχος ἑκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἱμασιὴ πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτό, ἐὸν πλῆρες οἰκιέων τριωρόφων καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέτμηται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθέας τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὦν ἑκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἱμασιῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι[1] . . . . φέρουσαι [καὶ αὗταὶ] ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν.

181. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσεῖ ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλήια περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντῃ, ἐὸν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος

[1] Stein supposes that there was here a mention of steps leading to the river, and that *καὶ αὗταί* is needless and spurious.

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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,[1] a square of two furlongs each way, with gates of bronze. In the centre of this enclosure a solid tower has been built, of one furlong's length and breadth; a second tower rises

[1] Bel or Baal, the greatest of Assyrian gods.

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πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καί οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἕληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ.

182. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατά περ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος γυνή, ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατά περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τότε ὦν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

183. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἔνι κατήμενον χρύσεον, καί οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακέεται χρυσέη, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστί· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἔξω

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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,[1] 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[2] at Patara in Lycia, whenever she be appointed; for there is not always a place of divination there; but when she is appointed she is shut up in the temple during the night.

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

[1] Amon-Api (Greek Ἀμένωφις); *cp.* ii. 42. [2] Apollo.

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δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ' οὗ θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῦνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἑκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὁρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριὰς δυώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός· ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινέειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

184. Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλέες, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν.

185. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασίλεια, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύ-

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

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

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could

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νατο μάλιστα. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποτα μὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθύν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δή τι ἐποιήσε σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρὶς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὔνομα ἐστί, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τι ἐστί. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος ὤρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνῃ, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπείτε δέ οἱ ὀρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπῖδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τόν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἕλος, ὡς ὅ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκηται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῇ αἵ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

186. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο· τῆς

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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

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πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοὔτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ὤρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο· ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας, ὡς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἕτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὤρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥεέθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῇσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρη γίνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἕλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

187. Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασίλεια καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἑωυτῇ κατε-

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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 of

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σκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Τῶν τις ἐμεῦ ὕστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἢν σπανίσῃ χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὁκόσα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον" οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληίη· Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὔ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· "Εἰ μὴ ἄπληστός τε ἔας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέῳγες." αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοὔνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνεοι κομιζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἕπονται, ὅκῃ ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἑκάστοτε.

189. Ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν

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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.

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Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὤπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὃ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καί οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δή μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν διαίρεε τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόποι, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἤνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

190. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὁρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνεϊ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα,

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to the river Gyndes,[1] 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 πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὄπισθε αὖτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξιεῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἵ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κῃ, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήισαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οἳ δ' ἂν περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακληίσαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἱμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλα-

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

191. Whether, then, someone advised him in his difficulty, or he perceived for himself what to do, I know not, but this he did: he posted his army at the place where the river enters the city, and another part of it where the stream issues from the city, and bade his men enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they should see it to be fordable. Having so arrayed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight; and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen: drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was till now a marsh, he made the stream to sink till its former channel could be forded. When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this intent made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk about to the height of the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learnt what Cyrus was planning, they would have suffered the Persians to enter the city and brought them to a miserable end; for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and themselves mounted up on to the walls that ran along the river

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βον ἂν σφέας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτήν, χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

192. Καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλέι τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δυώδεκα ὧν μηνῶν εὐντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμι τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπηίην καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἁπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριταιταίχμῃ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἑκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή. ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον ἐὸν Περσικόν, χωρέει μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῆσι. ἵπποι δέ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίῃ, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλιαι καὶ μύριαι· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο

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

192. Thus was Babylon then for the first time taken. There are many proofs of the wealth of Babylon, but this in especial. All the land ruled by the great King is 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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δή τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελέες, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα.

193. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεταί τε τὸ λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατά περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσί τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη πᾶσα, κατά περ η Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέτμηται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ' ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν . . .[1] τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδοῖ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ἐνείκῃ, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα

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

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

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

[1] That is, by the "shadoof," a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.

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ἐς ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπῖκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δέ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροισι τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τέ σφι ὁ ψὴν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατά περ δὴ οἱ ὄλυνθοι.

194. Τὸ δὲ ἁπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων· τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρώρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οἴνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπό τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἑστεώτων, καὶ ὃ μὲν ἔσω ἕλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον ὃ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποιέεται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι

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Babylonia. They use no oil save what they make from sesame.[1] There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, that so the gall-fly may enter the dates and cause them to ripen, and that the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripened figs, have gall-flies in their fruit.

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

[1] Sesame-oil or "Benre-oil" is still in common use in the East.

[2] The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.

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πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

195. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκέι λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρῃσι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγῖδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ σκήπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

196. Αὕτη μὲν δή σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστᾶσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἑκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἑκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε· ὡς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίατο γάμων ὡραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἁλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην

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more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way.

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

196. Such is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which as I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round. Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one, first

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κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὑροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικήσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἴδεος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἳ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὡς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικέειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὔμορφοι τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεῳ βούλοιτο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι. ὁ μέν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελέει ἐών, ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ' εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται].[1] ἐπείτε γὰρ ἁλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου βίου σπανίζων 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.

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the fairest of all; and then when she had fetched a great price he put up for sale the next comeliest, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill-favoured damsels and money therewith; for when the crier had sold all the comeliest, he would put up her that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whosoever would take her to wife for the least sum, till she fell to him who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the comely damsels, and so they paid the dowry of the ill-favoured and the cripples. But a man might not give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever he would, nor might he that bought the girl take her away without giving security that he would indeed make her his wife. And if the two could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. This then was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [that the woman might not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the commonalty that lacks a livelihood makes prostitutes of his daughters.

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197. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε· τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι. προσιόντες ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νούσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραινέουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὔ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

198. Ταφαὶ δέ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμίημα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἑτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ποιέει, ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου λοῦνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἅψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199. [1] Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἴσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζόῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἑστᾶσι· θεραπηίη δέ σφι ὄπισθε ἕπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αἳ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἳ δὲ ἀπέρχονται.

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

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

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

199. The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to consort with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and there stand with a great retinue of attendants. But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads; there is a great multitude of women coming and going; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the stranger men pass and make their choice.

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σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται· ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἵζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἤ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· "Ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται· οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἕπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾷ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τώπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψεαι. ὅσαι μέν νυν εἴδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστᾶσι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὅλμον καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἅτε μᾶζαν μαξάμενος ἔχει, ὃ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

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

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

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

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation also, he desired to subdue the Massagetae. These are

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εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἴστρου· νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασι εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἳ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὡραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν ἐς τὠυτὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδμῇ κατά περ Ἕλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθυσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαιτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἑξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἕλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἓν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν.

203. Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ

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said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.

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

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

[1] The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.

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Ἕλληνες ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει· ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἑτέρη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτη ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὸν ὀρέων καὶ πλήθεϊ μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζώοντα· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῷα ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῷα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατά περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μῖξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατά περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ὦν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκῃ γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

205. Ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν

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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

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Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια· Τόμυρίς οἱ ἦν οὔνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἣν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μνώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληίην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρεε, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεόμενος.

206. Ἔχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχευ ὁρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὔκων ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκῃσι τῇσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι· σὺ δὴ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην· εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλεαι ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ποίεε." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέῃ. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὠυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυρίν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώρην.

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

206. But while he was at this work Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: "Cease, king of the Medes, from that on which you are intent; for you cannot know if the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Cease, and be king of your own country; and be patient to see us ruling those whom we rule. But if you will not take this counsel, and will do all rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to essay the strength of the Massagetae, do you quit your present labour of bridging the river, and suffer us to draw off three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. Or if you desire rather to receive us into your country, do you then yourself withdraw as I have said." Hearing this, Cyrus assembled the chief among the Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same purpose, urging him to suffer Tomyris and her army to enter his country.

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207. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν· τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἷς καὶ ἑτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐᾷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέειν. ἤδη ὦν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώρην, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔνι· ἐσσωθεὶς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἑλῶσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἕποιο φεύγουσι. τὠυτὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἑλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρης. νῦν ὦν μοι δοκέει διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθέες. τούτοισι

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207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their counsel and spoke against it. "Sire," said he, "you have ere now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will to the best of my power turn aside whatever mischance I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now if you deem yourself and the army that you lead to be immortal, it is not for me to give you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are but men, then I must first teach you this: men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning suffers not the same man to prosper for ever. Then, if that be true, I am not of the same mind on the business in hand as these your other counsellors. This is the danger if we agree to suffer the enemy to enter your country: if you lose the battle you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetae win they will not retreat back but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them; for I balance your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have worsted your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. And besides what I have shown, it were a thing shameful and not to be borne that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now therefore it is in my mind that we should cross and go forward as far as they go back, and that then we should endeavour to overcome them by doing as I shall show. As I learn, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, nor have they ever fared well in respect of what is greatly desirable. For these men, therefore,

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ὧν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὖτις ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἁμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονταί τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων."

208. Γνῶμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν· Κῦρος δὲ μετεὶς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἑλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἢ μὲν δὴ ἐξανεχώρεε κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιέειν, ἢν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὄψιν εὕδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχέ κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος,

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I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds."

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

209. Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when

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ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε "Ὑστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἑάλωκε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καί μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ εὕδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὔκων ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποίεε ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον."

210. Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληίη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσιδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονὼς ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἁπάντων. εἰ δέ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγώ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὅ τι σὺ βούλεαι."

211. Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἤιε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον, Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε

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Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great import, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "I find, Hystaspes, that your son is guilty of plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for a certainty. I am a man for whom the gods take thought, and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now this being so, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other; wherefore it is from this vision most certain that he is plotting against me. Do you therefore go with all speed back to Persia, and so act that when I come thither after subduing this country you shall bring your son before me to be questioned of this."

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

211. Having so answered, Hystaspes returned across the Araxes to Persia to watch Darius for Cyrus; and Cyrus, going forward a day's journey from the Araxes, did according to Croesus' advice. After this Cyrus and the sound part of the Persian

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καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορὶς τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου ηὗδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.

212. Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἄπλησστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῇς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μευ εὖ παραινεούσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον· ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρης ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μέν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω."

213. Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον· ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε

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army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetae attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae.

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

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

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τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἑωυτόν.

214. Καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ· Τόμυρις δέ, ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὥς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο. ἥ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἑνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν, ὡς δὲ εὗρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν, λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε· "Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἑλὼν δόλῳ· σὲ δ' ἐγώ, κατά περ ἠπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω." τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

215. Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἱππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται·

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him; but no sooner was he loosed and had the use of his hands, than he made away with himself.

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

215. These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life. They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They ever use gold and bronze;

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ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ' αὕτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἄπλετος.

216. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσιδε. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτῃσι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται· τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἕλληνες ποιέειν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἁμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὖρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδείς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἑψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἵκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοί σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δ' εἰσί. θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν 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.

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BOOK II

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Β

1. Τελευτησαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρός, τῆς προαποθανούσης Κῦρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρωίους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιέετο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἦρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.

2. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἑωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οἵτινες γενοίατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἑωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑωυτούς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἳ γενοίατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. παιδία δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἱέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ᾽ ἑωυτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι αἶγας, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος τἆλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεέ τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦ-

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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.

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σαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων κνυζημάτων, ἥντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην· τά περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν· ὡς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐπυνθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκός τι καλέουσι, πυνθανόμενος δὲ εὕρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον. οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τοιούτῳ σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἑωυτῶν. ὧδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουον· Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὡς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν δίαιταν οὕτω ἐποιήσατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτῃσι τῇσι γυναιξί.

3. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. τὰ μέν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἷα ἤκουον οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέεσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μοῦνον, νομίζων πάντας

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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'[1] 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.

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ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθέω αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

4. Ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπήια πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δυώδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὡρέων ἐς αὐτόν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔλεγον· ἄγουσι δὲ τοσῷδε σοφώτερον Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσῳ Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὡρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυώδεκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καί σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὡρέων ἐς τὠυτὸ περιιὼν παραγίνεται. δυώδεκά τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν, βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῷα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγγλύψαι. καὶ τούτων μέν νυν τὰ πλέω ἔργῳ ἐδήλουν οὕτω γενόμενα. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωπον ἔλεγον Μῖνα· ἐπὶ τούτου, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ἕλος, καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἐόντων, ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλοος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ἐστὶ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

5. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λεγειν περὶ τῆς χώρης· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἕλληνες

[1] There is much obscurity about the "Twelve Gods." This only appears to be clear, that eight (or nine) gods form the first order of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that there are

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hold that no man knows about the gods more than another; and I will say no more about them than what I am constrained to say by the course of my history.

4. But as regarding human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed: the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year to consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks; for the Greeks add an intercalary month every other year, so that the seasons may agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the number, and so the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Further, the Egyptians (said they) first used the appellations of twelve 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.

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ναυτίλλονται, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερον τοιόνδε. Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης τοιήδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεὶς καταπειρητηρίην πηλόν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἕνδεκα ὀργυιῇσι ἔσεαι. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς ἐοῦσαν.

6. Αὕτις δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι Αἰγύπτου μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει· ταύτης ὧν ἄπο οἱ ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσί. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυιῇσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ ἧσσον γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἳ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι, οἳ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοίνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος, μέτρον ἐὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ἑξήκοντα στάδια.

7. Οὕτω ἂν εἴησαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐστὶ εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπτίη τε καὶ ἔνυδρος[1] καὶ ἰλύς. ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἔς τε Πῖσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. σμικρόν τι τὸ διά-

[1] All MSS. have ἄνυδρος, which is a strange epithet for the Delta. Modern editors read ἔνυδρος or εὔυδρος.

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

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

7. By this reckoning then the 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."

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φορον εὕροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πῖσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον.

8. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι στεινή ἐστι Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἄνω τεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐστι μακρότατον, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἠοῦς πρὸς ἑσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. τοῦτο μέν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο ἐστί, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἱ πυραμίδες ἔνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ ὦν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἡλίου πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα[1] ἀναπλόου ἐστὶ στεινὴ Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδιὰς μὲν γῆ, στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι, τῇ στεινότατον ἐστί, διηκοσίων οὐ πλέους ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ὄρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν αὖτις εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος ἐστί. πέφυκε μέν νυν ἡ χώρη αὕτη οὕτω.

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

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

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

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

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9. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἑνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τε ἐστὶ σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων, ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστί, σημανέω· στάδιοι γὰρ εἰσὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσί.

10. Ταύτης ὦν τῆς χώρης τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατά περ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκτητος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ ὀρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνετό μοι εἶναι κοτὲ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἔφεσόν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον, ὥς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν· τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἑνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἐόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναι ἐστί. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐόντες μεγάθεα, οἵτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσί· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀχελῴου, ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιεὶς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.

11. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρης, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς

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

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

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

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

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Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δή τι καὶ στεινὸς ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσων· μῆκος μὲν πλόου ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται τεσσεράκοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ· εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἥμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥηχίη δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης, τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχούς, ὀλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρης. εἰ ὦν ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντός γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἄν· κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέζων ἔτι τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικοῦ;

12. Τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὦν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδών τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς κογχύλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὄρεσι καὶ ἅλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου ὄρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσούρῳ ἐούσῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ (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 silted up by a river so great and so busy?

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

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Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιόν τε καὶ καταρρηγνυμένην, ὥστε ἐοῦσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίης κατενηνειγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέρην τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν.

13. Ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τόδε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος· καὶ Μοίρι οὔκω ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἑκκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώρην. δοκέουσί τέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρη αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῷ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποδιδῷ ἐς αὔξησιν,[1] μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατά περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἱρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δή σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον.

[1] Stein brackets καὶ . . . αὔξησιν.

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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.

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14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἕλληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται· φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει φράσω· εἴ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρη ἡ ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεταί σφι ἡ χώρη μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἦ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οἳ οὔτε ἀρότρῳ ἀναρρηγνύντες αὔλακας ἔχουσι πόνους οὔτε σκάλλοντες οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι περὶ λήιον πονέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεάν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπῃ ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὗς, ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸν σῖτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

15. Εἰ ὦν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἳ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μοῦνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταριχηίων τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ἔς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν Λιβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύοιμεν ἂν τούτῳ τῷ

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

15. Now if we agree with the opinion of the Ionians, namely that nothing but the Delta is Egypt, whereof the seaboard reaches, according to them, from what is called the watchtower of Perseus, forty schoeni to the salting factories of Pelusium, while inland it stretches as far as the city of Cercasorus,[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.

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λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον χώρην. ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἐστὶ κατάρρυτόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρη γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἰέναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρώτην ἀπήσουσι. ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεί τε εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς χώρης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ' ὧν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο, τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι.

16. Εἰ ὦν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οἳ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον γὰρ δή σφεας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίης μήτε τῆς Λιβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλός γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῇ Λιβύῃ, τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὀξὺ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίης τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνοιτ' ἄν.

17. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν, Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομέ-

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

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

17. Nay, we put the Ionians' opinion aside; and our own judgment concerning the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by

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νην κατά περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλίκων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὔρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἴδαμεν οὐδὲν ἐὸν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὔρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων νενομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτερέων τῶν ἐπωνυμιέων ἔχεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Καταδούπων ῥέει μέσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μέν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἷς ἐὼν ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδούς. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἠῶ τράπεται, τὸ καλέεται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νείλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξιεῖ, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὔτε ἥκιστα ὀνομαστήν· τὸ καλέεται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαϊτικὸν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά.

18. Μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος

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Egyptians, even as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians severally; and we know of no frontier (rightly so called) below Asia and Libya save only the borders of the Egyptians. But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt, down from the Cataracts and the city Elephantine,[1] to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one part belonging to Libya and the other to Asia. For the Nile, beginning from the Cataracts, divides Egypt into two parts as it flows to the sea. Now as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows eastwards; the second flows westwards, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the sharp point of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea, by name the 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).

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καὶ Ἄπιος, οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύῃ, αὐτοί τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκηίῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ἄμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι· οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαί τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιέειν ταῦτα, φὰς Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἳ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη.

19. Ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύῃ, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἑκατέρωθι ὁδόν, καὶ πλέον ἔτι τούτου καὶ ἔλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὅ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέεθρον, ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελέει ἐὼν μέχρι οὗ αὖτις τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἷός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν· ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἱστόρεον καὶ ὅ τι αὔρας ἀποπνεούσας μοῦνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.

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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.

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20. Ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδούς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ' ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος μοῦνον· τῶν ἡ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύειν τὸν ποταμόν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὔκων ἔπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τὠυτὸ ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίῃσι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νείλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ῥεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἳ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

21. Ἡ δ' ἑτέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρη· ἣ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἔψευσται· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὕτη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὃς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιόπων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέοι ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἐστι; ἀνδρί γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἵῳ τε ἐόντι, ὡς οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν

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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.

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χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέει ἐοῦσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσούσῃ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὗσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃσι, ὥστε, εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ὕετο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες ἐόντες. ἰκτῖνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος ἐόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοιτῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ τοίνυν ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὅσον ὦν ταύτην τὴν χώρην δι' ἧς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν ἂν τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

23. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον· οὐ γὰρ τινὰ ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐόντα, Ὅμηρον δὲ ἢ τινὰ τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω τὸ οὔνομα εὑρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενείκασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω δι' ὅ τι μοι δοκέει πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος· τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὡς μέν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτω τε ᾖ χώρης οὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἥντινα, ταύτην οἰκὸς διψῆν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ῥεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ὡς δὲ ἐν πλέονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει. διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος τάδε ποιέει· ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ

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Ethiopia are hot. And the second proof is, that the country is ever without rain and frost; but after snow has fallen there must needs be rain within five days;[1] so that were there snow there would be rain in these lands. And the third proof is, that the men of the country are black by reason of the heat. Moreover, kites and swallows live there all the year round, and cranes, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia, come every year to these places to winter there. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and whence it rises, none of these things would happen, as 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.

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ἠέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινῆς τῆς χώρης ἐούσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιέει οἷόν περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιέειν ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἕλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἑλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκιδνάντες τήκουσι· καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρης πνέοντες, ὅ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετιώτατοι. δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἑκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν. πρηϋνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἕλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως δὲ οἳ μὲν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἅτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαραδρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος τῶν τε ὄμβρων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἑλκόμενοι ἀσθενέες εἰσί. ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἄνομβρος, ἑλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μοῦνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ῥέει πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἕλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μοῦνος πιέζεται.

26. Οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. αἴτιος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἠέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτῃ εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον ἑωυτοῦ· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἤλλακτο τῶν ὡρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἑστᾶσι, ταύτῃ μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίης, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν

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land warm and the winds cool—the sun does what he was wont to do in the summer in passing through the middle of the heaven: he draws the water to himself, and having so drawn it, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be supposed, those that blow from that country, the south and the south-west, are the most rainy of all winds. Yet I think that the sun never lets go all the water that he yearly draws up from the Nile, but keeps some back near to himself. Then as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns back to the middle of the heaven, and after that he draws from all rivers alike. Meantime the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the much water from the sky that falls into them, because the country is rained upon and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the Nile being fed by no rain, and being the only river in winter drawn up by the sun, at this time falls far short of the height that he had in summer; which is but natural; for in summer all other waters too and not his alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it is he alone who is afflicted.

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

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ἕστηκε, ταύτῃ δὲ ὁ βορέης, εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἤιε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατά περ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται, διεξιόντα δ' ἄν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἔλπομαι ποιέειν ἂν τὸν Ἴστρον τά περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον.

27. Τῆς αὔρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὡς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμέων χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν, αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνέειν.

28. Ταῦτα μέν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἔστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σάι πόλι ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὗτος δ' ἔμοιγε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως· ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὀξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὄρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι· τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥέειν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἥμισυ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης τε καὶ νότου. ὡς δὲ ἄβυσσοι εἰσὶ αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμήτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι· πολλέων γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιέων πλεξάμενον κάλον κατεῖναι ταύτῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γινόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν, δίνας

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

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

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

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τινὰς ταύτῃ ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην, οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὄρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἰέναι.

29. Ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθών, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι ἄναντες ἐστὶ χωρίον· ταύτῃ ὦν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατά περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἢν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτῃ κατά περ ὁ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος· σχοῖνοι δὲ δυώδεκα εἰσὶ οὗτοι τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίξεαι ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομψὼ οὔνομα αὐτῇ ἐστι. οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἤδη καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἥμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν πέριξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἥξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοῖ. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβὰς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσεαι ἡμερέων τεσσεράκοντα· σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὀξέες ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαί εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὖτις ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐσβὰς δυώδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσεαι, καὶ ἔπειτα ἥξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Μερόη· λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων

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

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

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Αἰθιόπων. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι, καί σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε· στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπεάν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων, καὶ τῇ ἂν κελεύῃ, ἐκεῖσε.

30. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἥξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιόπων. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοισι τούτοισι οὔνομα ἐστὶ Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλέι. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὗται τέσσερες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τούτους δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἔν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλι πρὸς Αἰθιόπων καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃσι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι ἄλλη πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐν Μαρέῃ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλη. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταὐτὰ αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃσι. τοὺς ὦν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἳ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἤισαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε· ὡς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων καί σφεας θεοὺς πατρωίους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. τῶν δὲ τινὰ λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον

[1] The Greek equivalents for Amun and Osiris.

[2] Herodotus' account of the Nile in this chapter is for the most part vague and untrustworthy. He is right as to the

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people of the place worship no other gods but Zeus and Dionysus[1]; 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.[2]

30. From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmach, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this:—In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them; so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them; and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part,

current above Elephantine, as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realise. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.

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εἰπεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τοῦτο ᾖ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. οὗτοι ἐπείτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέι, ὁ δὲ σφέας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται· ἦσάν οἱ διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιόπων· τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθίοπες, ἤθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31. Μέχρι μέν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ῥεύματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὑρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους. ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἑσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἔρημος γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος.

32. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἥκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλέι, καί κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτου οἶδε τὰς πηγάς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτέαρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμῶνας ἄνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυκόν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἠῶ χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμῶνας καὶ εἰρωτωμένους εἴ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὑβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι πέντε ἑωυτῶν ὀψομένους τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων.

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

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

32. But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who, when they came to man's estate, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya, and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers. It must be known

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τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἣ τελευτᾷ τῆς Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυες καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνυδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. εἶπαι ὦν τοὺς νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ὕδασί τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἔρημον διεξιέναι, τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον, διεξελθόντας δὲ χῶρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρῃσι ἰδεῖν δή κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καί σφεας προσελθόντας ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ, ἁπτομένοισι δέ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἄνδρας μικρούς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων· ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἑλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῇ πάντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν ποταμὸν μέγαν, ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἑσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους.

33. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς τοῦτό μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστῆσαί τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Νασαμῶνας, ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι

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

33. This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose

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ἅπαντας. τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἱρέει. ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ μέσην τάμνων Λιβύην, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμᾶται. Ἴστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥέει μέσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἳ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων· τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἴστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίην οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄποικοι.

34. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἴστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη δι' ἧς ῥέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μάλιστά κῃ ἀντίη κέεται· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθέα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἴστρῳ.

35. Νείλου μέν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει ἢ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρη καὶ

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

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country they came were all wizards; as to the river that ran past the city, Etearchus guessed it to be the Nile; and that is but reasonable. For the Nile flows from Libya, and right through the midst of that country; and as I guess, reasoning as to things unknown from visible signs, it takes its rise from the same measure of distance as the Ister.[1] 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 thus much concerning the Nile. But concerning Egypt I will now speak at length, because nowhere are there so many marvellous things, nor in the whole world beside are there to

flows first from W. to E. and then turns northward, so the Danube flows first from W. to E. and then (as he says) from N. to S.; and so the rivers in a manner correspond: one crosses Africa, the other Europe.

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ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἑτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι· ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεα οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρείῃ χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοισι, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρεόν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὰ ἀναφανδόν. ἱρᾶται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσενος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασεων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοισι, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένῃσι.

36. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι νόμος ἅμα κήδεϊ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μαλιστα ἱκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιεῖσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξεσθαι τάς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενείῳ, τέως ἐξυρημένοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίαιτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοισι ἡ δίαιτα ἐστί. ἀπὸ πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὦλλοι ζώουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζόην ὄνειδος μέγιστον ἐστί, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία,

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

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

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live; they make food from a coarse grain which some call

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τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσί, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὦλλοι μὲν ἐῶσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἵματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἓν ἑκάστη. τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

37. Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκέων ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμῶντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἵματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τά τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαρειότητος εἵνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρῶνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεὶρ μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηταί σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεούς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινέην μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δέ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λοῦνται δὲ δὶς τῆς ἡμέρης ἑκάστης ψυχρῷ καὶ δὶς ἑκάστης νυκτός, ἄλλας τε θρησκηίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὔτε τι γὰρ

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

37. They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation; and these are among their customs:—They drink from cups of bronze, which they cleanse out daily; this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful ever to wear newly-washed linen raiment. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they set cleanness above seemliness. Their priests shave the whole body every other day, that no lice or aught else that is foul may infest them in their service of the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus[2]: they may take no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. But also they receive many benefits: they neither consume nor spend aught of

[1] Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay, ch. 5, in his Appendix to Book II.

[2] On this plant, see ch. 92.

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τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφι ἐστὶ ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλῆθός τι ἑκάστῳ γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἑκάστης, δίδοται δέ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὔ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τούς τε γινομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἕψοντες πατέονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὁρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναί μιν ὄσπριον. ἱρᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἷς ἑκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἷς ἐστι ἀρχιερεύς· ἐπεὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.

38. Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε· τρίχα ἢν καὶ μίαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίζηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἑστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημηίων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω· κατορᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. ἢν δὲ τούτων πάντων ᾖ καθαρός, σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρεα εἱλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἡ ζημίη ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται μέν νυν τὸ κτῆνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, θυσίη δέ σφι ἥδε κατέστηκε.

39. Ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτῆνος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπισπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφά-

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

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

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

[1] Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi, the bull-god of Memphis; for bulls of Mair's *Oppian* (L.C.L.) Cyn. II. 86, note. [2] iii. 28.

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ξαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλήν. σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι, κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνῃ πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ᾖ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἕλληνές σφι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἳ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἕλληνες, οἳ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῇσι, εἴ τι μέλλοι ἢ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μέν νυν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἴνου πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδείς.

40. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε· τὴν δ' ὧν μεγιστην τε δαίμονα ἤγηνται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὁρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων . . .[1] ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευξάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἷλον, σπλάγχνά δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελήν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὤμους τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοὸς πιμπλᾶσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες· προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν

[1] There is an obvious lacuna ; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.

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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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τύπτονται πάντες, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν ἱρῶν.

41. Τοὺς μέν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὔ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱραί εἰσι τῆς Ἴσιος· τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἴσιος ἄγαλμα ἐὸν γυναικήιον βούκερων ἐστὶ κατά περ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ. τῶν εἵνεκα οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρήσεται οὐδὲ ὀβελοῖσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιεῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχοντα σημήιον εἵνεκεν· ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ καὶ προσίῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἑκάστην πόλιν βᾶρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλευμένης νήσου. ἣ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὦν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλιες συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάριες παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὔνομα τῇ πόλι Ἀτάρβηχις, ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἵδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλις, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ τὰ ὀστέα ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἕνα χῶρον πάντες. κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ τοῖσι βουσὶ καὶ τἆλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ

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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.

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ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτηται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

42. Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαιέος ἵδρυνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσί, οὗτοι μέν νυν πάντες ὀίων ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγας θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἴσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ἱρὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσί, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι ὄις θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μέν νυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους ὀίων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δέ, ἐπείτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τάδε τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι· κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι. ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Αἰγυπτιων τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὔνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο· Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσί σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. μιῇ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διός, κριὸν ἕνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἐνδύουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο

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

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

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

[2] The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu-Neferhotep, Ἀγαθοδαίμων).

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ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43. Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν· τοῦ ἑτέρου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνες οἴδασι, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὔνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοὔνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἐστὶ τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονέες ἀμφότεροι ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἰδέναι, οὐδέ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχαται. καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὔνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἕξειν, εἴ περ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὡς ἔλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἱρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. ἀλλά τις ἀρχαῖος ἐστὶ θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ἡρακλέης· ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔτεα ἐστὶ ἑπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπείτε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἕνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφές τι εἰδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἷόν τε ἦν, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς

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

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

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

[1] As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.

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Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἅγιον, καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοισί τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἣ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἣ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἱρὸν ἵδρυται. εὗρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι συμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκιζομένῃ καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀπ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι· ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οἳ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μέν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐόντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιέειν, οἳ διξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι.

45. Λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

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[1] The Tyrian god Melkart.

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

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

[2] There is a dual Heracles in the *Odyssey*, xi. 601 *seqq.* An εἴδωλον of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.

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κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. ἐμοὶ μέν νυν δοκέουσι ταῦτα λέγοντες τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες· τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὁσίη θύειν ἐστὶ χωρὶς ὑῶν καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; ἔτι δὲ ἕνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, ὡς δὴ φασί, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμενείη εἴη.

46. Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἶγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι· τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι. γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τὤγαλμα κατά περ Ἕλληνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναί μιν ἀλλὰ ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· ὅτευ δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτόν, οὔ μοι ἥδιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἶγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἕνα μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλέεται δὲ ὅ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πὰν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

47. Ὑν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιαρὸν ἤγηνται θηρίον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἤν τις ψαύσῃ αὐτῶν παριὼν

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

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

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

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ὑός, αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱματίοισι ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἑωυτὸν βὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβῶται ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενέες ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μοῦνοι πάντων, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκδίδονταί τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὗς οὐ δικαιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μούνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, τοὺς ὗς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὗς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὁρτῇσι ἀπεστυγήκασι ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπισταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερος ἐστὶ λέγεσθαι. θυσίη δὲ ἥδε τῶν ὑῶν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέεται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεὶς ὁμοῦ κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίζει πυρί· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱρὰ θύσωσι, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσαίατο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὗς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.

48. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ὁρτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος διδοῖ ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὁρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταὐτὰ σχεδὸν πάντα Ἕλλησι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα σφι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἔλασσον

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

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

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ἐὸν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος· προηγέεται δὲ αὐλός, αἱ δὲ ἕπονται ἀείδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κινέει μοῦνον τοῦ σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος.

49. Ἤδη ὦν δοκέει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἀδαὴς ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἕλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὔνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ· ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν· τὸν δ' ὦν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι Ἕλληνες. ἐγὼ μέν νυν φημὶ Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικήν τε ἑωυτῷ συστῆσαι καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τά τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγμένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμαιον. πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην.

50. Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω ἐόν· δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσ-

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

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

50. Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have

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κούρων, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἥρης καὶ Ἱστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεί κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὔ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο· οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὔνομα ἔκτηνται εἰ μὴ Λίβυες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεί. νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἥρωσι οὐδέν.

51. Ταῦτα μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοισι, τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι· τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ὦλλοι. Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὡνὴρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω· τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρηίκην οἴκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἵ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρηίκῃ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται.

52. Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκού-

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

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

52. Formerly, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at

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σας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιεῦντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μοῦνον. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκοντα, ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήιον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον.

53. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοί τε τινὲς τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μευ πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

54. Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι τοῦ τε ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ

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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 θεός meant "a disposer," connected with θεσμός, τίθημι, etc.

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τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Θηβαιέος Διὸς δύο γυναῖκας ἱρείας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἱδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήια πρώτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι. εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τά περ δὴ ἔλεγον.

55. Ταῦτα μέν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἤκουον, τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες· δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, ἱζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν αὐδάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηίῃ ὡς χρεὸν εἴη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καί σφεας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιέειν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διός. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὔνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρη, ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συνωμολόγεον δέ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

56. Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε· εἰ ἀληθέως οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκέει ἐμοί ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς

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

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

56. But this is my own belief about it. If the Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but

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νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτούς, ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἱδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκυίῃ ἱρὸν Διός, ὥσπερ ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρὸν Διός, ἔνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπείτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δέ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρήθη.

57. Πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἐδόκεον δέ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηίῃ φωνῇ αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά σφι ηὔδα ἡ γυνή· ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεέ σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέῳ ἂν τρόπῳ πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπηίῃ φωνῇ φθέγξαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη ἡ γυνὴ ἦν.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντηίη ἥ τε ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλῃσι τυγχάνουσι ἐοῦσαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν.

59. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἅπαξ 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 an oak that was growing there; for it was reasonable that as she had been a handmaid of the temple of Zeus at Thebes she should remember that temple in the land to which she had come. After this she taught divination, as soon as she understood the Greek language; and she said that her sister had been sold in Libya by the same Phoenicians who sold her.

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

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

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

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

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ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἴσι· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν, ἵδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα· Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ Λητοῖ, ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἄρεϊ.

60. Ἐς μέν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζωνται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναιξὶ καὶ πολλόν τι πλῆθος ἑκατέρων ἐν ἑκάστῃ βάρι· αἳ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἳ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἀείδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατά τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχρίμψαντες τὴν βᾶριν τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· αἳ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τά περ εἴρηκα, αἳ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλι ταύτῃ γυναῖκας, αἳ δὲ ὀρχέονται, αἳ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμίην ποιεῦσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὁρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτῶσι δέ, ὅ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστι πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιέεται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὁρτήν, εἴρηται πρότερόν μοι· τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην

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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.

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πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὔ μοι ὅσιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσούτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρῃσι, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

62. Ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἁλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὁρτῇ οὔνομα κέεται λυχνοκαΐη. οἳ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σάι μούνῃ καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτευ δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἡ νὺξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

63. Ἐς δὲ Ἡλίου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ κατά περ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεῦσι· εὖτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερὴς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τὤγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἑστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι τε εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες πλεῦνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἁλέες ἑστᾶσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὸν ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἴκημα ἱρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τὤγαλμα λελειμμένοι ἕλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἅμαξαν ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα, οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἐῶσι

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lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

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

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere; but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands; they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket; the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its

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ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἑστεῶτες ἐσιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερὴ γίνεται κεφαλάς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οἰκέειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμῖξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρός, οἷα οὐκ ὀπωπότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τούς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἄρεϊ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ νενομικέναι φασί.

64. Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἄλουτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρόν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατά περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὀχευόμενα ἔν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσι· εἰ ὦν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιέειν. οὗτοι μέν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἀρεστά· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε.

65. Ἐοῖσα ἡ Αἴγυπτος ὅμουρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ

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

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

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

[1] It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus, "Ares" is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anhur, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from "Shu" or "Heracles."

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μάλα θηριώδης ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ἐόντα σφι ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὔ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ θηρία ἱρὰ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίην ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. νόμος δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων· μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχαται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἑκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμήν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον, ξυρῶντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἱστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἑλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθῦς παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοισι. τροφὴ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται· τὸ δ' ἄν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν μὲν ἑκών, θάνατος ἡ ζημίη, ἢν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱρέες τάξωνται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἶβιν ἢ ἴρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἤν τε ἑκὼν ἤν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66. Πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελούρους τοιάδε· ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλεαι, οὐκέτι φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἁρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ

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

66. There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males; and these seek them but cannot get their will of them; so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers,

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δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελούρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελούρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρῶνται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρ' ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν.

67. Ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βουβάστι πόλι· τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλι θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκῃσι. ὡς δὲ αὕτως τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἴρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἴβις ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους ἐούσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἐόντας ἀλωπέκων μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὑρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν, ἐὸν δὲ τετράπουν χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖον ἐστί. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ᾠὰ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δή ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ᾠὰ χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ μέζονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον

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deprived of their young and desiring to have more will then consort with the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out very strange things happen to the cats. The Egyptians stand round in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. Dwellers in a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has so died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

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

68. I will now show what kind of creature is the crocodile. For the four winter months it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land, and it passes the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature known to us grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a bigness answering

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τοῦ ᾠοῦ γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχεας καὶ μέζων ἔτι. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὑός, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσσαν δὲ μοῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε, οὐδὲ κινέει τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μοῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὢν ἐν ὕδατι δίαιταν ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἔνδοθεν φοορέει πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὀρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖόν οἱ ἐστὶ ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιέειν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ ὠφελεύμενος ἥδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.

69. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροί εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δὲ οὔ, ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι· οἱ δὲ περί τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοίριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἥγηνται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱρούς· ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἕνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροήθεα, ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεα ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱρήια, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύοντες ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκῃσι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱροὺς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι

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thereto, but it grows to a length of seventeen cubits and more. It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and great teeth and tusks answering to the bigness of its body. It is the only animal that has no tongue. Nor does it move the lower jaw. It is the only creature that brings the upper jaw down upon the lower. It has also strong claws, and a scaly impenetrable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the water, its mouth is all full within of leeches. All birds and beasts flee from it, except only the sandpiper,[1] with which it is at peace, because this bird does the crocodile a service; for whenever the crocodile comes ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth (and this it does for the most part to catch the west wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service and does the sandpiper no harm.

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

[1] Egyptian spur-winged lapwing (*Hoplopterus armatus*).

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ἀλλὰ χάμψαι· κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἴδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἱμασιῇσι.

70. Ἄγραι δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστᾶσι καὶ παντοῖαι· ἣ δ' ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκέει ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὰν νώτου ὑὸς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετιεῖ ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα ζωὴν ταύτην τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἕλκουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἁπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς πηλῷ κατ' ὧν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν πόνῳ.

71. Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῷ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ ἱροί εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱροί. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης τοιήνδε· τετράπουν ἐστί, δίχηλον, ὁπλαὶ βοός, σιμόν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος ὅσον τε βοῦς ὁ μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δή τι παχύ ἐστι ὥστε αὔου γενομένου ξυστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἥγηνται εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλεύμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν, ἱροὺς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρός, τῷ οὔνομα φοῖνιξ. ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, δι' ἐτέων,

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

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

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

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

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

[1] κροκόδειλος is Ionic for a lizard; the commoner word is σαύρα or σαῦρος. χάμψα is the Egyptian "em-suh," a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," *i.e.* em-suh with the feminine article prefixed.

[2] Or "Nile-goose." The Egyptian goose (*Chenalopex Aegyptica*).

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ὡς Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγουσι, πεντακοσίων· φοιτᾶν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεάν οἱ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δέ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα· αἰετῷ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὁρμώμενον ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἡλίου τῷ ἱρῷ, κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω· πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης ᾠὸν πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλήναντα τὸ ᾠὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνῃ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὅ τι τοῦ ᾠοῦ ἐκκοιλήνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τὠυτὸ βάρος· ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιέειν.

74. Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱροὶ ὄφιες, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οἳ μεγάθεϊ ἐόντες μικροὶ δύο κέρεα φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διός· τούτου γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασι εἶναι ἱρούς.

75. Ἔστι δὲ χῶρος τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστά κῃ κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων· ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὀστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας πλήθεϊ μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἱ ἄκανθαι κατακεχύαται,

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once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

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

75. Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents; many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones

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τοιόσδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἐξ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοὺς ὄφις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, τὰς δὲ ἴβις τὰς ὄρνιθας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρης οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὄφις ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. καὶ τὴν ἶβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων· ὁμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας.

76. Εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἴβιος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφις ἥδε ἰδέη, τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἱλευμενέων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διξαὶ γὰρ δή εἰσι ἴβιες) ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα μέλανα ἐστὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερὴς τῇ ἑτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφὴ οἵη περ τῶν ὕδρων, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορέει ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστά κῃ ἐμφερέστατα.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω.

77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἳ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοι εἰσὶ μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, τρόπῳ δὲ ζόης τοιῷδε διαχρέωνται· συρμαΐζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἑκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιείην καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρε-

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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)[1] have all the head and neck bare of feathers; their plumage is white, save the head and neck and the tips of wings and tail (these being deep black); the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. Their wings are not feathered but most like the wings of a bat.

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

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

[1] *Gerontieus Calvus* and *Ibis Aethiopica.*

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φόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὡρέων δοκέειν ἐμοὶ εἵνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὧραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων μάλιστα. ἀρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις ὀνομάζουσι. οἴνῳ δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γάρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὐήναντες ὠμοὺς σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἅλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὀρνίθων δὲ τούς τε ὄρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήσσας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ὠμὰ σιτέονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων σφι ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι σφι ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἑφθοὺς σιτέονται.

78. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον[1] ἢ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἑκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει "Ἐς τοῦτον ὁρέων πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπευ· ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος." ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

79. Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐστὶ νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἕν ἐστι, Λίνος, ὅσπερ ἔν τε Φοινίκῃ ἀοίδιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ

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

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it is from the food which they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the reason of which to my thinking is that the climate in all seasons is the same; for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. They eat bread, making loaves which they call "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 uncooked, either dried in the sun or preserved with brine. Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw; all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians hold sacred) are eaten roast and boiled.

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

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

[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 αἴλινος, from which comes the name Linus.

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μέντοι ἔθνεα οὔνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ὠυτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσι, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὔνομα· φαίνονται δὲ αἰεί κοτε τοῦτον ἀείδοντες. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεύμενος Μανερῶς. ἔφασαν δέ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνωρον θρήνοισι τούτοισι ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ ἀοιδήν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιοῦσι ἐξ ἕδρης ὑπανιστέαται. τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα.

81. Ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ εἰρίνεα ἕματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεταί σφι· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἵμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

82. Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἑκάστη θεῶν ὅτευ ἐστί,

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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 *ma-n-hra*, "come back to us."

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καὶ τῇ ἕκαστος ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος ὀτέοισι ἐγκυρήσει καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτοισι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσι γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. τέρατά τε πλέω σφι ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τὠποβαῖνον, καὶ ἤν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὠυτὸ νομίζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι.

83. Μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε διακέεται· ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροισι· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντήιον αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ τό γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντηίων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι ἐστί. οὐ μέντοι αἵ γε μαντηίαι σφι κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἑστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσί.

84. Ἡ δὲ ἰητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δεδασται· μιῆς νούσου ἕκαστος ἰητρός ἐστι καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἰητρῶν ἐστι πλέα· οἳ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἰητροὶ κατεστᾶσι, οἳ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἳ δὲ ὀδόντων, οἳ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδύν, οἳ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

85. Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαί σφεων εἰσὶ αἵδε· τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ᾖ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κἄπειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι λιποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφώμεναι τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμέναι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζούς, σὺν δέ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ἑτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τύπτονται ἐπεζωμένοι καὶ οὗτοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι.

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

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

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

85. They mourn and bury the dead as I will show. Whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the womenkind of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then, with all the women of their kin, they leave the corpse in the house, and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt round them and their breasts showing; and the men too lament in their place, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.

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86. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὗτοι, ἐπεάν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα[1] . . . , καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέρην δεικνύουσι ὑποδεεστέρην τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέρην, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην· φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονταί σφι σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδὼν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχέοντες φάρμακα· μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξέι παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἐξ ὧν εἷλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἴνῳ φοινικηίῳ αὖτις διηθέουσι θυμιήμασι τετριμμένοισι· ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμιημάτων, πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλεῦνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμι, τῷ δὴ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ

[1] MSS. appear to show indications of a lacuna here.

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

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ἐσεργνῦσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ κατακληίσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον.

87. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελείην φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὧδε· ἐπεὰν τοὺς κλυστῆρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλείφατος γινομένου, ἐν ὧν ἔπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδύν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἕδρην ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιεῖσι ἐκ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσῆκαν πρότερον. ἣ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε ἅμα ἑωυτῇ τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατήκει, καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες.

88. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταρίχευσις ἐστὶ ἥδε, ἣ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαίῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραυτίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ἔωσι εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῦνος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδοῦσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῦσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μή σφι οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναιξί· λαμφθῆναι γὰρ τινὰ φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτῳ γυναικός, κατειπεῖν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον.

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which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall.

87. This is how they prepare the dead who have wished for the most costly fashion[1]; 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.

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90. Ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἁρπασθεὶς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενειχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρῇσι θήκῃσι· οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλά μιν αἱ ἱρέες αὐτοὶ τοῦ Νείλου ἅτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

91. Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι, ἔστι δὲ Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἱρὸν τετράγωνον, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθινα ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἑστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηός τε ἔνι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαί σφι πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ, σανδάλιόν τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὑρίσκεσθαι ἐὸν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθηνέειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσέι· ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δέ μευ ὅ τι σφι μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὅ τι κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες,

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90. When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such an one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up; nor may any of his kinsfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91. The Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever. Yet, though the rest are careful of this, there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City; in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great; and there stand at the entrance two great stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Chemmis say that Perseus is often seen up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears is found, and it is two cubits long; when that is seen, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say; and their doings in honour of Perseus are Greek, in that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared to them alone, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games,

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ἔφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ' αἰτίην τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, οἴσοντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλήν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δέ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρός. ἀγῶνα δέ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἑλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἕλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μιῇ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικέει κατά περ Ἕλληνες, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελείην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκωνι ἐὸν ἐμφερές, πτίσαντες ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδίμη καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐὸν στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένῃ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον· ἐν τούτῳ τρῶκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἁπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὖα. τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην

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they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city; for Danaus and Lynceus, who voyaged to Greece, were of Chemmis; and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. They told too how when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged also by the Greeks—namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya—he came to Chemmis too and recognised all his kin; and how before he came to Egypt he had heard the name of Chemmis from his mother. It was at his bidding, said they, that they celebrated the games.

92. All these are the customs of Egyptians who dwell above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest, both in other respects, and in that each man has one wife, as in Greece. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and overflows the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They pluck these and dry them in the sun, then they crush the poppy-like centre of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root also of this lotus is eatable, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and of the bigness of an apple. Other lilies also grow in the river, which are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like to a comb made by wasps; this produces many eatable seeds as big as an olive-stone, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They use also the byblus which

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ἐπεὰν ἀνασπάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι καὶ πωλέουσι·[1] οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανέι πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι. οἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα αὔους ἐόντας σιτέονται.

93. Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνῃσι τοιάδε ποιεῦσι. ἐπεάν σφεας ἐσίῃ οἶστρος κυΐσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν· ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ, αἱ δὲ ἑπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυΐσκονται. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεες γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστοι, ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονίη· ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγεληδὸν ποιεῦσι οἷόν περ ἐποίευν οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ᾠῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἑπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἳ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἁλῶσι ἐκπλώοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, οἳ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώοντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τετρίφαται. πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδε· ἐγχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώοντες ὀπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς

[1] Cf. ein brackets καὶ πωλέουσι, as being inappropriate; it should perhaps come after τράπουσι above.

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grows annually: it is plucked from the marshes, the top of it cut off and turned to other ends, and the lower part, about a cubit's length, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best bake it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93. Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river; they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes; but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold

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ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἁμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τά τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίμπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγώ μοι δοκέω κατανοέειν τοῦτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπῃ ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ᾠὰ ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ᾠῶν τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὗτοι.

94. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἕλεα οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι, ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε. παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνέων σπείρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἕλλησι αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα δέ· τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἳ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπιποῦσι, οἳ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον καὶ οὐδὲν ἧσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ προσηνές, ὀδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.

95. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόνους ἐόντας τάδε σφι ἐστὶ μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἑλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμῶνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἷοί τε εἰσὶ ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι

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to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes. Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water; and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes.

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

95. Gnats are abundant; this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft; those

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δὲ περὶ τὰ ἕλεα οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἕκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθῦς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἵστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸ κατεύδει. οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἢν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὕδῃ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

96. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖά σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιεύμενα, τῆς ἡ μορφὴ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστί. ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα πλινθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε· περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται, ζυγὰ ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται· ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἁρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον δὲ ἓν ποιεῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ἱστῷ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἱστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἢν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε· ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ῥίπεϊ καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστά κῃ σταθμόν· τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῳ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπιεῖ ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὄπισθε. ἡ μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπίπτοντος χωρέει ταχέως καὶ ἕλκει τὴν βᾶριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὔνομα ἐστὶ

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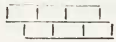
living about the marshes have a different device, instead of the towers. Every man of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and for the night he sets it round the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and so sleeps. If he sleep wrapped in a garment or cloth, the gnats bite through it; 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,[1] which is in form most like to the lotus of Cyrene, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of two cubits length and lay them like courses of bricks,[2] and build the boat by making these two-cubit logs fast to long and close-set stakes; and having so built they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continue; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are thus managed: they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents' weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, made fast to it by a rope, and the stone is made fast also by a rope to the after part of the boat. So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of

[1] The "Mimosa Nilotica," still used for boat-building in Egypt.

[2] That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another but with the joints alternating: 

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τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοισι), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὄπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δέ σφι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθεϊ πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώρην, αἱ πόλιες μοῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστά κῃ ἐμφερέες τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλιες μοῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται ὦν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μέν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώοντι παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἔστι δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσωρον πόλιν· ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἥξεις κατ' Ἄνθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλευμένην.

98. Τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἄνθυλλα ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος), ἡ δὲ ἑτέρη πόλις δοκέει μοι τὸ οὔνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἄρχανδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὔνομα.

99. Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον· προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. Μῖνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου οἱ

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these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents' burden.

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

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

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

[1] The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean "though here the course is not so" and that perhaps ὁ ἐωθώς has been lost after οὗτος.

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ἱρέες ἔλεγον τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ Μῖνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων ῥέειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέῃ ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστί. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μῖνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλέι χέρσον γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ἥτις νῦν Μέμφις καλέεται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατον.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἱρέες ἐκ βύβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτῃσι δὲ γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρίη, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὔνομα ἦν, ἥτις ἐβασίλευσε, τό περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἀδελφεῷ, τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνῃ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιληίην, τούτῳ τιμωρέουσαν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων

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separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it which begins about an hundred furlongs above Memphis, by damming the stream; thereby he dried up the ancient course, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful guard over this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year, that it may keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst his dykes and overflow here, all Memphis were in danger of drowning. Then, when this first king Min had made what he thus cut off to be dry land, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis—for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt—and outside of it he dug a lake to its north and west, from the river (the Nile itself being the eastern boundary of the place); and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus.

100. After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put

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διαφθεῖραι δόλῳ. ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οἴκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόῳ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι· καλέσασαν δέ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταιτίους τοῦ φόνου ᾔδεε πολλοὺς ἱστιᾶν, δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτήν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ῥίψαι ἐς οἴκημα σποδοῦ πλέον, ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται.

101. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια, λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περίοδος ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι· τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

102. Παραμειψάμενος ὦν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοισι γενομένου βασιλέος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοισι μακροῖσι ὁρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς ὃ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτιν, πολλὴν στρατιὴν τῶν . .[1] λαβὼν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος.

[1] A word is omitted, perhaps ἦρχεν; τῶν ἦρχεν = of his subjects.

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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.[1] This king, said the priests, set out with a fleet of long ships [2] from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning thence back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the story of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to

[1] Rameses II., called by the Greeks Sesostris; said to have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.

[2] Ships of war.

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ὁτέοισι μέν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης, τούτοισι μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὔνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας· ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἴησαν ἀνάλκιδες.

103. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήιε τὴν ἤπειρον, ἐς ὃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τούς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήικας. ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκέει καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στῆλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἤιε, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες περὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἐόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι, νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων λέγω. ὡς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων· νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς

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which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land whereon the inscription showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power; but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars even as he had done where the nations were brave; but he drew also on them the privy parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

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

104. For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and this that I say I myself noted before I heard it from others. When I began to think on this matter, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; the Egyptians said that they held the Colchians to be part of Sesostris' army. I myself guessed it to be

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δὲ εἴκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοῖσιδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοισι ἀστυγείτονες ἐόντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι, καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ ταὐτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δή τι φαίνεται ἐόν. ὡς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τόδε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμέονται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα. ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

105. Φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἴπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὡς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέες εἰσί· λίνον μοῦνοι οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται καὶ κατὰ ταὐτά, καὶ ἡ ζόη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερής ἐστι ἀλλήλοισι. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδωνικὸν κέκληται, τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον.

106. Αἱ δὲ στῆλαι τὰς ἵστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες

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

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

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

[1] There seems to be no reason for connecting Colchian linen with Sardinia (as Σαρδωνικόν would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.

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οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὥρων ἐούσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίης ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἑκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὦμον διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· "Ἐγὼ τήνδε τὴν χώρην ὤμοισι τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι ἐκτησάμην." ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστί, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἑτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὴ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσί μιν εἶναι, πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.

107. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες, ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνῃσι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε ὁ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας περινῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλῃ, περινήσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύεσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἅμα ἄγεσθαι· τὴν δέ οἱ συμβουλεῦσαι τῶν παίδων ἐόντων ἓξ τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καιόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιῆσαι 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 [1] of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of four cubits and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saying: "I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders." There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

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

[1] Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.

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μὲν τῶν παίδων κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρί.

108. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· τούς τέ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέος κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρόν, ἐόντας μεγάθεϊ περιμήκεας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἑλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὤρυσσον, ἐποίευν τε οὐκ ἑκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἁμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς πᾶσα ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε· αἴτιαι δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι ἐοῦσαι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν χώρην ὁ βασιλεύς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅκως τε ἀπίοι ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέροισι ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος. κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὃ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χῶρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον

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two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father.

108. Having returned to Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, Sesostris found work, as I shall show, for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and thus, albeit with no such intent, made what was before a land of horses and carts to be now without either. For from this time Egypt, albeit a level land, could use no horses or carts, by reason of the canals being so many and going every way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile but inland from it lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109. For this cause Egypt was intersected. This king moreover (so they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of a part of his land would come to Sesostris and declare what had befallen him; then the king would send men to look into it and measure the space by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should

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τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίη εὑρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν· πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες.

110. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίης ἦρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, ἑωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἐόντας τέσσερας εἴκοσι πηχέων ἕκαστον· τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἱστάντα ἔμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα, φὰς οὔ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ· Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἑλεῖν· οὔκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἱστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι. Δαρεῖον μέν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

111. Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιληίην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηίην, συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματίης ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ

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pay in proportion to the tax originally imposed. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land; the sunclock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas not from Egypt but from Babylonia.

110. Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues of himself and his wife, each thirty cubits high, and statues of his four sons, each of twenty cubits. Long afterwards Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subdued the Scythians, besides as many other nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians; therefore it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111. When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (so said the priests) by his son Pheros.[1] This king made no wars; and it happened that he became blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in a flood such as never was before, rising to a height of eighteen cubits, and the water which overflowed the fields was roughened by a strong wind; then, it is said, the king was so infatuated that he took a spear and hurled it into the midst of the river eddies. Straightway after this he suffered from a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an

[1] Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.

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ἔτεα εἶναί μιν τυφλόν, ἑνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίης καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὔρῳ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἧ τῆς τῷ οὔρῳ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἣ νῦν καλέεται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλι· τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὔρῳ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγὼν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρὰ πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἄξιον ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελοὺς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐόντα ἑκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος μὲν ἑκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατόν, εὖρος δὲ ὀκτὼ πηχέων.

112. Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὔνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέμενος ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον. περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέεται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὼς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτέι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι 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 marvellous 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 precinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple of Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, partly because I have heard the story of Helen's abiding with Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of

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δίτης ἐπώνυμον ἐστί· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. Ἔλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὧδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἁρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· καί μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνιεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλεύμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐστι Ἡρακλέος ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἢν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτευ ὦν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱρά, ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἅψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελέει ἐὼν ὅμοιος μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. τοῦ ὦν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέαται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἱκέται δὲ ἱζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτόν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίην· κατηγόρεον δὲ ταῦτα πρός τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Θῶνις.

114. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην λέγουσαν τάδε. "Ἥκει ξεῖνος γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτήν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἥκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθείς. κότερα δῆτα τοῦτον ἐῶμεν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν ἢ

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the Stranger Aphrodite; for no other of Aphrodite's temples is called by that name.

113. When I enquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen:—After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country; violent winds caught him in the Aegean, and drove him into the Egyptian sea; whence (the wind not abating) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salting-places. Now there was on the coast (and still is) a temple of Heracles; where if a servant of any man take refuge and be branded with certain sacred marks in token that he delivers himself to the god, such an one may not be touched. This law continues to-day the same as it has ever been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, certain of Alexandrus' servants separated themselves from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus with intent to harm him, telling all the story of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114. When Thonis heard it, he sent this message with all speed to Proteus at Memphis: "There has come hither a Teucrian stranger who has done great wrong in Hellas. He has deceived his host and robbed him of his wife, and brought her hither driven to your country by the wind, with very great store of wealth besides. Shall we suffer him to sail away unharmed, or take away from him that which

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ἀπελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;" ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδέω ὅ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει."

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας. ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεὺς τίς εἴη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὔνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβοι· πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείην, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἱκέται, ἐξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δή σφι λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι "Ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώρην τὴν ἐμήν, ἐγὼ ἄν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἕλληνος ἐτισάμην, ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχὼν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαο· παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἴχεαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κεραΐσας ἥκεις. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἤγημαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὔ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἕλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι

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he has brought?" Proteus sent back this message: "Whoever be this man who has done a wrong to his own host, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say."

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and held his ships there, and presently brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants therewith, to Memphis. All having come thither, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him of his lineage and the name of his country, and of his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him whence he had taken Helen; Alexandrus made no straightforward or truthful answer; but the men who had taken refuge with the temple disproved his tale, and related the whole story of the wrongful act. When all was said, Proteus thus gave sentence:—"Were I not careful to slay no stranger who has ever been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have avenged that Greek upon you; seeing that, O basest of men! you have done foul wrong to him who hospitably 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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ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι."

116. Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἑκὼν μετῆκε αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον· δῆλον δὲ κατὰ [γὰρ][1] ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε ἑωυτόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη ἄγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστηίῃ· λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα ὧδε.

Ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς
ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλὼς εὐρέα πόντον,
τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,
ἐσθλά, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παρά-
κοιτις
Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ
δὲ λυγρά.

[1] κατά = καθά, "according as." γάρ is out of place here.

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take them away; but as for you and the companions of your voyage, I warn you to depart from my country elsewhither within three days, else I will deal with you as with enemies."

116. This, by what the priests told me, was the manner of Helen's coming to Proteus. And, to my thinking, Homer too knew this story; but seeing that it suited not so well with epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it of set purpose, showing withal that he knew it. This is plain, from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexandrus, and shows how he with Helen was carried out of his course, among other places, to Sidon in Phoenice. This is in the story of the Feats of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows:

There were the robes in his house, inwrought with manifold colours,
Work of the women of Sidon, whom godlike Paris aforetime
Brought from their eastern town, o'er wide seas voyaging thither,
E'en when he won from her home fair Helen, the daughter of princes.[1]

He makes mention of it in the Odyssey also:

Suchlike drugs of grace, for a healing cunningly mingled,
Once in the land of Nile had the wife of Thon, Polydamna,
Giv'n to the daughter of Zeus; for there of the country's abundance,
Potent to heal or to harm, are herbs full many engendered:[2]

[1] *Il.* vi. 289–92. [2] *Od.* iv. 227–30.

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καὶ τάδε ἕτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτῳ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὔ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.[1]

ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμουρέει γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδών, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκέουσι.

117. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὁμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαέι τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσῃ λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν.

118. Ὅμηρος μέν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω. εἰρομένου δέ μευ τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὔ, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορίῃσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. ἐλθεῖν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἁρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλὴν βοηθεῦσαν Μενέλεῳ, ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἱδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δέ σφι ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεων· τοὺς δ' ἐπείτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτέειν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τά οἱ οἴχετο κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτέειν· τοὺς δὲ Τευ-

[1] Stein brackets ἐπιμέμνηται . . . ἑκατόμβας, because (as he says) the quotations from the Odyssey have nothing to do with the story of Alexandrus.

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and again Menelaus says to Telemachus:

Eager was I to return, but the gods fast held me in Egypt,
Wroth that I honoured them not nor offered a sacrifice duly.[1]

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexandrus' wanderings to Egypt; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon belongs, dwell in Syria.

117. These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are by the hand not of Homer but of another. For the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea; but according to the Iliad he wandered from his course in bringing her.

118. Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But when I asked the priests whether the Greek account of the Trojan business were vain or true, they gave me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew what Menelaus himself had said:—After the rape of Helen, a great host of Greeks came to the Teucrian land on Menelaus' behalf. Having there disembarked and encamped, they sent to Ilion messengers, of whom Menelaus himself was one. These, on coming within the city walls, demanded restitution of Helen and the possessions which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and reparation besides for the wrong done; but the Teucrians then and ever afterwards

[1] *Od.* iv. 351, 2.

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κροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὀμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεύμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεὺς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελᾶσθαι δοκέοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλον· ἑλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεων ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

119. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἴπας τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἤντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὁρμημένον αὐτὸν ἶσχον ἀπλοῖαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον· λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθείς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οἴχετο φεύγων τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἔτι ἐτράπετο οὐκ εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίῃσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν 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

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Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἤτοι ἑκόντος γε ἢ ἀέκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβὴς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλι κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅκως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένῃ συνοικέῃ. εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοισι ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκότε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέους τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοίκεε Ἑλένῃ, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιληίη ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήιε, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἐόντος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἕκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἐὼν ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τὸν οὐ προσῆκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτράπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πᾶσι Τρωσί. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθείην ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅκως πανωλεθρίῃ ἀπολόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει εἴρηται.

121. Πρωτέος δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην

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with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have been given back to the Greeks. For surely neither was Priam so mad, nor those nearest to him, as to consent to risk their own persons and their children and their city, that Alexandrus might have Helen to wife. Even be it granted that they were so minded in the first days, yet when not only many of the Trojans were slain in fighting against the Greeks, but Priam himself lost by death two or three or even more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to be trusted), in this turn of affairs, had Helen been Priam's own wife, I cannot but think (for myself) that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by so doing he could escape from the present evil plight. Nay, nor was Alexandrus next heir to the kingship, whereby he might have been the real ruler, Priam being old; it was Hector, an older and a more valiant man than Alexandrus, who was like to receive the royal power at Priam's death; and it was none of Hector's business to consent to his brother's wrong-doing, least of all when that brother was the cause of great calamity to Hector himself and the whole of Troy beside. But matters fell out as they did because the Trojans had not Helen there to give back, yet though they spoke the truth the Greeks would not believe them; for, as I am convinced and declare, the powers above ordained that the utter destruction of Troy should prove in the sight of all men that the gods do greatly punish great wrong-doing. This is my own belief and thus I declare it.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said)

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Ῥαμψίνιτον ἔλεγον, ὃς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἑστεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσί τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα καλεόμενον τὰ ἔμπαλιν τούτων ἔρδουσι. πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέι γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέεσθαι οἴκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἕνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἕνα ἐξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ ποῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἑνός. ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἴκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ· χρόνου δὲ περιιόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἐόντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοισι δὲ ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προορῶν, ὅκως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέος· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέος χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήια νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδο-

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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

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μήματι ἀνευρόντας ῥηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενείκασθαι. ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἴκημα, θωμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεᾶ τὰ ἀγγήια, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅντινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε σημάντρων ἐόντων σόων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημένου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κεραΐζοντας), ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε· πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγήια ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στῆσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσδύντος τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γνῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἵῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅκως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεὶς καὶ γνωρισθεὶς ὃς εἴη προσαπολέσῃ κἀκεῖνον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαί μιν πεισθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐκπεπλῆχθαι ὁρῶντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ οἴκημα ἀσινὲς καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον οὔτε ἔκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δέ μιν τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαί σφι, τὸν ἂν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτόν.

Ἀνακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεόντα παῖδα

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handled the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the vessels lacking their full tale of treasure; yet he knew not whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the chamber fast shut. But when at the second and third opening of the chamber he saw the treasure grown ever less (for the thieves ceased not from plundering), he bid traps to be made and set about the vessels in which his riches lay. The thieves came as they had done before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the vessel, at once he was caught and held in the trap. Seeing his evil plight, he straightway called to his brother, and, showing him how matters stood, "Creep in quickly," said he, "and cut off my head, lest I be seen and recognised and so bring you too to ruin." The brother consented and did this, thinking the counsel good. Then he set the stone in place again, and went away home, carrying his brother's head. When it was morning the king came to the chamber, and was amazed to see the thief's headless body in the trap, yet the chamber unbroken, with no way of passing in or out; and he knew not what to do. But presently he hung the thief's dead body on the outer wall, and set guards over it, charging them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or making lamentation.

But the thief's mother, when the body had been so hung, was greatly moved: she talked with

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ποιευμένην προστάσσειν αὐτῷ ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ δύναται μηχανᾶσθαι ὅκως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσας κομιεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιεόντος παιδὸς καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν· ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἀσκοὺς πλήσαντα οἴνου ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἀσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λύειν ἀπαμμένους· ὡς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὡς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγήια ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδεϊ ποιευμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι ὀργὴν προσποιεύμενον, παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρηΰνεσθαι προσποιέεσθαι καὶ ὑπίεσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ λόγους τε πλέους ἐγγίνεσθαι καί τινα καὶ σκῶψαι μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἀσκῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωυτῶν μείναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναί τε δὴ καὶ καταμεῖναι. ὡς δέ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἠσπάζοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν· δαψιλέι δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμε-

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her surviving son, and bade him contrive by whatever means to loose and bring her his brother's body, threatening that if he would not obey her she would go to the king and lay an information that he had the treasure. So when she bitterly reproached him and for all he said he could not overpersuade her, the brother devised a plot: he got his asses and loaded them with skins full of wine and then drove them before him till he came near those who guarded the hanging body; then he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; and the wine so running out, he cried aloud and beat his head like one that knew not which of his asses he should deal with first. The guards, seeing the wine running freely, all took vessels and ran into the highway, where they caught the spilt wine, and thought themselves lucky; the man pretended to be angry and reviled each and all of them; but the guards speaking peaceably to him, he presently made as if he were comforted and appeased, till at last he drove his asses aside from the highway and put his gear in order. So the guards and he fell into talk, and one of them jesting with him, so that there was laughter, he gave them one of the skins: whereupon without more ado they sat down and began to drink, making him one of their company and bidding him stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. They drank to him merrily, and he gave them yet another of the skins, till the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of

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θυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἔνθα περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δέ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιέειν· πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγήσηται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιέειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσσετο, βουληθέντα πολυτροπίῃ τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι ποιέειν τάδε· νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἰέναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ. ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τά περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἁλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλήν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότεϊ προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ

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liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay down in the place where they had been drinking. When the night was far spent, the thief cut down his brother's body and then (first shaving all the guard's right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother's commands for her.

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

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τὴν χεῖρα· τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσαν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμειον αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηνείχθη, ἐκπεπλῆχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, Ῥαμψίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καί οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὡς πλεῖστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων. Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκεῖνον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα ζωὸν καταβῆναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ἅιδην νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθι συγκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καί μιν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσεον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὁρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι εἴ γε διὰ ταῦτα ὁρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφήναντες οἱ ἱρέες κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἑνὸς ἑωυτῶν μίτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀγαγόντες δέ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσαν ἐς ἱρὸν Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱρέα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπάγειν μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὠυτὸ 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[1] to Demeter's temple, a distance of twenty furlongs from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

[1] Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolising Anubis, the guide of the dead.

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123. Τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἑκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετέειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει· τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἳ μὲν πρότερον οἳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

124. Μέχρι μέν νυν Ῥαμψινίτου βασιλέος εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἴγυπτον μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. καταλήισαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ πρῶτα μὲν σφέας θυσιέων τουτέων ἀπέρξαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἑωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομιέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ ὄρεϊ, ἐκ τουτέων ἕλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου· διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοισι τοὺς λίθους ἑτέροισι ἐπέταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεύμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἕλκειν. ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἑκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεῷ δέκα ἔτεα μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' ἣν εἷλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν ἔργον ἐὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος. ὡς ἐμοὶ

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123. These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule throughout this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it.

It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus.[1] 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."

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δοκέειν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδιοι, εὖρος δὲ δέκα ὀργυιαί, ὕψος δέ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυιαί, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ καὶ ζῴων ἐγγεγλυμμένων· ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπ' οὗ ἑστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιέετο θήκας ἑωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιευμένῃ· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ, πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὕψος ἴσον, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ἁρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσσων.

125. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμίς· ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὀνομάζουσι, τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπείτε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἤειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανῆσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένῃσι, χαμᾶθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες· ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς ἑτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἑστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοίχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον εἵλκετο στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐοῦσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, κατά περ λέγεται. ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὦν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίευν, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυρα-

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for the road is five furlongs long and ten fathoms broad, and raised at its highest to a height of eight fathoms, and it is all of stone polished and carven with figures. The ten years aforesaid went to the making of this road and of the underground chambers on the hill whereon the pyramids stand; these the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and encompassed them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length.

125. This pyramid was made like a stairway with tiers, or steps. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones;[1] they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps; when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn, when they had taken out the stone; I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on[2] 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."

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μίδι ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαίην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνῆσθαι τὰ ὁ ἑρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτω ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα οἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἐστὶ ἔς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι, ὁκότε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ἦγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

126. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος ὥστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δή τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημήιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἑκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἕνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἑστηκυῖαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον ἕκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου.

127. Βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ὕπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου

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in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen; and so far as I well remember, the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126. And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not; for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father's bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work; and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands midmost of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127. Cheops reigned (so the Egyptians said) for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who bore himself in all respects like Cheops. Chephren also built a pyramid, of a less size than his brother's. I have myself measured it. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered

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διῶρυξ ἥκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ῥέουσα· δι' οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα)· ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἑτέρης τὠυτὸ μέγαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἑστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρῆνα ἓξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.

128. Ταῦτα ἕξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογίζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισί τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακλησθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

129. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερῖνον ἔλεγον Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τά τε ἱρὰ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δέ σφι πάντων βασιλέων δικαιότατα κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μέν νυν τὸ ἔργον ἁπάντων ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον. τά τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἑωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ἐόντι δὲ ἠπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολιήτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνόν οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγήσαντά τε τῷ

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like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near to the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

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

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

[1] This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherds" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.

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περιεπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσότερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῦν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

130. Αὕτη ὦν ἡ βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σάι μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ἐν οἰκήματι ἠσκημένῳ· θυμιήματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νύκτα δὲ ἑκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκήματι εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἑστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σάι πόλι ἱρέες· ἑστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλιναι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἴκοσι μάλιστά κῃ, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι· αἵτινες μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα.

131. Οἱ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Μυκερῖνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀεκούσῃ· μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος, ὃ δέ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοῖ ταύτῃ, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τά περ αἱ ζωαὶ ἔπαθον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡρῶμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἳ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ.

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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φοινικέῳ εἵματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχέι κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθὴ ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλη βοῦς ζωή. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπεὰν τύπτωνται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι· τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκουσαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.

133. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέι τάδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἓξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βιοὺς τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τελευτήσειν. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ ὀνείδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ πάτρως, ἀποκληίσαντες τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐσεβὴς ἐὼν μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτὸν τὸν βίον· οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαί μιν τὸ χρεὸν ἦν ποιέειν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κεῖνον δὲ οὔ. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερῖνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅκως γίνοιτο νύξ, 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 εὐπαθέειν, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἔς τε τὰ ἕλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεότατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο θέλων τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυώδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἓξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἥτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδῶπις· οὐ γὰρ ἄν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναισίμωνται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδῶπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων Ῥοδῶπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρήικης, δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἥκιστα· ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὃς βούλοιτο ποινὴν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ Αἴσωπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο.

135. Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην

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merry; by day or night he never ceased from revelling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false.

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

135. Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, and on her coming was for a great sum of

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ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδώπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις μνημήιον ἑωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνοι ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἑωυτῆς. τῆς ὦν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρεε ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς· οἳ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννενέαται ὄπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς πέρι λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δή τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες Ῥοδώπιος τὸ οὔνομα ἐξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη, ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἧσσον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρης περιλεσχήνευτος. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλεϊ Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν.

136. Ῥοδώπιος μέν νυν πέρι πέπαυμαι. μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες Ἄσυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἐόντα πολλῷ

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money freed for the 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 and was bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136. Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the fairest and

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τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης ἐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος· προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἁπάσης κρατέειν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνέχυρον τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρωίῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἑωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἐστί. "Μή με κατονοσθῇς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὅ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἴρυσαν καί με τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐξεποίησαν."

137. Τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὔνομα Ἄνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα. τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἕλεα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου

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largest of all the courts, for while all have carven figures and innumerable graces of architecture, this court has far more than any. In this king's reign as they told me, money in Egypt passed not readily from hand to hand; wherefore a law was made that a man might borrow on the security of his father's dead body; and the law provided also, that the lender should have a lien on the whole burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for the giver of this security, should he fail to repay the debt, should be that he might neither himself be buried at death nor bury any deceased of his kin either in that tomb of his fathers nor in any other. Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone:—"Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone; for I am as much more excellent than they as Zeus is than the other gods; for they struck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clave to the pole; therewith they made bricks, and thus was I built."

137. These were the acts of Asuchis. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians.[1] The blind man fleeing away into the marshes, the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years. It is

[1] In Manetho's list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).

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ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι· ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἁμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἑκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἑωυτῶν πόλι, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικεόντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλιες ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυξάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. ὑψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἑτερέων γενομενέων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολίων, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, μάλιστα ἡ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρόν ἐστι Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον· μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ ἱρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἄρτεμις.

138. Τὸ δ' ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστί· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλῃσι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατέρη ἐσέχει, ἡ μὲν τῇ περιρρέουσα ἡ δὲ τῇ, εὖρος ἐοῦσα ἑκατέρη ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, δένδρεσι κατάσκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιέων ἐστί, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοισι λόγου. ἐὸν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἱρὸν κατοπᾶται πάντοθεν περιιόντι· ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἱροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου ὡς ἀρχῆθεν ἐποιήθη, ἔσοπτον ἐστί. περιθέει δὲ αὐτὸ αἱμασιὴ ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τῶγαλμα ἔνι· εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντῃ σταδίου ἐστί. κατὰ

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recorded in the history of his reign that he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer, but sentenced all, according to the greatness of their offence, to raise embankments in the town of which each was a native. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; for having been first built on embankments made by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Other Egyptian towns, to my thinking, were so dealt with, but the level of Bubastis was raised more than any. In this town there is a temple of Bubastis, and it is a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none pleasanter to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138. I will now show the form of her temple: save for the entrance, it stands on an island; two separate channels approach it from the Nile, and after coming up to the entry of the temple, they run round it on opposite sides; each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, carven with figures, runs round it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess; the temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.

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μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστά κῃ, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἠῶ, εὖρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱρόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεε οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασίν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὔκων ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γάρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ὁκόσον κεχρῆσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἐόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια, τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες, ἀνεῖλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι ἔτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς ὦν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήιε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἑκὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

140. Ὡς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὖτις τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χώσας σποδῷ τε καὶ γῇ οἴκεε. ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἑκάστοισι προστετάχθαι, σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόσια οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν

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A road, paved with stone, of about three furlongs' length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

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

140. The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge, were bidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, as their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain

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αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλέες Ἀμυρταίου. οὔνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἐλβώ, μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Σεθών· τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτούς, καί σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας· τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἑκάστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων· οὔκων δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθέειν. τὸν δ' ἱρέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῶγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, καί οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν· αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούς. τούτοισι δή μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἕπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτῃ γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἕπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοισι[1] τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ

[1] Stein reads ἀπικομένους, and supposes a lacuna after ἐναντίοισι; ἀπικομένοισι has the best authority.

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for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacharib[1] against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god's image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the god, "will send you champions." So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice[2] swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso-

[1] Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt.—II Kings, xviii.

[2] This is Hdt.'s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then stays the plague in Homer, *Il.* i. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.

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φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσεῖν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἕστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε· "Ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων εὐσεβὴς ἔστω."

142. Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱρέα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους. καίτοι τριηκόσιαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέαται μύρια ἔτεα· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτεα ἐστί· μιῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεέων, αἳ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἐστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἔτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοισί τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ τριηκοσίοισί τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοισι ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο. ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἠθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δὶς ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δὶς καταδῦναι. καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφι γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους.

143. Πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἐποίησαν

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much that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and fear the gods."

142. Thus far went the record given me by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and that in this time such also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations make up ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a century. And over and above the three hundred the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole sum is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such thing either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where now he rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.

143. Hecataeus[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

[1] Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.

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οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Διὸς οἷόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐμεωυτόν· ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐὸν μέγα ἐξηρίθμεον δεικνύντες κολοσσοὺς ξυλίνους τοσούτους ὅσους περ εἶπον· ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἱστᾷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ· ἀριθμέοντες ὦν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱρέες ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνος διεξιόντες διὰ πατέων, ἕως οὗ ἀπέδεξαν ἁπάσας αὐτάς. Ἑκαταίῳ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσι, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον· ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πίρωμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ὃ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς [πίρωμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον],[1] καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. πίρωμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κἀγαθός.

144. Ἤδη ὦν τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας πάντας ἐόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἐόντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἕνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὥρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὄσιρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν.

[1] Whether we read ἐπονομαζόμενον (with Stein) or πίρωμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γενόμενον (with the MSS.) the words do not accord with the construction of the sentence.

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generation. But the priests did for him what they did for me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me there wooden figures which they counted up to the number they had already given, for every high priest sets there in his lifetime a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father; they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had lateliest died. Thus when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

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

[1] Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.

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145. Ἐν Ἕλλησι μέν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλέης τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πὰν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλέης δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἳ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἡρακλέι μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωταί μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεί τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσῳ μέν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμέ, Ἡρακλέι δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμέω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεα ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ.

146. Τούτων ὦν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσί τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατά περ Ἡρακλέης ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πὰν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἄν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς 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 had always reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of 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 made manifest in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried

[1] The Egyptian Khem.

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ἥνεικε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ, καὶ Παυός γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκῃ ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλά μοι ὦν γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταῦτα μέν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώρην γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω· προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος.

Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυώδεκα βασιλέας, δυώδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν. οὗτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον νόμοισι τοῖσιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταιρέειν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, εἶναί τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιέοντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες· ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τὸν χαλκέῃ φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἁπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δή σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ, δόξαν δέ σφι ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστά κῃ κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον λόγου μέζω. εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο,

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him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

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

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, undertaking not to depose one another nor to seek to possess one more than another. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this: at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148. Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise; and having so resolved they made a labyrinth,[1] a little way beyond the lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have myself seen it, and indeed no words can tell its wonders;[2] were all that Greeks have builded and wrought added together

[1] This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawâra (Sayce). [2] I take ἤδη as = ἦ δή, with λόγου μέζω.

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ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἐόντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου. καίτοι ἀξιόλογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἦσαν μέν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἑκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίη, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει· τοῦ [γὰρ][1] δυώδεκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐλαὶ κατάστεγοι, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλῃσι, ἓξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἓξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι, συνεχέες· τοῖχος δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ αὐτός σφεας περιέργει. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἑκάτερα. τὰ μέν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοί τε ὡρῶμεν διεξιόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἤθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω πέρι οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέζονα ἀνθρωπηίων ἔργων αὐτοὶ ὡρῶμεν· αἵ τε γὰρ διέξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἑλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἐόντες ποικιλώτατοι θῶμα μυρίον παρείχοντο ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιοῦσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκήματων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὀροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατά περ οἱ τοῖχοι, οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι,

[1] γὰρ is bracketed, τοῦ as a relative being in accordance with Herodotus' practice.

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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

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αὐλὴ δὲ ἑκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἁρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσερακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῷα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται.

149. Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμηται· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἑξήκοντα ἐόντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότον, ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτη αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητος ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρυκτή, αὐτὴ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστά κῃ ἑστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιὰς ἑκατέρη, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαι εἰσ· στάδιον ἑξάπλεθρον, ἑξαπέδου τε τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἑξαπαλαίστου. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενὲς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἄυδρος γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστι ἡ ταύτῃ), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσῆκται, καὶ ἓξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥέει ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἓξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὖτις· καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρέῃ ἔξω, ἢ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἓξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλήιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἑκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν, εἴκοσι μνέας.

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court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together. Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved. A passage has been made into this underground.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands. This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.

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150. Ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἐκδιδοῖ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἐπείτε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὥρων τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἐόντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δή μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἴη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθείς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθη, καὶ εὐπετέως ἔπειθον· ᾔδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίων πόλι γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτον. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος ἐόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαίοισι ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεόμενοι ἐς τὰ βασιλήια οἰκία ὤρυσσον, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς ὃ κατεργάσαντο ὅ τι ἐβούλοντο. τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὄρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον· ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν· ὃ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔμελλε διαχέειν. ἡ μέν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι·

151. Τῶν δὲ δυώδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνῃ χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρτῆς, μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇσί περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἕνδεκα δυώδεκα ἐοῦσι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἑστεὼς αὐτῶν Ψαμ-

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150. Further, the people of the country said that this lake issues by an underground stream into the Libyan Syrtis, and stretches inland towards the west along the mountains that are above Memphis. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whither it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off; they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151. Now the twelve kings dealt justly; and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, Psammetichus, got no vessel; wherefore taking off his

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μήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεόν τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγχανον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μέν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόῳ χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην· οἳ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμητίχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστό σφι τὸν χαλκέῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλῃ τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἕλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διώξαι ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμιος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἑλέων ὁρμώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσγεσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ.

152. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὅς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὗτοι οἳ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαΐτεω εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἕνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἕλεα. ἐπιστάμενος ὦν ὡς περιυβρισμένος εἴη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δέ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμὸς ὡς τίσις ἥξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκέων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστίη μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ἥξειν ἐπικούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἀναγκαίη κατέλαβε Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἄνδρας κατὰ λήιην ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον,

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bronze helmet he held it out and poured the libation with it. All the other kings too were wont to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his head-gear; but the rest marked Psammetichus' deed, and remembered the oracle which promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whosoever should pour libation from a vessel of bronze; wherefore, though they deemed Psammetichus not to deserve death (for they proved him and found that he had acted without intent), they resolved to strip him of the most of his power and chase him away into the marshes, and that he was not to concern himself with the rest of Egypt.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed by reason of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the province of Sais brought him back from Syria; and now Psammetichus was for the second time king, when it happened to him to be driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings by reason of the matter of the helmet. Therefore he held himself to have been outrageously dealt with by them and had a mind to be avenged on those who had expelled him, and he sent to inquire of the oracle of Leto in the town of Buto, which is the most infallible in Egypt; the oracle answered that he should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus secretly disbelieved that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after no long time, certain Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in

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ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὁπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἕλεα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμητίχῳ, ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὁπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπιγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδίον. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Καρσὶ ποιέεται καί σφεας μεγάλα ὑπισχνεύμενος πείθει μετ' ἑωυτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι τὰ ἑωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι καταιρέει τοὺς βασιλέας.

153. Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τύπων πλέην· ἀντὶ δὲ κιόνων ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπήχεες τῇ αὐλῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἔπαφος.

154. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ τοῖσι συγκατεργασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα· τούτους τε δή σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἑρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χῶροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ

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their mail of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen mailed men) that men of bronze were come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfilment of the oracle; he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him, and having won them, with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

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

154. The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.

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καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἄμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοίκισε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοισι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοισι δὲ οἵ τε ὁλκοὶ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν.

155. Ψαμμήτιχος μέν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε Αἴγυπτον. τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρόν, ἐν πόλι δὲ μεγάλῃ ἱδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἐστὶ Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνόμασταί μοι. ἱρὸν δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὅ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔνι, αὐτός τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιέων. τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἦν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοισι ἴσος τεσσεράκοντα πηχέων τούτων ἕκαστον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπίκειται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.

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Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines[1] of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

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

[1] Probably capstans for hauling the ships ashore.

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156. Οὕτω μέν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ θωμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμις καλευμένη· ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέῃ καὶ πλατέῃ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσαν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἶδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή. ἐν δὲ ὦν ταύτῃ νηός τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἔνι καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύαται, ἐμπεφύκασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὡς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐούσῃ πρότερον πλωτῇ Λητώ, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι, ἵνα δή οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἐστί, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ' Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νήσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὥρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἶσις, Ἄρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἥρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἑνὸς δέοντα

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

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-four years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus,

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τριήκοντα Ἄζωτον τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἄζωτος ἁπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἧκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἧκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὀρώρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι· τοῦ ὧν δὴ ὄρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἧκται ἡ διῶρυξ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διῶρυξ πολλῷ μακροτέρη, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστί· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῶ βασιλέος ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυώδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκῶς μέν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε,

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

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

[1] This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bubastis) apparently to Suez. Inscriptions recording Darius' construction of it have been found in the neighbourhood.

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τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους.

159. Παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεες αἳ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορηίῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἳ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὁλκοὶ ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτῃσί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίης ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἷλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμι παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἠλείων ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιότατα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἠλείων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιέειν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρεῖν. οἳ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἠλείους εἴ σφι οἱ πολῖται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἳ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι

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utterance that he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159. Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus,[1] taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis[2] after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead.

160. While this Psammis was king of Egypt he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had ordered the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, albeit the wisest of all men, could not better it. When the Eleans came to Egypt and told the purpose of their coming, Psammis summoned an assembly of those who were said to be the wisest men in Egypt. These assembled, and inquired of the Eleans, who told them of the rules of the games which they must obey, and, having declared these, said they had come that if the Egyptians could invent any juster way they might learn this too. The Egyptians consulted together, and then asked the Eleans if their own townsmen took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that this was so: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere

[1] Magdolus appears to be the Migdol of O.T.
[2] Gaza.

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ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοίατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστῇσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἠλείων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἠλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἓξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας, ἐν τοῖσι ἐπί τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἄμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους

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might contend. Then the Egyptians said that this rule was wholly wide of justice: "For," said they, "it cannot be but that you will favour your own townsmen in the contest and deal unfairly by a stranger. Nay, if you will indeed make just rules and have therefore come to Egypt, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans." Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries[1] 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.).

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ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὄπισθε στὰς περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη ἐπὶ βασιληίῃ περιτιθέναι. καὶ τῷ οὔ κως ἀεκούσιον ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιεύμενον, ὡς διεδείκνυε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἄμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἄμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἄμασις, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος, ἐπαείρας ἀπεματάισε, καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίῃ ἀπάγειν. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν· τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὡς ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι Ἀπρίην· παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν. τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοέειν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὁρῶντα σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλέι δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησσόμενα. ὡς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἄμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστάξαι αὐτοῦ τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα. ἰδόμενοι δ' οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἑωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχρῶς λύμῃ διακείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι.

163. Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὥπλιζε

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desist from what they did; but while he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, charging him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. Patarbemis came, and summoned Amasis, who lifted his leg with an unseemly gesture (being then on horseback) and bade the messenger take that token back to Apries. But when Patarbemis was nevertheless instant that Amasis should obey the king's summons and go to him—such is the story—Amasis answered that he had long been making ready to do this, and Apries should be well satisfied with him: "For I will come myself," quoth he, "and bring others with me." Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis' purpose; he saw his preparations and made haste to depart, that he might with all speed make known to the king what was afoot. When Apries saw him return without Amasis he gave him no chance to speak, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis' ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who still favoured his cause, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163. This news too being brought to Apries, he

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τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν Κᾶράς τε καὶ Ἴωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δέ οἱ τὰ βασιλήια ἐν Σάι πόλι, μεγάλα ἐόντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. καὶ οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἤισαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἔν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164. Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένεα, καὶ τούτων οἳ μὲν ἱρέες οἳ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἳ δὲ βούκολοι οἳ δὲ συβῶται, οἳ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἳ δὲ ἑρμήνεες, οἳ δὲ κυβερνῆται. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστί, οὐνόματα δέ σφι κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριές τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσί· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπασα διαραίρηται.

165. Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἵδε εἰσὶ νομοί, Βουσιρίτης, Σαΐτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπῖτις καλεομένη, Ναθῶ τὸ ἥμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσί, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἑκκαίδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βαυαυσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνέωνται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον.

166. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἵδε ἄλλοι νομοί εἰσι, Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Ταν ίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης, Φαρβαϊθίτης, Θμουίτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύτιος, Μυεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκέει ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσί, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοισι ἔξεστι

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armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace. Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the strangers; so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other's quality.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, hucksters, interpreters, and pilots. So many classes there are, each named after its vocation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following provinces (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to provinces).

165. The Hermotubies are of the provinces of Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, and Papremis, the island called 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, Pharbaïthis, 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

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τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος.

167. Εἰ μέν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρῖναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρήικας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξιέων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους· μεμαθήκασι δ' ὧν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168. Γέρεα δέ σφι ἦν τάδε ἐξαραιρημένα μούνοισι Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄρουραι ἐξαίρετοι δυώδεκα ἑκάστῳ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντῃ, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὠυτοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρεον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοισι ὧν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ, ὀπτοῦ σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἑκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἴνου τέσσερες ἀρυστῆρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδοτο.

169. Ἐπείτε δὲ συνιόντες ὅ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἄμασις πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον· καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθεϊ δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. Ἀπρίεω δὲ

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no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling.

167. Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades and their descendants are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have nothing to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

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

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

[1] That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.

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λέγεται εἶναι ἥδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἂν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης· οὕτω ἀσφαλέως ἑωυτῷ ἱδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσσώθη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἐόντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἤδη βασιλήια. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι, καί μιν Ἄμασις εὖ περιεῖπε· τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιέοι δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδιδοῖ τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι. οἱ δέ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρωίῃσι ταφῇσι· αἱ δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἑκαστέρω μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων, ἔστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνη μεγάλη καὶ ἠσκημένη στύλοισί τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ· ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξὰ θυρώματα ἔστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἐστί.

170. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ οὔνομα ἐν Σάι, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὄπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ ὀβελοὶ ἑστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπῖδι κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη.

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supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne; so firmly he thought he was established; and now being worsted in battle and taken captive he was brought to Sais, to the royal dwelling which belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There he was sustained for a while in the palace, and well entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in allowing one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy to live; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Sais buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it also is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

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

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171. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μέν νυν τούτων εἰδότι μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὔστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὔστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίη ἐστὶ λέγειν· αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης πάσης[1] Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172. Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὧδε καταραιρημένου ἐβασίλευσε Ἄμασις, νομοῦ μὲν Σαΐτεω ἐών, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλιος, οὔνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώνοντο τὸν Ἄμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἦγον ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ σοφίῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἄμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ προσηγάγετο. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτὴρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτός τε ὁ Ἄμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἑκάστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο· τοῦτον κατ' ὧν κόψας ἄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἵδρυσε τῆς πόλιος ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεότατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τὤγαλμα ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιεύμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνε φὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος τὤγαλμα γεγο-

[1] Stein brackets πάσης, as not consistent with the following words.

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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,[1] 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 foot-bath, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god's image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city; and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the foot-bath; once (said he)

[1] A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.

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νέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ἤδη ὦν ἔφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτῆρι πεπρηγέναι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεύς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἑωυτοῦ ἐκέλευε.

173. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἐχρᾶτο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιῇδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον μέχρι ὅτευ πληθούσης ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοισι οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σεωυτοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωυτόν. σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' ἂν ἠπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἂν ἤκουες· νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε αὐτούς. "Τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐνταυούσι· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἄν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρᾶσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἑωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἤτοι μανεὶς ἢ ὅ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἑκατέρῳ νέμω." ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείψατο.

174. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ἰδιώτης,

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his subjects had washed their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses; now they greatly revered it. "So now" (quoth he to them) "it has fared with me as with the foot-bath; once I was a common man, now I am your king; it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard."

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

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

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ὡς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκώμμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνήρ· ὅκως δέ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιιών· οἳ δ' ἄν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἑκάστοισι εἴη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθυε ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδέα τε μαντήια ἐκτημένοισι· ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σάι τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωμάσια οἷα ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψεϊ καὶ τῷ μεγάθεϊ, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίων τεῶν· τοῦτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἠγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιέων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεας ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σάιος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἔστι τόδε· οἴκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ'

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was a man nowise serious-minded but much given to drinking and jesting; and when his drinking and merrymaking brought him to penury, he would wander around and steal from one and another. Then those others, when he denied the charge that he had taken their possessions, would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearest them; and the oracles often declared him guilty and often acquitted him. When he became king, he took no care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, nor gave them aught for maintenance, nor made it his practice to sacrifice there, for he deemed them to be worthless and their oracles to be false; but he tended with all care the gods who had declared his guilt, holding them to be gods in very truth and their oracles infallible.

175. Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athene[1] at Saïs, surpassing, in height and grandeur, and in the size and splendour of the stones, all who had erected such buildings; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes,[2] 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,[3] 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.

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ἔτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δέ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνῆται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ εἷς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεες, εὖρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστί, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος . . .,[1] τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστί. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἑλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἄμασιν ἐνθύμιον ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἐᾶν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἑλκύσαι. ἤδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι.

176. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἄμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοισι ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὕπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἑστᾶσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἐὼν ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἴσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρὸν Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

177. Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

[1] This lacuna is in one MS. filled by the words τὸ δὲ εὖρος δυώδεκα πηχέων.

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was in the bringing, and two thousand men were charged with the carriage of it, pilots all of them. This chamber measures in outer length twenty-one cubits, in breadth fourteen, in height eight. These are the outer measurements of the chamber which is made of one block; its inner length is of eighteen cubits and four-fifths of a cubit, and its height of five cubits. It lies by the entrance of the temple; the reason why it was not dragged within into the temple was (so they say), that while it was being drawn the chief builder groaned aloud for the much time spent and his weariness of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not suffer it to be drawn further. Some again say that a man, one of them that heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within.

176. Moreover Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. There is at Saïs another stone figure of like bigness, lying as lies the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177. It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what

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ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἁπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. νόμον τε Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύναι ἔτεος ἑκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῦντα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζόην ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἐόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ.

178. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἵδε αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶ αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἁλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τουτέων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλιες εἰσὶ αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἑωυτῶν ἱδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἥρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

179. Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν

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the river did for the land and the land for its people; and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province, and, failing so to do or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people; may they ever keep it! for it is a perfect law.

178. Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of 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

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ὀμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἑκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μή γε οἷά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.

180. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἐόντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι (ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτόματος κατεκάη), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλις ἐδωτίναζον, ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἠνείκαντο· Ἄμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτηρίης τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἕλληνες εἴκοσι μνέας.

181. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἄμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα· γαμέει δὲ ὧν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλεω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Λαδίκη· τῇ ἐπείτε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ Ἄμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγίνετο, τῇσι δὲ ἄλλῃσι γυναιξὶ ἐχρᾶτο. ἐπείτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἄμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην, "Ὦ γύναι, κατά με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων." ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἀρνευμένῃ οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρηΰτερος ὁ Ἄμασις, εὔχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἤν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην

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own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held.

180. When the Amphictyons had contracted for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,[1] and the Greek dwellers in Egypt twenty minae.

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

[1] Alum, apparently.

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τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἄμασις, τοῦτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἄμασις. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη, ὁκότε ἔλθοι Ἄμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ· ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον, ἔξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἥτις εἴη, ἀπέπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

182. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἥρῃ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἳ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὄπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μέν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἵνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἱδρύσασθαι προσσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις, εἷλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν.

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Aphrodite that she would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night; for that would remedy the evil; and thereafter all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, facing outwards from the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182. Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate, and to Here in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates[1] son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was for no friendship with any man, but because it is said that the temple of Athene in Lindus was founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

[1] Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasis, see iii. 39

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HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK II.

EUTERPE

CONTINUED.

CHAP. II.

THE name of Sesostris[179], who lived after these monarchs, claims our attention. According to the priests, he was the first who, passing the Arabian gulf in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants bordering on the

[179] *Sesostris.*]—See Bouhier's Chronological Account of the Kings of Ægypt from Mœris to Cambyses, according to which Mœris died in the year of the world 3360, and was succeeded by Sesostris in 3361.

Diodorus Siculus makes this prince posterior to Mœris by seven generations; but, as Larcher justly observes, this writer cannot be entitled to an equal degree of credit with Herodotus. Sesostris has been differently named: Tacitus calls him Rhampses: Scaliger, both Rhamesses and Ægyptus. He is named Sesostris in Diodorus Siculus; Sesosis in Pliny, &c.—*T.*

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Erythrean Sea. He proceeded yet farther, till he came to a sea, which on account of the number of shoals was not navigable. On his return to Ægypt, as I learned from the same authority, he levied a mighty army, and made a martial progress by land, subduing all the nations whom he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardour for liberty, he erected columns in their country, upon which he inscribed his own name, and that of his nation, and how he had here conquered by the force of his arms; but where he met with little or no opposition, upon similar columns [180] which he erected, he added the private parts of a woman, expressive of the pusillanimity of the people.

CIII. Continuing his progress, he passed over from Asia to Europe*, and subdued the countries

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[180] *Upon similar columns, &c.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same facts, with this addition, that upon the columns intended to commemorate the bravery of the vanquished, Sesostris added the private parts of a man.—*T.*

Nous ignorons si les Hermès caracterisés par la nature feminine, et erigés par Sesostris dans les pays qu'il avoit conquis sans resistance, avoient été figurés de la même manière; ou si, pour indiquer le sexe, ils avoient *un triangle*, par lequel les Ægyptiens avoient coûtume de le désigner.—*Winkelmann.*

* Grobert, above cited, thinks that Sesostris must undoubtedly have vanquished Italy. Any one, says he, that

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of Scythia and Thrace[181]. Here I believe he stopped*, for monuments of his victory are discovered thus far, but no farther. On his return, he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left[182] a detachment of

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will be at the trouble of comparing the physiognomy and manners of the people of Calabria with those of the Ægyptians, will easily believe this to have been the fact.

181 *Thrace.*]—According to another tradition preserved in Valerius Flaccus, the Getæ, the bravest and most upright of the Thracians, vanquished Sesostris; and it was doubtless to secure his retreat, that he left a detachment of his troops in Colchis.

Cunabula gentis
Colchidos hic ortusque tuens: ut prima Sesostris
Intulerit rex bella Getis: ut calde suorum
Territus, hos Thebas patriumque reducat ad amnem
Phasidis hos imponat agris, Colchosque vocari
Imperet. *Larcher.*

* Among the arguments adduced by Robertson against the probability that Sesostris conquered India, the following is much entitled to attention:

It is remarkable that Herodotus, who inquired with the most persevering diligence into the ancient history of Ægypt, and who received all the information concerning it which the priests of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes, could communicate, although he relates the history of Sesostris at some length, does not mention his conquest of India. That tale, it is probable, was invented in the period between the age of Herodotus and that of Diodorus Siculus, from whom we receive a particular detail of the Indian expedition of Sesostris.—*Robertson on India*, p. 336.

I have little scruple in avowing my belief that almost the whole of the story of Sesostris is fabulous.

182 *Whether he left, &c.*]—Pliny assures us, though I know not on what authority, that Sesostris was defeated by the Colchians.—*Larcher.*

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his forces as a colony in this district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their laborious service, remained here of their own accord.

CIV. The Colchians certainly appear to be of Ægyptian origin; which indeed, before I had conversed with any one on the subject, I had always believed. But as I was desirous of being satisfied, I interrogated the people of both countries: the result was, that the Colchians seemed to have better remembrance of the Ægyptians, than the Ægyptians had of the Colchians. The Ægyptians were of opinion, that the Colchians were descended from part of the troops of Sesostris. To this I myself was also inclined, because they are black, and have short and curling hair[183]; which latter circumstance may not, however, be insisted upon as evidence, because it is common to many other nations. But a second and better argument is, that the inhabitants of Colchos, Ægypt, and Æthiopia, are the only people who from time immemorial have used circumcision. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of

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[183] *Short and curling hair.*]—"That is," says Volney, in his remark on this passage, "that the ancient Ægyptians were real negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa; and though, as might be expected, after mixing for so many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they have lost the intensity of their first colour, yet they still retain strong marks of their original conformation."

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Palestine* [184] acknowledge that they borrowed this custom from Ægypt. Those Syrians who live

* The following note from Shaw deserves attention; p. 390. Herodotus, always too credulous with regard to these boasted antiquities of the Ægyptians, insists likewise that circumcision was much earlier received by them than by the Syrians of Palestine, i. e. the Hebrews or Israelites; for the Philistines themselves, who were originally Ægyptians, and gave name to the country, were uncircumcised. Now by considering Gen. xlv. ver. 12, in the original text, agreeably to the Hebrew diction and brevity of expression, we may receive one plausible argument why Herodotus may be equally mistaken in this assertion. For the Rabbinical commentators observe upon the sense which we translate, *And behold, your eyes see, and the eyes of my brother Benjamin, that it is my mouth that speaketh unto you*, that Joseph gave the patriarchs therein three proofs of his being their brother. The first was the token of circumcision, peculiar at that time, as they affirm, to the family of Abraham, which he is supposed to have discovered by unfolding his garment whilst they stood near him, and bidding them regard it. Behold, says he, your eyes see by this token that I am no stranger, but of the lineage of Abraham. And then to shew that he was not descended from Ishmael, he lays down for his second proof the near resemblance of his own features to those of his brother Benjamin, who was born of the same mother. And behold, he continues, the eyes or countenance of my brother Benjamin; how nearly they resemble my own. The third proof was his language, &c. &c. The whole of what follows is exceedingly ingenious and very corroborative of the main argument.

It seems to be implied also, Jeremiah ix. ver. 25, 26, that the Ægyptians were not circumcised at the time when that prophet lived, viz. 630 or 640 years before Christ, which was not 200 years before Herodotus flourished and wrote his history.

[184] *Syrians of Palestine.*]—Mr. Gibbon takes the opportunity of this passage to make it appear, that under the Assyrian

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near the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, confess that they learned it, and that too in modern times, from the Colchians. These are the only people who use circumcision, and who use it precisely like the Ægyptians. As this practice can be traced both in Ægypt and Æthiopia to the remotest antiquity, it is not possible to say who first introduced it. The Ægyptians certainly communicated it to the other nations by means of their commercial intercourse. The Phœnicians, who are connected with Greece, do not any longer imitate the Ægyptians in this particular, their male children not being circumcised.

CV. But the Colchians have another mark of resemblance to the Ægyptians. Their manufacture of linen[185] is alike, and peculiar to those two

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and Persian monarchies, the Jews languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves. "Herodotus," says the English historian, "who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the Persian empire, slightly mentions the Jews of Palestine." But this seems to be a partial quotation; for taking into consideration the whole of the context, Herodotus seems precluded from mentioning the Syrians of Palestine in this place otherwise than slightly.—*T.*

It is indeed certain that Herodotus could know nothing of the Jews, for it is utterly impossible that they should confess that they borrowed the rite of circumcision from the Ægyptians.

[185] *Manufacture of linen.*]—See chapter xxxvii. of this book. *T.*

To which may be added the following remark from Harmer, vol. ii. p. 349. As

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nations; they have similar manners, and the same language. The linen which comes from Colchis the Greeks call Sardonian [186]; the linen of Ægypt, Ægyptian.

As for the linen-yarn mentioned in Scripture, it is still, according to Norden, one of the principal of their merchandises, and is sent away in prodigious quantities along with unmanufactured flax and cotton spun. To which I would add this remark of Sanutus, who lived about 400 years ago, that though Christian countries abounded in his time in flax, yet the goodness of the Ægyptian was such that it was dispersed all about, even into the West; for the same reason, without doubt, the Jews, Hittites, and Syrians anciently purchased the linen-yarn of this country, though they had flax growing in their own.

[186] *Sardonian.*]—In the original, for Σαρδονικον, Larcher recommends the reading of Σαρδιανικον, which he justifies by saying that Sardis was a far more proper and convenient market for this kind of linen than Sardinia.

This latter country in ancient times had the character of being remarkably unhealthy. "Remember," says Cicero, writing to his brother, "though in perfect health, you are in Sardinia." Martial also,

> Nullo fata loco possis excludere, cum mors
> Venerit, in medio Tibure, Sardinia est.

This country also gave rise to many peculiar phrases: Sardi venales, Risus Sardonicus, Sardonia tinctura, &c. The first is differently explained; Cicero, applying it to Gracchus, who after the capture of Sardinia wasted much time in selling his prisoners, makes it to signify any matter tediously protracted. Others, applying it to the Asiatic Sardis, make it signify persons who are venal. The Sardonic laugh is that beneath which the severest uneasiness is concealed. "Sardinia," says Solinus, "produces a herb which has this

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CVI. The greater part of the pillars which Sesostris erected in the places which he conquered, are no longer to be found. Some of them I myself have seen in Palestine of Syria, with the private members of a woman, and with the inscriptions which I have before mentioned. In Ionia there are two figures of this king, formed out of a rock; one is in the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Sardis and Smyrna. Both * of them represent a man, five palms in height; the right hand holds a javelin, the left a bow; the rest of the armour is partly Ægyptian and partly Æthiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to

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singular property, that whilst it destroys whoever eats it, it so contracts the features, and in particular of the mouth, into a grin, as to make the sufferer appear to die laughing." Of this herb, Solinus relates other strange properties. Sardinia was also famous for a very beautiful colour, whence Sardonia tinctura was made to signify a modest blush. See Pliny, Solinus, Hoffman, &c.

Larcher observes that Mingrelia, the antient Colchis, is still famous for such manufacture of linen. The linen of Ægypt is thus mentioned in Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 7.

Fine linen, with broidered work from Ægypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail.

Again, in Proverbs, c. vii. v. 16.

I have decked my bed with coverings of tapestry, with carved works, with fine linen of Ægypt.

* Either no travellers have taken the route from Phocæa to Ephesus, and from Sardis to Smyrna, or they have neglected to inquire whether any traces of these stupendous statues are yet visible.

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shoulder, there is this inscription in the sacred characters of Ægypt, "I conquered this country by the force of my arms."* Who the person here represented is, or of what country, is not specified; both are told elsewhere. Some have been induced, on examination, to pronounce this to be the figure of Memnon, but they must certainly be mistaken.

CVII. The same priests informed me that Sesostris returned to Ægypt with an immense number of captives, of the different nations which he had conquered. On his arrival at the Pelusian Daphne, his brother to whom he had confided the government in his absence, invited him and his family to take up their abode with him; which when they had done, he surrounded their apartments with combustibles, and set fire to the building[187]. As soon as Sesostris discovered the villany, he deliberated with his wife, who hap-

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* The following line from Claudian appears, says Larcher, to be a translation of this passage of Herodotus:

Ast ego quæ terras humeris pontumque subegi.

187 *Set fire to the building.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the matter differently. The brother of Sesostris made him and his attendants drunk, and in the night set fire to his apartment. The guards being intoxicated, were unable to assist their master; but Sesostris, imploring the interposition of the gods, fortunately escaped. He expressed his gratitude to the deities in general, and to Vulcan in particular, to whose kindness principally he thought himself indebted.—*T.*

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pened to be with him, what measures to pursue: she advised him to place two of their six children across the parts that were burning, that they might serve as a bridge for the preservation of themselves and of the rest. This Sesostris executed: two of the children consequently perished, the remainder were saved with their father.

CVIII. Sesostris did not omit to avenge himself on his brother: on his return to Ægypt, he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished, to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals[188] by which Ægypt is in-

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188 *Numerous canals.*]—Probably one reason why Sesostris opened canals, was to prevent these hurtful inundations, as well as convey water to those places where they might think proper to have villages built, and to water the lands more conveniently, at such times as the waters might retire early; for they might find by experience, after the canals were opened, that, instead of apprehending inundations, they had greater reason, as at present, to fear a want of water.—*Pococke.*

There are still eighty canals in Ægypt like rivers, several of which are twenty, thirty, and forty leagues in length.—*Savary.*

The same author adds, that the chain-buckets used in Ægypt to disperse the water over the high lands, gave to Archimedes, during his voyage in Ægypt, the idea of his ingenious screw, which is still in use. A country

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tersected. In consequence of their involuntary labours, Ægypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals

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A country where nothing is so seldom met with as a spring, and where rain is an extraordinary phenomenon, could only have been fertilized by the Nile. Accordingly from times of the most remote antiquity, fourscore considerable canals were digged at the entrance of the kingdom, besides a great number of small ones, which distributed these waters all over Ægypt.—*Raynal.*

The following note, abridged from Larcher, is highly honourable to him :

Sesostris, says Volney, lived before Moses, and, according to Herodotus, cut so many canals in Ægypt, that it became impossible to travel in chariots. The Bible, therefore, must relate a fable, for it says that Pharaoh pursued the Israelites in six hundred chariots.

Unluckily for Volney, replies Larcher, the first assertion is not true. The passage of the Red Sea took place one hundred and seventy-five years before the time of Sesostris. The miracle took place in the year 3183, of the Julian period, 1531 years before our æra. Sesostris mounted the throne in the year 3358, of the Julian year, which is 1356 years before our æra.

Volney should have remembered that he was a candidate for a prize at the Academy of Belles Lettres on a subject relating to chronology. His memoir was indignantly rejected, as indeed it deserved. I advise him to study chronology, or rather never again to write on any subject connected with it.

I have much satisfaction in introducing the above castigation of an author, whose bold assertions and fallacious reasonings have done so much mischief to the public, particularly from a pen so well qualified to detect and expose his errors and falsehoods.

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occur so often, and in so many winding directions, that to travel on horseback is disagreeable, but in carriages impossible. The prince however was influenced by a patriotic motive: before his time those who inhabited the inland parts of the country, at a distance from the river, on the ebbing of the Nile, suffered great distress from the want of water, of which they had none but from muddy wells.

CIX. The same authority informed me, that Sesostris made a regular distribution of the lands of Ægypt. He assigned to each Ægyptian a square piece of ground; and his revenues were drawn from the rent, which every individual annually paid him. Whoever was a sufferer by the inundation of the Nile, was permitted to make the king acquainted with his loss. Certain officers were appointed to inquire into the particulars of the injury, that no man might be taxed beyond his ability. It may not be improbable to suppose that this was the origin of geometry [189], and that the Greeks learned it from hence. As

189 *Origin of geometry.*]—The natives of Thebes, above all others, were renowned for their great wisdom. Their improvements in geometry are thought to have been owing to the nature of their country; for, the land of Ægypt being annually overflowed, and all property confounded, they were obliged, upon the retreat of the waters, to have recourse to geometrical decision, in order to determine the limits of their possessions.—*Bryant.*

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to the pole, the gnomon[190], and the division of the day[191] into twelve parts, the Greeks received them from the Babylonians.

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190 *The pole, the gnomon.*]—The text is a literal translation of the original, to which, as it stands, it will not be very easy to annex any meaning. My own opinion, from reflecting on the context, is, that it signifies a dial with its index. Wesseling, in his note on this passage, informs us from Pollux, that many considered πολον and ὡρολογιον as synonymous expressions. Scaliger is of the same opinion, to which Wesseling himself accedes. Salmasius thinks differently, and says of this particular passage, ne hoc quidem quidquam ad horologiorum usum facit. Larcher's interpretation seems far-fetched. "He," says the learned Frenchman, "who wishes to form a solar quadrant must necessarily know the altitude of the pole."—When it is considered that the more ancient dials were divided by the first *twelve* letters of the alphabet, I cannot help adhering to the interpretation I have given of it.—*T.*

191 *Division of the day.*]—From this passage it appears, that in the time of Herodotus the day was divided into twelve parts: at the same time we may not conclude, with Leo Allatius, and Wesseling, that to these twelve parts the name of *hours* was given. It is by no means certain when the twenty-four parts of the day were first distinguished by the name of hours, but it was doubtless very late; and the passages cited from Anacreon and Xenophon to prove the contrary, ought not to be interpreted by what we call hours.

The passage in Anacreon, μεσονυκτιοις ποθ' ὥραις, means nothing more than the middle of the night. Νυκτος αμολγῷ, in Homer, which signifies an advanced time of the night, is explained by the Scholiast ἡ του μεσονυκτιου ὡρα, the very expression of Anacreon. The passage from Xenophon is not more decisive.—*Larcher.*

Upon this subject we have the following curious note in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:—Of the dials of the ancients we may form some idea from the following example:

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CX. Except Sesostris, no monarch of Ægypt was ever master of Æthiopia. This prince placed as a monument[192] some marble statues before the temple of Vulcan *; two of these were thirty

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Palladius Rutilius, who lived about the fifth century, and who has left us a treatise on agriculture, has put at the end of every month a table, in which one sees the correspondence of the divisions of the day to the different lengths of the shadow of the gnomon. It must be observed, in the first place, that this correspondence is the same in the months equally distant from the solstice, January and December, February and November, &c. Secondly, that the length of the shadow is the same for the hours equally distant from the mid-day point. The following is the table for January:

Hours.	Feet.
I. and XI.	29
II. and X.	19
III. and IX.	15
IV. and VIII.	12
V. and VII.	10
VI.	9

This dial seems to have been adapted for the climate of Rome. Similar dials were constructed for the climate of Athens.

192 *Placed as a monument.*]—Larcher, in his version, adds in this place, "to commemorate the danger he had escaped." The text will not justify this version, though the learned Frenchman's opinion, that this is the implied meaning, rests on the positive assertion of Diodorus Siculus, who, relating the fact of the statues circumstantially, adds that they were erected by Sesostris in gratitude to Vulcan, by whose interposition he escaped the treachery of his brother.—*T.*

* One of the trophies brought by our victorious army from Ægypt, is the fist of a colossean statue. It was found by the French in the ruins of Memphis, and very possibly belonged to a statue of Vulcan.

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cubits in height, and represented him and his queen; four others, of twenty cubits each, represented his four children. A long time afterwards, Darius king of Persia was desirous of placing before these a statue of himself[193], but the high priest of Vulcan violently opposed it, urging that the actions of Darius were far less splendid than those of the Ægyptian Sesostris. This latter prince had vanquished as many nations as Darius, and had also subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. Therefore, says he, it can never be just to place before the statues of Sesostris, the figure of a prince, whose exploits have not been equally illustrious. They told me that Darius forgave this remonstrance[194].

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[193] *A statue of himself.*]—After a series of ages, when Ægypt was reduced under the power of Persia, Darius, the father of Xerxes, was desirous of placing an image of himself at Memphis, before the statue of Sesostris. This was strenuously opposed by the chief priest, in an assembly of his order, who asserted that the acts of Darius had not yet surpassed those of Sesostris. The king did not take this freedom amiss, but was rather pleased with it; saying, that if he lived as long as Sesostris, he would endeavour to equal him.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

[194] *Forgave this remonstrance.*]—It does not however appear from hence that Darius was ever in Ægypt. The resistance of the chief priest might probably be told him, and he might forgive it. It appears by a passage in Aristotle, that Darius attacked and conquered this country; if so, the priest of Vulcan might personally oppose Darius. The au-

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CXI. On the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron[195], as the priests informed me, succeeded to his throne. This prince undertook no military expedition; but by the action I am going to relate, he lost the use of his eyes:—When the Nile was at its extreme height of eighteen cubits, and had overflowed the fields, a sudden wind arose, which made the waters impetuously swell. At this juncture the prince hurled a javelin into the vortex of the stream: he was in a moment deprived of sight, and continued blind for the space of ten years; in the eleventh, an oracle was communicated to him from Butos, intimating that the period of his punishment was expired, and that he should recover his sight, by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman, who had never known any man but her husband. Pheron first made the experiment with the urine of his own wife, and when this did not succeed, he applied that of other women indiscriminately. Having at length recovered his sight, he assembled all the women, except her whose urine had re-

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thority of Aristotle is of no weight, compared with that of our historian; and probably, in that writer, instead of Darius, we should read Xerxes.—*Larcher.*

If Darius Hystaspes be intended, this prince certainly was in Ægypt, in the army of Cambyses, but I believe not whilst a king.

195 *Pheron.*]—This prince is supposed to be the first Ægyptian Pharaoh; but this must be erroneous, for the Israelites were oppressed by Pharaoh one hundred and seventy years before this reign.

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moved his calamity, in a city which is to this day called Erythrebolos[196]; all these, with the town itself, he destroyed by fire, but he married the female who had deserved his gratitude. On his recovery he sent magnificent presents to all the more celebrated temples; to that of the Sun he sent two obelisks, too remarkable to be unnoticed; each was formed of one solid stone, one hundred cubits high, and eight broad.

CXII. The successor of Pheron, as the same priests informed me, was a citizen of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus[197].

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196 *Erythrebolos.*]—Diodorus Siculus calls this place Heliopolis; and says that the woman, through whose means Pheron was cured of his blindness, was the wife of a gardener.

This certainly proves that great corruption of manners prevailed at this time in Ægypt, and Larcher judiciously refers, at this passage, to the precaution taken by Abraham on entering this country. See Genesis, c. xii. v. 11.

The profligacy also of the wife of Potiphar towards Joseph, affords a similar testimony.—*T.*

197 *Proteus.*]—Proteus was an Ægyptian title of the deity, under which he was worshipped, both in the Pharos and at Memphis. He was the same as Osiris and Canopus, and particularly the god of mariners, who confined his department to the sea. From hence I think we may unravel the mystery about the pilot of Menelaus, who is said to have been named Canopus, and to have given name to the principal sea-port in Ægypt.—*Bryant.*

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His shrine is still to be seen at Memphis; it is situated to the south of the temple of Vulcan, and is very magnificently decorated. The Phœnicians of Tyre dwell in its vicinity, and indeed the whole of the place, is denominated the Tyrian camp. In this spot, consecrated to Proteus, there is also a small temple, dedicated to Venus the Stranger [198]: this Venus I conjecture is no

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Scylax speaks of Canopus as if he seriously thought the island was denominated from the pilot of Menelaus.

No antique figure has yet been met with of Proteus: upon this circumstance Mr. Spence remarks, that his character was far more manageable for poets, than for sculptors or painters. The former might very well describe all the variety of shapes that he could put on, and point out the transition from one to the other, but the artists must have been content to shew him either in his own natural shape, or in some one alone of all his various forms. Of this deity, the best description is given in the Georgics of Virgil.—*T.*

It is remarkable, that if we were to write the Ægyptian name of Proteus, as given by the Greeks, in Phœnician characters, we should make use of the same letters we pronounce Pharao; the final *o* in the Hebrew is an *h*, which at the end of words frequently becomes *t*.—*Volney.*

[198] *Venus the Stranger.*]—It is doubtless this Venus to whom Horace alludes in the following verses:

> Oh quæ beatam diva tenes Cyprum, et
> Memphim carentem Sithonia nive
> Regina.

Strabo also speaks of this temple, and tells us that some believed it dedicated to the Moon.—*T.*

The

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other than Helen, the daughter of Tyndaris, because she, I was told, resided for some time at the court of Proteus, and because this building is dedicated to Venus the Stranger; no other temple of Venus is distinguished by this appellation.

CXIII. To my enquiries on the subject[199] of Helen, these priests answered as follows: Paris having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, but meeting with contrary winds in the Ægean, he was driven into the Ægyptian

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The ancients had very little scruple or delicacy in building temples to their favourite beauties, simply adding Venus to their names.

Thus in Ægypt there was a temple at Alexandria to Venus Belestria, Belestria being the name of a slave of great beauty, the favourite of an Ægyptian prince. Venus Arsinoe was somewhat similar.—*T.*

[199] *Inquiries on the subject.*]—Upon no subject, ancient or modern, have writers been more divided, than about the precise period of the Trojan war. Larcher, after discussing this matter very fully, in his Essay on Chronology, is of opinion, and his arguments appear to me at least, satisfactory, that it took place 1263 years before the vulgar æra.—*T.*

Since the publication of the first edition of this work, our countryman, Bryant, has produced a learned and elaborate work, to prove that the Trojan war never took place. This has of course led to a number of profound and critical investigations on the subject, in which the weight of argument and evidence appears to be against Bryant. I rather wonder that Larcher has taken no notice of Bryant's work.

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sea. As the winds continued unfavourable, he proceeded to Ægypt, and was driven to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and to Tarichea: in this place was a temple of Hercules, which still remains; if any slave fled to this for refuge, and in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain sacred characters, no one was suffered to molest him. This custom has been strictly observed, from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of this temple, fled thither from their master, and with the view of injuring Paris, became the suppliants of the divinity. They published many accusations against their master, disclosing the whole affair of Helen, and the wrong done to Menelaus: this they did, not only in the presence of the priests, but also before Thonis[200], the governor of the district.

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[200] *Thonis.*]—Some writers pretend that Thonis was prince of the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and that he was the inventor of medicine in Ægypt. Before he saw Helen, he treated Menelaus with great respect; when he had seen her, he made his court to her, and even endeavoured to violate her person: Menelaus on hearing this put him to death. The city of Thonis, and Thoth, the first Ægyptian month, take their names from him.

This narrative seems less probable than that of Herodotus: Theth, or the Mercury of the Ægyptians, was much more ancient.—*Larcher.*

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CXIV. Thonis instantly dispatched a messenger to Memphis, with orders to say thus to Proteus: "There is arrived here a Trojan, who has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece; he has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away, with a great quantity of treasure; adverse winds have forced him hither; shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and property?" The answer which Proteus sent was thus conceived: "Whoever that man is, who has violated the rights of hospitality, seize and bring him before me, that I may examine him."

CXV. Thonis upon this seized Paris, and detaining his vessels, instantly sent him to Proteus, with Helen [201] and all his wealth: on their arrival, Proteus enquired of Paris who he was, and whence he came: Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from whence he last set sail. But when Proteus proceeded to make enquiries concerning Helen, and how he obtained possession of her person, Paris hesitated in his

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[201] This incident of the detention of Helen by Proteus, is the argument of one of the tragedies of Euripides.

The poet supposes that Helen never was at Troy, but that Paris carried thither a cloud in her form:—On the death of Proteus, his son Theaclymenus prepared to make Helen his wife; at this juncture Menelaus was driven on the coast, saw Helen again, and with her concerted and accomplished their return to Greece.—*T.*

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answers; his slaves who had deserted him, explained and proved the particulars of his guilt; in consequence of which, Proteus made this determination: "If I did not esteem it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, whom unfavourable winds have driven to my coast, I would assuredly, thou most abandoned man, avenge that Greek whose hospitality thou hast treacherously violated. Thou hast not only seduced his wife, but, having violently taken her away, still criminally detainest her; and, as if this were not enough, thou hast robbed and plundered him! But as I can by no means prevail upon myself to put a stranger to death, I shall suffer you to depart; the woman and your wealth I shall detain, till the Greek himself thinks proper to demand her.—Do you and your companions depart within three days from my coasts, or expect to be treated as enemies."

CXVI. Thus, according to the narrative of the priests, did Helen come to the court of Proteus. I conceive that this circumstance could not be unknown to Homer; but as he thought it less ornamental to his poem, he forbore to use it. That he actually did know it, is evident from that part of the Iliad, where he describes the voyage of Paris; this evidence he has no where retracted. He informs us, that Paris, after various wanderings, at length arrived at Sidon, in

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Phœnicia; it is in the Bravery of Diomed[202]; the passage is this:

There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,
Sidonian maids embroider'd every part;
When from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore,
With Helen touching on the Tyrian shore.
Il. vi. 390.

He again introduces this subject in the Odyssey:

These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife:
Who sway'd the sceptre where prolific Nile
With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil.
With wholesome herbage mix'd, the direful bane
Of vegetable venom taints the plain.
Od. iv. 315.

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[202] *Bravery of Diomed.*]—The different parts of Homer's poems were known anciently by names taken from the subjects treated in them:—Thus the fifth book of the Iliad was called the *Bravery of Diomed;* and in like manner the eleventh the *Bravery of Agamemnon;* the tenth the *Night-watch*, or the *Death of Dolon, &c.;* all of which titles are prefixed to the respective books in Clarke's and other editions from Eustathius:—See also Ælian, Var. Hist. Book xiii. c. 14. This division was more ancient than that into books, and therefore does not always coincide with it: thus the second Iliad has two names, the *Dream* or the *Trial*, and the *Catalogue;* whereas four or five books of the Odyssey are supposed to be comprized under the name of the *Story of Alcinous.* Valcnaer erroneously supposed this to be a later division of the grammarians, and therefore endeavoured to explain away the expression of Herodotus, which evidently refers to it.—*T.*

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Menelaus also says thus to Telemachus:

Long on th' Ægyptian coast by calms confin'd,
Heav'n to my fleet refus'd a prosp'rous wind:
No vows had we preferr'd, nor victim slain,
For this the gods each favouring gale restrain.
Od. iv. 473.

In these passages, Homer confesses himself acquainted with the voyage of Paris to Ægypt; for Syria borders upon Ægypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit part of Syria.

CXVII. The last passage of these, confirms sufficiently the argument, which may be deduced from the former, that the Cyprian verses[203] were

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[203] *Cyprian verses.*]—On the subject of these verses the following sentence occurs in Athenæus:

"The person who composed the Cyprian verses, whether he was some Cyprian or Stasinus, or by whatever name he chooses to be distinguished," &c. From which it appears, that Athenæus had no idea of their being written by Homer. But we are told by Ælian, in his Various History, that Homer certainly did compose these verses, and gave them as a marriage portion with his daughter.—See Ælian, Book ix. chap. 15, in the note to which, this subject is amply discussed.—*T.*

The subject of this poem was the Trojan war, after the birth of Helen. Venus caused this princess to be born, that she might be able to promise Paris an accomplished beauty; to this Jupiter, by the advice of Momus, had consented, in order to destroy the human race again by the war of Troy, which was to take place on her account. As the author of this poem refers all the events of this war to Venus, goddess of Cyprus, the work was called by her name. "It is evident," says M. Larcher in continuation, "that Herodotus would have told the name of the author, had he known it."

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never written by Homer. These relate that Paris, in company with Helen, assisted by a favourable wind and sea, passed in three days from Sparta to Troy; on the contrary, it is asserted in the Iliad, that Paris, after carrying away Helen, wandered about to various places. But enough of Homer and the Cyprian verses.

CXVIII. On my desiring to know of the same priests whether what the Greeks affirm concerning Troy, was true or false, they told me the following particulars, which they assured me they received from Menelaus himself. After the loss of Helen, the Greeks assembled in great numbers at Teucris, to assist Menelaus; they disembarked and encamped: they then dispatched ambassadors to Troy, whom Menelaus himself accompanied. On their arrival, they made a formal demand of Helen, and of the wealth which Paris had at the same time clandestinely taken, as well as general satisfaction for the injury. The Trojans then and afterwards uniformly persisted in declaring, that they had among them, neither the person nor the wealth of Helen, but that both were in Ægypt; and they thought it hard that they should be made responsible for what Proteus king of Ægypt certainly possessed. The Greeks, believing themselves deluded, laid siege to Troy, and persevered till they took it. But when Helen was not

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to be found in the captured town, and the same assertions concerning her were continued, they at length obtained credit, and Menelaus himself was dispatched to Proteus.

CXIX. As soon as he arrived in Ægypt he proceeded up the Nile to Memphis. On his relating the object of his journey, he was honourably entertained; Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him, and with her, all his treasures. Inattentive to these acts of kindness, Menelaus perpetrated a great enormity against the Ægyptians: the winds preventing his departure, he took two children[204] of the people

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[204] *Two children.*]—This was doubtless to appease the winds. This kind of sacrifice was frequent in Greece, but detestable in Ægypt.

Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine cæsâ.—*Virgil.*

See Book vii. chap. 191.—*Larcher.*

In the early times of all religions, when nations were yet barbarous and savage, there was ever an aptness or tendency towards the dark part of superstition, which among many other horrors produced that of *human sacrifice.—Lord Shaftesbury.*

Lord S. might, and would, if he had been honest, have excepted the Jewish religion.

That the custom of human sacrifice, alike cruel and absurd, gives way but very slowly to the voice of nature and of reason, is evident from its having been practised at so late a period by the enlightened people of Greece. Porphyry also informs us, that even in his time, who lived 233 years after the Christian æra, human sacrifices were common in Arcadia and at Carthage.—*T.*

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of the country, and with great barbarity offered them in sacrifice. As soon as the circumstance was known, universal indignation was excited against him, and he was pursued; but he fled by sea into Africa, and the Ægyptians could trace him no farther. Of the above facts, some they knew, as having happened among themselves, and others were the result of much diligent enquiry.

CXX. This intelligence concerning Helen, I received from the Ægyptian priests, to which I am inclined to add, as my opinion, that if Helen had been actually in Troy, they would certainly have restored her to the Greeks, with or without the consent of Paris. Priam and his connections could never have been so infatuated, as to endanger the preservation of themselves and their children, merely that Paris might enjoy Helen; but even if such had been their determination at first, still after having lost, in their different contests with the Greeks, many of their countrymen, and among these, if the poets may be believed, several of their king's own sons, I cannot imagine but that Priam, even if he had married her himself, would have restored Helen, if no other means had existed of averting these calamities. We may add to this, that Paris was not the immediate heir to the crown, for Hector was his superior both in age and valour: Paris, therefore, could not have possessed any remarkable influ-

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ence in the state, neither would Hector have countenanced the misconduct of his brother, from which he himself, and the rest of his countrymen, had experienced so many and such great calamities. But the restoration of Helen was not in their power, and the Greeks placed no dependence on their assertions, which were indisputably true; but all this, with the subsequent destruction of Troy, might be ordained by Providence, to instruct mankind that the gods proportioned punishments to crimes.

CXXI. The same instructors farther told me, that Proteus was succeeded by Rhampsinitus[205]: he built the west entrance of the temple of Vulcan; in the same situation he also erected two statues, twenty-five cubits in height. That which faces the north the Ægyptians call Summer, the one to the south, Winter: this latter is treated with no manner of respect, but they worship the former, and make offerings before it. This prince possessed such abundance of wealth, that far from surpassing, none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence. For the security of his riches, he constructed a stone edifice, con-

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[205] *Rhampsinitus.*]—Diodorus Siculus calls him Rhemphis. He greatly oppressed his subjects by his avarice and extortions: he amassed in gold and silver four hundred thousand talents; a most incredible sum.—*Larcher.*

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nected with his palace by a wall. The man whom he employed[206], with a dishonest view, so artfully disposed one of the stones, that two or even one person might remove it from its place. In this building, when completed, the king deposited his treasures. Some time afterwards, the artist found his end approaching; and having two sons, he called them both before him, and informed them in what manner, with a view to their future emolument and prosperity, he had built the king's treasury. He then explained the particular circumstance and situation of the stone, gave them minutely its dimensions, by observance of which, they might become the managers of the king's riches. On the death of the father, the sons were not long before they availed themselves of their secret. Under the advantage of the night, they visited the building, discovered and removed the stone, and carried away with them a large sum of money. As soon as the king entered the apartment, he saw the vessels which contained his money materially diminished: he was astonished beyond measure, for as the seals were unbroken, and every entrance properly secured, he could not possibly direct his suspicion against any one. This was several times re-

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[206] *The man whom he employed.*]—Pausanias relates a similar fable of Trophonius, whose cave became so famous.—*Larcher.*

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peated; the thieves continued their visits, and the king as regularly saw his money decrease. To effect a discovery, he ordered some traps to be placed round the vessels which contained his riches. The robbers came as before; one of them proceeding as usual directly to the vessels, was caught in the snare: as soon as he was sensible of his situation, he called his brother, and acquainted him with it; he withal intreated him to cut off his head without a moment's delay, as the only means of preventing his own detection and consequent loss of life; he approved and obeyed his advice, and replacing properly the stone, he returned home with the head of his brother. As soon as it was light, the king entered the apartment, and seeing the body secured in the snare without a head, the building in no part disturbed, nor the smallest appearance of any one having been there, he was more astonished than ever. In this perplexity he commanded the body to be hanged from the wall, and having stationed guards on the spot, he directed them to seize and bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of compassion or sorrow at sight of the deceased. The mother being much exasperated at this exposure of her son, threatened the surviving brother, that if he did not contrive and execute some means of removing the body, she would immediately go to the king, and disclose all the circumstances of

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the robbery. The young man in vain endeavoured to alter the woman's determination; he therefore put in practice the following expedient:—He got together some asses, which he loaded with flasks of wine; he then drove them near the place where the guards were stationed to watch the body of his brother; as soon as he approached, he secretly removed the pegs from the mouths of two or three of the skins, and when he saw the wine running about, he began to beat his head, and to cry out vehemently, with much pretended confusion and distress. The soldiers, perceiving the accident, instantly ran with vessels, and such wine as they were able to catch they considered as so much gain to themselves. At first, with great apparent anger, he reproached and abused them, but he gradually listened to their endeavours to console and pacify him: he then proceeded at leisure to turn his asses out of the road, and to secure his flasks. He soon entered into conversation with the guards, and affecting to be pleased with the drollery of one of them, he gave them a flask of wine; they accordingly set down to drink, and insisted upon his bearing them company: he complied with their solicitations, and a second flask was presently the effect of their civility to him. The wine had soon its effect, the guards became exceedingly drunk, and fell fast asleep: under the advantage of the night, the young man

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took down the body of his brother, and in derision shaved* the right cheeks of the guards; he placed the body on one of the asses, and returned home, having thus satisfied his mother. When the king heard of what had happened, he was enraged beyond measure; but still determined on the detection of the criminal, he con-

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* This, as Larcher observes, was, throughout the East, considered as the greatest mark of ignominy and contempt that could possibly be imposed upon a man. Hanun, king of the Ammonites, shaved the messengers of David, by way of contempt, and sent them away. See 2 Sam. c. x. v. 4, 5.

Wherefore Hanun took David's servants, and shaved off the one half of their beards, and cut off their garments in the middle, even to their buttocks, and sent them away.

When they told it unto David, he sent to meet them, because the men were greatly ashamed: and the king said, Tarry at Jericho until your beards be grown, and then return.

In this place Larcher makes a false reference, namely, to the second Book of Kings, instead of the second Book of Samuel. See also 1 Chronicles, c. xix. v. 4.

See also a very strong parabolical expression in Isaiah, c. vii. v. 20.

"In the same day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, namely, by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the feet, and it shall also consume the beard."

Consult Bishop Lowth on this passage.

The expression denotes the utter devastation of the country from one end to the other, and the plundering of the people from the highest to the lowest.

To pluck a man's beard in the East is the highest mark of insult which can be shewn. "I gave my back to the smiters, and my cheeks to them that plucked off the hair." Isaiah, c. l. v. 6.

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trived this, which to me seems a most improbable[207] part of the story:—He commanded his daughter to prostitute her person indiscriminately to every comer, upon condition that, before enjoyment, each should tell her the most artful as well as the most wicked thing he had ever done; if any one should disclose the circumstance of which he wished to be informed, she was to seize him, and prevent his escape. The daughter obeyed the injunction of her father; the thief, knowing what was intended, prepared still farther to disappoint and deceive the king. He cut off the arm near the shoulder from his brother's recently dead body, and, concealing it under his cloak, he visited the king's daughter: when he was asked the same question as the rest,

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A fine beard is still held in great veneration in all Eastern countries, and inferiors sometimes kiss the beards of their superiors, but it is a great indignity to touch it, unless with reverence.

Thevenot informs us that it is customary among the Turks to swear by the beard.

Shylock, in the Merchant of Venice, complains of the indignity offered him in this respect:

> You that did void your rheum upon my beard,
> And foot me as you spurn a stranger cur.

[207] *Most improbable.*]—Herodotus, we may perceive from this passage, did not implicitly credit all the priests told him. Many other passages occur in the process of the work, to prove that our historian was by no means so credulous as has been generally imagined.—*Larcher.*

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he replied, "That the most wicked thing he had ever done was the cutting off the head of his brother, who was caught in a snare in the king's treasury; the most artful thing, was his making the guards drunk, and by that means effecting the removal of his brother's body." On hearing this, she endeavoured to apprehend him, but he, favoured by the night, put out to her the dead arm, which she seizing was thus deluded, whilst he made his escape. On hearing this also, the king was equally astonished at the art and audacity of the man; he was afterwards induced to make a proclamation through the different parts of his dominions, that if the offender would appear before him, he would not only pardon but liberally reward him. The thief, trusting to his word, appeared; Rhampsinitus was delighted with the man, and, thinking his ingenuity beyond all parallel, gave him his daughter. The king conceived the Ægyptians superior in subtlety to all the world, but he thought this man superior even to the Ægyptians.

CXXII. After this event, they told me that the same king[208] descended alive beneath the earth, to what the Greeks call the infernal regions, where he played at dice with the goddess

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[208] *The same king.*]—The kings of Ægypt had many names and titles; these names and titles have been branched out into persons, and inserted in the lists of the real monarchs.

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Ceres[209], and alternately won and lost[210]. On his return she presented him with a napkin embroidered with gold. This period of his return was observed by the Ægyptians as a solemn festival, and has continued to the time of my remembrance; whether the above, or some other

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I have mentioned of Osiris, that he was exposed in an ark, and for a long time in a state of death; the like is said of Orus, Adonis, Thamuz, and Talus, Tulus, or Thoulos.—Lastly, it is said of Rhameses, whom Herodotus calls Rhampsinitus, that he descended to the mansions of death, and after some stay returned to light. I mention these things to show that the whole is one and the same history, and that all these names are titles of the same person. They have however been otherwise esteemed, and we find them accordingly inserted in the lists of kings, by which means the chronology of Ægypt has been greatly embarrassed.—*Bryant.*

[209] *Ceres.*]—In the Greek, Demeter. "The Ægyptians," says Diodorus Siculus, "rated the earth as the common womb of all things, Meter, which the Greeks, by an easy addition, afterwards altered to Demeter."—*T.*

[210] *Alternately won and lost.*]—Valcnaer informs us in a note, that this circumstance of playing at dice with Ceres, and alternately conquering and being conquered, has been ingeniously explained to mean no more, quàm Cererem almam et fautricem vel vicissim inimicam experiri, to find agricultural experiments sometimes successful and sometimes otherwise. I think there was probably something also allegorical and mysterious in the story—possibly there might be in this feast something similar to the Eleusinian mysteries; the particular mention of Ceres suggests that opinion.—*T.*

It should be added, that Valcnaer refers the alternate victory and defeat of Rhampsinitus and Ceres to the years of plenty and scarcity under Pharaoh.

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incident, was the occasion of this feast, I will not take upon me to determine. The ministers of this solemnity have a vest woven within the space of the day; this is worn by a priest whose eyes are covered with a bandage. They conduct him to the path which leads to the temple of Ceres, and there leave him. They assert, that two wolves meet the priest thus blinded, and lead him to the temple, though at the distance of twenty stadia from the city, and afterwards conduct him back again to the place where they found him.

CXXIII. Every reader must determine for himself with respect to the credibility of what I have related; for my own part I heard these things from the Ægyptians, and think it necessary to transcribe the result of my enquiries. The Ægyptians esteem Ceres and Bacchus as the great deities of the realms below; they are also the first of mankind who have defended the immortality of the soul[211]. They believe, that on

[211] *Immortality of the soul.*]—The doctrine of the resurrection was first entertained by the Ægyptians; and their mummies were embalmed, their pyramids were constructed, to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can reanimate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms that no longer retain their form or substance. The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial

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the dissolution of the body the soul immediately enters some other animal, and that, after using as

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nature are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.—*Gibbon.*

The Platonic doctrine esteemed the body a kind of prison with respect to the soul. Somewhat similar to this was the opinion of the Marcionites, who called the death of the body the resurrection of the soul.—*T.*

The soul, by reason of its anxiety and impotence, being unable to stand by itself, wanders up and down to seek out consolations, hopes, and foundations, to which she adheres and fixes. But 'tis wonderful to observe how short the most constant and obstinate maintainers of this just and clear persuasion of the immortality of the soul do fall, and how weak their arguments are when they go about to prove it by human reason.—*Montaigne.*

To enumerate the various opinions which have prevailed concerning the soul of man, would be an undertaking alike arduous and unprofitable. Some of the ancients considered it as part of the substance of God; the doctrine of the propagation of souls prevailed, according to Bayle, or rather subsisted, to a very late period of the Christian æra: Averhoes affirmed its mortality, and most of the pagan philosophers believed it to be material; but the arguments for its immortality, which are afforded us in the word of God, at the same time animate our piety and satisfy our reason.—*T.*

What Gibbon says about Mahomet is as artful as it is absurd. He wants his readers to believe that Mahomet was the ingenious author of a regular and well-contrived system: whereas the truth is, that Mahomet had no contrivance or invention whatever; he borrowed every thing, and invented nothing; nor can he at all pretend to any original ideas on the immortality of the soul, the belief of which had been received and established many centuries before him.

Bruce observes that the scarabæus was not considered by the Ægyptians as an emblem of the immortality of the soul,

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vehicles every species of terrestrial, aquatic, and winged creatures, it finally enters a second time into a human body. They affirm that it undergoes all these changes in the space of three thousand years. This opinion some amongst the Greeks[212] have at different periods of time

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or its resurrection, " neither of which were at that time in contemplation."

Larcher, who is somewhat too eager on all occasions to censure Bruce, observes on this passage, that it would be easy to prove that the Ægyptians always entertained a belief of the soul's immortality.

Bruce's expression is not quite perspicuous; and it may be doubted whether Larcher's translation of it conveys the meaning which the author intended. Larcher renders it, " L'Immortalité n'etoit point encore l'objet des reflexions des hommes."

It is Larcher's opinion, that the doctrine of the soul's immortality degenerated by degrees into that of the transmigration of souls; that the Indians caught this latter opinion; but that Osiris, and Sesostris, who subdued the Indians, brought it back again into Ægypt. The learned Frenchman remarks, that the immortality of the soul was from a very early period known to the Greeks, and that the compositions of Homer evidently presume this. According to Cicero, Pherecydes of Syros was the first who supported this doctrine.

Pherecydos Syrius primus dixit animos esse hominum sempiternes.

[212] *Some amongst the Greeks.*]—He doubtless means to speak of Pherecydes of Syros, and Pythagoras.—*Larcher.*

Pherecydes was the disciple of Pittacus, and the master of Pythagoras, and also of Thales the Milesian. He lived in the time of Servius Tullius, and, as Cicero tells us, primum dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos, first taught that the souls of men were immortal. His life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius.—*T.*

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adopted as their own; but I shall not, though I am able, specify their names.

CXXIV. I was also informed by the same priests, that, till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Ægypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct[213]. He barred the avenues to

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[213] *Profligacy of conduct.*]—It is not easy to see what could induce M. de Pauw to attempt the vindication of this prince, and to reject as fabulous what Herodotus relates of his despotism, as if this were not the infirmity of these princes, and as if they did not all endeavour to establish it within their dominions. Ægypt enjoyed good laws at the first, they were observed during some ages, and the people were consequently happy; but their princes endeavoured to free themselves from the restraints imposed upon them, and by degrees they succeeded. M. de Voltaire was justified in considering the construction of the pyramids as a proof of the slavery of the Ægyptians; and it is with much justice he remarks, that it would not be possible to compel the English to erect similar masses, who are far more powerful than the Ægyptians at that time were. This is perfectly true, and M. de Pauw, in attacking Voltaire, has wandered from the question. He ought to have proved, that the kings of England were really able to compel their subjects to raise similar monuments, as Herodotus positively asserts of the princes of Ægypt. He ought, I say, to have proved this, and not to have advanced that the cultivation of their lands cost the English nine times more labour than it does in Ægypt; and that their marine in one year occasions the destruction of more people *than the construction of all the pyramids would have done in a long series of ages.* M. de Pauw would not see that a spirit of ambition,

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every temple, and forbad the Ægyptians to offer sacrifices; he proceeded next to make them labour servilely for himself. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile*; others were appointed to receive them in vessels, and

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a desire of wealth, &c. induce the English eagerly to undertake the most laborious enterprizes; that they are not obliged to do this; and in one word, that it is optional with them; on the contrary, the Ægyptians were compelled by their sovereigns to labours the most painful, humiliating, and servile.—*Larcher.*

* Dr. Shaw does not believe that the stones employed in the pyramids were brought from Arabia. Notwithstanding, says he, the great extravagance and surprizing undertakings of the Ægyptian kings, it doth not seem probable that they would have been at the vast labour and expence of bringing materials from so great a distance, when they might have been supplied from the very places where they were to employ them. Now the stone, which makes the bulk and outside of all these pyramids, is of the same nature and contexture, hath the like accidents and appearances of spars, fossil shells, cerulean substances, &c. as are common to the mountains of Libya. In like manner Joseph's Well, the quarries of Irouel near Cairo, the catacombs of Sakara, the Sphinx, and the Chambers that are cut out of the natural rock on the East and West side of these pyramids, do all of them discover the specific marks and characteristics of the pyramidal stones, and, as far as I could perceive, were not to be distinguished from them. The pyramidal stones, therefore, were in all probability taken from this neighbourhood; nay, perhaps they were those very stones that had been dug away to give the Sphinx and the chambers their proper views and elevations.—*Shaw*, p. 416.

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transport them to a mountain of Libya. For this service an hundred thousand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were consumed in the hard labour of forming the road, through which these stones were to be drawn; a work, in my estimation, of no less fatigue and difficulty than the pyramid itself[214]. This causeway[215] is five stadia in length,

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[214] *The pyramid itself.*]—For the satisfaction of the English reader, I shall in few words enumerate the different uses for which the learned have supposed the pyramids to have been erected. Some have imagined that, by the hieroglyphics inscribed on their external surface, the Ægyptians wished to convey to the remotest posterity their national history, as well as their improvements in science and the arts. This, however ingenious, seems but little probable; for the ingenuity which was equal to contrive, and the industry which persevered to execute, structures like the pyramids, could not but foresee that, however the buildings themselves might, from their solidity and form, defy the effects of time, the outward surface, in such a situation and climate, could not be proportionably permanent; add to this, that the hieroglyphics were a sacred language, and, obscure in themselves, and revealed but to a select number, might to posterity afford opportunity of ingenious conjecture, but were a very inadequate vehicle of historical facts.

Others have believed the pyramids intended merely as observatories to extend philosophic and astronomical knowledge; but in defence of this opinion little can be said: the adjacent country is a flat and even surface; buildings, therefore, of such a height, were both absurd and unnecessary; besides that, for such a purpose, it would have been very preposterous to have constructed such a number of costly and massy piles, differing so little in altitude.

[215 For this note, see page 43.] To

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forty cubits wide, and its extreme height thirty-two cubits; the whole is of polished marble,

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To this may be added, that it does not appear, from an examination of the pyramids, that access to the summit was ever practicable, during their perfect state.

By some they have been considered as repositories for corn, erected by Joseph, and called the granaries of Pharaoh. The argument against this is very convincing, and is afforded us by Pliny. "In the building of the largest of the pyramids, 366,000 men," says he, "were employed twenty years together." This, therefore, will be found but ill to correspond with the Scriptural history of Joseph. The years of plenty which he foretold were only seven; which fact is of itself a sufficient answer to the above.

It remains, therefore, to mention the more popular and the more probable opinion, which is, that they were intended for the sepulchres of the Ægyptian monarchs.

> Instead of useful works, like Nature, great,
> Enormous cruel wonders crush'd the land,
> And round a tyrant's tomb, who none deserv'd,
> For one vile carcass perish'd countless lives.—*Thomson.*

When we consider the religious prejudices of the Ægyptians, their opinion concerning the soul, the pride, the despotism, and the magnificence of their ancient princes, together with the modern discoveries with respect to the interior of these enormous piles, there seems to remain but little occasion for argument, or reason for doubt.

The following is from Mr. Wilford, Asiatic Res. vol. iii. p. 439.

On my describing the great Ægyptian pyramid to several very learned Brahmins, they declared it at once to have been a temple; and one of them asked if it had not a communication under ground with the river Cali (Nile); when I answered that such a passage was mentioned as having existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen; they una-

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adorned with the figures of animals. Ten years, as I remarked, were exhausted in forming this

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nimously agreed that it was a place appropriated to the worship of Padma Devi, and that the supposed tomb was a trough which on certain festivals her priests used to fill with the sacred water and Lotos flowers. What Pliny says of the labyrinth is applicable also to the pyramid; some insisted that it was the palace of a certain king, some that it had been the tomb of Mœris, and others, that it was built for the purpose of holy rites; a diversity of opinion among the Greeks, which shows how little we can rely on them; and, in truth, their pride made them in general very careless and superficial enquirers into the antiquities and literature of other nations.

Whatever attention the foregoing part of this observation may deserve, the conclusion is too hasty. With what truth can it be said that Herodotus was a superficial observer, who travelled to so many places for the sake of information and knowledge? Did not Plato and many others of the most accomplished Greeks do the same? Indeed the contrary of this assertion is the fact. The more ingenious of the Greeks were distinguished by their ardour for science, and the indefatigable pains which they took to obtain it.

215 *Causeway.*]—The stones might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary causeway. For at this time there is a causeway from that part, extending about a thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of hewn stone. The length of it agreeing so well with the account of Herodotus, is a strong confirmation that this causeway has been kept up ever since, though some of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with free-stone. It is strengthened on each side with semicircular buttresses, about fourteen feet diameter, and thirty feet apart; there are sixty-one of these buttresses, be-

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causeway, not to mention the time employed in the vaults[216] of the hill[217] upon which the pyramids are erected. These he intended as a place of burial for himself, and were in an island which he formed by introducing the waters of the Nile*.

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ginning from the north. Sixty feet farther it turns to the west for a little way, then there is a bridge of about twelve arches, twenty feet wide, built on piers that are ten feet wide. Above one hundred yards farther there is such another bridge, beyond which the causeway continues about one hundred yards to the south, ending about a mile from the pyramids, where the ground is higher. The country over which the causeway is built, being low, and the water lying on it a great while, seems to be the reason for building this causeway at first, and continuing to keep it in repair. —*Pococke.*

The two bridges described by Pococke are also mentioned, particularly by Norden. The two travellers differ essentially in the dimensions which they give of the bridges they severally measured; which induces M. Larcher reasonably to suppose that Pococke described one bridge, and Norden the other.—*T.*

216 *Vaults.*]—The second pyramid has a fosse cut in the rock to the north and west of it, which is about ninety feet wide, and thirty feet deep. There are small apartments cut from it into the rock, &c.

217 *The hill.*]—The pyramids are not situated in plains, but upon the rock that is at the foot of the high mountains which accompany the Nile in its course, and which make the separation betwixt Ægypt and Libya. It may have fourscore feet of perpendicular elevation above the horizon of the ground that is always overflowed by the Nile. It is a Danish league in circumference.—*Norden.*

* No writer or traveller has made any mention of this canal, which is again spoken of in chapter 127; not even Diodorus Siculus. See Grobert, p. 25.

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The pyramid itself was a work of twenty years: it is of a square form; every front is eight plethra[218] long, and as many in height; the stones

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[218] *Eight plethra.*]—To this day the dimensions of the great pyramid are problematical. Since the time of Herodotus, many travellers and men of learning have measured it; and the difference of their calculations, far from removing, have but augmented doubt. I will give you a table of their admeasurements, which at least will serve to prove how difficult it is to come at truth.

	Height of the great pyramid.	Width of one side.
Ancients.	Feet.	Feet.
Herodotus	800	800
Strabo	625	600
Diodorus	600 some inches	700
Pliny		708
Moderns.		
Le Brun	616	704
Prosp. Alpinus	625	750
Thevenot	520	612
Niebuhr	440	710
Greaves	444	648

Number of the layers or steps.

Greaves	207
Maillet	208
Albert Lewenstein	260
Pococke	212
Belon	250
Thevenot	208

To me it seems evident that Greaves and Niebuhr are prodigiously deceived in the perpendicular height of the great pyramid. All travellers agree it contains at least two hundred and seven layers, which layers are from four to two feet high. The highest are at the base, and they decrease insensibly to the top. I measured several, which were more

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very skilfully cemented, and none of them of less dimensions than thirty feet.

CXXV. The ascent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what some call steps, and others altars*. Having finished the first flight,

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than three feet high, and I found none that were less than two; therefore the least mean height that can be allowed them is two feet and a half, which, according to the calculation of Greaves himself, who counted two hundred and seven, will give five hundred and seventeen feet six inches in perpendicular height.—*Savary.*

See the conclusion of this book, for farther remarks on the pyramids.

* Shaw takes occasion from this passage to intimate his opinion that the original design of the pyramids never was completed.

"Neither does it appear that either *this* or any other of the three greater pyramids was ever finished. For the stones in the entrance into the greatest being placed archwise, and at a greater height than seems necessary for so small a passage, there being also a large space left on each side of it, by discontinuing several of the parallel rows of steps, which, in other places, run quite round the pyramid; these circumstances, I say, in the architecture of this building, seem to point out to us some farther design, and that originally there might have been intended a large and magnificent portico. Neither were the steps, or *little altars*, as *Herodotus* calls them, to remain in the same condition they have been in from the earliest records of Time: for these were all of them to be filled up in such a manner with prismatical stones, that each side of the *pyramid*, as in that of *Cestius*, at *Rome*, was to be smooth and upon a plane. Now nothing of this kind appears to have been ever attempted in the lesser or greater of these *pyramids* (the latter of which wants likewise a great

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they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines [219] constructed of short pieces of wood; from the second, by a similar engine, they

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part of the point, where this filling up was most probably to commence); but in the second, commonly called *Chephren's pyramids*, which may hint to us what was intended in them all, we see near a quarter of the whole pile very beautifully filled up, and ending at the top like the point of a diamond. These stones, agreeable perhaps to the depth of the strata from whence they were hewn, are from five to thirty feet long, and from three to four feet high. Yet notwithstanding the weight and massiveness of the greatest part of them, they have all been laid in mortar, which at present is easily crumbled to powder, though originally perhaps it might be of greater tenacity, as the composition of it seems to be the same with that of Barbary."

[219] *Aid of machines.*]—Mr. Greaves thinks that this account of Herodotus is full of difficulty. "How, in erecting and placing so many machines, charged with such massy stones, and those continually passing over the lower degrees, could it be avoided, but that they must either unsettle them, or endanger the breaking of some portions of them? Which mutilations would have been like scars in the face of so magnificent a building."

I own that I am of a different opinion from Mr. Greaves; for such massy stones as Herodotus has described would not be discomposed by an engine resting upon them, and which, by the account of Herodotus, I take to be only the pulley. The account that Diodorous gives of raising the stones by imaginary χωματων (heaps of earth), engines not being then, as he supposes, invented, is too absurd to take notice of. And the description that Herodotus has given, notwithstanding all the objections that have been raised to it, and which have arisen principally from misrepresenting him, appears to me very clear and sensible.—*Dr. Templeman's Notes to Norden.*

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were raised to the third, and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were regular divisions in the ascent of the pyramid, though in fact there might only be one, which, being easily manageable, might be removed from one range of the building to another, as often as occasion made it necessary: both modes have been told me, and I know not which best deserves credit. The summit of the pyramid was first of all finished [220]; descending thence, they regularly completed the whole. Upon the outside were inscribed, in Ægyptian characters [221], the various sums of money expended, in the progress of the work, for the radishes, onions, and

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220 *First of all finished.*]—The word in the text is εξεποιηθη, which Larcher has rendered, "On commença revêtir et perfectionner."

Great doubts have arisen amongst travellers and the learned, whether the pyramid was coated or not. Pliny tells us, that at Busiris lived people who had the agility to mount to the top of the pyramid. If it was graduated by steps, little agility would be requisite to do this; if regularly coated it is hard to conceive how any agility could accomplish it.

Norden says, that there is not the least mark to be perceived to prove that the pyramid has been coated by marble.

Savary is of a contrary opinion: "That it was coated," says he, "is an incontestable fact, proved by the remains of mortar, still found in several parts of the steps, mixed with fragments of white marble." Upon the whole, it seems more reasonable to conclude that it was coated.—*T.*

221 *Ægyptian characters.*]—Probably in common characters, and not in hieroglyphics.—*Larcher.*

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garlic consumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my interpreter informed me, amounted to no less a sum than one thousand six hundred talents. If this be true, how much more must it have necessarily cost for iron tools, food, and clothes for the workmen, particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed on the building itself, adding what was spent in the hewing and conveyance of the stones, and the construction of the subterraneous apartments!

CXXVI. Cheops having exhausted his wealth, was so flagitious, that he prostituted his daughter[222], commanding her to make the most of her person. She complied with her father's injunctions, but I was not told what sum she thus procured: at the same time she took care to perpetuate the memory of herself; with which view she solicited every one of her lovers to present her with a stone. With these it is reported the middle of the three pyramids[223], fronting the larger one,

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[222] *Prostituted his daughter.*]—This account of the king's prostituting his daughter has been thought so full of horror, that many have doubted the truth of it; but we have had in our own country an instance of as detestable a crime in a husband's prostituting his wife merely from an unnatural passion.—See *State Trials, the Case of Mervin Lord Audley.*

[223] *The middle of the three pyramids.*]—The acts of magnificence which the courtesans of antiquity were enabled to accomplish from the produce of their charms, almost exceed

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was constructed, the elevation of which on each side is one hundred and fifty feet.

CXXVII. According to the Ægyptians, this Cheops reigned fifty years. His brother Chephren[224] succeeded to his throne, and adopted a similar conduct. He also built a pyramid, but this was less than his brother's, for I measured them both; it has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the other pyramid surrounds an island, where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited[225]. Of this latter pyramid, the first ascent is entirely

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belief. It is told of Lamia, the charming mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, that she erected at Sicyon a portico, so beautiful and superb, that an author named Polemo wrote a book to describe it.—See *Athenæus, and the Letters of Alciphron.—T.*

224 *His brother Chephren.*]—Diodorus Siculus remarks, that some authors are of opinion, that it was not his brother who succeeded him, but his son Chabryis, or Chabryen. Probably, says M. Larcher, the same word differently written.

225 *Is said to be deposited.*]—The kings designed these pyramids for their sepulchres, yet it happened that their remains were not here deposited. The people were so exasperated against them, by the severe labours they had been compelled to endure, and were so enraged at the oppressive cruelty of their princes, that they threatened to take their bodies from their tombs, and cast them to the dogs. Both of them, therefore, when dying, ordered their relations to bury them in some secret place.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

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of Æthiopian marble * of divers colours, but it is not so high as the larger pyramid, near which it stands, by forty feet. This Chephren reigned fifty-six years; the pyramid he built stands on the same hill with that erected by his brother: the hill itself is near one hundred feet high †.

CXXVIII. Thus for the space of one hundred and six years the Ægyptians were exposed to every species of oppression and calamity, not having in all this period, permission to worship in their temples. They have so extreme an aversion for the memory of these two monarchs, that they are not very willing to mention their names [226]. They call their pyramids by the name

* Larcher thinks this was the stone which Pliny calls pyropœcilos, that is, granite, and might, the learned Frenchman is of opinion, be brought from Syene, which being on the borders of Æthiopia, might, in less accurate language, be termed Æthiopia itself.

† Herodote accuse 100 pieds environ pour l'elevation du rocher. M. Norden, c. 3. Mais aucun de ces auteurs n'indique le point duquel il est parti pour apprecier cette hauteur. Le defaut d'evaluer à l'œil des dimensions dont la verification etait difficile, parait avoir été de tous les tems: c'est, à mon avis, un des motifs des contradictions que l'on rencontre dans differens ouvrages. J'ai cru que le niveau des eaux indiquant le point le plus bas, il fallait niveler depuis le canal jusqu'au bas de l'arrete N. E. du Cheops.—*Grobert.*

[226] *Mention their names.*]—Part of the punishment annexed in France to high-treason, and other enormous offences, was the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons.

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of the shepherd Philitis[227], who at that time fed his cattle in those places.

This is probably the reason, observes M. Larcher, why historians are so much divided in opinion concerning the names of the princes who erected the pyramids.

This seems a proper place to do an act of justice to our countryman Shaw.

In his remarks on this passage of Herodotus, Shaw says, Herodotus indeed, who has preserved these reports, doth not give much credit to them; which his French translator has thus ignorantly rendered:—" Il faut avouer cependant que Herodote qui nous a transmis tous ces beaux contes ne merite pas d'etre cru à cet regard." Shaw says no such thing; he is, however, evidently mistaken, when he says that of the two great pyramids, Cheops erected the first, and the daughter of Cheops the second. According to Herodotus, Cheops constructed the first, Chephren the second, and Mycerinus the third. That which the daughter of Cheops built was opposite to the first and largest, and in the middle between the two others.

[227] *Philitis.*]—Some of the pyramids in Ægypt were styled the pyramids of the shepherd Philitis, and were said to have been built by people whom the Ægyptians held in abomination; from whence we may form a judgment of the persons by whom these edifices were erected. Many hills and places of reputed sanctity were denominated from shepherds. Caucasus, in the vicinity of Colchis, had its name conferred by Jupiter, in memory of Caucasus, a shepherd. Mount Cithæron, in Bœotia, was called Asterius, but received the former name from one Cithæron, a shepherd, supposed to have been there slain.—*Bryant.*

The shepherds alluded to were probably the Israelites.—See some acute remarks on the superstitions and ignorance of the ancient Ægyptians in the time of Herodotus, in Gifford's excellent translation of Juvenal, pp. 471, 2, 3.

Qui de iis scripserunt, says Pliny, speaking of the pyra-

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CXXIX. Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, succeeded Chephren: as he evidently disapproved of his father's conduct, he commanded the temples to be opened, and the people, who had been reduced to the extremest affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice, at the shrines of their gods. He excelled all that went before him, in his administration of justice. The Ægyptians revere his memory beyond that of all his predecessors, not only for the equity of his decisions[228], but because, if complaint was ever made of his conduct as a judge, he condescended to remove and redress the injury[229]. Whilst Mycerinus thus distinguished himself by his exemplary conduct to his subjects, he lost his daughter and only child, the first misfortune he experienced. Her death excessively afflicted him; and wishing to honour her funeral with more than ordinary splendour, he enclosed her body

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mids, sunt Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butonides, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demeteles, Apion. Inter eos omnes non constat a quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis auctoribus.

228 *Equity of his decisions.*]—It appears, as well from this paragraph as the remainder of the chapter, that the kings administered justice to their subjects in person. It is not, therefore, very easy to see what could induce M. Pauw to assert that the sovereigns of Ægypt had not the power of deciding in any civil cause.—*Larcher.*

229 *Redress the injury.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same fact; and says, that he expended large sums of money in making compensation to such as he thought injured by judicial decisions.—*T.*

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in an heifer[230] made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold.[231]

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230 *In an heifer.*]—The Patrica were not only rites of Mithres, but also of Osiris, who was in reality the same deity. We have a curious inscription to this purpose, and a representation which was first exhibited by the learned John Price, in his observations upon Apuleius. It is copied from an original which he saw at Venice, and there is an engraving from it in the edition of Herodotus by Gronovius, as well as in that by Wesseling, but about the purport of it they are strangely mistaken. They suppose it to relate to a daughter. of Mycerinus, the son of Cheops. She died, it seems, and her father was so affected with her death, that he made a bull of wood, which he gilt, and in it interred his daughter Herodotus says that he saw the bull of Mycerinus, and that it alluded to this history. But notwithstanding the authority of this great author, we may be assured, that it was an emblematical representation, and an image of the sacred bull, Apis and Mnevis.—*Bryant.*

Larcher is very severe on Mr. Bryant for his mistake about the print above mentioned. But after all there is nothing but the cow, the cloth over her, and the incense burning before her, that has the smallest reference to the story of the daughter of Mycerinus; nor is it easy to see how the inscription can be applied to it. If it represents an Ægyptian ceremony, it is more natural to assign it to that of the month Athyr, mentioned by Plutarch. How Larcher found out that this print represents a cow, and not a bull, does not appear.

Besides all this, Herodotus does not say that he saw either bull or heifer. He says, indeed, that it remained to his time, but that he relates only what he was told.

231 *Gold.*]—The prophet Isaiah threatening the people of Israel for their blind confidence in Ægypt, says, "Ye shall defile also the covering of thy graven images of silver, and the ornaments of thy molten images of gold." Winkelmann, speaking of the antiquity of art in Ægypt, says, "Les figures taillées originairement en bois, et les statues jettées en fonte, ont toutes leur denomination particuliere dans la langue

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CXXX. This heifer was not buried; it remained even to my time, in the palace of Sais, placed in a superb hall. Every day, costly aromatics were burnt before it, and every night it was splendidly illuminated; in an adjoining apartment are deposited statues of the different concubines of Mycerinus, as the priests of Sais informed me. These are to the number of twenty; they are colossal figures, made of wood, and in a naked state, but what women they are intended to represent, I presume not to say: I merely relate what I was told.

CXXXI. Of this heifer, and these colossal figures, there are some who speak thus: Mycerinus, they say, conceived an unnatural passion for his daughter, and offered violence to her person. She having, in the anguish of her mind, strangled herself, her father buried her in the manner we have described. The mother cut off the hands of those female attendants, who assisted the king in his designs upon his daughter, and therefore these figures are marked by the same imperfections, as distinguished the persons they represent, when alive. The whole of this story[232], and that in particular which relates to

Hebraïque: par la suite des tems les premieres furent dorées ou revêtues de lames d'or."—*T.*

[232] *The whole of this story.*]—In the old version of Herodotus before quoted, this passage is rendered thus: "But this is as true as the man in the moone, for that a man with

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the hands of these figures, to me seems very preposterous. I myself saw the hands lying on the ground, merely, as I thought, from the effect of time.

CXXXII. The body of this heifer is covered with a purple cloth[233], whilst the head and neck are very richly gilt: betwixt the horns there is a golden star; it is made to recline on its knees, and is about the size of a large cow. Every year it is brought from its apartment; at the period when the Ægyptians flagellate themselves in honour of a certain god, whom it does not become me to name, this heifer is produced to the light: it was the request, they say, of the dying princess to her father, that she might once every year behold the sun.

CXXXIII. Mycerinus, after the loss of his daughter, met with a second calamity; an oracle from the city Butos informed him that he should live six years, but die in the seventh; the intel-

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halfe an eye may clearely perceive that their hands fel off for very age, by reason that the wood, through long continuance of time, was spaked and perished."—*Herodotus his second Booke entituled Euterpe.*

[233] *With a purple cloth.*] —" The Ægyptians," says Plutarch, " have a custom in the month Athyr, of ornamenting a golden image of a bull, which they cover with a black robe of the finest linen. This they do in commemoration of Isis, and her grief for the loss of Orus."

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ligence astonished him, and he sent a message in return to reproach the goddess[234] with injustice; for that his father and his uncle, who had been injurious to mankind, and impious to the gods, had enjoyed each a length of life of which he was to be deprived, who was distinguished for his piety. The reply of the oracle told him, that his early death * was the consequence of the conduct for which he commended himself; he had not fulfilled the purpose of the Fates, who had decreed that for the space of one hundred and fifty years Ægypt should be oppressed; of which determination the two preceding monarchs had been aware, but he had not. As soon as Mycerinus knew that his destiny was immutable, he caused an immense number of lamps to be made, by the light of which, when evening approached, he passed his hours in the festivity of the banquet[235]: he frequented by day and by night the groves and streams, and whatever places he thought productive of delight: by this method of changing night

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[234] *To reproach the goddess.*]—Instead of τῳ θεῳ Valcnaer proposes to read τῇ θεῳ: "No god," says he, "had an oracle at Butos, but the goddess called by the Greeks Latona, the nurse of Apollo the son of Isis, who had an oracle at Butos held in the highest estimation."—*T.*

* He could not be very young; he was probably born some years before the death of his aged parent, and that was fifty-seven years before he began to reign.

[235] *Of the banquet.*]—Ælian records many examples similar to this of Mycerinus, in his Various History, book ii. chap. 41.

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into day, and apparently multiplying his six years into twelve, he thought to convict the oracle of falsehood.

CXXXIV. This prince also built a pyramid *[236], but it was not by twenty feet so high as his father's; it was a regular square on every side, three hundred feet in height, and as far as the middle, of Æthiopian stone. Some of the Greeks erroneously believe this to have been

* This pyramid of Mycerinus, as well as that of Chephren, could not possibly be built for sepulchres. It is evident that no passage was left to enter them, which was not the case with the great pyramid; and there is no tradition when they were erected by pious successors over the tombs of their ancestors.

236 *Built a pyramid.*]—" If," says Diodorus Siculus, speaking of this pyramid, " it is less in size and extent than the others, it is superior to them in the costliness of the materials, and excellence of the workmanship."—*T.*

To the East of it is the third pyramid, said to be built by Mycerinus. Herodotus speaks of it as three hundred feet square. I measured it at the top, fourteen feet on the North side, and twelve on the East, and counting seventy-eight steps, at one foot nine inches broad, it amounts to about the number of feet. Our author affirms that it was built half way up with Æthiopian marble, that is, cased with it. Diodorus mentions fifteen tier, so that computing each tier on the outside to be five feet deep, as I found them, that will amount to seventy-five feet, which answers within six feet of the height, computed at one hundred and fifty-six feet, supposing the steps to be two feet high. On this account Strabo says it was as expensive a work as the others. All round it are remains of the granite it was adorned with, which has been pulled down, and great part of it carried away.—*Pococke*, v. i. p. 47.

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erected by Rhodopis[237] the courtesan, but they do not seem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was; if they had, they never could have ascribed to her the building of a pyramid, produced at the expense of several thousand talents*[238]: besides this, Rhodopis lived at a dif-

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* Yet Herodotus tells a similar story of the daughter of Cheops.

237 *Rhodopis.*]—The following account of this Rhodopis is from Strabo.

It is said that this pyramid was erected by the lovers of Rhodopis, by Sappho called Doricha: she was the mistress of her brother Charaxus, who carried to Naucratis, Lesbian wine, in which article he dealt; others call her Rhodope. It is reported of her, that one day when she was in the bath, an eagle snatched one of her slippers from an attendant, and carried it to Memphis. The king was then sitting in his tribunal; the eagle, settling above his head, let fall the slipper into his bosom: the prince, astonished at this singular event, and at the smallness of the slipper, ordered a search to be made through the country for the female to whom it belonged. Having found her at Naucratis, she was presented to the king, who made her his wife: when she died, she was buried in the manner we have described,

Diodorus Siculus says, that this pyramid was believed to have been erected to the memory of Rhodopis, at the expense of some governors who had been her admirers.

Perizonius, in his notes on Ælian, says, that there were two of this name; one a courtesan, who afterwards became the wife of Psammitichus; the other the fellow-slave of Æsop, who lived in the time of Amasis; but Larcher satisfactorily shews that Perizonius was mistaken.—*T.*

238 *Several thousand talents.*]—Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled the Athenians to raise for him immediately the sum of two hundred and fifty talents, which he sent to his mistress

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ferent period, in the time, not of Mycerinus, but Amasis, and many years after the monarchs who erected the pyramids. Rhodopis was born in Thrace, the slave of Iadmon, the son of Hephæstopolis the Samian: she was the fellow-servant of Æsop, who wrote fables [239], and was also

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Lamia, saying it was for soap. When I inform the reader that she spent this immense sum in a feast given to her lord, what is here related of Rhodopis may seem less incredible.—*T.*

[239] *Æsop, who wrote fables.*]—This name is so familiar, that it may at first sight seem superfluous and inconsistent to say any thing on the subject; but possibly every English reader may not know, that the fables which go under his name were certainly not of his composition; indeed but little concerning him can be ascertained as fact. Plutarch assures us, that Crœsus sent Æsop to the oracle of Delphi; that Æsop and Solon were together at the court of Crœsus; that the inhabitants of Delphi put him to death, and afterwards made atonement to his memory: and finally, that Socrates versified his fables. Plato, who would not admit Homer into his commonwealth, gave Æsop an honourable place in them; at least such is the expression of Fontaine.

It remains to do away one absurd and vulgar prejudice concerning him. Modern painters and artists have often thought proper to represent Bacchus as a gross, vulgar, and bloated personage; on the contrary, all the ancient poets and artists represented him as a youth of most exquisite beauty. A similar error has prevailed with respect to Æsop; that it is an error, Bentley's reasoning must satisfactorily prove to whoever gives it the attention which it merits. "In Plato's feast," says he, "they are very merry upon Socrates' face, which resembled old Silenus. Æsop was one of the guests, but nobody presumes to jest on his ugliness." Philostratus has given, in two books, a description of a

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the slave of Iadmon; all which may be thus easily proved: The Delphians, in compliance with the directions of the oracle, had desired publicly to know, if any one required atonement to be made for the death of Æsop; but none appeared to do this, except a grandson of Iadmon, bearing the same name.

CXXXV. Rhodopis was first carried to Ægypt by Xanthus of Samos, whose view was to make

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gallery of pictures; one is Æsop, with a chorus of animals about him; he is painted smiling and looking thoughtfully on the ground, but not a word on his deformity: the Athenians erected a statue in his honour. See Phædrus's Fab. l. ii.

> Æsopo ingentem statuam posuere Attici,
> Servumque collocarunt æterna in basi,
> Patere honoris scirent ut cunctis viam,
> Nec generi tribui, sed virtuti gloriam.

If he had been deformed, continues Bentley, a statue had been no more than a monument of his ugliness, it would have been kinder to his memory to have let it alone. But after all, the strongest argument to prove that he was not of a disagreeable form, is, that he must have been sold into Samos by a trader in slaves. It is well known that these people bought up the most handsome youths they could procure. If we may judge of him from his companion and contubernalis, we must believe him a comely person. Rhodopis was the greatest beauty of her age, even to a proverb—*ἁπανθ' ὁμοια και Ροδωπις ἡ καλή.*

The compilers of the Encyclopædia Britannica have given into the vulgar error, and scruple not to pronounce Æsop a person of striking deformity.—*T.*

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money by her person. Her liberty was purchased for an immense sum by Charaxus[210] of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess: thus becoming free, she afterwards continued in Ægypt, where her beauty procured her considerable wealth, though by no means adequate to the construction of such a pyramid: the tenth part of her riches, whoever pleases may even now ascertain, and they will not be found so great as has been represented. Wishing to perpetuate her name in Greece, she contrived what had never before been imagined, as an offering for the Delphic temple: she ordered a tenth part of her property to be expended in making a number of iron spits, each large enough to roast an ox; they were sent to Delphi, where

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[210] *Charaxus.*]—Sappho had two other brothers, Eurygius and Larychus, or rather Larichus, as it is written in Athenæus, the Dorians being partial to terminations in *ichos.*—*Larcher.*

Athenæus asserts, that the courtesan of Naucratis, beloved by Charaxus, and satirised by Sappho, was called Dorica. The same author adds, that Herodotus calls her Rhodopis from ignorance; but the opinion of Herodotus is confirmed by Strabo.—*Larcher.*

See Athenæus, l. 12, c. 7.

Naucratis produced many celebrated courtesans, and of great beauty. Among these was Dorica, whom Sappho reprehends in some satirical verses, because being beloved by Charaxus, her brother, who had visited Naucratis on some commercial business, she extorted a great deal of money from him.

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they are now to be seen[241] behind the altar presented by the Chians. The courtesans of Naucratis[242] are generally beautiful; she of whom we speak, was so universally celebrated that her name is familiar to every Greek. There was also another courtesan, named Archidice[243], well known in Greece, though of less repute than

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241 *Where they are now to be seen.*]—They were not to be seen in the time of Plutarch; in his tract assigning the reasons why the Pythian ceased to deliver her oracles in verse, Brasidias, whose office it was to shew the curiosities of the place, points out the place where they formerly stood.—*T.*

242 *The courtesans of Naucratis.*]—"Howbeit such arrant honest women as are fishe for everye man, have in no place the like credite as in the city of Naucrates. Forsomuch as this stalant of whom we speake, had her fame so bruted in all places, as almost there was none in Greece that had not heard of the fame of Rhodope; after whome there sprang up also another as good as ever ambled, by name Archidice, &c.—*Herodotus his second booke, entituled Euterpe.*

243 *Archidice.*]—Of this courtesan the following anecdote is related by Ælian: She demanded a great sum of money of a young man who loved her; the bargain broke off, and the lover withdrew re infectâ: he dreamed in the night that he lay with the woman, which cured his passion. Archidice, on learning this, pretended that the young man ought to pay her, and summoned him before the judges: the judge ordered the man to put the sum of money required, into a purse, and to move it so that its shadow might fall on Archidice; his meaning was, that the young man's pleasure was but the shadow of a real one. The celebrated Lamia condemned this decision as unjust; the shadow of the purse, she observed, had not cured the courtesan's passion for the money, whereas the dream had cured the young man's passion for the woman.

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Rhodopis. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her liberty, returned to Mytilene: this woman was severely handled by Sappho in some satirical verses. But enough has been said on the subject of Rhodopis.

CXXXVI. After Mycerinus, as the priests informed me, Asychis reigned in Ægypt; he erected the east entrance to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the greatest and most magnificent. Each of the above-mentioned vestibules is elegantly adorned with figures well carved, and other ornaments of buildings, but this is superior to them all. In this reign, when commerce was checked, and injured, from the extreme want of money, an ordinance passed, that any one might borrow money, giving the body of his father as a pledge: by this law the sepulchre of the debtor became in the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged, he could neither be buried with his family, nor in any other vault, nor was he suffered to inter one of his descendants*. This prince, desirous of surpassing all his predecessors, left as a monument of his fame a pyramid of brick, with this inscription on a piece of marble: "Do not disparage

* The laws of England allow the arrest of a person's dead body till his debts are paid; this mentioned by Herodotus is the first example perhaps on record of such a custom.

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" my worth by comparing me to those pyramids " composed of stone; I am as much superior to " them, as Jove is to the rest of the deities; I " am formed of bricks [215], which were made of " mud adhering to poles drawn from the bottom " of the lake."—This was the most memorable of this king's actions.

CXXXVII. He was succeeded by an inhabitant of Anysis, whose name was Anysis, and

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[215] *Formed of bricks.*]—Mr. Greaves asserts, that all the pyramids were made of stone, of course he did not penetrate far enough into Ægypt to see the one here mentioned; it is situated about four leagues from Cairo, and is noticed both by Norden and Pococke.—*T.*

As to what concerns the works on which the Israelites were employed in Ægypt, I admit that I have not been able to find any ruins of bricks burnt in the fire. There is indeed a wall of that kind which is sunk very deep in the ground, and is very long, near to the pyramids, and adjoining to the bridges of the Saracens, that are situated in the plain; but it appears too modern to think that the bricks of which it is formed were made by the Israelites. All that I have seen elsewhere of brick building, is composed of the large kind of bricks hardened in the sun, such as those of the brick pyramid.—*Norden.*

The nature of the bricks made by the Israelites may be easily understood; they were unburnt bricks, of which straw made a part of the composition. Such have been seen from ancient Babylon: one of this description is preserved in the British Museum. They are every where to be seen in hot climates. Such could not be burnt without consuming the straw, which would involve an absurdity.

The brick in the British Museum, brought from the site of ancient Babylon, is evidently sun-dried. It is of a friable nature, and pieces of broken reeds are clearly to be seen.

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who was blind. In his reign, Sabacus [246], king of Æthiopia, overran Ægypt with a numerous army; Anysis fled to the morasses, and saved his life; but Sabacus continued master of Ægypt for the space of fifty years. Whilst he retained his authority, he made it a rule not to punish any crime with death, but according to the magnitude of the offence he condemned the criminal to raise the ground near the place to which he belonged; by which means the situation of the different cities became more and more elevated: they were somewhat raised under the reign of Sesostris, by the digging of the canals, but they became still more so under the reign of the Æthiopian. This was the case with all the cities of Ægypt, but more particularly with the city of Bubastis*. There is in this city a temple, which

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[246] *Sabacus.*]—This event happened in the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah. Prideaux, on the authority of Syncellus, says he took Bocchoris, and burnt him alive; but it is more generally believed that Bocchoris was anterior to Sabacus: this last is the person mentioned in the book of Kings, by the name of So.—*T.*

* *Bubastis.*]—The reader will do well to consult the French Memoires sur l'Ægypte, (vol. i. p. 215, et seq.) for the description of the ruins of the Temple of Bubastis, or Bastus, now called in the vernacular tongue, Thal Baslah. It is wonderful how very minutely the description given by the French travellers corresponds with this of Herodotus, exhibiting another most striking instance of his veracity and accuracy. The ruins of the temple are of granite, and form, as the French writer expresses himself, a school of Ægyptian

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well deserves our attention; there may be others larger as well as more splendid, but none which have a more delightful situation. Bubastis in Greek is synonymous with Artemis or Diana[247].

CXXXVIII. This temple, taking away the entrance, forms an island; two branches of the Nile meet at the entrance of the temple, and then separating, flow on each side entirely round it; each of these branches is one hundred feet wide, and regularly shaded with trees; the vestibule is forty cubits high, and ornamented with various figures, none of which are less than six cubits. The temple is in the centre of the town, and is in every part a conspicuous object; its situation has never been altered, though every other part of the city has been elevated; a wall ornamented with sculpture surrounds the building; in the interior part, a grove of lofty trees

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architecture. The position of Bubastis being found, gives us a point in the course of the old Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and this has been expressed by Major Rennell in the corrected map of Ægypt, which by his kind permission accompanies this work.

[247] *Artemis or Diana.*]—Bubastis was a virgin, presided at child births, and was the symbol of the moon. This resemblance with their Diana caused the Greeks to name her the Diana of the Ægyptians: yet the similitude was far from perfect, for with the latter she was not the goddess of the mountains, the woods, and the chase.

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shades the temple, in the centre of which is the statue of the goddess; the length and breadth of the temple each way, is one stadium. There is a paved way which leads through the public square of the city, from the entrance of this temple to that of Mercury[243], which is about thirty stadia in length.

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[243] *Mercury.*]—The Ægyptian Mercury was named Thoth or Theuth. Thoth with the Ægyptians was the inventor of the sciences; and as Mercury with the Greeks presided over the sciences, this last people called Thoth in their tongue by the name of Hermes or Mercury: they had also given the name of Mercury to Anubis, on account of some fancied similitude betwixt those deities. "It is not," says Plutarch, "a dog properly so called, which they revere under the name of Mercury, it is his vigilance and fidelity, the instinct which teaches him to distinguish a friend from an enemy, that which (to use the expression of Plato) makes this animal a suitable emblem to the god, the immediate patron of reason."

Servius on Virgil has a remark to the same effect.—*Larcher.*

This deity also with the Romans was esteemed the patron of arts, and the protector of learned men. See the Ode addressed to him by Horace, beginning with

Mercuri, (nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo,)
Tuque testudo, resonare septem
Callida nervis, &c.

Where he is not only represented as the patron, but the teacher of music. Learned men also were called Viri Mercuriales.

Nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset, Mercurialium
Custos virorum.—*Horace.* *T.*

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CXXXIX. The deliverance of Ægypt from the Æthiopian was, as they told me, effected by a vision, which induced him to leave the country: a person appeared to him in a dream, advising him to assemble all the priests of Ægypt, and afterwards cut them in pieces. This vision to him seemed to demonstrate, that in consequence of some act of impiety, which he was thus tempted to perpetrate, his ruin was at hand, from Heaven or from man. Determined not to do this deed, he conceived it more prudent to withdraw himself; particularly as the time of his reigning over Ægypt was, according to the declarations of the oracles, now to terminate. During his former residence in Æthiopia, the oracles of his country[249] had told him, that he should reign fifty years over Ægypt: this period being accomplished, he was so terrified by the vision, that he voluntarily withdrew himself.

CXL. Immediately on his departure[250] from Ægypt, the blind prince quitted his place of refuge, and resumed the government: he had re-

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249 *The oracles of his country.*]—The oracles in Æthiopia were the oracles of Jupiter.—*T.*

250 *On his departure.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that after the departure of Sabacus there was an anarchy of two years, which was succeeded by the reign of twelve kings, who at their joint expense constructed the labyrinth.

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sided for the period of fifty years in a solitary island, which he himself had formed of ashes and of earth. He directed those Ægyptians who frequented his neighbourhood for the purpose of disposing of their corn, to bring with them, unknown to their Æthiopian master, ashes for his use. Amyrtæus was the first person who discovered this island, which all the princes who reigned during the space of five hundred years[251] before Amyrtæus, were unable to do: it is called Elbo*, and is on each side ten stadia in length.

CXLI. The successor of this prince was Sethos, a priest of Vulcan[252]; he treated the military of

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[251] *Five hundred years.*]—M. Larcher says that the term of seven hundred is a mistake, and crept into the manuscript of Herodotus from a confusion of the numeral letters by copyists. The remark is as old as Perizonius, and accounted for by Bouhier. I have accordingly, on their joint authority, altered the reading from seven to five hundred, which indeed is also more consistent with probability.

* The El in this word, as well as in others which occur, seems to indicate that these were Arabic names, and that the El is the article.

[252] *Priest of Vulcan.*]—The following account is given by M. Larcher, from Plato, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus.

A prince cannot reign in Ægypt if he be ignorant of sacred affairs. If an individual of any other class comes accidentally to the crown, he must be immediately admitted of the sacerdotal order. "The kings," says Plutarch, "must be either of the order of priests or soldiers, these two classes being distinguished, the one by their wisdom, the other by

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Ægypt with extreme contempt, and as if he had no occasion for their services. Among other indignities, he deprived them of their aruræ[253], or fields of fifty feet square, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had given to each soldier: the result was, that when Sennacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked Ægypt with a mighty army, the warriors, whom he had thus treated, refused to assist him. In this perplexity the priest retired to the shrine of his god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes: here he sunk into a profound sleep, and his deity promised him in a dream, that if he marched to

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their valour."—When they have chosen a warrior for king, he is instantly admitted into the order of priests, who instruct him in their mysterious philosophy. The priests may censure the prince, give him advice, and regulate his actions. By them is fixed the time when he may walk, bathe, or visit his wife.

"Such privileges as the above," says M. Larcher, "must necessarily inspire them with contempt for the rest of the nation, and must have excited a spirit of disgust in a people not blinded by superstition." Sethos however experienced how dangerous it was to follow the maxims of the priesthood only.

253 *Arura.*]—Arura is a Greek word, which signifies literally a field ploughed for corn, and is sometimes used for the corn itself. It was also an Ægyptian measure. "Ægypt," says Strabo, "was divided into præfectures, which again were divided into Toparchiæ, and these into other portions, the smallest of which were termed *αρουραι.*" Suidas says it was a measure of fifty feet: from this word is derived *arvum*, *aro*, &c.—*See Hoffman on this word.*

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meet the Assyrians he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance. The vision inspired him with confidence; he put himself at the head of his adherents, and marched to Pelusium, the entrance of Ægypt: not a soldier accompanied the party, which was entirely composed of tradesmen[254] and artizans. On their arrival at Pelusium, so immense a number of mice[255] infested by night the enemy's camp, that their quivers and bows, together with what se-

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254 *Tradesmen.*]—The Ægyptians were divided into three classes; those of rank, who, with the priests, occupied the most distinguished honours of the state; the military, who were also husbandmen; and artizans, who exercised the meaner employments. The above is from Diodorus Siculus, who speaks probably of the three principal divisions: Herodotus mentions seven classes.—*Larcher.*

255 *Immense a number of mice.*]—The Babylonish Talmud hath it, that this destruction upon the army of the Assyrians was executed by lightning, and some of the Targums are quoted for saying the same thing: but it seemeth most likely, that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which is frequent in those parts, and often when it lights among a multitude destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast caravans of the Mahometans who go their annual pilgrimages to Mecca; and the words of Isaiah, which threatened Sennacherib with a blast that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing.

Herodotus gives us some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the Assyrians, in a fabulous application of it to the city of Pelusium, instead of Jerusalem, and to Sethos the Ægyptian, instead of Hezekiah.

It is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Assyria Sennacherib, as the Scriptures do, and the

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cured their shields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. In the morning the Arabians, finding themselves without arms, fled in confusion, and lost great numbers of their men. There is now to be seen in the temple of Vulcan, a marble statue of this king, having a mouse in his hand,

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time in both doth also well agree; which plainly shows that it is the same fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much disguised in the relation; which may be easily accounted for, when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the nation and to the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such a manner as would give reputation to either.—*Prideaux's Connection.*

M. Larcher, in a note of five pages on the above, says little more than our countryman, except that he adopts, with respect to the destruction of the army of Sennacherib, the opinion of Josephus, whose words are these;

" Sennacherib, on his return from the Ægyptian war, found his army, which he had left under Rabshakeh, almost quite destroyed by a judicial pestilence, which swept away, in officers and common soldiers, the first night they sat down before the city, one hundred eighty-five thousand men."

In his first edition, Larcher adopted the opinion of Josephus, that this destruction of Sennacherib's army was occasioned by a judicial pestilence; but in his second he retracts this, and considers it as erroneous, and for these reasons: there are no stagnant waters in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, and consequently no putrid exhalations to corrupt the air, or injure the health of the Assyrians. But suppose there had, how could these have effected the destruction of one hundred and eighty-five thousand men in the space of three days. This could only have been by a miracle not less than that recorded in Scripture. Thus, Larcher pertinently observes, in order to detract from Scripture, men, without perceiving it, fall into the most disgusting absurdities.

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and with this inscription: "Whoever thou art, "learn, from my fortune, to reverence the gods."

CXLII. Thus, according to the information of the Ægyptians and their priests, from the first king to this last, who was priest of Vulcan, a period of three hundred and forty-one generations had passed, in which there had been as many high priests, and the same number of kings. Three generations are equal to one hundred years, and therefore three hundred generations are the same as ten thousand years; the forty-one generations that remain, make one thousand three hundred and forty years. During the above space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, they assert that no divinity appeared in a human form; but they do not say the same of the time anterior to this account, or of that of the kings who reigned afterwards. During the above period of time the sun, they told me, had four times * deviated from his ordinary course, having twice risen where he uniformly goes down, and twice gone down where he uniformly rises. This however had produced no alteration in the climate of Ægypt; the fruits of the earth, and the phænomena of the Nile, had always been the

* After examining the different attempts to explain this story of the sun's changing his place four times, Larcher cuts the knot, by representing this as an extravagant rodomontade of the priests.

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same, nor had any extraordinary or fatal diseases occurred.

CXLIII. When the historian Hecatæus[256] was at Thebes, he recited to the priests of Jupiter the

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The Greeks had a fabulous tradition of the same kind. Plato relates, that under the reign of Atreus, the sun and stars changed their situation in the heavens.

And if to those Ægyptian wizards old,
Which in star rede were wont have best insight,
Faith may be given, it is by them told
That since the time they first took the sun's height,
Four times his place he shifted hath in sight,
And twice hath risen where he now doth west,
And wested twice where he ought rise aright.
Spenser, book v. stanz. 8.

[256] *When the historian Hecatæus.*]—Athenæus relates the same circumstance as from Hecatæus, which may serve to confirm the assertion of Porphyry, that Herodotus took great part of his second book, with very slight alteration, from Hecatæus. If this fact be once allowed, Herodotus will lose the character that he has long supported, of an honest man, and a faithful historian. But it appears from Athenæus himself, that the work which in later ages passed under the name of Hecatæus the Milesian, was not universally acknowledged for genuine; and Callimachus, who employed much of his time and pains in distinguishing genuine from spurious authors, attributes the supposed work of Hecatæus to another and a later writer. But what is perhaps even a stronger proof in our author's favour, is that he is never charged with the crime of theft by Plutarch, whose knowledge of this plagiarism, if it had ever existed, cannot be questioned, when we consider his extensive and accurate learning; and whose zeal to discover it cannot be doubted, when we reflect that he has written a treatise expressly to

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particulars of his descent, and endeavoured to prove that he was the sixteenth in a right line from some god. But they did to him what they afterwards did to me, who had said nothing on the subject of my family. They introduced me into a spacious temple, and displayed to me a number of figures in wood; this number I have before specified, for every high priest places here,

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prove the malignity of Herodotus, though in fact it only proves his own. Could Plutarch miss such an opportunity of taxing Herodotus? Could he have failed of saying, that this historian was at once so malicious and so ungrateful as to speak with disrespect and contempt of the author to whom he was obliged for a considerable portion of his own history?

Our materials for an account of Hecatæus are at best but scanty. He was a native of Miletus, and son of one Ægisander; he was one of the very first writers of prose, with Cadmus and Pherecydes of Scyros. Salmasius contends that he was older than Pherecydes, but younger than Eumelus. The most ample account of him is found in Vossius. He certainly wrote a book of genealogies; and the sentence with which he commences his history is preserved in Demetrius Phalereus: it is to this effect, "What follows is the recital of Hecatæus of Miletus; I write what seems to me to be true. The Greeks in my opinion have related many things contradictory and ridiculous."

The Ægyptian priests absolutely denied to Hecatæus the possibility of a human being's descent from a god. Bergier had connected this sentence with the declaration of the same priests to Herodotus, that no divinity appeared in a human form for a specified number of years. Larcher, not attending to this, blames Bergier, as if the other passage did not occur in Herodotus.—*T.*

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during his life, a wooden figure of himself. The priests enumerated them before me, and proved, as they ascended from the last to the first, that the son followed the father in regular succession. When Hecatæus, in the explanation of his genealogy, ascended regularly, and traced his descent in the sixteenth line from a god, they opposed a similar mode of reasoning to his, and absolutely denied the possibility of a human being's descent from a god. They informed him that each of these colossal figures was a Piromis[257], descended

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[257] *Piromis.*]—There are many strange and contradictory opinions about this passage, which, if I do not deceive myself, is very plain, and the purport of it this:—"After the fabulous accounts, there had been an uninterrupted succession of Piromis after Piromis, and the Ægyptians referred none of these to the dynasties of either the gods or heroes, who were supposed to have first possessed the country."—From hence I think it is manifest that Piromis signifies a man.—*Bryant.*

M. Lacroze observes, that Brama, which the Indians of Malabar pronounce Biroumas, in the Sanscreet or sacred language of India, signifies the same as Piromis: and that Pirimia, in the language of the inhabitants of Ceylon, means also at this day a man. Quære, is this coincidence the effect of chance, or of the conquests of Sesostris, who left colonies in various parts of Asia?—*Larcher.*

If it were admitted that Ægypt was colonized from India, every difficulty of this kind vanishes at once. Larcher either did not think of this mode of solving it, or distrusted the fact. Nothing certainly appears more absurd than this double line of priests and kings, who each reigned for thirty-three years, for three hundred and forty-one generations.

It

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from a Piromis; and they farther asserted, that without any variation this had uniformly occurred to the number of the three hundred and forty-one, but in this whole series there was no reference either to a god or a hero. Piromis, in the Ægyptian language, means one "beautiful and good."

CXLIV. From these priests I learned, that the individuals whom these figures represented, so far from possessing any divine attributes, had all been what I have described. But in the times which preceded, immortal beings[258] had reigned

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It is hardly possible that Herodotus should have been mistaken in his explanation of this word. We have a sufficient number of examples in our own language, what variation of meaning words undergo by the process of time. Thus, from the Saxon gode, good, we have God; the original meaning of man was sin. See Casaubon's remarks on this circumstance. In the old Saxon manuscripts these words good and evil, when they signify God and man, are distinguished by a particular accent. If the reader wishes to see more on this subject, he may consult Casaubon de Lingua Anglicâ Vetere, p. 236.

[258] *Immortal beings.*]—M. Larcher says, that all governments were at first theocratic, and afterwards became monarchic and democratic. In the theocratic form the priests governed alone, who also preserved a considerable influence in monarchies and republics. What prevents our supposing that Ægypt was governed many thousand years by priests; and that this government, in reality theocratic, was named

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in Ægypt, that they had communication with men, and had uniformly one superior; that Orus[259], whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last of these; he was the son of Osiris, and, after he had expelled Typhon[260], himself succeeded to

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from that deity to whom the high priest who enjoyed the sovereign authority attached himself?

In all this, Larcher is wrong, and ought to be corrected. The first governments were patriarchal, then monarchical. The conclusion of the learned Frenchman's remark is absurd enough. Ægypt was governed by kings in the time of Moses: the high antiquity of Ægypt is still among the prevailing cant of infidels. Larcher should have reconsidered this note.

259 *Orus.*]—According to Plutarch, the Ægyptians held two principles, one good, the other evil. The good principle consisted of three persons, father, mother, and son; Osiris was the father, Isis the mother, and Orus the son. The bad principle was Typhon: Osiris, strictly speaking, was synonymous with reason; Typhon the passions, *αλογος*, without reason.—*T.*

260 *Typhon.*]—Typhon, as the principle of evil, was always inclined to it; all bad passions, diseases, tempests, and earthquakes, were imputed to him. Like the untutored Indians and savages, the Ægyptians paid adoration to Typhon, from fear; they consecrated to him the hippopotamos, the crocodile, and the ass. According to Jablonski, the word Typhon is derived from *Theu* a wind, and *phou* pernicious.

To Osiris is ascribed the introduction of the vine; "and where," says Mr. Bryant, "that was not adapted to the soil, he showed the people the way to make wine of barley."—*T.*

The Greeks considered Osiris the same person as Bacchus, because they discovered a great resemblance between the fables related of Bacchus and the traditions of the Ægyptians

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the throne; it is also to be observed, that in the Greek tongue Osiris is synonymous with Bacchus.

CXLV. The Greeks considered Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, as the youngest of their deities; but Ægypt esteems Pan as the most ancient of the gods, and even of those eight[261] who are accounted the first. Hercules was among those of the second rank in point of antiquity, and one of

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concerning Osiris. Learned men of modern times have believed that Isuren, one of the three divinities to whom the Indians now pay adoration, is the ancient Osiris, but this remains to be proved.—*Larcher.*

The three Indian deities are Brama, Vishnou, and Seeva; where Larcher found Isuren, I cannot imagine.

261 *Even of those eight.*]—The ark, according to the traditions of the Gentile world, was prophetic, and was looked upon as a kind of temple or place of residence of the Deity. In the compass of eight persons it comprehended all mankind; which eight persons were thought to be so highly favoured by Heaven, that they were looked up to by their posterity with great reverence, and came at last to be reputed deities. Hence in the ancient mythology of Ægypt there were precisely eight gods; of these the sun was chief, and was said to have reigned first. Some made Hephaistus the first king of that country; whilst others supposed it to have been Pan. There is no real inconsistency in these accounts; they were all three titles of the same deity, the Sun.—*Bryant.*

Herodotus says, eight of the first sort; he also tells us that Orus, the Apollo of the Greeks, was the last god that reigned: what then can Mr. Bryant mean by saying he was the first?

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those called the twelve gods. Bacchus was of the third rank, and among those whom the twelve produced. I have before specified the number of years which the Ægyptians reckon from the time of Hercules to the reign of Amasis: from the time of Pan a still more distant period is reckoned; from Bacchus, the youngest of all, to the time of Amasis, is a period, they say, of fifteen thousand years. On this subject the Ægyptians have no doubts, for they profess to have always computed the years, and to have kept written accounts of them with the minutest accuracy. From Bacchus, who is said to be the son of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus[262], to the present time, is one thousand six hundred years: from Hercules, the reputed son of Alcmena, is nine hundred years; and from Pan, whom the Greeks call the son of Penelope and Mercury, is eight hundred years, before which time was the Trojan war.

CXLVI. Upon this subject I have given my own opinion, leaving it to my readers to deter-

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[262] *Daughter of Cadmus.*]—The son of Cadmus is supposed to have lived at the time of the Trojan war; his daughter Semele is said to have been sixteen hundred years before Herodotus, by that writer's own account:—She was at this rate prior to the foundation of Argos, and many centuries before her father, near a thousand years before her brother.—*Bryant.*

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mine for themselves. If these deities had been known in Greece, and then grown old, like Hercules the son of Amphitryon, Bacchus the son of Semele, and Pan the son of Penelope, it might have been asserted of them, that although mortals, they possessed the names of those deities known in Greece in the times which preceded. The Greeks affirm of Bacchus, that as soon as he was born[263] Jove inclosed him in his thigh, and carried him to Nysa *, a town of Æthiopia

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[263] *As soon as he was born.*]—Upon this subject I have somewhere met an opinion to the following effect: When the ancients spoke of the nativity of their gods, we are to understand the time in which their worship was first introduced; when mention is made of their marriage, reference is to be made to the time when the worship of one was combined with that of another. Some of the ancients speak of the tombs of their gods, and that of Jupiter in Crete was notorious, the solution of which is, that the gods sometimes appeared on earth, and after residing for a time amongst men, returned to their native skies: the period of their return was that of their supposed deaths.

The following remark is found in Cicero's Tusculan Questions; "Ipsi illi majorum gentium dii qui habentur hinc a nobis in cœlum profecti reperiuntur."—The gods of the popular religions were all but deceased mortals advanced from earth to heaven.—*T.*

* Diodorus Siculus makes the same remark, and adds, that from this circumstance he derived his name of Dionusos, from his father, and the place where he was brought up.

There were places of this name in Arabia, Cappadocia, Caria, India, and Lydia.

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beyond Ægypt: with regard to the nativity of Pan they have no tradition among them; from all which, I am convinced, that these deities were the last known among the Greeks, and that they date the period of their nativity from the precise time that their names came amongst them;—the Ægyptians are of the same opinion.

CXLVII. I shall now give some account of the internal history of Ægypt; to what I learned from the natives themselves, and the information of strangers, I shall add what I myself beheld. At the death of their sovereign, the priest of Vulcan, the Ægyptians recovered their freedom; but as they could not live without kings, they chose twelve, among whom they divided the different districts of Ægypt. These princes connected themselves with each other by intermarriages, engaging solemnly to promote their common interest, and never to engage in any acts of separate policy. The principal motive of their union was to guard against the declaration of an oracle, which had said, that whoever among them should offer in the temple of Vulcan a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Ægypt; and it is to be remembered that they assembled indifferently in every temple.

CXLVIII. It was the resolution of them all, to leave behind them a common monument of

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their fame:—With this view, beyond the lake Mœris, near the city of crocodiles [264], they constructed a labyrinth [265], which exceeds, I can truly

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264 *City of crocodiles.*]—We are ignorant of the real name of this city; it is very probable that it was called from the word Champsis, which according to our author was the Ægyptian term for crocodile.—*Larcher.*

265 *A labyrinth.*]—Diodorus says this was built as a sepulchre for Mendes; Strabo, that it was near the sepulchre of the king that built it, which was probably Imandes. Pomponius Mela speaks of it as built by Psammitichus; but as Menes or Imandes is mentioned by several, possibly he might be one of the twelve kings of greatest influence and authority, who might have the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and as a peculiar honour might have his sepulchre apart from the others.

It was such an extraordinary building, that it was said Dædalus came to Ægypt on purpose to see it, and built the labyrinth in Crete for king Minos on the model of this. See a minute description of the labyrinth and temple of the labyrinth by Pococke.

Amidst the ruins of the town of Caroun, the attention is particularly fixed by several narrow, low, and very long cells, which seem to have had no other use than of containing the bodies of the sacred crocodiles: these remains can only correspond with the labyrinth. Strabo, Herodotus, and Ptolemy, all agree in placing the labyrinth beyond the city Arsinoe toward Libya, and on the bank of the lake Mœris, which is the precise situation of these ruins.

Strabo's account of this place does not exactly accord with that of Herodotus, but it confirms it in general: Strabo describes winding and various passages so artfully contrived, that it was impossible to enter any one of the palaces, or to leave it when entered, without a guide.—*Savary.*

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say, all that has been said of it; whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the workmanship and expense. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim

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The architect who should be employed to make a plan of the labyrinth, from the description of Herodotus, would find himself greatly embarrassed. We cannot form an idea of the parts which composed it; and as the apartments were then so differently formed from ours, what was not obscure in the time of our author, is too much so for us at present. M. Larcher proceeds in an attempt to describe its architecture; and informs the reader, that he conceives the courts must have been in the style of the hotel de Soubise.

There were anciently four celebrated labyrinths; one in Ægypt, a second in Crete, a third at Lemnos, and a fourth erected by Porsenna in Tuscany. That at Lemnos is described in very high terms by Pliny.

Labyrinth, in its original sense, means any perplexed and twisted place. Suidas adds λεγεταιδε επι των φλυαρων, and it is used of prating silly people: in its figurative sense it is applied to any obscure or complicated question, or to any argument which leaves us where we first set out.

The construction of the labyrinth has been imputed to many different persons, on which account the learned have supposed, that there were more labyrinths than one. That this was not the case is satisfactorily proved by Larcher in a very elaborate note.

Larcher, after a long investigation of the subject, finally determines the situation of the labyrinth to have been at Sennour, in opposition to the authority of Pococke, the Abbé Banier, Savary, and others, but in conformity with the opinion of M. Gibert. See Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, v. xxviii. p. 241.

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admiration, and the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the magnificent structures of Greece, but even these are inferior to the labyrinth. It is composed of twelve courts, all of which are covered; their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north and six to the south; one wall encloses the whole; the apartments are of two kinds, there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath, in all three thousand. Of the former I speak from my own knowledge and observation; of the latter, from the information I received. The Ægyptians who had the care of the subterraneous apartments would not suffer me to see them, and the reason they alleged was, that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles*, and the bodies of the kings who con-

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* The following note is from Mr. Wilford's Dissertation on Ægypt and the Nile, in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 425.

From the account given by Herodotus, we may conjecture that the coffins of the sacred crocodiles, as they were called, contained, in fact, the bodies of those princes whom both Ægyptians and Hindoos named Sucas, though suc means a parrot in Sanscrit, and a crocodile in the Coptic dialect: the Sanscrit words for a crocodile are cumbhira and nacra, to which some expositors of the Amarcosh add avagraha and gnaha; but if the royal name was symbolical, and implied a peculiar ability to seize and hold, the symbol might be taken from a bird of prey, as well as from the lizard kind, especially as a sect of the Ægyptians abhorred the crocodile, and

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structed the labyrinth: of these therefore I presume not to speak; but the upper apartments, I myself examined, and I pronounce them among the greatest efforts of human industry and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts, excited my warmest admiration: from spacious halls I passed through smaller apartments, and from them again to large and magnificent courts, almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the finest sculpture; around each court are pillars of the whitest and most polished marble: at the point where the labyrinth terminates, stands a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on its outside, and the entrance to it is by a subterraneous path.

CXLIX. Wonderful as this labyrinth is, the lake Mœris[266], near which it stands, it still more

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would not have applied it as an emblem of any legal and respectable power, which they would rather have expressed by a hawk or some distinguished bird of that order; others, indeed, worshipped crocodiles, and I am told that the very legend before us, framed according to their notions, may be found in some of the Puranas.

[266] *The lake Mœris.*]—That the reader may compare what modern writers and travellers have said on this subject, I shall place before him, from Larcher, Pococke, Norden, Savary, &c. what to me seems most worthy of attention.

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extraordinary: the circumference of this is three thousand six hundred stadia, or sixty schæni,

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I shall first remark, that Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pomponius Mela, differ but little in opinion concerning its extent: according to the former it was four hundred and fifty miles in circumference, the latter says it was five hundred; the former assert also that in some places it was three hundred feet deep. The design of it was probably to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off such a quantity of water, when it was apprehended that there might be an inundation sufficient to hurt the land. The water, Pococke observes, is of a disagreeable muddy taste, and almost as salt as the sea, which quality it probably contracts from the nitre that is in the earth, and the salt which is every year left in the mud.

The circumference of the lake at present is no more than fifty leagues. Larcher says we must distinguish betwixt the lake itself, and the canal of communication from the Nile; that the former was the work of nature, the latter of art. This canal, a most stupendous effort of art, is still entire; it is called Bahr Yousoph, the river of Joseph, according to Savary forty leagues in length. There were two other canals with sluices at their mouths, from the lake to the river, which were alternately shut and opened when the Nile increased or decreased. This work united every advantage, and supplied the deficiencies of a low inundation, by retaining water which would uselessly have been expended in the sea. It was still more beneficial when the increase of the Nile was too great, by receiving that superfluity which would have prevented seed-time.

Were the canal of Joseph cleansed, the ancient mounds repaired, and the sluices restored, this lake might again serve the same purposes.—The pyramids described by Herodotus no longer subsist, neither are they mentioned by Strabo.

When it is considered that this was the work of an indi-

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which is the length of Ægypt about the coast. This lake stretches itself from north to south, and in its deepest parts is two hundred cubits; it is entirely the produce of human industry, which indeed the work itself testifies, for in its centre may be seen two pyramids, each of which is two hundred cubits above and as many beneath the water; upon the summit of each is a colossal statue of marble, in a sitting attitude. The precise altitude of these pyramids is consequently four hundred cubits; these four hundred cubits, or one hundred orgyiæ, are adapted to a stadium of six hundred feet; an orgyia is six feet, or four cubits, for a foot is four palms, and a cubit six.

The waters of the lake are not supplied by springs; the ground which it occupies is of itself remarkably dry, but it communicates by a secret channel with the Nile; for six months the lake empties itself into the Nile, and the remaining

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vidual, and that its object was the advantage and comfort of a numerous people, it must be agreed, with M. Savary, that Mœris, who constructed it, performed a far more glorious work than either the pyramids or the labyrinth.—*T.*

The stupendous pyramid, said to have been six hundred feet high, in the midst of the lake Mœris, was raised, we are told, by a king named Mœris, Myris, Marros, Maindes, Mendes, and Imandes, a strong instance of one name variously corrupted; and I have no doubt that the original of all these variations was Merhi or Medhi. Even to this day in India the pillars or obelisks often raised in the middle of the tanks or pools, are called Merhis.—*Wilford.*

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six the Nile supplies the lake. During the six months in which the waters of the lake ebb, the fishery[267] which is here carried on furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver[268] every day; but as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake*, it produces no more than twenty minæ.

CL. The inhabitants affirm of this lake, that it has a subterraneous passage inclining inland

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267 *The fishery.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in this lake were found twenty-two different sorts of fish, and that so great a quantity were caught, that the immense number of hands perpetually employed in salting them were hardly equal to the work.—*T.*

268 *Talent of silver.*]—The silver which the fishery of this lake produced, was appropriated to find the queen with clothes and perfumes.—*Larcher.*

* It is difficult to believe that the course of the Nile ever lay through the lake of Kaeroun (Mœris); first, because the lake is said to be shut up by elevated lands, and, secondly, because it is probable that in early times the bed of the Nile was too low to admit its waters to flow into the hollow tract which now contains the lake.

Concerning the lake Mœris the ancient stories are so improbable, that one naturally looks for a more rational account of its formation. Might not the opening of a canal for the purpose of filling the hollow space which now contains the lake, be the great work of forming the lake Mœris? They might have built the edifices described by Herodotus previous to the final influx of the water. The circumstance of the water flowing alternately into the lake and back again into the Nile, according to the seasons, is perfectly

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towards the west, to the mountains above Memphis, where it discharges itself into the Libyan sands. I was anxious to know what became of the earth[269], which must somewhere have necessarily been heaped up in digging this lake; as my search after it was fruitless, I made enquiries concerning it of those who lived nearer the lake. I was the more willing to believe them, when they told me where it was carried, as I had before heard of a similar expedient used at Nineveh, an Assyrian city. Some robbers, who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus king of Nineveh, which

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reasonable, since the passage to it was narrow, and the expanse of water very great. Pococke reckons it fifty miles in length, by ten wide; Mr. Brown says, p. 169, the length may be between thirty and forty miles, the breadth nearly six. Nothing, says he, can present an appearance so unlike the works of men; on the N. E. and S. is a rocky ridge in every appearance primæval.—*Rennell.*

[269] *What became of the earth.*]—Herodotus, when he viewed this lake, might well be surprized at the account they gave him, that it was made by art; and had reason to ask them what they did with the earth they dug out. But he seems to have too much credulity, in being satisfied when they told him that they carried the earth to the Nile, and so it was washed away by the river; for it was very extraordinary to carry such a vast quantity of earth above ten miles from the nearest part of the lake, and fifty or sixty from the further parts, even though they might contrive water-carriage for a great part of the way. This I should imagine a thing beyond belief, even if the lake were no larger than it is at present, that is, it may be fifty miles long and ten broad.—*Pococke.*

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were deposited in subterraneous apartments, began from the place where they lived to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king; as night approached they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose. A plan entirely similar was executed in Ægypt, except that the work was here carried on not by night but by day; the Ægyptians threw the earth into the Nile, as they dug it from the trench; thus it was regularly dispersed, and this, as they told me, was the process of the lake's formation.

CLI. These twelve kings were eminent for the justice of their administration. Upon a certain occasion they were offering sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, and on the last day of the festival were about to make the accustomed libation[270]; for this purpose the chief priest handed to them the golden cups used on these solemnities, but

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[270] *To make the accustomed libation.*]—As the kings were also priests, they did not before the time of Psammitichus drink wine; and if sometimes they made libations to the gods with this liquor, it was not that they believed it agreeable to them, but that they considered it as the blood of the gods who had formerly fought against them; they thought that their bodies, incorporated with the earth, had produced the vine.—*Plutarch, de Iside & Osiride.*

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he mistook the number, and instead of twelve gave only eleven. Psammitichus[271], who was the last of them, not having a cup, took off his helmet[272], which happened to be of brass, and from this poured his libation. The other princes wore helmets in common, and had them on the present occasion, so that the circumstance of this one king having and using his, was accidental and innocent. Observing, however, this action of Psammitichus, they remembered the prediction of the oracle, " that he among them who should pour a libation from a brazen vessel, should be

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[271] *Psammitichus.*]—In the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of Manasseh; the twelve confederated kings of Ægypt, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling out among themselves, expelled Psammitichus, one of their number, out of his share which he had hitherto had with them in the government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereupon flying into the fens near the sea, he lay hid there, till having gotten together, out of the Arabian freebooters and the pirates of Caria and Ionia, such a number of soldiers as with the Ægyptians of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven; and having overthrown them in battle, slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the land, and thereon seizing the whole kingdom to himself, reigned over it in great prosperity fifty-and-four years.—*Prideaux.*

[272] *His helmet.*]—It is certain that the ancients made use of their helmets on various occasions; whenever any thing was to be decided by lots, the lots were cast into a helmet; and as they appear very obvious for such a purpose, so many instances in ancient writers occur of soldiers drinking out of them, as we may now do occasionally out of our hats.—*T.*

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sole monarch of Ægypt." They minutely investigated the matter, and being satisfied that this action of Psammitichus was entirely the effect of accident, they could not think him worthy of death; they nevertheless deprived him of a considerable part of his power, and confined him to the marshy parts of the country, forbidding him to leave this situation, or to communicate with the rest of Ægypt.

CLII. This Psammitichus had formerly fled to Syria, from Sabacus the Æthiopian, who had killed his father Necos; when the Æthiopian, terrified by the vision, had abandoned his dominions, those Ægyptians who lived near Sais had solicited Psammitichus to return. He was now a second time driven into exile amongst the fens, by the eleven kings, from this circumstance of the brazen helmet. He felt the strongest resentment for the injury, and determined to avenge himself on his persecutors; he sent therefore to the oracle of Latona, at Butos[273], which has

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[273] *Latona, at Butos.*]—This goddess, one of the eight most ancient divinities of the country, was called Buto, and particularly honoured in the city of that name; she had been the nurse of Apollo and Diana, that is to say, of Orus and Bubastis, whom she had preserved from the fury of Typhon; the mole was sacred to her. Antoninus Liberalis says, that she assumed the form of this little animal to elude the pur-

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among the Ægyptians the highest character for veracity. He was informed, that the sea should avenge his cause, by producing brazen figures of men. He was little inclined to believe that such a circumstance could ever occur; but some time afterwards, a body of Ionians and Carians[274], who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by distress to touch at Ægypt; they landed in brazen armour. Some Ægyptians hastened to inform Psammitichus in his marshes of this incident; and as the messenger had never before seen persons so armed, he said, that some brazen men had arisen from the sea, and were

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suit of Typhon. Plutarch says, that the Ægyptians rendered divine honours to the mole on account of its blindness; darkness, according to them, being more ancient than light. M. Larcher adds, as a remark upon the observation of Plutarch, what indeed the researches of natural historians have made manifest, that the mole is not blind, but has eyes, though very minute.

274 *Ionians and Carians.*]—See Prideaux's note in the preceding chapter.—*T.*

Psammitichus destroyed Tementhes king of Ægypt. The god Ammon had cautioned Tementhes, who consulted him, to beware of cocks. Psammitichus being intimately acquainted with Pignes the Carian, learned from him that the Carians were the first who wore crests upon their helmets: he instantly comprehended the meaning of the oracle, and engaged the assistance of a large body of Carians; these he led towards Memphis, and fixed his camp near the temple of Isis; here he engaged and conquered his adversary.—*Polyænus.*

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plundering the country. He instantly conceived this to be the accomplishment of the oracle's prediction, and entered into alliance with the strangers, engaging them by splendid promises to assist him: with them and his Ægyptian adherents, he vanquished the eleven kings.

CLIII. After he thus became sole sovereign of Ægypt, he built at Memphis the vestibule of the temple of Vulcan, which is towards the south; opposite to this he erected an edifice for Apis, in which he is kept, when publicly exhibited: it is supported by colossal figures twelve cubits high, which serve as columns; the whole of the building is richly decorated with sculpture. Apis, in the language of Greece, is Epaphus.

CLIV. In acknowledgement of the assistance he had received, Psammitichus conferred on the Ionians and Carians certain lands, which were termed the Camp, immediately opposite to each other, and separated by the Nile: he fulfilled also his other engagements with them, and entrusted to their care some Ægyptian children, to be instructed in the Greek language, from whom come those who, in Ægypt, act as interpreters. This district, which is near the sea, somewhat below Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, was inhabited by the Ionians and Carians for a considerable time. At a succeeding pe-

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riod, Amasis, to avail himself of their assistance against the Ægyptians, removed them to Memphis. Since the time of their first settlement in Ægypt, they have preserved a constant communication with Greece, so that we have a perfect knowledge of Ægyptian affairs from the reign of Psammitichus. They were the first foreigners whom the Ægyptians received among them: within my remembrance, in the places which they formerly occupied, the docks for their ships, and vestiges of their buildings, might be seen.

CLV. Of the Ægyptian oracle I have spoken already, but it so well deserves attention, that I shall expatiate still farther on the subject. It is sacred to Latona, and, as I have before said, in a large city called Butos, at the Sebennitic mouth of the Nile, as approached from the sea. In this city stands a temple of Apollo and Diana; that of Latona, whence the oracular communications are made, is very magnificent, having porticos forty cubits high. What most excited my admiration, was the shrine of the goddess[275]; it was

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[275] *Shrine of the goddess.*]—This enormous rock, two hundred and forty feet in circumference, was brought from a quarry in the isle of Philæ (or Philoe) near the cataracts, on rafts, for the space of two hundred leagues, to its destined place, and without contradiction was the heaviest weight ever moved by human power. Many thousand workmen, according to

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of one solid stone[276], having equal sides; the length of each was forty cubits; the roof is of another solid stone, no less than four cubits in thickness.

CLVI. Of all the things which here excite attention, this shrine is, in my opinion, the most

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history, were three years employed in taking it to its place of destination.—*Savary.*

276 *One solid stone.*]—About this isle (Elephantine) there are several smaller islands, as two to the west, and four to the south, which are high above the water, and also several large rocks of red granite. Two of them appear to have been worked as quarries, as well as the south end of Elephantine. Out of one of these islands probably that entire room was cut of one stone, that was carried to Sais, taking, it may be, the advantage of the situation of the rock, so as to have only the labour of separating the bottom of it from the quarry, and having first probably hollowed the stone into a room of the dimensions described when I spoke of Sais.—*Pococke.*

The grand and sublime ideas which the ancients entertained on subjects of architecture, and other monuments of art, almost exceed our powers of description. This before us is a most extraordinary effort of human industry and power; but it appears minute and trifling, compared with an undertaking of a man named Stesicrates, proposed to Alexander, and recorded by Plutarch. He offered to convert mount Athos into a statue of that prince. This would have been in circumference no less than one hundred and twenty miles, in height ten. The left arm of Alexander was to be the base of a city, capable of containing ten thousand inhabitants. The right arm was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea.—*T.*

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to be admired. Next to this, is the island of Chemmis, which is near the temple of Latona, and stands in a deep and spacious lake; the Ægyptians affirm it to be a floating island[277]: I did not witness the fact, and was astonished to hear that such a thing existed. In this island is a large edifice sacred to Apollo, having three altars, and surrounded by palms, the natural produce of the soil. There are also great varieties of other plants, some of which produce fruit, others are barren. The Ægyptians thus explain the circumstance of this island's floating: it was once fixed and immovable, when Latona, who has ever been esteemed one of the eight primary divinities, dwelt at Butos. Having received Apollo in trust from Isis, she consecrated and preserved him in this island, which, according to

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[277] *Floating island.*]—I am ignorant whether Chemmis has ever been a floating island. The Greeks pretend that Delos floated. I am persuaded they only invented that fable from the recital of Ægyptians settled amongst them; and that they attributed to Delos, the birth-place of Apollo, what the Ægyptians related of Chemmis, the place of retreat to their Apollo. A rock two thousand toises long could not float upon the waves; but the Greeks, who dearly loved the marvellous, did not examine things so closely.—*Larcher.*

In marshy lakes, nothing is more likely than that there should sometimes be floating masses of vegetation closely matted together. Major Rennell informs me he has seen and been actually upon a small island of this kind.

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their account, now floats. This happened when Typhon, earnestly endeavouring to discover the son of Osiris, came hither. Their tradition says, that Apollo and Diana were the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo, Ceres, and Diana, the Ægyptians respectively call Orus, Isis, and Bubastis. From this alone, Æschylus [278], son of Euphorion, the first poet who represented Diana as the daughter of Ceres, took his account, and referred to this incident the circumstance of the island's floating.

CLVII. Psammitichus reigned in Ægypt fifty-four years, twenty-nine of which he consumed in the siege of a great city of Syria, which he afterwards took; the name of this place was Azotus [279].

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278 *Æschylus.*]—This was doubtless in some piece not come down to us. Pausanias says also, that Æschylus, son of Euphorion, was the first who communicated to the Greeks the Ægyptian history; that Diana was the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona.—*Larcher.*

The same remark is made by Valcnaer, in Wesseling's edition of Herodotus. But all are united in the opinion, that Pausanias made his remark from this passage of Herodotus.—*T.*

279 *Azotus.*]—The modern name of this place is Ezdoud, of which Volney remarks, that it is now famous only for its scorpions. It was one of the five satrapies of the Philistines, who kept here the idol of their god Dagon. Its Scriptural

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I know not that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege.

CLVIII. Psammitichus had a son, whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This prince first commenced that canal[230] leading to the Red Sea, which Darius,

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name was Ashdod. When the Philistines took the ark from the Jews, they placed it in the temple of Dagon, at Ashdod. See 1 Samuel, chap. v. 2, 3.

"When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon.

"And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord," &c.

This place is also mentioned in the Acts. Philip, having baptized the eunuch of Candace, was caught away by the Spirit of the Lord, and found at Azotus. There is still in this place an old structure, with fine marble pillars, which the inhabitants say was the house which Samson pulled down.—*T.*

[230] *That canal.*]—The account given by Diodorus Siculus is this:—The canal reaching from the Pelusian mouth of the Nile to the Sinus Arabicus and the Red Sea, was made by hands. Necos, the son of Psammitichus, was the first that attempted it, and after him Darius the Persian carried on the work something farther, but left it at length unfinished; for he was informed by some, that in thus digging through the isthmus he would cause Ægypt to be deluged, for they showed him that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Ægypt. Afterwards Ptolemy the Second finished the canal, and in the most proper place contrived a sluice for confining the water, which was opened when they wanted to sail through, and was immediately closed again, the use of it

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king of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this canal is equal to a four days voyage, and it is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city Bubastis: it terminated in the Erythrean Sea, not far from Patumos, an Arabian town. They began to sink this canal in that part of Ægypt which is nearest Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends from west to east, through a considerable tract of country, and where a mountain opens to the south, is discharged into the Arabian gulph. From the northern to the southern, or, as it is generally called, the Erythrean Sea, the shortest passage is over mount Casius, which divides Ægypt from Syria, from whence to the Arabian gulph are exactly * a thousand stadia. The way by the canal,

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answering extremely well the design. The river flowing through this canal is called the Ptolemæan, from the name of its author. Where it discharges itself into the sea it has a city named Arsinoe. Of this canal, Norden remarks that he was unable to discover the smallest trace, either in the town of Kieni, or the adjacent parts. Indeed I am myself strongly inclined to believe that no such junction ever took place.

* It is evident both from the Scholiast and Suidas, that the word *απαρτι* has been omitted in the text.

This chapter, as Larcher observes, very satisfactorily proves that the Arabian gulph was called the Erythrean Sea, long before the time of Alexander. See Gosselin's Geographical Work.

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on account of the different circumflexions, is considerably longer. In the prosecution of this work, under Necos, no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Ægyptians perished. He at length desisted from his undertaking, being admonished by an oracle, that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and it is to be observed, that the Ægyptians term all barbarians,* who speak a language different from their own.

CLIX. As soon as Necos discontinued his labours with respect to the canal, he turned all his thoughts to military enterprizes. He built vessels of war, both on the Northern Ocean, and in that part of the Arabian gulph which is near the Erythrean † Sea. Vestiges of his naval undertakings are still to be seen. His fleets were occasionally employed, but he also by land conquered the Syrians in an engagement near the town of Magdolum[231], and after his victory ob-

* This is a singular remark from a Greek, whose nation esteemed all other nations barbarians.

† By the Northern Ocean Herodotus here means the Mediterranean Sea. The Erythrean Sea comprehends both the Arabian Gulph and the sea beyond the Straits of Babelmandel.

231 *Magdolum.*]—The battle here mentioned was against Josias, king of Judah. It did not take place at Magdolum, a place in Lower Ægypt, but at Magiddo. The resemblance of the names deceived Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

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tained possession of Cadytis[282], a Syrian city. The vest which he wore when he got this victory, he consecrated to Apollo, and sent to the Milesian Branchidæ. After a reign of seventeen years, he died, leaving the kingdom to his son Psammis.

CLX. During the reign of this prince, some ambassadors arrived in Ægypt from the Eleans. This people boasted that the establishment of the Olympic games possessed every excellence, and was not surpassed even by the Ægyptians, though the wisest of mankind. On their arrival, they explained the motives of their journey; in consequence of which the prince called a meeting of the wisest of his subjects: at this assembly the Eleans * described the particular regulations they

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[282] *Cadytis.*]—This city of Cadytis could be no other than Jerusalem. Herodotus afterwards describes this to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis. There could be no other equal to Sardis, but Jerusalem. It is certain from Scripture, that after this battle Necos did take Jerusalem, for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king.—*See Prideaux, Connect.* i. 56—7.

D'Anville also considers Cadytis as Jerusalem, though some authors dissent. See what I have said before on this subject.

* The Eleans did not follow the advice of the Ægyptians; nevertheless there seems no occasion to accuse them of

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had established; and desired to know if the Ægyptians could recommend any improvement. After some deliberation, the Ægyptians enquired whether their fellow-citizens were permitted to contend at these games. They were informed in reply, that all the Greeks without distinction were suffered to contend. The Ægyptians observed, that this must of course lead to injustice, for it was impossible not to favour their fellow-citizens, in preference to strangers. If, therefore, the object of their voyage to Ægypt was to render their regulations perfect, they should suffer only strangers to contend in their games, and particularly exclude the Eleans.

CLXI. Psammis reigned but six years; he made an expedition to Æthiopia, and died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Apries[283], who, next to his grandfather Psam-

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undue partiality. When they became subject to the Romans, some of the great men of Rome occasionally wrote to them in behalf of some of the combatants: but the judges of the games made a point of not opening these letters till after the prizes had been decided.

[283] *Apries.*]—This is the same who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Hophra. It was at this period that Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem, and shown the different kinds of idolatry then practised by the Jews, which makes up the subject of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of his prophecies.—See *Prideaux.*

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mitichus, was fortunate[284] beyond all his predecessors, and reigned five-and-twenty years[285]. He made war upon Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in battle by sea. I shall briefly mention in this place the calamities which afterwards befel him; but I shall discuss them more fully[286] when I treat of the Libyan affairs. Apries having sent an army against the Cyreneans, received a severe check. The Ægyptians ascribed this misfortune to his own want of conduct; and imagining themselves marked out for destruction, revolted from his authority. They supposed his views were, by destroying them, to secure his tyranny over the rest of their country. The friends, therefore, of such as had been slain, with those who returned in safety, openly rebelled.

CLXII. On discovery of this, Apries sent

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284 *Was fortunate.*]—Herodotus in this place seemingly contradicts himself: how could he be termed most fortunate, who was dethroned and strangled by his subjects? He probably, as M. Larcher also observes, means to be understood of the time preceding the revolt.—*T.*

285 *Five-and-twenty years.*]—Diodorus Siculus says he reigned twenty-two years; Syncellus, nineteen.

286 *Discuss them more fully.*]—This refers to book the fourth chap. clix. of our author; but Herodotus probably forgot the promise here made, for no particulars of the misfortunes of Apries are there mentioned.—*T.*

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Amasis to sooth the malcontents. Whilst this officer was persuading them to desist from their purpose, an Ægyptian standing behind him placed an helmet on his head[287], saying that by this act he made him king. The sequel proved that Amasis was not averse[288] to the deed; for as soon as the rebels had declared him king, he prepared to march against Apries; on intelligence of this event, the king sent Patarbemis, one of the most faithful of those who yet adhered to him, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Arriving where he was, he called to Amasis. Amasis was on horseback, and lifting up his leg, he broke wind, and bade him carry that to his master. Patarbemis persisted in desiring him to obey the king; Amasis replied, he had long determined to do so, and that Apries should have no reason to complain of him, for he would soon be with him, and bring others also. Patarbemis was well aware of the purport of this answer; taking, therefore, particular notice of the hostile preparations of the rebels, he returned, intending instantly to inform the king

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287 *Helmet on his head.*]—The helmet, in Ægypt, was the distinction of royalty.

288 *Was not averse.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Amasis, so far from making any great effort to bring back those who had abandoned Apries, according to the orders he had received from his master, encouraged them to persist in their rebellion, and joined himself to them.

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of his danger. Apries, when he saw him, without hearing him speak, as he did not bring Amasis, ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. The Ægyptians of his party, incensed at this treatment of a man much and deservedly respected, immediately went over to Amasis.

CLXIII. Apries on this, put himself at the head of his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, who were with him to the amount of thirty thousand men, and marched against the Ægyptians. Departing from Sais, where he had a magnificent palace, he proceeded against his subjects; Amasis also prepared to meet his master and the foreign mercenaries. The two armies met at Momemphis, and made ready for battle.

CLXIV. The Ægyptians are divided into seven classes [289]. These are, the priests, the mi-

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[289] *Seven classes.*]—I have remarked on this subject, chap. cxli. from Diodorus, that the division of the Ægyptians was in fact but into three classes, the last of which was subdivided into others.

The Indians are divided into four principal casts, each of which is again subdivided;—Bramins, the military, labourers, and artizans.—*T.*

It is observable of the Iberians, that they were divided into different casts, each of which had its proper function. The rank and office of every tribe were hereditary and unchangeable. This rule of invariable distinction prevailed no where else except in India and in Ægypt.—*Bryant.*

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litary, herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots. They take their names from their professions. Ægypt is divided into provinces, and the soldiers, from those which they inhabit, are called Calasiries and Hermotybies.

CLXV. The Hermotybian district contains Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Prosopis, and part of Natho; which places, at the highest calculation, furnish one hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybians. These, avoiding all mercantile employments, follow the profession of arms[290].

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[290] *Profession of arms.*]—With the following remark of M. Larcher, the heart of every Englishman must be in unison. To hear a native of France avow an abhorrence of despotism, and a warm attachment to liberty, has been a most unusual circumstance. On the subject of standing armies, nothing, perhaps, has been written with greater energy and effect than by Mr. Moyle.

"Every country," says M. Larcher, "which encourages a standing army of foreigners, and where the profession of arms is the road to the highest honours, is either enslaved, or on the point of being so. Foreign soldiers in arms, are never so much the defenders of the citizens, as the attendants of the despot. Patriotism, that passion of elevated souls, which prompts us to noble actions, weakens and expires. The interest which forms an union betwixt the prince and his subjects, ceases to be the same, and the real defence of the state can no longer be vigorous. Of this, Ægypt is a proof: its despots, not satisfied with the national troops, always ready for service, had recourse to foreign mercenaries. They were depressed, and passed with little diffi-

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CLXVI. The Calasirians inhabit Thebes, Bubastis, Apthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennis, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and Mycephoris, which is an island opposite to Bubastis. In their most perfect state of population, these places furnish two hundred and fifty thousand men. Neither must these follow mechanic employments, but the son regularly succeeds the father[291] in a military life.

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culty under the dominion of the Persians, afterwards under that of Greece and of Rome, of the Mamelukes, and the Turks. The tyrant could not be loved by his slaves, and without the love of his subjects, the prince totters on his throne, and is ready to fall when he thinks his situation the most secure."

"Amongst men," says Æschines, "there are three sorts of governments, monarchic, oligarchic, and republican. Monarchies and oligarchies are governed by the caprice of those who have the management of affairs, republics by established laws. Know then, O Athenians! that a free people preserve their liberty and lives by the laws, monarchies and oligarchies by tyranny and a standing army."

To the above, I cannot resist the inclination I have to add from Mr. Moyle the underwritten:

"The Israelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achaians, Lacedæmonians, Thebans, Samnites, and Romans, none of them, when they kept their liberty, were ever known to maintain any soldier in constant pay within their cities, or ever suffered any of their subjects to make war their profession, well knowing that the sword and sovereignty always march hand in hand."—*T.*

[291] *Regularly succeeds the father.*]—We know very well, that nothing is more injurious to the police or municipal constitution of any city or colony, than the forcing of a par-

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CLXVII. I am not able to decide whether the Greeks borrowed this last-mentioned custom

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ticular trade; nothing more dangerous than the over-peopling any manufacture, or multiplying the traders and dealers, of whatever vocation, beyond their natural proportion, and the public demand. Now it happened of old in Ægypt, the mother land of superstition, that the sons of certain artists were by law obliged always to follow the same calling with their father. —See *Lord Shaftesbury's Miscellaneous Reflections.*

Before the invention of letters, mankind may be said to have been perpetually in their infancy, as the arts of one age or country generally died with their possessors; whence arose the policy which still continues in Indostan, of obliging the son to practise the profession of his father.—See notes to a poem called *The Loves of the Plants*, p. 58.

The resemblance between the ancient Ægyptians and the Hindoos is manifest from various circumstances. The following extract is from Robertson's Disquisition on India:

The whole body of the people was divided into four orders, or casts. The members of the first, deemed the most sacred, had it for their province, to study the principles of religion, to perform its functions, and to cultivate the sciences; they were the priests, the instructors, and philosophers of the nation. The members of the second order were entrusted with the government and defence of the state: in peace, they were its rulers and magistrates; in war, they were the generals who commanded its armies, and the soldiers who fought its battles. The third was composed of husbandmen and merchants; and the fourth of artizans, labourers, and servants. None of these can ever quit his own cast, or be admitted into another. The station of every individual is unalterably fixed, his destiny is irrevocable, and the walk of life is marked out, from which he must never deviate. This line of separation is not only established by civil authority, but confirmed and sanctioned by religion; and each order,

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from the Ægyptians, for I have also seen it observed in various parts of Thrace, Scythia, Persia, and Lydia. It seems, indeed, to be an established prejudice, even among nations the least refined, to consider mechanics and their descendants in the lowest rank of citizens, and to esteem those as the most noble who were of no profession, annexing the highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails throughout Greece, but more particularly at Lacedæmon; the Corinthians, however, do not hold mechanics in disesteem.

CLXVIII. The soldiers and the priests are the only ranks in Ægypt which are honourably distinguished; these each of them receive from the public a portion of ground of twelve aruræ, free from all taxes. Each arura contains an hundred Ægyptian cubits*, which are the same

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or cast, is said to have proceeded from the Divinity in such a different manner, that to mingle and confound them would be deemed an act of most daring impiety. Nor is it between the four different tribes alone that such inseparable barriers are fixed; the members of each cast adhere invariably to the profession of their forefathers. From generation to generation the same families have followed, and will always continue to follow, one uniform line of life.

* But the cubit itself, or peck (πηχυς), as it is still called, has not continued the same; for Herodotus acquaints us, that in his time the Ægyptian peck, or cubit, was the same

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as so many cubits of Samos. Besides this, the military enjoy, in their turns, other advantages: one thousand Calasirians and as many Hermotybians are every year on duty as the king's guards; whilst on this service, in addition to their assignments of land, each man has a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of beef, with four arusteres [292] of wine.

CLXIX. Apries with his auxiliaries, and Amasis at the head of the Ægyptians, met and fought at Momemphis. The mercenaries displayed great valour, but, being much inferior in number, were ultimately defeated. Apries is said to have en-

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with the Samian, which being no other than the common Grecian or Attic cubit, contained very little more than a foot and a half of English measure. Three or four centuries afterwards, when the famous statue of the Nile, that is still preserved at Rome, was made, the cubit seems to have been, a little more or less, twenty inches; for of that height, according to the exactest measure that could be taken, are the sixteen little children that are placed upon it, which, according to Philostratus and Pliny, represented so many cubits. The present cubit is still greater, though it will be difficult to determine the precise length of it; and, indeed, with regard to the measures of the Arabians, as well as of some other nations, we have very few accounts or standards we can trust to.—*Shaw.*

[292] *Arusteres.*]—Hesychius makes the word αρυστηρ synonymous with κοτυλη, which is a measure somewhat less than a pint.—*T.*

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tertained so high an opinion of the permanence of his authority, that he conceived it not to be in the power even of a deity to dethrone him. He was, however, conquered and taken prisoner; after his captivity he was conducted to Sais, to what was formerly his own, but then the palace of Amasis. He was here confined for some time, and treated by Amasis with much kindness and attention. But the Ægyptians soon began to reproach him for preserving a person who was their common enemy, and he was induced to deliver up Apries to their power. They strangled [293], and afterwards buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which stands in the temple of Minerva,

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[293] *They strangled, &c.*]—It is to this prince, whom, as I before mentioned, the Scriptures denote by the name of Pharaoh Hophra, that the following passages allude:

"The land of Ægypt shall be desolate and waste; and they shall know that I am the Lord: because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it.

"Behold, therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Ægypt utterly waste and desolate." Ezekiel, xxix. 9, 10.

"Thus saith the Lord, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Ægypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." Jeremiah, xliv. 30.

See also Jeremiah, xliii. xliv. xlv. Ezekiel, xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. In the person of Apries all these prophecies were accomplished. See also *Prideaux Connect.* i. 39.—*T.*

"Apryes was perswaded that neither God nor the divell coulde have joynted his nose of the empyre."—*Herodotus his seconde booke, entituled Euterpe.*

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on the left side of the vestibule. In this temple the inhabitants of Sais buried all the princes who were of their province, but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building, than that of Apries and his ancestors.

CLXX. In the area before this temple, is a large marble chamber*, magnificently adorned with obelisks, in the shape of palm-trees, with various other ornaments; in this chamber is a niche with two doors, and here his body was placed. They have also at Sais the tomb of a certain personage, whom I do not think myself permitted to name. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obelisks, near which is a lake, whose banks

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* This is one of the most difficult passages in Herodotus; which, as it perplexed Valcnaer, Toup, and Larcher, may well be supposed to have tormented me.

The following passage from Pococke seems to be as illustrative of the meaning of Herodotus, as any thing I could possibly offer.

The most extraordinary catacombs are towards the further end, and may be reckoned among the finest that have been discovered, being beautiful rooms cut out of a rock, and niches in many of them, so as to deposit the bodies in, adorned with a sort of Doric pilasters on each side. The round room, and that leading to it, are very beautiful, and so are the four rooms with niches.

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are lined with stone; it is of a circular form, and, as I should think, as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochöeides.

CLXXI. Upon this lake are represented by night the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name: the Ægyptians call them their mysteries [294]. Concerning these, at the same time that I confess myself sufficiently informed, I feel myself compelled to be silent. Of the ceremonies also in honour of Ceres, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria [295], I may not venture to speak,

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[294] *Their mysteries.*]—How very sacred the ancients deemed their mysteries, appears from the following passage of Apollonius Rhodius:

> To Samothrace, Electra's isle, they steer,
> That there initiate in rites divine
> Safe might they sail the navigable brine.
> But, Muse, presume not of those rites to tell:
> Farewell, dread isle, dire deities, farewell!
> Let not my verse those mysteries explain,
> To name is impious, to reveal profane.

[295] *Thesmophoria.*]—These mysteries were celebrated at stated seasons of the year, with solemn shows, and a great pomp of machinery, which drew a mighty concourse to them from all countries. L. Crassus, the great orator, happened to come two days after they were over, and would gladly have persuaded the magistrates to renew them; but not being able to prevail, left the city in disgust. This shews how cautious they were of making them too cheap. The shows are supposed to have represented heaven, hell, ely-

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farther than the obligations of religion will allow me. They were brought from Ægypt by the daughters of Danäus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women. But when the tranquillity of the Peloponnese was disturbed by the Dorians, and the ancient inhabitants expelled,

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sium, purgatory, and all that related to the future state of the dead: being contrived to inculcate more sensibly, and exemplify the doctrines delivered to the initiated. As they were a proper subject for poetry, so they are frequently alluded to by the ancient poets. This confirms also the probability of that ingenious comment which the author of the Divine Legation has given in the sixth book of the Æneid, where Virgil, as he observes, in describing the descent into hell, is but tracing out in their genuine order the several scenes of the Eleusinian shows.—*Middleton's Life of Cicero.*

These feasts were celebrated in honour of Ceres, with respect to her character as a lawgiver and agriculturist:

> Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro;
> Prima dedit fruges, alimentaque mitia terris;
> Prima dedit leges. Cereris sumus omnia munus.

Θεσμος, according to Hesychius, signifies a divine law, νομος θειος. The men were not allowed to be present, and only women of superior rank. The sacred books were carried by virgins. According to Ovid, they continued nine days, during which time the women had no connection with their husbands.

> Festa piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matres
> Illa, quibus nivea velatæ corpora veste
> Primitias frugum dant spicea serta suarum:
> Perque novem noctes Venerem tactusque viriles
> In vetitis numerant.—

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these rites were insensibly neglected or forgotten. The Arcadians, who retained their original habitations, were the only people who preserved them.

CLXXII. Such being the fate of Apries, Amasis, who was of the city of Siuph, in the district of Sais, succeeded to the throne. At the commencement of his reign, the Ægyptians, remembering his plebeian origin[296], held him in contempt; but his mild conduct and political sagacity afterwards conciliated their affection. Among other valuables which he possessed, was a gold vessel, in which he and his guests were accustomed to spit, make water, and wash their feet: of the materials of this he made a statue of some god, which he placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. The Ægyptians assembling before it, paid it divine honours: on hearing which, the king called them together, and informed them that the image they thus venerated was made of a vessel of gold, which he and they had formerly used for the most unseemly purposes. He afterwards explained to them the

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[296] *Plebeian origin.*]—We are told in Athenæus, that the rise of Amasis was owing to his having presented Apries on his birth-day with a beautiful chaplet of flowers. The king was so delighted with this mark of his attention, that he invited him to the feast, and received him amongst the number of his friends.—*T.*

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similar circumstances of his own fortune, who, though formerly a plebeian, was now their sovereign, and entitled to their reverence. By such means he secured their attachment, as well as their submissive obedience to his authority.

CLXXIII. The same prince thus regulated his time: from the dawn of the day to such time as the public square of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The rest of the day he spent at the table; where he drank, laughed, and diverted himself with his guests, indulging in every species of licentious conversation. Upon this conduct some of his friends remonstrated:— "Sir," they observed, "do you not dishonour your rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities? From your "awful throne you ought to employ yourself in "the administration of public affairs, and by "such conduct increase the dignity of your "name, and the veneration of your subjects. "Your present life is most unworthy of a king." "They," replied Amasis, "who have a bow *,

* This is a proverbial expression to be found almost in all languages.

Plutarch has almost verbatim the same saying, in his tract on, Whether the Government ought to be in the Hands of an old Man.—οξον μεν, ὡς φασιν, επιτεινομενον ῥηγνυται.

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"bend it only at the time they want it; when "not in use, they suffer it to be relaxed; it "would otherwise break, and not be of service "when exigence required. It is precisely the "same with a man; if, without some intervals "of amusement, he applied himself constantly "to serious pursuits, he would imperceptibly lose "his vigour both of mind and body. It is the "conviction of this truth which influences me in "the division of my time."

CLXXIV. It is asserted of this Amasis, that whilst he was in a private condition he avoided every serious avocation, and gave himself entirely up to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expensive pleasures, he had recourse to robbery. By those who suspected him as the author of their loss, he was frequently, on his protesting himself innocent, carried before the oracle, by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As soon as he obtained the supreme authority, such deities as had pronounced him innocent, he treated with the greatest contumely, neglecting their temples, and never offering them either presents or

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The Italian expression is:

L'Arco si rompe se sta troppo teso. Arcus nimis intensus rumpitur.

Ray has it:—A bow long bent, at last waxeth weak.

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sacrifice; this he did by way of testifying his dislike of their false declarations. Such, however, as decided on his guilt, in testimony of their truth and justice, he reverenced, as true gods, with every mark of honour and esteem.

CLXXV. This prince erected at Sais, in honour of Minerva, a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in size and grandeur. The stones of which it was composed, were of a very uncommon size and quality, and decorated with a number of colossal statues and androsphynges[297] of enormous magnitude. To repair

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297 *Androsphynges.*]—This was a monstrous figure, with the body of a lion, and face of a man. The artists of Ægypt, however, commonly represented the sphinx with the body of a lion, and the face of a young woman. These were generally placed at the entrance of temples, to serve as a type of the ænigmatic nature of the Ægyptian theology.—*Larcher.*

"Les sphinx des Ægyptiens ont les deux sexes, c'est à dire, qu'ils sont femelles par devant, ayant une tête de femme, & males derriere, où les testicules sont apparantes. C'est une remarque personne n'avoit encore faite:

"Il resulte de l'inspection de quelques monumens que les artistes Grecs donnoient aussi des natures composées à ces êtres mixtes, et qu'ils faisoient même des sphinx barbus comme le prouve un bas relief en terre cuite, conservé à la Farnesina. Lorsque Herodote nomme les sphinx des androsphynges, il a voulu designer par cette expression la duplicité de leur sexe. Les sphinx qui sont aux quatre faces de la pointe de l'obelisque du soleil, sont remarquables par

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this temple, he also collected stones of an amazing thickness, part of which he brought from the quarries of Memphis, and part from the city of Elephantine, which is distant from Sais a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, is most of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from Elephantine, constructed of one entire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all of whom were pilots, for an entire period of three years. The length of this structure on the outside is twenty-one cubits, it is fourteen wide, and eight high; in the inside,

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leur mains d'hommes armées d'ongles crochus, comme les griffes des bêtes féroces."—*Winkelmann.*

Dr. Pococke observes, that this sphinx is cut out of a solid rock. This extraordinary monument is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis, though I think it is mentioned by none of the ancient authors, except Pliny.

M. Maillet is of opinion, that the union of the head of a virgin with the body of a lion, is a symbol of what happens in Ægypt, when the sun is in the signs of Leo and Virgo, and the Nile overflows.—*See Norden's Travels.*

Opposite the second pyramid, eastward, is the enormous sphinx, the whole body of which is buried in the sand, the top of the back only to be seen, which is above a hundred feet long, and is of a single stone, making part of the rock on which the pyramids rest. Its head rises about seven-and-twenty feet above the sand. Mahomet has taught the Arabs to hold all images of men or animals in detestation, and they have disfigured the face with their arrows and lances.

M. Pauw says, these sphinxes, the body of which is half a virgin, half a lion, are images of the deity, whom they represent as an hermaphrodite.—*Savary.*

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the length of it is twenty-two cubits and twenty digits, twelve cubits wide, and five high. It is placed at the entrance of the temple; the reason it was carried no farther is this; the architect, reflecting upon his long and continued fatigue, sighed deeply, which incident Amasis construed as an omen, and obliged him to desist. Some, however, affirm that one of those employed to move it by levers, was crushed by it; for which reason it was advanced no farther.

CLXXVI. To other temples also, Amasis made many and magnificent presents. At Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he placed a colossal* recumbent figure, which was seventy-five feet long. Upon the same pediment are two other colossal figures, formed out of the same stone, and each twenty feet high. Of the same size, and in the same attitude, another colossal statue may be seen at Sais. This prince built also at Memphis the temple of Isis, the grandeur of which excites universal admiration.

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* The clenched hand of a colossal statue, and not improbably of the one which is here actually described, now adorns the British Museum, and constitutes one of the British trophies from Ægypt. Here again Herodotus was not believed, but doubtless the principal part of Memphis is covered up with mud, by the rising of the ground, from the accumulated inundations; considering the nature of its situation, this is obvious enough. See Major Rennell on this subject, who quotes Maillet.

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CLXXVII. With respect to all those advantages which the river confers upon the soil, and the soil on the inhabitants, the reign of Amasis was auspicious to the Ægyptians, who under this prince could boast of twenty thousand cities[293] well inhabited. Amasis is farther remarkable for having instituted that law which obliges every Ægyptian once in the year to explain to the chief magistrate of his district, the means by which he obtains his subsistence. The

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293 *Twenty thousand cities.*]—This country was once the most populous of the known world, and now it does not appear inferior to any. In ancient times it had eighteen thousand as well considerable towns as cities, as may be seen by the sacred registers. In the time of Ptolemy Lagus there were three thousand, which still remain. In a general account once taken of the inhabitants, they amounted to seven millions, and there are no less than three millions at present.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

Ancient Ægypt supplied food to eight millions of inhabitants, and to Italy and the neighbouring provinces likewise. At present the estimate is not one half. I do not think, with Herodotus and Pliny, that this kingdom contained twenty thousand cities in the time of Amasis: but the astonishing ruins every where to be found, and in uninhabited places, prove they must have been thrice as numerous as they are. —*Savary.*

It is impracticable to form a just estimate of the population of Ægypt. Nevertheless, as it is known that the number of towns and villages does not exceed two thousand three hundred, and the number of inhabitants in each of them, one with another, including Cairo itself, is not more than a thousand, the total cannot be more than two millions three hundred thousand.—*Volney.*

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refusal to comply with this ordinance, or the not being able to prove that a livelihood was procured by honest means, was a capital offence. This law Solon[299] borrowed from Ægypt, and established at Athens, where it still remains in force, experience having proved its wisdom.

CLXXVIII. This king was very partial to the Greeks, and favoured them upon every occasion. Such as wished to have a regular communication with Ægypt, he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis. To others, who did not require a fixed residence, as being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of altars, and the performance of their religious rites. The most spacious and celebrated temple which the Greeks have, they call Hellenium. It was built at the joint expense of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocea, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; of the Æolians of Mitylene only. Hellenium is the common property of all these cities, who also appoint proper officers for the regulation of their commerce: the claims of other cities to these

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299 *This law Solon.*]—It should rather seem that this law was established at Athens by Draco, and that Solon commuted the punishment of death to that of infamy, against all those who had thrice offended.

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distinctions and privileges are absurd and false. The Æginetæ, it must be observed, constructed by themselves a temple to Jupiter, as did the Samians to Juno, and the Milesians to Apollo.

CLXXIX. Formerly Naucratis was the sole emporium of Ægypt; whoever came to any other than the Canopian mouth of the Nile, was compelled to swear that it was entirely accidental, and was, in the same vessel, obliged to go thither*. Naucratis was held in such great estimation, that if contrary winds prevented a passage, the merchant was obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carry them round the Delta to Naucratis.

CLXXX. By some accident the ancient temple of Delphi was once consumed by fire, and the Amphictyons voted a sum of three hundred talents to be levied for the purpose of rebuilding

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* Somewhat similar to this arrangement of the ancient Ægyptians with respect to Naucratis, is that of the modern Chinese at present at Canton. This is Major Rennell's opinion. See his excellent work, p. 530.

Perhaps this restriction originated in the same jealousy which in the empire of China limits the trade of Europeans to the port of Canton; and one cannot help remarking how parallel the two cases are in this respect. The Greeks were permitted to have a commercial establishment at Naucratis, and they were allowed places for the construction of temples for their religious rites.

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it. A fourth part of this was assigned to the Delphians, who, to collect their quota, went about to different cities, and obtained a very considerable sum from Ægypt. Amasis presented them[300] with a thousand talents of alum. The Greeks who resided in Ægypt made a collection of twenty minæ.

CLXXXI. This king made a strict and amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians; to cement which, he determined to take a wife of that country, either to shew his particular attachment to the Cyrenians, or his partiality to a woman of Greece. She whom he married is reported by some to have been the daughter of Battus, by others of Arcesiläus, or, as some say, of Critobulus. She was certainly descended of an honourable family, and her name was Ladice. When the nuptials came to be consummated, the king found himself afflicted with an imbecility which he experienced with no other woman. The

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[300] *Amasis presented them.*]—Different species of animals were the deities of the different sects among the Ægyptians; and the deities being in continual war, engaged their votaries in the same contention. The worshippers of dogs could not long remain in peace with the adorers of cats and wolves. But where that reason took not place, the Ægyptian superstition was not so incompatible as is commonly imagined, since we learn from Herodotus, that very large contributions were given by Amasis towards rebuilding the temple of Delphi.—*Hume.*

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continuance of this induced him thus to address his wife: "You have certainly practised some "charm to my injury; expect not therefore to "escape, but prepare to undergo the most cruel "death." When the woman found all expostulations ineffectual, she vowed, in the temple of Venus, "that if on the following night her hus-"band should be able to enjoy her, she would "present a statue to her at Cyrene." Her wishes were accomplished, Amasis found his vigour restored, and ever afterwards distinguished her by the kindest affection. Ladice performed her vow, and sent a statue to Venus; it has remained to my time, and may be seen near the city of Cyrene. This same Ladice, when Cambyses afterwards conquered Ægypt, was, as soon as he discovered who she was, sent back without injury to Cyrene.

CLXXXII. Numerous were the marks of liberality which Amasis bestowed on Greece. To Cyrene he sent a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself[301]. To the temple of Mi-

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301 *Portrait of himself.*]—The art of painting was probably known in Ægypt in the first ages, but they do not seem to have succeeded in this art better than in sculpture. Antiquity does not mention any painter or sculptor of Ægypt, who had acquired celebrity.—*Savary.*

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nerva at Lindus he gave two marble statues, with a linen corselet, which latter well deserves inspection.

At what period we may venture to fix the origin of painting, is a subject involved in great difficulty. Perhaps we are not extravagant in saying, that it was known in the time of the Trojan war. The following note is to be found in Servius, Annot. ad Æneid. ii. ver. 392. "Scutis Græcorum Neptunus, Trojanorum fuit Minerva depicta."

With respect to the Ægyptians, it is asserted by Tacitus, that they knew the art of designing before they were acquainted with letters. "Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant, et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur." Annal. lib. x. cap. 14.

It is ingeniously remarked by Webb, in favour of the antiquity of painting, that when the Spaniards first arrived in America, the news was sent to the emperor in painted expresses, they not having at that time the use of letters.

Mr. Norden says, that in the higher Ægypt to this day may be seen, amongst the ruins of superb edifices, marbles artificially stained, so exquisitely fresh in point of colour, that they seemed recently dismissed from the hand of the artist. Winkelmann says, that in the Ægyptian mummies which have been minutely examined, there are apparent the six distinct colours of white, black, blue, red, yellow, and green: but these, in point of effect, are contemptible, compared with the columns alluded to above, seen and described by Norden. Pococke also tells us, that in the ruins of the palaces of the kings of Thebes, the picture of the king is painted at full length on stone. Both the sides and ceilings of the room in which this is to be seen are cut with hieroglyphics of birds and beasts, and some of them painted, being as fresh as if they were but just finished, though they must be much above two thousand years old.

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He presented two figures of himself, carved in wood, to the temple of Juno at Samos; they were placed immediately behind the gates; where they still remain. His kindness to Samos was owing to the hospitality[302] which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of Æax. He had no such motive of attachment to Lindus, but was moved by the report that the temple of Minerva

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The ancient heathens were accustomed to paint their idols of a red colour, as appears from the following extract from the Wisdom of Solomon:

"The carpenter carved it diligently when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the image of a man, or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermillion, and with paint colouring it red, and covering every spot therein."

It seems rather a far-fetched explanation, to say that this was done because the first statues were set up in memory of warriors, remarkable for shedding much blood. Yet it is so interpreted in Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture. Of ancient painting, the reliques are indeed but few: but those extolled by Pococke and Norden, and since the period of their travels, by Bruce, who also visited Thebes, and the beautiful specimens which have at different times been dug up at Herculaneum, are sufficient to shew that the artists possessed extraordinary excellence. That in particular of Chiron and Achilles, which many ingenious men have not scrupled to ascribe to Parrhasius, is said to be remarkably beautiful.

[302] *Hospitality.*]—That tie among the ancients, which was ratified by particular ceremonies, and considered as the most sacred of all engagements: nor dissolved except with certain solemn forms, and for weighty reasons.

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was erected there by the daughters of Danäus, when they fled from the sons of Ægyptus.—Such was the munificence of Amasis, who was also the first person that conquered Cyprus, and compelled it to pay him tribute.

At the conclusion of the first volume, I inserted an extract from our countryman, Sir Robert Wilson, descriptive of the modern state of the pyramids. I take the opportunity of the conclusion of this book to refer the reader to the French accounts of their modern condition, as given by Denon and Grobert.

Of these, perhaps, neither will be found satisfactory; the first author appeared more desirous to please by his narration, than to instruct the reader; the latter affects scientific description, but will by no means bear the test of careful examination.

Grobert, indeed, gives the number and the height of the steps, but he has omitted to say whether he found the planes of the steps horizontal. It is, therefore, not approaching at all nearer the mark, to give their individual height; as we may reasonably conclude that he did not find the planes horizontal.

After all, Graves appears to afford the greatest satisfaction, as there can be no doubt but he went scientifically about his work. He tells us that the four triangular sides of the great pyramid are equilateral, excepting the plateau on the top, of not many feet. He also affirms that he ascertained the sides of those triangles, and of course the height of the pyramid; and I see no reason to doubt him.

Grobert says that the pyramid is 440. 11. 7. French, which is equal to 470 English feet very nearly. Graves gives 481 feet for the height, and 693 for the sides and diagonal. It is very wonderful that hardly any two persons should have come near each other in their reports of the height and dimensions of the great pyramid. The French

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had certainly the best opportunities possible, but they do not appear to have availed themselves of them. Grobert reports the length of the sides to be equal to $745\frac{2}{3}$ English feet, whilst Graves allows only $693\frac{2}{3}$, making a difference of no less than $52\frac{2}{3}$ feet; which is really astonishing. One cause of variation must necessarily be the difference of foot-measures, which we know sometimes to vary even half an inch in a two-foot rule. Few of these measures possibly vary less than $\frac{1}{20}$ of an inch in a foot; so that this would make a difference in the height, of more than 20 feet. Graves may be supposed to have used every proper measure, and to him I think we must look with most confidence on this subject.

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK III.

THALIA[1].

CHAP. I.

GAINST this Amasis, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, led an army, composed as well of his other subjects, as of the Ionic and Æolic Greeks. His inducements were these: by an ambassador whom he dispatched for this purpose into Ægypt, he demanded the daughter of Amasis,

[1] *Thalia.*]—On the commencement of his observations on this book, M. Larcher remarks, that the names of the Muses were only affixed to the books of Herodotus at a subsequent and later period. Porphyry does not distinguish the second book of our historian by the name of Euterpe, but is satisfied with calling it the book which treats of the affairs of Ægypt. Athenæus also says, the first or the second book of the histories of Herodotus.

I am nevertheless rather inclined to believe that these names were annexed to the books of Herodotus from the spontaneous impulse of admiration which was excited amongst the first hearers of them at the Olympic games.

According

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which he did at the suggestion of a certain Ægyptian who had entertained an enmity against his master. This man was a physician, and when Cyrus had once requested of Amasis, the best medical advice which Ægypt could afford, for a disorder in his eyes, the king had forced him, in preference to all others, from his wife and family, and sent him into Persia. In revenge for which treatment, this Ægyptian instigated Cambyses to

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According to Pausanias, there were originally no more than three Muses; whose names were Μελετη, Μνημη, and Αοιδη. Their number was afterwards increased to nine, their residence confined to Parnassus, and the direction or patronage of them, if these be not improper terms, assigned to Apollo. Their contest for superiority with the nine daughters of Evippe, and consequent victory, is agreeably described by Ovid. Met. book v. Their order and influence seem in a great measure to have been arbitrary. The names of the books of Herodotus have been generally adopted as determinate with respect to their order. This was, however, without any assigned motive, perverted by Ausonius, in the subjoined epigram:

Clio gesta canens, transactis tempora reddit.
Melpomene tragico proclamat mœsta boatu.
Comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia.
Dulciloquos calamos Euterpe flatibus urget.
Terpsichore affectus citharis movet, imperat, auget.
Plectra gerens Erato saltat pede, carmine vultu.
Carmina Calliope libris heroica mandat.
Uranie cœli motus scrutatur et astra.
Signat cuncta manu, loquitur Polyhymnia gestu.
Mentis Apollineæ vis has movet undique musas,
In medio residens complectitur omnia Phœbus.—*T.*

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require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction from the loss of his child, or, by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of Cambyses. Amasis both dreaded and detested the power of Persia, and was unwilling to accept, though fearful of refusing, the overture. But he well knew that his daughter was not meant to be the wife but the concubine of Cambyses, and therefore he determined on this mode of conduct: Apries, the former king, had left an only daughter: her name was Nitetis[2], and she was possessed of much elegance and beauty. The king, having decorated her with great splendour of dress, sent her into Persia as

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2 *Nitetis.*]—Cambyses had not long been king, ere he resolved upon a war with the Ægyptians, by reason of some offence taken against Amasis their king. Herodotus tells us it was because Amasis, when he desired of him one of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of Apries instead of his own. But this could not be true, because, Apries having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough to be acceptable to Cambyses.—So far Prideaux. But Larcher endeavours to reconcile the apparent improbability, by saying that there is great reason to suppose that Apries lived a prisoner many years after Amasis dethroned him and succeeded to his power; and that there is no impossibility in the opinion that Nitetis might, therefore, be no more than twenty or twenty-two years of age when she was sent to Cambyses.—*T.*

Jablonski observes that these names of Nitetis, Nitocris, and the like, are derived from Neith, who was the Minerva of the Ægyptians.

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his own child. Not long after, when Cambyses occasionally addressed her as the daughter of Amasis, "Sir," said she, "you are greatly mis-
"taken, and Amasis has deceived you; he has
"adorned my person, and sent me to you as his
"daughter; but Apries was my father, whom
"Amasis, with his other rebellious subjects, de-
"throned and put to death." This speech and this occasion immediately prompted Cambyses in great wrath, to commence hostilities against Ægypt.—Such is the Persian account of the story.

II. The Ægyptians claim Cambyses as their own, by asserting that this incident did not happen to him, but to Cyrus[3], from whom, and from this daughter of Apries, they say he was born[4]. This, however, is certainly not true. The Ægyptians are of all mankind the best conversant with

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[3] *But to Cyrus.*]—They speak with more probability, who say it was Cyrus, and not Cambyses, to whom this daughter of Apries was sent.—*Prideaux.*

[4] *They say he was born.*]—Polyænus, in his Stratagemata, relates the affair in this manner:—Nitetis, who was in reality the daughter of Apries, cohabited a long time with Cyrus as the daughter of Amasis. After having many children by Cyrus, she disclosed to him who she really was; for though Amasis was dead, she wished to revenge herself on his son Psammenitus. Cyrus acceded to her wishes, but died in the midst of his preparations for an Ægyptian war. This, Cambyses was persuaded by his mother to undertake, revenged on the Ægyptians the cause of the family of —*T.*

2. and Apries.

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the Persian manners, and they must have known that a natural child could never succeed to the throne of Persia, while a legitimate one was alive. It was equally certain that Cambyses was not born of an Ægyptian woman, but was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspe, of the race of the Achæmenides. This story, therefore, was invented by the Ægyptians, that they might from this pretence claim a connection with the house of Cyrus.

III. Another story also is asserted, which to me seems improbable*. They say that a Persian lady once visiting the wives of Cyrus, saw standing near their mother, the children of Cassandane, whom she complimented in high terms on their superior excellence of form and person. "Me," replied Cassandane, "who am the mother of "these children, Cyrus neglects and despises; all "his kindness is bestowed on this Ægyptian "female." This she said from resentment against Nitetis. They add that Cambyses, her eldest son, instantly exclaimed, "Mother, as soon as "I am a man, I will effect the utter destruction of Ægypt[5]." These words, from a prince who

* This story, which Herodotus deems improbable, seems to me much the most likely to be true.

[5] *I will effect the utter destruction of Ægypt.*]—Literally, I will turn Ægypt upside down.

M. Lar-

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who was then only ten years of age, surprized and delighted the women; and as soon as he became a man, and succeeded to the throne, he remembered the incident, and commenced hostilities against Ægypt.

IV. He had another inducement to this undertaking. Among the auxiliaries of Amasis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, and greatly distinguished by his mental as well as military accomplishments. This person being, for I know not what reason, incensed against Amasis, fled in a vessel from Ægypt, to have a conference with Cambyses. As he possessed great influence among the auxiliaries, and was

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M. Larcher enumerates, from Athenæus, various and destructive wars which had originated on account of women; he adds, what a number of illustrious families had, from a similar cause, been utterly extinguished. The impression of this idea, added to the vexations which he had himself experienced in domestic life, probably extorted from our great poet, Milton, the following energetic lines:

> Oh, why did God,
> Creator wise, that peopled highest heaven
> With spirits masculine, create at last
> This novelty on earth, this fair defect
> Of nature, and not fill the world at once
> With men as angels, without feminine,
> Or find some other way to generate
> Mankind? This mischief had not then befall'n,
> And more that shall befall, innumerable
> Disturbances on earth through female snares!—*T.*

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perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Ægypt, Amasis ordered him to be rigorously pursued, and for this purpose, equipped, under the care of the most faithful of his eunuchs, a three-banked galley. The pursuit was successful, and Phanes was taken in Lydia, but he was not carried back to Ægypt, for he circumvented his guards, and by making them drunk effected his escape. He fled instantly to Persia: Cambyses was then meditating the expedition against Ægypt, but was deterred by the difficulty of marching an army over the deserts, where so little water was to be procured. Phanes explained to the king all the concerns of Amasis; and to obviate the above difficulty, advised him to send and ask of the king of the Arabs, a safe passage through his territories.

V. This is indeed the only avenue by which Ægypt can possibly be entered. The whole country, from Phœnicia to Cadytis*, a city which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine†, and in my opinion equal to Sardis, together with all the

* I have in another place supposed this place to be Jerusalem. Wesselius thinks not; but my opinion is confirmed by Major Rennell, who gives it as his opinion, that Cadytis is synonymous with Al Kads, which means *the holy*. See Rennell, p. 683.

† What the Greeks called Palestine, was by the Arabians named Falastin, which certainly is the Philistine of Sacred Scripture.

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commercial towns as far as Jenysus[6], belong to the Arabians. This is also the case with that space of land which extends from the Syrian Jenysus to the lake of Serbonis, from the vicinity of which, mount Casius[7] stretches to the sea. At this lake, where, as was reported, Typhon was

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[6] *Jenysus.*]—Stephanus Byzantinus calls this city Inys, (for that is manifestly the name he gives it, if we take away the Greek termination): but Herodotus, from whom he borrows, renders it Jenis. It would have been more truly rendered Dorice Janis, for that was nearer to the real name. The historian, however, points it out plainly by saying, that it was three days journey from mount Casius, and that the whole way was through the Arabian desert.—*Bryant.*

Mr. Bryant is certainly mistaken with respect to the situation of this place. It was an Arabian town, on this side lake Serbonis compared with Syria, on the other compared with Ægypt. When Herodotus says that this place was three days journey from mount Casius, he must be understood as speaking of the Syrian side; if otherwise, Cambyses could not have been so embarrassed from want of water, &c.—See Larcher farther on this subject. Jenysus is recognized in the Khan Jones of Thevenot and others, and also in D'Anville. The lake Serbonis, like the Natron lake, appears to be filled up with sand.

[7] *Mount Casius.*]—This place is now called by seamen mount Tenere. Here anciently was a temple sacred to Jupiter Casius; in this mountain also was Pompey the Great buried, as some affirm, being murdered at its foot. This, however, is not true; his body was burnt on the shore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing-boat, and his ashes, being conveyed to Rome, were deposited privately by his wife Cornelia in a vault of his Alban villa.—*See Middleton's Life of Cicero.—T.*

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concealed, Ægypt commences. This tract, which comprehends the city Jenysus, mount Casius, and the lake of Serbonis, is of no trifling extent; it is a three days journey over a very dry and parched desert.

VI. I shall now explain what is known to very few of those who travel into Ægypt by sea. Twice in every year there are exported from different parts of Greece to Ægypt, and from Phœnicia in particular, wine secured in earthen jars, not one of which jars is afterwards to be seen. I shall describe to what purpose they are applied: the principal magistrate of every town is obliged to collect all the earthen vessels imported to the place where he resides, and send them to Memphis. The Memphians fill them with water[8], and

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[8] *With water.*]—The water of the Nile never becomes impure, whether reserved at home, or exported abroad. On board the vessels which pass from Ægypt to Italy, the water, which remains at the end of the voyage, is good, whilst what they happen to take in during their voyage corrupts. The Ægyptians are the only people we know who preserve this water in jars, as others do wine. They keep it three or four years, and sometimes longer, and the age of this water is with them an increase of its value, as the age of wine is elsewhere.—*Aristides Orat. Ægyptiac.*

Modern writers and travellers are agreed about the excellence of the water of the Nile; but the above assertion, with respect to its keeping, wants to be corroborated. Much the same, however, is said, and universally by mariners, respecting the water of the Thames.

We

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afterwards transport them to the Syrian deserts. Thus all the earthen vessels carried into Ægypt, and there carefully collected, are continually added to those already in Syria.

VII. Such are the means which the Persians have constantly adopted to provide themselves with water in these deserts, from the time that they were first masters of Ægypt. But as, at the time of which I speak, they had not this resource, Cambyses listened to the advice of his Halicarnassian guest, and solicited of the Arabian prince a safe passage through his territories; which was granted, after mutual promises of friendship.

VIII. These are the ceremonies which the Arabians observe when they make alliances, of which no people in the world are more tenacious[9]. On

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We learn from Diodorus Siculus, b. xix. c. 6, that the people whom he calls Nabatheans preserved rain-water in vessels of earth. These were deposited beneath the earth, and considered as a reservoir from which the water wanted for common use was taken.

9 *Tenacious.*]—How faithful the Arabs are at this day, when they have pledged themselves to be so, is a topic of admiration and of praise with all modern travellers. They who once put themselves under their protection have nothing afterwards to fear; for their word is sacred. Singular as the mode here described of forming alliances may appear to an English reader, that of taking an oath by putting the

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these occasions some one connected with both parties stands betwixt them, and with a sharp stone opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger, of those who are about to contract. He then takes a piece of the vest of each person, and dips it in their blood, with which he stains several stones purposely placed in the midst of the assembly, invoking, during the process, Bacchus and Urania. When this is finished, he who solicits the compact to be made, pledges his friends for the sincerity of his engagements to the stranger or citizen, or whoever it may happen to be; and all of them conceive an indispensable necessity to exist, of performing what they promise. Bacchus and Urania are the only deities whom they venerate. They cut off their hair round their temples, from the supposition that Bacchus wore

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hand under the thigh, in use amongst the patriarchs, was surely not less so.

"Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house that ruled over all that he had; Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh." Gen. xxiv. 2.—*T.*

The following interesting anecdote is from Denon:

A French officer had been several months prisoner to a chief of the Arabs, whose camp was surprized in the night by our cavalry, and who had barely time to escape, his tents, cattle, and provisions having fallen into our hands. On the following day, fugitive, solitary, and without any resources, he drew from his pocket a cake, and, presenting the half of it to his prisoner, said to him, "I do not know when we shall have any more food: but I shall not be accused of having refused to share my last morsel with one whom I esteem as my friend."

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his in that form; him they call Urotalt; Urania has the name of Alilat[10].

IX. When the Arabian prince had made an alliance with the messengers of Cambyses, he ordered all his camels to be laden with camel-skins filled with water, and to be driven to the deserts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyses and his army. Of this incident, the above seems to me the more probable narrative. There is also another, which however I may disbelieve, I think I ought not to omit. In Arabia is a large river called Corys, which loses itself in the Red Sea: from this river, the Arabian is said to have formed a canal of the skins of oxen and other animals sewed together, which was continued to the above-mentioned deserts, where he also sunk a number of cisterns to receive the water so introduced. From the river to the desert is a journey of twelve days; and they say that the water was conducted by three distinct canals into as many different places.*

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[10] *Alilat.*]—According to Selden, in his treatise De Diis Syris, the Mitra of the Persians is the same with the Alitta or Alilat of the Arabians. In this term Alilat we doubtless recognize the Allah of the modern Arabians.

* This last account exceeds all possibility of belief. The first drinkable water between the desert here mentioned, and Ægypt, is at Salahiah. This, therefore, is the key of Ægypt on this side, and here, of course, the French established a military post. We have yet to learn what arrangements were made by Bonaparte to obtain water in crossing the desert. But the task must be much easier from the side of Ægypt, than from that of Syria.

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X. At the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, was encamped, and expected Cambyses in arms. Amasis himself, after a reign of forty-four years, died before Cambyses had advanced to Ægypt, and during the whole enjoyment of his power, he experienced no extraordinary calamity. At his death his body was embalmed, and deposited in a sepulchre which he had erected for himself in the temple of Minerva[11]. During the reign of his son Psammenitus, Ægypt beheld a most remarkable prodigy; there was rain at the Ægyptian Thebes, a circumstance which never happened before, and which, as the Thebans themselves assert, has never occurred since. In the higher parts of Ægypt it never rains, but at that period we read it rained at Thebes in distinct drops[12].

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[11] *Temple of Minerva.*]—Minerva is not expressed in the original text, but it was evident that it is in the temple of Minerva, from chap. clxix. of the second book.—*T.*

[12] *In distinct drops.*]—Herodotus is perhaps thus particular, to distinguish rain from mist.

Denon, when in the neighbourhood of Lycopolis, thus expresses himself:

We found several roads marked out, which convinced us that they might with a very little expense be made excellent, and most completely durable, in a country like this, where neither rain nor frost are ever seen.

It is a little remarkable that all the mention which Herodotus makes of the ancient Thebes, is in this passage, and in this slight manner. In book ii. chap. xv. he informs us that all Ægypt was formerly called Thebes.—*T.*

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XI. The Persians having passed the deserts, fixed their camp opposite to the Ægyptians, as if with the design of offering them battle. The Greeks and Carians, who were the confederates of the Ægyptians, to shew their resentment against Phanes, for introducing a foreign army against Ægypt, adopted this expedient: they brought his sons, whom he had left behind, into the camp, and in a conspicuous place, and in the sight of their father, they put them one by one to death upon a vessel brought thither for that purpose. When they had done this, they filled the vase which had received the blood with wine and water; having drank which [13], all the

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[13] *Having drank which.*]—They probably swore at the same time to avenge the treason of Phanes, or perish. The blood of an human victim mixed with wine accompanied the most solemn forms of execration among the ancients. Catiline made use of this superstition to bind his adherents to secresy: "He carried round," says Sallust, "the blood of an human victim, mixed with wine; and when all had tasted it, after a set form of execration (sicut in solennibus sacris fieri consuevit) he imparted his design."—*T.*

Xenophon describes the ceremonies observed by the Greeks and Persians on their agreeing to become allies and friends. They sacrificed a boar, a bull, a wolf, and a ram; they mixed their blood together in the hollow part of a shield, after which the Persians dipped a spear into it, and the Greeks a sword. See the Anabasis, b. ii. A very extraordinary form of oath is described in Ysbrant Ide's Voyage from Russia to China. Arriving among the Tungusian Tar-

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auxiliaries immediately engaged the enemy. The battle was obstinately disputed, but after considerable loss on both sides, the Ægyptians fled.

XII. By the people inhabiting the place where this battle was fought, a very surprizing thing was pointed out to my attention. The bones of those who fell in the engagement were soon afterwards collected, and separated into two distinct heaps. It was observed of the Persians, that their heads were so extremely soft as to yield to the slight impression even of a pebble; those of the Ægyptians, on the contrary, were so firm, that the blow of a large stone could hardly break

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tars, two of them fell out, when one of them accused the other before the magistrate of having angered his deceased brother to death. The waywode (magistrate) asked the accuser if he would, according to the Tungusian custom, put the accused to his oath? To this he answered in the affirmative. The accused then took a live dog, laid him on the ground, and with a knife stuck him into the body, just under his left foot, and immediately applied his mouth to the wound, and sucked out the dog's blood, as long as he could get any. He then lifted him up, laid him on his shoulders, and clapped his mouth again to the wound, to suck the remaining blood. This is the greatest oath, and most solemn mode of confirmation among these people.

It is a very curious circumstance, that among so many nations of the world, divided by distance, and contrasted in other respects by manners, the spilling of blood should be thought an indispensable act in confirmation of an oath.—*T.*

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them. The reason which they gave for this was very satisfactory — the Ægyptians from a very early age shave their heads [14], which by being constantly exposed to the action of the sun, become firm and hard; this treatment also prevents baldness, very few instances of which are ever to be seen in Ægypt. Why the skulls of the Persians are so soft may be explained from their being from their infancy accustomed to shelter them from the sun, by the constant use of turbans. I made the very same remark at Papremis, after examining the bones of those who, under the conduct of Achæmenes[15], son of Darius, were defeated by Inarus the African.

XIII. The Ægyptians after their defeat fled in great disorder to Memphis. Cambyses dis-

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[14] *Shave their heads.*]—The same custom still subsists: I have seen every where the children of the common people, whether running in the fields, assembled round the villages, or swimming in the waters, with their heads shaved and bare. Let us but imagine the hardness a skull must acquire thus exposed to the scorching sun, and we shall not be astonished at the remark of Herodotus.—*Savary.*

[15] *Achæmenes.*]—Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say, that it was Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and uncle of Artaxerxes, the same who before had the government of Ægypt in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, that had the conduct of this war; but herein they were deceived by the similitude of names; for it appears by Ctesias, that he was the son of Hamestris, whom Artaxerxes sent with his army into Ægypt.—*Prideaux.*

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patched a Persian up the river in a Mitylenian vessel to treat with them; but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a crowd from the citadel, destroyed the vessel, tore the crew in pieces [16], and afterwards carried them into the citadel. Siege was immediately laid to the place, and the Ægyptians were finally compelled to surrender. Those Africans who lived nearest to Ægypt, apprehensive of a similar fate, submitted without contest, imposing a tribute on themselves, and sending presents to the Persians. Their example was followed by the Cyreneans and Barceans, who were struck with the like panic. Cambyses received the African presents very graciously, but he expressed much resentment at those of the Cyreneans, as I think, on account of their meanness. They sent him five hundred minæ of silver, which, as soon as he received, with his own hands he threw amongst his soldiers.

XIV. On the tenth day after the surrender of the citadel of Memphis, Psammenitus, the Ægyptian king, who had reigned no more than six

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16 *Tore the crew in pieces.*]—They were two hundred in number; this appears from a following paragraph, where we find that for every Mitylenian massacred on this occasion ten Ægyptians were put to death, and that two thousand Ægyptians thus perished.—*Larcher.*

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months, was by order of Cambyses ignominiously conducted, with other Ægyptians, to the outside of the walls, and by way of trial of his disposition, thus treated: His daughter, in the habit of a slave, was sent with a pitcher to draw water; she was accompanied by a number of young women clothed in the same garb, and selected from families of the first distinction. They passed, with much and loud lamentation, before their parents, from whom their treatment excited a correspondent violence of grief. But when Psammenitus beheld the spectacle, he merely declined his eyes upon the ground. When this train was gone by, the son of Psammenitus, with two thousand Ægyptians of the same age, were made to walk in procession, with ropes round their necks, and bridles in their mouths. These were intended to avenge the death of those Mitylenians who, with their vessel, had been torn to pieces at Memphis. The king's counsellors had determined that for every one put to death on that occasion, ten of the highest rank of the Ægyptians should be sacrificed. Psammenitus observed these as they passed, but although he perceived that his son was going to be executed, and whilst all the Ægyptians around him wept and lamented aloud, he continued unmoved as before. When this scene also disappeared, he beheld a venerable personage, who had formerly partaken of the royal table, deprived of all he had pos-

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sessed, and in the dress of a mendicant asking charity through the different ranks of the army. This man stopped to beg an alms of Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and of the other noble Ægyptians who were sitting with him; which when Psammenitus beheld, he could no longer suppress his emotions, but calling on his friend by name, wept aloud [17], and beat his head. This the spies, who were placed near him to observe his conduct on each incident, reported to Cambyses; who, in astonishment at such behaviour, sent a messenger, who was thus directed to address him, "Your lord and master, Cambyses, "is desirous to know why, after beholding with "so much indifference your daughter treated as "a slave, and your son conducted to death, you "expressed so lively a concern for that mendi-

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[17] *Wept aloud.*]—A very strange effect of grief is related by Mr. Gibbon, in the story of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, when after an obstinate resistance he was obliged to surrender himself to Belisarius. "The first public interview," says our historian, "was in one of the suburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses; but in this mournful state unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought." All that can be said in answer to Gibbon's remark is, that Psammenitus acted like a man; Gelimer like a barbarian idiot.

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" cant, who, as he has been informed, is not at " all related to you?" Psammenitus made this reply: " Son of Cyrus, my domestic misfortunes " were too great to suffer me to shed tears[18]; " but it was consistent that I should weep for " my friend, who, from a station of honour and " of wealth, is in the last stage of life reduced " to penury." Cambyses heard and was satisfied with his answer. The Ægyptians say that Crœsus, who attended Cambyses in this Ægyptian expedition, wept at the incident*. The Persians also

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18 *Shed tears.*]—This idea of extreme affliction or anger tending to check the act of weeping, is expressed by Shakespeare with wonderful sublimity and pathos. It is part of a speech of Lear:

You see me here, ye gods, a poor old man,
As full of grief as age, wretched in both.
If it be you that stir these daughters hearts
Against their father, fool me not so much
To bear it tamely: Touch me with noble anger,
And let not women's weapons, water drops,
Stain my man's cheeks. No, you unnatural hags,
I will have such revenges on you both
That all the world shall——I will do such things,
What they are yet I know not, but they shall be
The terrors of the earth.——You think I'll weep—
No, I 'll not weep. I have full cause of weeping;
But this heart shall break into a hundred thousand flaws
Or e'er I weep. *T.*

* It might have been reasonably supposed that the lessons which Cambyses had immediately before him, would have inspired his heart with some sentiments of humanity, and

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who were present were exceedingly moved, and Cambyses himself yielded so far to compassion, that he ordered the son of Psammenitus to be preserved out of those who had been condemned to die, and Psammenitus himself to be conducted from the place where he was, to his presence.

XV. The emissaries employed for the purpose found the young prince had suffered first, and was already dead; the father, they led to Cambyses, with whom he afterwards lived, and received no farther ill-treatment; and, could he have refrained from ambitious attempts, would probably have been intrusted with the government of Ægypt. The Persians hold the sons of sovereigns in the greatest reverence, and even if the fathers revolt, they will permit the sons to succeed to their authority; that such is really their conduct may be proved by various examples. Thannyras the son of Inarus[19], received the kingdom

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afforded him a warning of the fallibility of human greatness. The degradation of Crœsus, and the miserable end of his father Cyrus, might have suggested some disposition to pity, and some warning of the policy of forbearance. But it must be remembered, that the salutary influence of Christianity was then unknown, and the emotions of false pride and false ambition had no check from the idea of a state of future retribution.

[19] *Inarus.*]—The revolt of Inarus happened in the first year of the 80th Olympiad, 460 before the Christian æra. He rebelled against Artaxerxes Longimanus, and with the

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which his father governed; Pausiris also, the son of Amyrtæus, was permitted to reign after his father, although the Persians had never met with more obstinate enemies than both Inarus and Amyrtæus. Psammenitus revolted, and suffered for his offence: he was detected in stirring up the Ægyptians to rebel; and being convicted by Cambyses, was made to drink a quantity of bullock's blood [20], which immediately occasioned his death.—Such was the end of Psammenitus.*

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assistance of the Athenians, defied the power of Persia for nearly five years. After he was reduced, Amyrtæus held out for some time longer in the marshy country.—The particulars may be found in the first book of Thucydides, chap. civ. &c.

[20] *Bullock's blood.*]—Bull's blood, taken fresh from the animal, was considered by the ancients as a powerful poison, and supposed to act by coagulating in the stomach. Themistocles, and several other personages of antiquity, were said to have died by taking it.—See Plut. in Themist. and Pliny, book xxviii. ch. ix. Aristophanes, in the Ἱππεις, alludes to this account of the death of Themistocles.

Βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν,
Ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γάρ θάνατος αἱρετώτερος.

* I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of transcribing the substance of Larcher's remarks on this chapter.

The following expressions concerning Ægypt occur in Ezekiel, c. xxx. v. 13.

"Thus saith the Lord God; I will also destroy the idols, and I will cause their images to cease out of Noph; and there shall be no more a prince of the land of Ægypt: and I will put a fear in the land of Ægypt."

This prophecy, observes Larcher, has been literally ful-

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XVI. From Sais, Cambyses proceeded to Memphis, to execute a purpose he had in view. As soon as he entered the palace of Amasis, he ordered the body of that prince to be removed from his tomb. When this was done, he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression; when therefore they were fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned. In this last act, Cambyses paid no regard to the religion of his country, for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity[21].

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filled. Ægypt, on the death of Psammenitus, passed under the dominion of the Persians. The Greeks afterwards subdued it, and after them the Romans. The Arabians conquered it from the Romans, and after the Arabians, the Saracens and Mamelukes have had possession of it.

The authority of the Grand Signior is merely nominal; for, on the invasion of the French, it was governed by the Beys.

In addition to Larcher's remarks, it may now be observed, that the present condition of Ægypt exhibits a still more literal fulfilment of Ezekiel's prediction.

21 *Venerate fire as a divinity.*]—This expression must not be understood in too rigorous a sense. Fire was certainly regarded by the Persians as something sacred, and perhaps they might render it some kind of religious worship, which in its origin referred only to the deity, of which this element was an emblem. But it is certain that this nation did not believe fire to be a deity, otherwise how would they have dared to have extinguished it throughout Persia, on the

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The custom of burning the dead does not prevail in either of the two nations; for the reason above mentioned, the Persians do not use it, thinking it profane to feed a divinity with human carcasses; and the Ægyptians abhor it, being fully persuaded that fire is a voracious animal, which devours whatever it can seize, and when saturated finally expires with what it has consumed. They hold it unlawful to expose the bodies of the dead [22] to any animals, for which

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death of the sovereign, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus? —See an epigram of Dioscorides, Brunk's Analecta, vol. i. 503.—*Larcher.*

According to Diodorus Siculus, the Ægyptians venerated fire as a divinity, under the name of Hephaistus. His words are these; "The Ægyptians considered fire, to which they gave the name of Hephaistus, as a Greek deity (*μεγαν θεον*)." L. 1.

It was one of the distinctions of the Persian sovereigns to have fire carried before them on an altar. This custom was borrowed by the Romans of the Persians, and accordingly we find that the Roman Emperors had fire carried before them. There is a dissertation on this ancient custom in the Memoires de l'Academie des Belles Lettres, v. xxxi. p. 155.

[22] *Bodies of the dead.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that the interment of bodies was common in Greece; and Homer tells us that the custom of burning the dead was in use before the Trojan war. It is therefore probable that both customs were practised at the same time; this was also the case at Rome, as appears from many ancient monuments: the custom, however, of interment, seems to have preceded that of burning. "At mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Red-

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reason they embalm them, fearing lest, after interment, they might become the prey of worms *. The Ægyptians assert, that the above indignities were not inflicted upon the body of Amasis, but

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ditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum et situm quasi operimento matris obducitur."—*Cicero de legibus*, lib. ii. 22.

"That seems to me to have been the most ancient kind of burial, which, according to Xenophon, was used by Cyrus. For the body is returned to the earth, and so placed as to be covered with the veil of its mother." The custom of burning at Rome, according to Montfaucon, ceased about the time of Theodosius the younger.

Sylla was the first of the Cornelian family whose body was burnt, whence some have erroneously advanced that he was the first Roman; but both methods are mentioned in the laws of the Twelve Tables, and appear to have been equally prevalent. After Sylla, burning became general.—*T.*

* The ancients had great horror at the idea of not receiving the rites of burial.

When Ulysses visited the infernal regions, he is made to say:

> There, wandering thro' the gloom, I first survey'd,
> New to the realms of death, Elpenor's shade;
> His cold remains, all naked to the sky,
> On distant shores, unwept, unburied lie.

The ghost implores of Ulysses the rites of sepulture, in these pathetic strains:

> But lend me aid, I now conjure thee lend,
> By the soft tie and sacred name of friedn;
> By thy fond consort, by thy father's cares,
> By lov'd Telemachus's blooming years.
>
> * * * * * * * * *
>
> The tribute of a tear is all I crave,
> And the possession of a peaceful grave.

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that the Persians were deceived, and perpetrated these insults on some other Ægyptian of the same age with that prince. Amasis, they say, was informed by an oracle of the injuries intended against his body, to prevent which he ordered the person who really sustained them, to be buried at the entrance of his tomb, whilst he himself, by his own directions given to his son, was placed in some secret and interior recess of the sepulchre. These assertions I cannot altogether believe, and am rather inclined to impute them to the vanity of the Ægyptians.

XVII. Cambyses afterwards determined to commence hostilities against three nations at once, the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian* Æthiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya which lies towards the southern ocean. He accordingly resolved to send against the Carthaginians a naval armament; a detachment of his troops was to attack the Ammonians by land; and he sent spies into Æthiopia, who, under pretence of carrying presents to the prince, were to ascertain the reality of the celebrated table of the sun[23], and to examine the condition of the country.

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* *i.e.* long-lived.

[23] *Table of the sun.*]—Solinus speaks of this table of the sun as something marvellous, and Pomponius Mela seems to

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XVIII. What they called the table of the sun was this:—A plain in the vicinity of the city was filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates; during the day whoever pleased was at liberty to go and satisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth spontaneously produces all these viands: this, however, is what they term the table of the sun.

XIX. As soon as Cambyses had resolved on the measures he meant to pursue, with respect to the Æthiopians, he sent to the city of Elephantine, for some of the Ichthyophagi who were skilled in their language. In the mean time he directed his naval forces to proceed against the Carthaginians; but the Phœnicians refused to assist him in this purpose, pleading the solemnity of

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have had the same idea. Pausanias considers what was reported of it as fabulous. "If," says he, "we credit all these marvels on the faith of the Greeks, we ought also to receive as true what the Æthiopians above Syene relate of the table of the sun." In adhering to the recital of Herodotus, a considerable portion of the marvellous disappears.—*Larcher.*

The explanation of Vossius may be admitted. As the light of the sun was for the common benefit of mankind, so was this table for the benefit of all the Æthiopians. It seems very probable that the well-known fable of the gods going to visit the Æthiopians for twelve days, had its origin in the sacrifice to the sun, which is here recorded.

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their engagements with that people, and the impiety of committing acts of violence against their own descendants.—Such was the conduct of the Phœnicians, and the other armaments were not powerful enough to proceed. Thus, therefore, the Carthaginians escaped being made tributary to Persia, for Cambyses did not choose to use compulsion with the Phœnicians, who had voluntarily become his dependants, and who constituted the most essential part of his naval power. The Cyprians had also submitted without contest to the Persians, and had served in the Ægyptian expedition.

XX. As soon as the Ichthyophagi* arrived from Elephantine, Cambyses dispatched them to Æthiopia. They were commissioned to deliver, with certain presents, a particular message to the prince. The presents consisted of a purple vest, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaster box of perfumes[24], and a cask of palm wine.† The Æthiopians to whom Cambyses sent, are

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* The Ichthyophagi are not distinctly marked in ancient writers. There were people thus denominated in Gadrasia, as well as on the coasts of Arabia and Africa. See Vincent's Periplus.

24 *Alabaster box of perfumes.*]—It seems probable that perfumes in more ancient times were kept in shells. Arabia is the country of perfumes, and the Red Sea throws upon the

† For this note, see the next page.

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reported to be superior to all other men in the perfections of size and beauty: their manners

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coast a number of large and beautiful shells, very convenient for such a purpose.—See Horace:

Funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis.

That to make a present of perfumes was deemed a mark of reverence and honour in the remotest times amongst the Orientals, appears from the following passage in Daniel:

"Then the king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours to him."

This offering to Daniel is considered by some as a sacrifice to a deity.

See also St. Mark, xiv. 3:

"There came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head."

See also Matth. xxvi. 7.

To sprinkle the apartments and the persons of the guests with rose-water, and other aromatics, still continues in the East to be a mark of respectful attention.

Alabastron did not properly signify a vessel made of the stone now called alabaster, but one without handles, μη εχον λαβας.

Alabaster obtained its name from being frequently used for this purpose; the ancient name for the stone was *alabastrites*, and perfumes were thought to keep better in it than in any other substance. Pliny has informed us of the shape of these vessels, by comparing to them the pearls called elenchi, which are known to have been shaped like pears, or, as he expresses it, fastigiatâ longitudine, alabastrorum figura, in pleniorem orbem desinentes; lib. ix. cap. 35.—*T.*

† *Palm wine.*]—Larcher observes that Herodotus no where

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and customs, which differ also from those of all other nations, have, besides, this singular distinction; the supreme authority is given to him who excels all his fellow citizens[25] in size and proportionable strength.

XXI. The Ichthyophagi on their arrival offered the presents, and thus addressed the king: "Cambyses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious "desire of becoming your friend and ally, has "sent us to communicate with you, and to de-"sire your acceptance of these presents, from "the use of which he himself derives the greatest "pleasure." The Æthiopian prince, who was aware of the object they had in view, made them this answer:—"The king of Persia has not sent "you with these presents, from any desire of ob-

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distinguishes the different wines he mentions by the name of the places which produced them, but the articles of which they are made. Thus, in the second book, he speaks of wine of barley; in the fourth book, of wine of the lotos, wine of the vine, and wine of palms, dates, &c.; which latter wine is at this day the ordinary beverage of the Orientals.

[25] *Who excels all his fellow citizens, &c.*]—That the quality of strength and accomplishments of persons were, in the first institution of society, the principal recommendations to honour, is thus represented by Lucretius:

> Condere cœperunt urbeis, arcemque locare
> Præsidium reges ipsi sibi perfugiumque·
> Et pecudes et agros divisere atque dedere
> Pro facie cujusque, et viribus ingenioque,
> Nam facies multum valuit, viresque vigebant.—*T.*

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"taining my alliance; neither do you speak the "truth, who, to facilitate the unjust designs of "your master, are come to examine the state of "my dominions: if he were influenced by prin-"ciples of integrity, he would be satisfied with "his own, and not covet the possessions of "another; nor would he attempt to reduce those "to servitude from whom he has received no "injury. Give him therefore this bow, and in "my name speak to him thus: The king of "Æthiopia sends this counsel to the king of "Persia—when his subjects shall be able to "bend this bow with the same ease that I do, "then with a superiority of numbers he may "venture to attack the Macrobian Æthiopians. "In the mean time let him be thankful to the "gods, that the Æthiopians have not been in-"spired with the same ambitious views of ex-"tending their possessions."

XXII. When he had finished, he unbent the bow*. and placed it in their hands; after which,

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* It is surprizing to see how much Mr. Bruce talks at random on the subject of this historical anecdote; in all of which, these two words of Herodotus refute him.

Bruce tells a long story of a custom of the Shangallas, whom he will call the Macrobians, which consisted in hanging upon their bows a ring from the skins of the different animals they kill, till the bow entirely loses its elasticity, and cannot be used. It was one of these inflexible bows, says

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taking the purple vest, he enquired what it was, and how it was made: the Ichthyophagi properly explained to him the process by which the purple tincture was communicated; but he told them that they and their vests were alike deceitful. He then made similar enquiries concerning the bracelets and the gold chains for the neck: upon their describing the nature of those ornaments, he laughed, and conceiving them to be chains[26],

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he, which the Æthiopian prince sent to Cambyses. Instead of this, Herodotus says, "the prince unbent the bow," &c. &c.

I can hardly wonder that Larcher should speak of Bruce with such severity, having had myself frequent occasion to reproach him with haste and inaccuracy.

[26] *Conceiving them to be chains.*]—We learn from a passage in Genesis, xxiv. 22, that the bracelets of the Orientals were remarkably heavy; which seems in some measure to justify the sentiment of the Æthiopian prince, who thought them chains simply because they were made of gold, which was used for that purpose in his country.—See chap. xxiii.

"And it came to pass as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold."

That the bracelet was formerly an ensign of royalty amongst the Orientals, Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, infers from the circumstance of the Amalekite's bringing to David the bracelet which he found on Saul's arm, along with his crown. That it was a mark of dignity there can be little doubt; but it by no means follows that it was a mark of royalty, though the remark is certainly

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remarked, that the Æthiopians possessed much stronger. He proceeded lastly to ask them the use of the perfumes; and when they informed him how they were made and applied, he made the same observation as he had before done of the purple robe[27]. When he came to the wine,

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ingenious. If it was, there existed a peculiar propriety in making it the part of a present from one prince to another. By the Roman generals they were given to their soldiers, as a reward of bravery. Small chains were also in the remotest times worn round the neck, not only by women but by the men. That these were also worn by princes, appears from Judges, viii. 26.

"And the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested, was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; beside ornaments, and *collars*, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian; and beside the chains that were about their camels' necks." Which last circumstance tends also to prove that they thus also decorated the animals they used; which fashion is to this day observed by people of distinction in Ægypt.—*T.*

[27] *Purple robe.*]—It is a circumstance well known at present, that on the coast of Guagaquil, as well as on that of Guatima, are found those snails which yield the purple dye so celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have supposed to have been lost. The shell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the sea; it is of the size of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways; some persons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the shell, they then press it from the head to the tail with a knife, and, separating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the rest. When this operation, repeated upon several of the snails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that

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and learned how it was made, he drank it with particular satisfaction; and enquired upon what food the Persian monarch subsisted, and what was the longest period of a Persian's life. The king, they told him, lived chiefly upon bread; and they then described to him the properties of corn: they added, that the longest period of life in Persia was about eighty years. "I am not at "all surprized," said the Æthiopian prince, "that, "subsisting on dung, the term of life is so short "among them; and unless," he continued, pointing to the wine, "they mixed it with this liquor, "they would not live so long:" for in this he allowed that they excelled the Æthiopians.

XXIII. The Ichthyophagi in their turn questioned the prince concerning the duration of life in Æthiopia, and the kind of food there in use: They were told, that the majority of the people lived to the age of one hundred and twenty years, but that some exceeded even that period; that

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is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the business is done. The colour, which is at first as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple till the thread is dry.

We know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been speaking of, either in lustre or in permanency.—*Raynal.*

Pliny describes the *purpura* as a turbinated shell like the buccinum, but with spines upon it; which may lead us to suspect the Abbé's account of the *snails* of a little inaccuracy.—*T.*

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their meat was baked flesh*, their drink milk. When the spies expressed astonishment at the length of life in Æthiopia, they were conducted to a certain fountain, in which having bathed, they became shining as if anointed with oil, and emitted from their bodies the perfume of violets†. But they asserted that the water of this fountain was of so insubstantial a nature, that neither wood, nor any thing still lighter than wood, would float upon its surface, but every thing instantly sunk to the bottom. If their representation of this water was true, the constant use of it may probably explain the extreme length of life which the Æthiopians attain. From the fountain they were conducted to the

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* This is the second place in which Herodotus asserts that these Æthiopians lived on baked or roasted flesh; nevertheless, Bruce, with his accustomed carelessness and inaccuracy, affirms, as if from our historian, that they lived on raw flesh, which, he adds, they continue to do to this very day.

† Cada Mosto, who made a voyage to Senegal in the year 1455, affirms that the natives made use of a certain oil in the preparation of their victuals, which possessed a threefold property; that of smelling like violets, tasting like oil of olives, and of tinging the victuals with a colour more beautiful than saffron. The present inhabitants of this part of Africa extract an oil from the kernels of the palm-nuts; this is used for the same purposes as the palm-oil, but, as Dr. Winterbottom observes, more nearly resembles butter, as it has no smell.

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public prison, where all that were confined were secured by chains of gold; for among these Æthiopians, brass is the rarest of all the metals. After visiting the prison they saw also what is called the table of the sun.

XXIV. Finally they were shewn the Æthiopian coffins[23], which are said to be constructed

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[23] *Coffins.*]—Coffins, though anciently used in the East, and considered as marks of distinction, are not now there applied to the dead either by Turks or Christians.

"With us," says Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, "the poorest people have their coffins: if the relations cannot afford them, the parish is at the expense. In the East, on the contrary, they are not now at all made use of. Turks and Christians, Thevenot assures us, agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the same manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it should seem, put into a coffin, nor that of Elisha, whose bones were touched by the corpse that was let down a little after into his sepulchre; 2 Kings, xiii. 21. That they, however, were anciently made use of in Ægypt all agree; and antique coffins, of stone and sycamore wood, are still to be seen in that country, not to mention those said to be made of a kind of pasteboard, formed by folding and glueing cloth together a great number of times, which were curiously plastered, and then painted with hieroglyphics. Its being an ancient Ægyptian custom, and its not being used in the neighbouring countries, were doubtless the cause that the sacred historian expressly observes of Joseph, that he was not only embalmed, but put into a coffin too, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Ægyptians."—*Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. 154.

Mr. Harmer's observation in the foregoing note is not

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of crystal, and in this manner:—After all the moisture is exhausted from the body, by the

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strictly true. The use of coffins might very probably be unknown in Syria, from whence Joseph came; but that they were used by all nations contiguous on one side at least to Ægypt, the passage before us proves sufficiently. I have not been able to ascertain at what period the use of coffins was introduced in this country, but it appears from the following passage of our celebrated antiquary, Mr. Strutt, that from very remote times our ancestors were interred in some kind of coffin. "It was customary in the Christian burials of the Anglo Saxons to leave the head and shoulders of the corpse uncovered till the time of burial, that relations, &c. might take a last view of their deceased friend." We have also the following in Durant, "Corpus totum at sudore obvolutum ac loculo conditum veteres in cœnaculis, seu tricliniis exponebant."

We learn from a passage in Strabo, that there was a temple at Alexandria, in which the body of Alexander was deposited, in a coffin of gold; it was stolen by Seleucus Cybiosactes, who left a coffin of glass in its place. This is the only author, except Herodotus, in whom I can remember to have seen mention made of a coffin of glass. The urns of ancient Rome, in which the ashes of the dead were deposited, were indifferently made of gold, silver, brass, alabaster, porphyry, and marble; these were externally ornamented according to the rank of the deceased. A minute description of these, with a multitude of specimens, may be seen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

On the subject of the leaden coffins of the Saxons, see Gough's Sepulchral Monuments of Great Britain; Introduction, p. 11.

One reason for not having coffins in the East, may be the quickness of interment, and the cool retreats in which the bodies were deposited, at a distance from the towns.

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Ægyptian or some other process, they cover it totally with a kind of plaster, which they adorn with various colours, and make it exhibit as near a resemblance as may be, of the person of the deceased. They then inclose it in a hollow pillar of crystal[29], which is dug up in great abundance, and of a kind that is easily worked. The deceased is very conspicuous through the crystal, has no disagreeable smell, nor any thing else that is offensive. The nearest relations keep this coffin for a twelvemonth in their houses, offering before it different kinds of victims, and the first-fruits of their lands; these are afterwards removed and set up round the city.

XXV. The spies, after executing their commission, returned; and Cambyses was so exasperated at their recital, that he determined instantly to proceed against the Æthiopians, without ever providing for the necessary sustenance

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[29] *Pillar of crystal.*]—" Our glass," says M. Larcher, " is not the production of the earth, it must be manufactured with much trouble." According to Ludolf, they find in some parts of Æthiopia large quantities of fossil salt, which is transparent, and which indurates in the air: this is perhaps what they took for glass.

We have the testimony of the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that ὕαλος, though afterwards used for glass, signified anciently crystal: as therefore Herodotus informs us that this substance was digged from the earth, why should we hesitate to translate it crystal?—*T.*

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of his army, or reflecting that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth. The moment that he heard the report of the Ichthyophagi, like one deprived of all the powers of reason, he commenced his march with the whole body of his infantry, leaving no forces behind but such Greeks as had accompanied him to Ægypt. On his arrival at Thebes, he selected from his army about fifty thousand men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the Ammonians, and to burn the place from whence the oracles of Jupiter were delivered: he himself, with the remainder of his troops, marched against the Æthiopians. Before he had performed a fifth part * of his intended expedition, the provisions he had with him were totally consumed. They proceeded to eat the beasts which carried the baggage, till these also failed. If after these incidents Cambyses had permitted his passions to cool, and had led his army back again, notwithstanding his indiscretion, he still might have deserved praise. Instead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. The soldiers, as long as the earth afforded them any sustenance, were

* Thus it appears that Cambyses never penetrated beyond the desert of Selima, that is, says Rennell, on the supposition that he set out from Thebes, and that Sennar was the entrance into the country of the Macrobians. The desert here alluded to must necessarily have been that in which Bruce suffered such dreadful hardships, namely, that above Syene.

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content to feed on vegetables; but as soon as they arrived among the sands and the deserts, some of them were prompted by famine to proceed to the most horrid extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest[30]. When Cambyses received intelligence of this fact, alarmed at the idea of his troops devouring one another, he abandoned his designs upon the Æthiopians, and returning homeward arrived at length at Thebes, after losing a considerable number of his men. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.—Such was the termination of the Æthiopian expedition.

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[30] *Satisfy the hunger of the rest.*]—The whole of this narrative is transcribed by Seneca, with some little variation, in his treatise *de Irâ*; who at the conclusion adds, though we know not from what authority, that notwithstanding these dreadful sufferings of his troops, the king's table was served with abundance of delicacies. Servabantur interim illi generosæ aves, et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur.

Perhaps the most horrid example on record of suffering from famine, is the description given by Josephus of the siege of Jerusalem. Eleven thousand prisoners were starved to death after the capture of the city, during the storm. Whilst the Romans were engaged in pillage, on entering several houses they found whole families dead, and the houses crammed with starved carcases; but what is still more shocking, it was a notorious fact, that a mother killed, dressed, and eat her own child.—*T.*

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XXVI. The troops who were dispatched against the Ammonians left Thebes with guides, and penetrated, as it should seem, as far as Oasis*. This place is distant from Thebes about a seven days journey over the sands, and is said to be inhabited by Samians, of the Æschryonian tribe. The country is called, in Greek, "The happy Islands." The army is reported to have proceeded thus far; but what afterwards became of them it is impossible to know, except from the Ammonians, or from those whom the Ammonians have instructed on this head. It is certain that they never arrived among the Ammonians, and that they never returned[31]. The Ammonians affirm, that as they were marching forwards from Oasis through the sands, they halted at some place of middle distance, for the purpose of tak-

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* Thus it appears that Herodotus applies this name of Oasis to the greater Oasis only, which is the El, or El Wall of the present day. Indeed, Wall means the Oasis, and El Wall is therefore THE OASIS. See on this subject Major Rennell, p. 555.

[31] *Never returned.*]—The route of the army makes it plain that the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amidst the deserts; for they should have departed from the lake Mareotis to this temple, or from the environs of Memphis. The Ægyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days journey from Abydus; and having brought them into the vast solitudes of Libya, they no doubt abandoned them in the night, and delivered them over to death.—*Savary.*

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ing repast, which whilst they were doing, a strong south wind arose, and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of sand [32], so that they were seen no more.—Such, as the Ammonians relate, was the fate of this army.

XXVII. Soon after the return of Cambyses to Memphis, the god Apis appeared, called by

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[32] *Mountain of sand.*]—What happens at present in performing this journey, proves the event to be very credible. Travellers, departing from the fertile valley lying under the tropic, march seven days before they come to the first town in Æthiopia. They find their way in the day-time by looking at marks, and at night by observing the stars. The sand-hills they had observed on the preceding journey having often been carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and if they wander the least out of the road, the camels, having passed five or six days without drinking, sink under their burden, and die: the men are not long before they submit to the same fate, and sometimes, out of a great number, not a single traveller escapes; at others the burning winds from the south raise vortexes of dust, which suffocate man and beast, and the next caravan sees the ground strewed with bodies totally parched up.—*Savary.*

Mr. Brown, however, one of the last travellers in these regions, does not easily give credit to the idea of living persons being overwhelmed with sand. I think with my friend Major Rennell, that it is more probable that they perished from fatigue and the want of water. The proper route would certainly have been from Memphis, from whence Ammon was also one-third nearer. See Rennell, p. 578. To this it may be added, that the nature of the desert round Seiva, or Seewa, does not appear to be constituted of that shifting sand of which the Western desert is composed.

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the Greeks, Epaphus[33]. Upon this occasion the Ægyptians clothed themselves in their richest apparel, and made great rejoicings. Cambyses took notice of this, and imagined it was done on account of his late unfortunate projects. He ordered, therefore, the magistrates of Memphis to attend him; and he asked them why they had done nothing of this kind when he was formerly at Memphis, and had only made rejoicings now that he had returned with the loss of so many of his troops. They told him, that their deity[34]

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33 *Epaphus.*]—Epaphus was the son of Io, the daughter of Inachus. The Greeks pretended he was the same person as the god Apis; this the Ægyptians rejected as fabulous, and asserted that Epaphus was posterior to Apis by many centuries.

34 *Their deity.*]—It is probable that Apis was not always considered as a deity; perhaps they regarded him as a symbol of Osiris, and it was from this that the Ægyptians were induced to pay him veneration. Others assert confidently that he was the same as Osiris; and some have said that Osiris having been killed by Typhon, Isis inclosed his limbs in an heifer made of wood. Apis was sacred to the moon, as was the bull Mnevis to the sun. Others supposed, that both were sacred to Osiris, who is the same with the sun. When he died, there was an universal mourning in Ægypt. They sought for another, and having found him, the mourning ended. The priests conducted him to Nilopolis, where they kept him forty days. They afterwards removed him in a magnificent vessel to Memphis, where he had an apartment ornamented with gold. During the forty days abovementioned, the women only were suffered to see him. They

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had appeared to them, which after a long absence it was his custom to do; and that when

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stood round him, and lifting up their garments, discovered to him what modesty forbids us to name. Afterwards the sight of the god was forbidden them.

Every year they brought him an heifer, which had also certain marks. According to the sacred books, he was only permitted to live a stipulated time; when this came, he was drowned in a sacred fountain.—*Larcher.*

A few other particulars concerning this Apis may not be unacceptable to an English reader.

The homage paid him was not confined to Ægypt; many illustrious conquerors and princes of foreign nations, Alexander, Titus, and Adrian, bowed themselves before him. Larcher says that he was considered as sacred to the moon; but Porphyry expressly says, that he was sacred to both sun and moon. The following passage is from Plutarch: "The priests affirm that the moon sheds a generative light, with which should a cow wanting the bull be struck, she conceives Apis, who bears the sign of that planet." Strabo says, that he was brought out from his apartment to gratify the curiosity of strangers, and might always be seen through a window. Pliny relates with great solemnity that he refused food from the hand of Germanicus, who died soon after; and one ancient historian asserts, that during the seven days when the birth of Apis was celebrated, crocodiles forgot their natural ferocity, and became tame.

The bishop of Avranches, M. Huet, endeavoured to prove that Apis was a symbol of the patriarch Joseph.

It has been generally allowed, that Osiris was reverenced in the homage paid to Apis. Osiris introduced agriculture, in which the utility of the bull is obvious; and this appears to be the most rational explanation that can be given of this part of the Ægyptian superstition. *See Savary, Pococke, &c.—T.*

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this happened, it was customary for all the Ægyptians to hold a solemn festival. Cambyses disbelieved what they told him, and condemned them to death, as guilty of falsehood.

XXVIII. As soon as they were executed, he sent for the priests, from whom he received the same answer. "If," said he, "any deity has "shown himself familiarly in Ægypt, I must see "and know him." He then commanded them

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The reader will remember that one of the plagues inflicted on Ægypt by the hand of Moses, was the destruction of the cattle, in which, as the Ægyptians venerated cattle as divinities, there appears, according to Mr. Bryant, peculiar fitness and analogy. See Bryant on the Plagues of Ægypt, p. 102.

This judgment displayed upon the kine of Ægypt, was very significant in its execution and purport; for when the distemper spread irresistibly over the country, the Ægyptians not only suffered a severe loss, but what was of far greater consequence, they saw the representatives of their deities, and their deities themselves, sink before the god of the Hebrews. They thought that the soul of Osiris was uniformly resident in the body of the bull Apis; a notion not unlike that concerning the Deli Lama, in Elith, Tangat, and Thibet. But Osiris had no power to save his brute representatives. Both the Apis and Mnevis were carried off by the same malady which swept away all the herds of deities, these Dii Stercorii who lived on grass and hay. There is reason to think that both the camel and ass were held in some degree sacred, who were involved in the same calamity. Hence it is said by the sacred writer, Upon their gods also the Lord executed judgment.

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to bring Apis before him, which they prepared to do. This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow which can have no more young. The Ægyptians say, that on this occasion the cow is struck with lightning, from which she conceives and brings forth Apis. The young one so produced, and thus named, is known by certain marks: The skin is black, but on its forehead is a white star of a triangular form. It has the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail[35] is divided, and under the tongue[36] it has an insect like a beetle.

XXIX. When the priests conducted Apis to his presence, Cambyses was transported with rage. He drew his dagger, and endeavouring to stab him in the belly, wounded him in the thigh; then turning to the priests with an insulting smile, "Wretches," he exclaimed, "think ye

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35 *The tail.*]—The Scholiast of Ptolemy says, but I know not on what authority, that the tail of the bull increased or diminished according to the age of the moon.—*Larcher.*

36 *Under the tongue.*]—In all the copies of Herodotus, it is επι δε τῃ γλωσσῃ, upon the tongue; but it is plain from Pliny and Eusebius that it ought to be ὑπο, under. The former explains what it was, Nodus sub lingua quem cantharum appellant, "a knot under the tongue, which they call cantharus, or the beetle." viii. 46. The spot on the forehead is also changed by the commentators from quadrangular to triangular. Pliny mentions also a mark like a crescent on the right side, and is silent about the eagle. The beetle was considered as an emblem of the sun.—*T.*

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"that gods are formed of flesh and blood, and "thus susceptible of wounds? This, indeed, is "a deity worthy of Ægyptians: but you shall "find that I am not to be mocked with impu-"nity." He then called the proper officers, and commanded the priests to be scourged: he directed also that whatever Ægyptian was found celebrating this festival, should be put to death. The priests were thus punished, and no farther solemnities observed. Apis himself languished and died in the temple, from the wound of his thigh, and was buried[37] by the priests without the knowledge of Cambyses.

XXX. The Ægyptians affirm, that in consequence of this impiety, Cambyses became immediately mad, who indeed did not before appear to have had the proper use of his reason. The first impulse of his fury, was directed against Smerdis, his own brother, who had become the object of his jealousy, because he was the only Persian who had been able to bend the bow, which the Ichthyophagi brought from Æthiopia, the breadth of two fingers. He was therefore ordered to return to Persia, where as soon as he arrived, Cambyses

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[37] *Buried by the priests.*]—This account is contradicted by Plutarch, who tells us, that Apis having been slain by Cambyses, was by his order exposed and devoured by dogs.—*T.*

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saw this vision: a messenger appeared to arrive from Persia, informing him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Cambyses was instantly struck with the apprehension that Smerdis would kill him, and seize his dominions; to prevent which he dispatched Prexaspes, a Persian, and one of his most faithful adherents, to put him to death. He arrived at Susa, and destroyed Smerdis, some say, by taking him aside whilst engaged in the diversion of the chace; others believe that he drowned him in the Red Sea; this, however, was the commencement of the calamities of Cambyses.

XXXI. The next victim of his fury was his sister, who had accompanied him to Ægypt. She was also his wife, which thing he thus accomplished: before this prince, no Persian had ever been known to marry his sister[38]; but Cambyses, being passionately fond of one of his, and knowing that there was no precedent to justify his

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38 *Marry his sister.*]—Ingenious and learned men of all ages have amused themselves with drawing a comparison betwixt the laws of Solon and Lycurgus. The following particularity affords ample room for conjecture and discussion: At Athens a man was suffered to marry his sister by the father, but forbidden to marry his sister by the mother. At Lacedæmon things were totally reversed, a man was allowed to marry his sister by the mother, and forbidden to marry his sister by the father.—See what Bayle says on the circumstance of a man's marrying his sister, article *Sarah.*—*T.*

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making her his wife, assembled those who were called the royal judges; of them, he desired to know whether there was any law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, if he thought proper to do so. The royal judges in Persia are men of the most approved integrity, who hold their places for life, or till they shall be convicted of some crime [39]. Every thing is referred to their

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39 *Of some crime.*]—Our judges formerly held their offices durante bene placito, and the King might remove them at pleasure. This continued till the passing of the act 13 William III. chap. 2, which was expressly made for the purpose of maintaining the dignity and independence of the judges in the superior courts; and which enacted, that the commissions of the judges should be made quamdiu se bene gesserint, and that their salaries should be fixed and established, but they were still liable to be removed on the address of both houses of parliament, and their seats were vacated upon any demise of the crown.

By the 1st Geo. III. chap. 23, the judges are at liberty to continue in their offices during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any demise of the crown, and their salaries are absolutely secured to them. This act was made at the express recommendation of His Majesty, from the throne; his words are memorable; he was pleased to declare that "he looked upon the independence and uprightness of the judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice; as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects; and as most conducive to the honour of the crown." 1st Blac. Com. 257.

These and various other acts which have been passed since the Revolution in 1688, such as the bill of rights, toleration act, septennial parliament, &c. have considerably reduced the executive power; but it has on the other hand acquired so much strength from the riot-act, the establishment

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decision, they are the interpreters of the laws, and determine all private disputes. In answer to the enquiry of Cambyses, they replied shrewdly, though with truth, that although they could find no law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, they had discovered one which enabled a monarch of Persia to do what he pleased. In this answer, the awe of Cambyses prevented their adopting literally the spirit of the Persian laws; and to secure their persons, they took care to discover what would justify him, who wished to marry his sister. Cambyses, therefore, instantly married the sister whom he loved[40], and not long afterwards a second[41]. The younger of these, who accompanied him to Ægypt, he put to death.

XXXII. The manner of her death, like that of Smerdis, is differently related. The Greeks say that Cambyses made the cub of a lioness and a young whelp engage each other, and that this princess was present at the combat; when this

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of a standing army, and a funded debt, and the manner of raising those loans that are appropriated to pay off the interest, that it seems fair to conclude that what the crown has lost in prerogative it has gained in influence.

[40] *Whom he loved.*]—Her name, according to the Scholiast of Lucian, was Atossa, who next married Smerdis, one of the magi, and afterwards Darius, son of Hystaspes.—*Larcher.*

[41] *Afterwards a second.*]—If Libanius may be credited, the name of this lady was Meroe.—*Wesseling.*

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latter was vanquished, another whelp of the same litter broke what confined it, and flew to assist the other, and that both together were too much for the young lion. Cambyses seeing this, expressed great satisfaction; but the princess burst into tears. Cambyses observed her weep, and enquired the reason; she answered, that seeing one whelp assist another of the same brood, she could not but remember Smerdis, whose death she feared nobody would revenge. For which saying, the Greeks affirm, that Cambyses put her to death. On the contrary, if we may believe the Ægyptians, this princess was sitting at table with her husband, and took a lettuce in her hand, dividing it leaf by leaf: "Which," said she, "seems in your eyes most agreeable, this lettuce "whole, or divided into leaves?" He replied, "When whole." "You," says she, "resemble "this lettuce, as I have divided it, for you have "thus torn in sunder the house of Cyrus." Cambyses was so greatly incensed, that he threw her down, and leaped upon her; and being pregnant, she was delivered before her time, and lost her life.

XXXIII. To such excesses in his own family was Cambyses impelled, either on account of his impious treatment of Apis, or from some other of those numerous calamities which afflict mankind. From the first hour of his birth, he laboured under what by some is termed the sacred

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disease*. It is, therefore, by no means astonishing that so great a bodily infirmity should at length injure the mind.

XXXIV. His frenzy, however, extended to the other Persians. He once made a remarkable speech to Prexaspes, for whom he professed the greatest regard, who received all petitions to the king, and whose son enjoyed the honourable office of royal cup-bearer. "What," says he, upon some occasion, "do the Persians think of me, "or in what terms do they speak of me?" "Sir," he replied, in all other respects they "speak of you with honour; but it is the ge-"neral opinion that you are too much addicted "to wine." "What!" returned the prince in anger, "I suppose they say that I drink to ex-"cess, and am deprived of reason; their former "praise, therefore, could not be sincere." At some preceding period he had asked of those whom he used most familiarly, and of Crœsus amongst the rest, whether they thought he had equalled the greatness of his father Cyrus. In reply they told him, that he was the greater of the two, for that to all which Cyrus had pos-

* This disease, as Larcher observes, means the epilepsy, and was named the sacred disease by jugglers and ignorant pretenders to the medical art, because they did not know how to treat it.

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sessed, he had added the empire of Ægypt and of the ocean. Crœsus, who was present, did not assent to this. "Sir," said he to Cambyses, "in "my opinion you are not equal to your father; "you have not such a son as he left behind "him." Which speech of Crœsus was highly agreeable to Cambyses.

XXXV. Remembering this, he turned with great anger to Prexaspes: "You," said he, "shall presently be witness of the truth or false-"hood of what the Persians say. If I hit di-"rectly through the heart[42] your son, who stands

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[42] *Through the heart.*]—The story of William Tell, the great deliverer of the Swiss Cantons from the yoke of the Germans, may be properly introduced in this place. Grisler governed Switzerland for the Emperor Albert. He ordered William Tell, a Swiss of some importance, for a pretended offence, to place an apple on the head of one of his children, and to hit it, on pain of death, with an arrow. He was dexterous enough to do so, without hurting his child. Grisler, when the affair was over, took notice that Tell had another arrow concealed under his cloak, and asked him what it was for? "I intended," replied Tell, "to have shot you to the heart, if I had killed my child." The governor ordered Tell to be hanged; but the Swiss, defending their countryman, flew to arms, destroyed their governor, and made themselves independent. See this historical anecdote referred to by Smollet, in his sublime Ode to Independence:

Who with the generous rustics sate
On Uri's rock, in close divan,
And wing'd that arrow, sure as fate,
Which ascertain'd the sacred rights of man.—*T.*

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" yonder, it will be evident that they speak of " me maliciously; if I miss my aim, they will " say true in affirming that I am mad." No sooner had he spoken, than he bent his bow, and struck the young man. When he fell, the king ordered his body to be opened, and the wound to be examined. He was rejoiced to find that the arrow had penetrated his heart; and turning to the father with a malicious smile, " You observe," said he, " that it is not I that " am mad, but the Persians who are foolish. " Tell me," he continued, " if you ever saw a " man send an arrow surer to its mark?" Prexaspes, seeing he was mad, and fearing for himself, replied, " I do not think, Sir, that even the " deity* could have aimed so well."—Such was his treatment of Prexaspes. At another time, without the smallest provocation, he commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be buried alive.

XXXVI. Whilst he was pursuing these extravagancies, Crœsus gave him this advice: " Do " not, Sir, yield thus intemperately to the warmth " of your age and of your temper. Restrain " yourself, and remember that moderation is the

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The above anecdote appears to be worth preserving; yet it is proper to observe that Mr. Planta, in his History of Switzerland, is silent concerning it, from which circumstance its authenticity may very reasonably be doubted.

* *The deity.*]—That is, says Bellanger, Apollo himself, the god of the bow. But how came Prexaspes to know any thing of Apollo? the Persians had no such deity.

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" part of a wise man, and it becomes every one
" to weigh the consequences of his actions.
" Without any adequate offence you destroy your
" fellow-citizens, and put even children to death.
" If you continue these excesses, the Persians
" may be induced to revolt from you. In giv-
" ing you these admonitions, I do but fulfil the
" injunctions which the king your father repeat-
" edly laid upon me, to warn you of whatever I
" thought necessary to your welfare." Kind as were the intentions of Crœsus, he received this answer from Cambyses: " I am astonished at
" your presumption in speaking to me thus, as
" if you had been remarkable either for the
" judicious government of your own dominions,
" or for the wise advice which you gave my father.
" I cannot forget that, instead of waiting for the
" attack of the Massagetæ, you counselled him
" to advance and encounter them in their own
" territories. By your misconduct you lost your
" own dominions, and by your ill advice were
" the cause of my father's ruin. But do not ex-
" pect to escape with impunity; indeed I have
" long wished for an opportunity to punish you."
He then eagerly snatched his bow[43], intending to

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[43] *Snatched his bow.*]—The mental derangement under which Saul laboured, previous to the elevation of David, bears some resemblance to the character here given of Cambyses; and the escape of the son of Jesse from the javelin of the king of Israel, will admit of a comparison with that of Crœsus from the arrow of Cambyses.—*T.*

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pierce Crœsus with an arrow, but by an expeditious flight he escaped. Cambyses instantly ordered him to be seized and put to death; but as his officers were well acquainted with their prince's character, they concealed Crœsus, thinking that if at any future period he should show contrition, they might by producing him obtain a reward; but if no farther enquiries were made concerning him, they might then kill him. Not long afterwards Cambyses expressed regret for Crœsus, which when his attendants perceived, they told him that he was alive. He demonstrated particular satisfaction at the preservation of Crœsus, but he would not forgive the disobedience of his servants, who were accordingly executed.

XXXVII. He perpetrated many things of this kind against the Persians and his allies, whilst he staid at Memphis: neither did he hesitate to violate the tombs, and examine the bodies of the dead. He once entered the temple of Vulcan, and treated the shrine of that deity with much contempt. The statue of this god exceedingly resembles the Pataici*, which the Phœnicians place at the prow of their triremes:

* By no other author are these Pataici mentioned. They were probably images of tutelar deities. Hesychius calls them θεοι φοινικοι, Phœnician deities, placed by them at the stern, or as Heliodorus affirms, from Herodotus, at the head of their vessels.

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they who have not seen them, may suppose them to resemble the figure of a pigmy. Cambyses also entered the temple of the Cabiri[44], to which access is denied to all but the priests. He burned their statues, after exercising upon them his wit and raillery. These statues resemble Vulcan, whose sons the Cabiri are supposed to be.

XXXVIII. For my own part I am satisfied that Cambyses was deprived of his reason*; he

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[44] *Cabiri.*]—Concerning these, see book ii. chap. li.

* On these observations of Herodotus, exhibited in this chapter, Major Rennell speaks with a spirit so congenial to my own, that I have particular satisfaction in transcribing his words:

Wheresoever Herodotus speaks of history, or of morals, he fails not to give information and satisfaction, these being his proper walks.

We could with pleasure dwell on this subject, if the scope of our work permitted it, for the justice and propriety of his remarks on matters of common life prove his observations to be very acute, and his judgment no less clear. But we cannot resist the temptation of inserting the following remarks at this time, as they shew the strong contrast between a virtuous republican of Greece, and a modern republican formed on a Gallic model; and yet no one can doubt that the permanent comfort and happiness of the human species were to the full as much the object of the former as of the latter.

Major Rennell then quotes the commencement of this chapter; after which, he says,

These are the sentiments of a republican, who, in order to enjoy a greater degree of civil liberty, quitted his native city, Halicarnassus, when its system of laws was violated by the tyrant Lygdamis; p. 7.

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would not otherwise have disturbed the sanctity of temples, or of established customs. Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their own observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed the best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent; no one, therefore, but a madman, would treat such prejudices with contempt. That all men are really thus tenacious of their own customs, appears from this, amongst other instances: Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they replied that no sum could prevail on them to commit such a deed. In the presence of the same Greeks, who by an interpreter were informed of what passed, he sent also for the Callatiæ, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and entreated him to forbear such language.—Such is the force of custom; and Pindar[45] seems to me to have spoken with peculiar

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[45] *Pindar.*]—The passage in Pindar which is here referred to, is preserved in the Scholia ad Nem. ix. 35. It is this:—Νομος ὁ παντων βασιλευς θνατων τε και αθανατων ανει δι-

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propriety, when he observed that custom[45] was the universal sovereign.

XXXIX. Whilst Cambyses was engaged in his Ægyptian expedition, the Lacedæmonians were prosecuting a war against Polycrates, the son of Æaces, who had forcibly possessed himself of Samos. He had divided it into three parts, assigning one to each of his brothers, Pantagnotus and Syloson. He afterwards, having killed Pantagnotus, and banished Syloson, who was the younger, seized the whole. Whilst he was thus

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καιῶν το βαιοτατον ὑπιρτατῳ χειρί.—"Custom is the sovereign of mortals and of gods; with its powerful hand it regulates things the most violent."—*T.*

[46] *Custom.*]—Many writers on this subject appear not to have discriminated accurately betwixt custom and habit: the sovereign power of both must be confessed; but it will be found, on due deliberation, that custom has reference to the action, and habit to the actor. That the Athenians, the most refined and polished nation of the world, could bear to see human sacrifices represented on their theatres, could listen with applause and with delight to the misery of Œdipus, and the madness of Orestes, is to be accounted for alone from the powerful operation of their national customs. The equally forcible sway of habit, referring to an individual, was never perhaps expressed with so much beauty as in the following lines of our favourite Shakespeare:

> How use doth breed a habit in a man!
> This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
> I better brook than flourishing peopled towns.
> Here I can sit alone, unseen of any,
> And to the nightingale's complaining notes
> Tune my distresses, and record my woes.—*T.*

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circumstanced, he made a treaty of alliance with Amasis, king of Ægypt, which was cemented by various presents on both sides. His fame had so increased, that he was celebrated through Ionia and the rest of Greece. Success attended all his military undertakings; he had a hundred fifty-oared vessels, and a thousand archers. He made no discrimination in the objects of his attacks, thinking that he conferred a greater favour[47] even on a friend, by restoring what he had violently taken, than by not molesting him at all. He took a great number of islands, and became master of several cities on the continent. The Lesbians, who with all their forces were proceeding to assist the Milesians, he attacked and conquered in a great sea-fight. Those whom he made prisoners he put in chains, and compelled to sink the trench[48] which surrounds the walls of Samos.

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[47] *A greater favour.*]—This sentiment is false, and Libanius seems to me to have spoken with truth, when, in a discourse which is not come down to us, he says, "An instance of good fortune never gives a man so much satisfaction as the loss of it does uneasiness."

He, continues Larcher, who takes his property from another, inflicts a wound which the restitution of that property does not heal. The mind of him who has received the injury, invariably remembers it with resentment.

[48] *Sink the trench.*]—It would be an interesting labour to investigate, from ages the most remote and nations the most barbarous, the various treatment which prisoners of war have experienced: from the period, and from those who put

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XL. The great prosperity of Polycrates excited both the attention and anxiety of Amasis. As his success continually increased, he was induced to write and send this letter to Samos:

"AMASIS to POLYCRATES.

"THE success of a friend and an ally fills me "with particular satisfaction; but as I know the "invidiousness of Fortune[49], your extraordinary

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in practice against their unfortunate captives every species of oppression and of cruelty, to the present period, when the refinement of manners, and the progress of the milder virtues, soften the asperity, and take much from the horrors of war.—*T.*

49 *Invidiousness of Fortune.*]—Three very distinct qualities of mind have been imputed to the three Greek historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, with respect to their manner of reflecting on the facts which they relate. Of the first, it has been said that he seems to have considered the deity as viewing man with a jealous eye, as only promoting his successes to make the catastrophe of his fate the more calamitous. This is pointed out by Plutarch with the severest reprehension. Thucydides, on the contrary, admits of no divine interposition in human affairs, but makes the good or ill fortune of those whose history he gives us, depend on the wisdom or folly of their own conduct. Xenophon, in distinction from both, invariably considers the kindness or the vengeance of Heaven as influencing the event of human enterprizes. "That is," says the Abbé Barthelemy, "according to the first, all sublunary things are governed by a fatality; according to the second, by human prudence; according to the last, by the piety of the individual."—The

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" prosperity excites my apprehensions. If I
" might determine for myself, and for those
" whom I regard, I would rather have my
" affairs sometimes flattering, and sometimes
" perverse. I would wish to pass through life with

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inconstancy of Fortune is admirably described in the following passage from Horace; and with the sentiment with which the lines conclude, every ingenuous mind must desire to be in unison.

Fortuna sævo læta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores,
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna.
Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit, et meâ
Virtute me involvo, probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.

It would be inexcusable not to insert Dryden's version, or rather paraphrase, of the above passage.

Fortune, that with malicious joy
Does man her slave oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
Is seldom pleas'd to bless:
Still various, and inconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her while she's kind;
But when she dances in the wind,
And shakes the wings, and will not stay,
I puff the prostitute away:
The little or the much she gave is quietly resign'd.
Content with poverty, my soul I arm,
And virtue, tho' in rags, will keep me warm. *T.*

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" the alternate experience of good and evil, rather
" than with uninterrupted good fortune. I do
" not remember to have heard of any man re-
" markable for a constant succession of prosperous
" events, whose end has not been finally calami-
" tous. If, therefore, you value my counsel, you
" will provide this remedy against the excess of
" your prosperity:—Examine well what thing it
" is which you deem of the highest consequence
" to your happiness, and the loss of which would
" most afflict you. When you shall have ascer-
" tained this, banish it from you, so that there
" may be no possibility of its return. If after
" this, your good fortune shall still continue with-
" out diminution or change, you will do well to
" repeat the remedy I propose."

XLI. Polycrates received this letter, and seriously deliberated on its contents. The advice of Amasis appeared sagacious, and he resolved to follow it. He accordingly searched among his treasures for something, the loss of which would most afflict him. He conceived this to be a seal-ring[50], which he occasionally wore; it was an

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50 *A seal-ring.*]—This ring has been the subject of some controversy amongst the learned, both as to what it represented, and of what precious stone it was formed.

Clemens Alexandrinus says it represented a lyre. Pliny says it was a sardonyx; and that in his time there existed

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emerald set in gold, and the workmanship of Theodorus the Samian, the son of Telecles. Determining to deprive himself of this, he embarked in a fifty-oared vessel, with orders to be carried into the open sea: when he was at some distance from the island, in the presence of all his attendants, he took the ring from his finger and cast it into the sea; having done this he sailed back again.

XLII. Returning home, he regretted his loss; but in the course of five or six days this accident occurred:—A fisherman caught a fish of such size

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one in the temple of Concord, the gift of Augustus, affirmed to be this of Polycrates. Solinus asserts also, that it was a sardonyx; but Herodotus expressly tells us, it was an emerald. At this period the art of engraving precious stones must have been in its infancy, which might probably enhance the value of his ring to Polycrates. It is a little remarkable that the moderns have never been able to equal the ancients in the exquisite delicacy and beauty of their performances on precious stones. Perhaps it may not be too much to add, that we have never attained the perfection with which they executed all works in miniature. Pliny says, that Cicero once saw the Iliad of Homer written so very finely, that it might have been contained 'in nuce,' in a nut-shell. Aulus Gellius mentions a pigeon made of wood, which imitated the motions of a living bird; and Ælian speaks of an artist, who wrote a distich in letters of gold, which he inclosed in the rind of a grain of corn. Other instances of a similar kind are collected by the learned Mr. Dutens, in his Enquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns.—*T.*

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and beauty, that he deemed it a proper present for Polycrates. He went therefore to the palace, and demanded an audience; being admitted, he presented his fish to Polycrates, with these words: "Although, sir, I live by the produce of "my industry, I could not think of exposing this "fish, which I have taken, to sale in the market-"place, believing it worthy of you to accept, "which I hope you will." The king was much gratified, and made him this reply: "My good "friend, your present and your speech are "equally acceptable to me; and I beg that I "may see you at supper[51]." The fisherman,

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[51] *See you at supper.*]—The circumstance of a sovereign prince asking a common fisherman to sup with him, seems at first sight so entirely repugnant, not only to modern manners but also to consistency, as to justify disgust and provoke suspicion. But let it be remembered, that in ancient times the rites of hospitality were paid without any distinction of person; and the same simplicity of manners, which would allow an individual of the meanest rank to solicit and obtain an audience of his prince, diminishes the act of condescension which is here recorded, and which to a modern reader may appear ridiculous.—*T.*

The story of the fisherman, in the fourth Satire of Juvenal, will here occur to the reader. He carried his enormous fish to the prince, who, by the way, did not ask him to supper, which marks the progress of refinement, the times of Domitian being comparatively modern. The present, however, was accompanied by a speech, which I shall insert, in Mr. Gifford's version.

This, which no subject's kitchen can contain;
This fish, reserved for your auspicious reign,

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delighted with his reception, returned to his house. The servants proceeding to open the fish, found in its paunch the ring of Polycrates; with great eagerness and joy, they hastened to carry it to the king, telling him where they had met with it. Polycrates concluded that this incident bore evident marks of divine interposition; he therefore wrote down every particular of what had happened, and transmitted it to Ægypt.

XLIII. Amasis, after perusing the letter of his friend, was convinced that it was impossible for one mortal, to deliver another from the destiny which awaited him; he was satisfied that Polycrates could not terminate his days in tranquillity, whose good fortune had never suffered interruption, and who had even recovered what he had taken pains to lose. He sent therefore a herald to Samos, to disclaim all future connection[52]; his motive for doing which, was the ap-

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O chief, accept: to free your stomach haste,
And here at large indulge your princely taste.
No toils I set; he long'd his lord to treat,
And rush'd a willing victim to the net.

[52] *Future connection.*]—This may be adduced as one amongst numerous other instances, to prove, that where the human mind has no solid hopes of the future, nor any firm basis of religious faith, the conduct will ever be wayward and irregular; and although there may exist great qualities, capable of occasionally splendid actions, there will also be extraordinary weaknesses, irreconcileable to common sense

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prehension, that in any future calamity which might befal Polycrates, he, as a friend and ally, might be obliged to bear a part.

XLIV. Against this Polycrates, in all things so prosperous, the Lacedæmonians undertook an expedition, to which they were induced by those Samians who afterwards built the city of Cydon in Crete[53]. To counteract this blow, Polycrates sent privately to Cambyses, who was then preparing for hostilities against Ægypt, entreating him to demand supplies and assistance of the Samians. With this Cambyses willingly complied, and sent to solicit, in favour of Polycrates, some naval force to serve in his Ægyptian expedition. The Samian prince selected those from the rest whose principles and intentions he most suspected, and sent them in forty triremes to Cam-

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or common humanity. Diodorus Siculus, however, gives a very different account of the matter, and ascribes the behaviour of Amasis to a very different motive :—" The Ægyptian," says he, " was so disgusted with the tyrannical behaviour of Polycrates, not only to his subjects but to strangers, that he foresaw his fate to be unavoidable, and therefore was cautious not to be involved in his ruin."—*T.*

[53] *Cydon in Crete.*]—This place is now called Canea : some say it was at first called Apollonia, because built by Cydon the son of Apollo. Pausanias says, it was built by Cydon, son of Tegetes. It was once a place of great power, and the largest city in the island. For a description of its present condition see *Savary's Letters on Greece.*—*T.*

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byses, requesting him by all means to prevent their return.

XLV. There are some who assert, that the Samians sent by Polycrates, never arrived in Ægypt, but that as soon as they reached the Carpathian sea they consulted together, and determined to proceed no farther. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that they did arrive in Ægypt, but that they escaped from their guards, and returned to Samos: they add, that Polycrates met and engaged them at sea, where he was defeated; but that, landing afterwards on the island, they had a second engagement by land, in which they were totally routed, and obliged to fly to Lacedæmon. They who assert that the Samians returned from Ægypt, and obtained a victory over Polycrates, are in my opinion mistaken; for if their own force was sufficient to overcome him, there was no necessity for their applying to the Lacedæmonians for assistance. Neither is it at all consistent with probability, that a prince who had so many forces under his command, composed as well of foreign auxiliaries as of archers of his own, could possibly be overcome by the few Samians who were returning home. Polycrates, moreover, had in his power the wives and children of his Samian subjects: these were all assembled and confined in his different harbours; and he was determined to destroy them by fire,

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and the harbours along with them, in case of any treasonable conjunction between the inhabitants and the Samians who were returning.

XLVI. The Samians who were expelled by Polycrates, immediately on their arrival at Sparta obtained an audience of the magistrates, and spoke a great while in the language of suppliants. The answer which they first received informed them, that the commencement of their discourse was not remembered, and the conclusion not understood. At the second interview they simply produced a leathern bag, and complained that it contained no bread; even to this, the Lacedæmonians replied, that their observation was unnecessary [54]; —they determined nevertheless to assist them.

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54 *Observation was unnecessary.*]—The Spartans were always remarkable for their contempt of oratory and eloquence. The following curious examples of this are recorded in Sextus Empiricus:—" A young Spartan went abroad, and endeavoured to accomplish himself in the art of speaking; on his return he was punished by the Ephori, for having conceived the design of deluding his countrymen. Another Spartan was sent to Tissaphernes, a Persian satrap, to engage him to prefer the alliance of Sparta to that of Athens; he said but little, but when he found the Athenians employed great pomp and profusion of words, he drew two lines, both terminating in the same point, but one was straight, the other very crooked; pointing these out to Tissaphernes, he merely said, " Choose." The story here related of the Samians, by Herodotus, is found also in Sextus Empiricus, but is by him applied on a different occasion, and to a different people.—*T.*

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XLVII. After the necessary preparations, the Lacedæmonians embarked with an army against Samos: if the Samians may be credited, the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in this business was the effect of gratitude, they themselves having formerly received a supply of ships against the Messenians. But the Lacedæmonians assert, that they engaged in this expedition not so much to satisfy the wishes of those Samians who had sought their asisstance, as to obtain satisfaction for an injury which they had formerly received. The Samians had violently taken away a goblet which the Lacedæmonians were carrying to Crœsus, and a corselet[55], which was given them by Amasis king of Ægypt. This latter incident took place at the interval of a year after the former: the corselet* was made of linen, but there were interwoven in the piece, a great number of animals richly embroidered with cotton and gold; every part of it deserved admiration: it was composed of chains, each of which contained three hundred and sixty threads distinctly

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[55] *A corselet.*]—Some fragments of this were to be seen in the time of Pliny, who complains that so curious a piece of workmanship should be spoiled, by its being unravelled by different people, to gratify curiosity, or to ascertain the fact here asserted.—*T.*

* This corselet is mentioned with praise by Herodotus, in Euterpe, c. 182; by Pliny, Nat. Hist. book xix. c. 1; and by Ælian. Hist. An. book ix. c. 17.

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visible. Amasis presented another corselet, entirely resembling this, to the Minerva of Lindus.

XLVIII. To this expedition against Samos, the Corinthians also contributed, with considerable ardour. In the age which preceded, and about the time in which the goblet had been taken, this people had been insulted by the Samians. Periander [56], the son of Cypselus, had sent to Alyattes, at Sardis, three hundred children of the principal families of the Corcyreans, to be made eunuchs. They were intrusted to the care of certain Corinthians, who, by distress

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[56] *Periander.*]—The life of Periander is given by Diogenes Laertius; from which I have extracted such particulars as seem most worthy the attention of the English reader.

He was of the family of the Heraclidæ; and the reason of his sending the young Corcyreans, with the purpose mentioned by Herodotus, was on account of their having killed his son, to whom he wished to resign his power. He was the first prince who used guards for the defence of his person. He was by some esteemed one of the seven wise men; Plato, however, does not admit him amongst them. His celebrated saying was, that "Perseverance may do every thing."

In an epigram inserted in Stephens's Anthologia, and translated by Ausonius, χολε κρατεειν is the maxim attributed to Periander, "Restrain your anger:" of which rule he must have severely felt the necessity, if, as Laertius relates, he killed his wife Melissa in a transport of passion, by kicking her or throwing a chair at her when pregnant. Her name, according to the same author, was Lyside; Melissa was probably substituted through fondness, certain nymphs and departed human souls being called *Melissæ.*—*Menage.*—*T.*

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of weather, were compelled to touch at Samos. The Samians soon learned the purpose of the expedition, and accordingly instructed the children to fly for protection to the temple of Diana, from whence they would not suffer the Corinthians to take them. But as the Corinthians prevented their receiving any food, the Samians instituted a festival on the occasion, which they yet observe. At the approach of night, and as long as the children continued as suppliants in the temple, they introduced a company of youths and virgins, who, in a kind of religious dance, were to carry cakes made of honey and flour [57] in their hands. This was done that the young Corcyreans, by snatching them away, might satisfy their hunger, and was repeated till the Corinthians who guarded the children departed. The Samians afterwards sent the children back to Corcyra [58].

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[57] *Honey and flour.*]—The cakes of Samos were very famous. —See Athenæus, book xiv. c. 13.

[58] *Back to Corcyra.*]—Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus, says, " that the young Corcyreans were not preserved by the Samians, but by the Cnidians."—This assertion is examined and refuted by Larcher.

Pliny says, that the fish called echines stopped the vessel going swift before the wind, on board of which were messengers of Periander, having it in command to castrate the sons of the Cnidian noblemen; for which reason these shells were highly reverenced in the temple of Venus at Cnidos. M. Larcher, avowedly giving the reader the above passage from Pliny, is guilty of a misquotation: " these shells,"

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XLIX. If after the death of Periander, there had existed any friendship betwixt the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, it might be supposed that they would not have assisted in this expedition against Samos. But notwithstanding these people had the same origin (the Corinthians having built Corcyra) they had always lived in a state of enmity. The Corinthians, therefore, did not forget the affront which they had received at Samos; and it was in resentment of injuries formerly received from the Corcyreans, that Periander had sent to Sardis these three hundred youths of the first families of Corcyra, with the intention of their being made eunuchs.

L. When Periander had put his wife Melissa to death, he was involved in an additional calamity. By Melissa*, he had two sons, one of

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says he, "arrêtèrent le vaisseau où étoient ces enfans;" whereas the words of Pliny (see Gronov. edit. vol. i. p. 609) are these, "Quibus inhærentibus stetisse navem portantem nuncios à Periandro ut castrarentur nobiles pueri."—*T.*

* The story of Melissa is thus related in Athenæus, book xiii. c. 6.

Pythænetus, in his third book of the history of Ægina, says that Periander, having seen Melissa, the daughter of Procles of Epidaurus, in a Peloponnesian dress, without any robe, in one simple vest, and serving out wine to the labourers, fell in love with and married her.

The following is from Diogenes Laertius:

He had two sons by Melissa, Cypselus and Lycophron. At some succeeding period, being exasperated against her

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whom was seventeen, the other eighteen years old: Procles, their grandfather by the mother's side, had sent for them to Epidaurus, of which place he was prince; and had treated them with all the kindness due to the children of his daughter. At the time appointed for their departure, he took them aside, and asked them if they knew who had killed their mother. To these words the elder brother paid no attention; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, took it so exceedingly to heart, that at his return to Corinth he would neither salute his father, converse with, nor answer him; in indignation at which behaviour, Periander banished him his house.

LI. After the above event, Periander asked his elder son, what their grandfather had said to them. The youth informed him, that their grandfather had received them very affectionately, but as he did not remember, he could not relate the words he had used to them at parting. The father, however, continued to press him; saying, it was impossible that their grandfather should dismiss them without some advice. This induced the young man more seriously to reflect on what had passed; and he afterwards informed his father

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by the calumny of one of his concubines, he was the cause of her death, by kicking her when she was pregnant.

According to Pausanias, there was a monument in honour of this Melissa, near Epidaurus.

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of every particular. Upon this, Periander was determined not at all to relax from his severity, but immediately sent to those who had received his son under their protection, commanding them to dismiss him. Lycophron was thus driven from one place to another, and from thence to a third, and from this last also the severity of Periander expelled him. Yet, fearful as people were to entertain him, he still found an asylum, from the consideration of his being the son of Periander.

LII. Periander at length commanded it to be publicly proclaimed, that whoever harboured his son, or held any conversation with him, should pay a stipulated fine for the use of Apollo's temple. After this no person presumed either to receive or converse with him, and Lycophron himself acquiesced in the injunction, by retiring to the public portico. On the fourth day, Periander himself observed him in this situation, covered with filth* and perishing with hunger: his heart relenting, he approached, and thus addressed him: "My son, which do you think "preferable, your present extremity of distress, "or to return to your obedience, and share with

* The original is αλουσιησι, literally with unwashed things. In warm countries, before the use of linen, the frequent application of the bath, and of washing, must have been peculiarly necessary, and makes this expression striking and appropriate.

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"me my authority and riches? You who are "my son, and a prince of the happy Corinth, "choose the life of a mendicant, and persevere "in irritating him, who has the strongest claims "upon your duty. If the incident which in-"duces you to think unfavourably of my con-"duct, has any evil resulting from it, the whole "is fallen upon myself; and I feel it the more "sensibly, from the reflection that I was myself "the author of it. Experience has taught you "how much better it is to be envied than pi-"tied[59], and how dangerous it is to provoke a "superior and a parent—return therefore to my "house." To this speech Periander received no other answer from his son, than that he himself, by conversing with him, had incurred the penalty which his edict had imposed. The king

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59 *Envied than pitied.*]—Of this, M. Larcher remarks, that it is a proverbial expression in the French language: it is no less so in our own. The same sentiment in Pindar is referred to by the learned Frenchman, which is thus translated by Mr. West.

Nor less distasteful is excessive fame
To the sour palate of the envious mind;
Who hears with grief his neighbour's goodly name,
And hates the fortune that he ne'er shall find;
Yet in thy virtue, Hiero, persevere,
Since to be envied is a nobler fate
Than to be pitied, and let strict justice steer
With equitable hand the helm of state,
And arm thy tongue with truth: O king! beware
Of every step: a prince can never lightly err.—*T.*

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perceiving the perverseness of his son to be immutable, determined to remove him from his sight; he therefore sent him in a vessel to Corcyra, which place also belonged to him. After this, Periander made war upon his father-in-law Procles, whom he considered as the principal occasion of what had happened. He made himself master of Epidaurus [60], and took Procles prisoner; whom nevertheless he preserved alive.

LIII. In process of time, as Periander ad-

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[60] *Epidaurus.*]—This was a city of the Peloponnese, famous for a temple of Æsculapius. When the Romans were once afflicted by a grievous pestilence, they were ordered by the oracle to bring Æsculapius to Rome; they accordingly dispatched ambassadors to Epidaurus to accomplish this. The Epidaurians refusing to part with their god, the Romans prepared to depart: as their vessel was quitting the port, an immense serpent came swimming towards them, and finally writhed itself round the prow; the crew, thinking it to be Æsculapius himself, carried him with much veneration to Rome.—His entrance is finely described by Ovid:—

> Jamque caput rerum Romanam intraverat urbem,
> Erigitur serpens—summoque acclivia malo
> Colla movet: sedesque sibi circumspicit aptas.

Which description, fully considered, would perhaps afford no mean subject for an historical painting.

Epidaurus was also famous for its breed of horses.—See *Virgil, Georgic.* iii. 43, 4.

> Vocat ingenti clamore Cithæron,
> Taygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum.

The same fact is also mentioned by Strabo, book viii.—*T.*

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vanced in years, he began to feel himself inadequate to the cares of government; he sent therefore for Lycophron to Corcyra, to take upon him the administration of affairs: his eldest son* appeared improper for such a station, and was indeed dull and stupid. Lycophron disdained to take the smallest notice of the messenger who brought him this intelligence. But Periander, as he felt his affection for the young man to be unalterable, sent his sister to him, thinking her interposition most likely to succeed. When she saw him, "Brother," said she, "will you suffer "the sovereign authority to pass into other "hands, and the riches of our family to be dis-"persed, rather than return to enjoy them your-"self? Let me entreat you to punish yourself "no more; return to your country and your "family: obstinacy like yours is but an unwel-"come guest, it only adds one evil to another. "Pity is by many preferred to justice; and "many, from their anxiety to fulfil their duty "to a mother, have violated that which a father "might expect. Power, which many so assi-"duously court, is in its nature precarious†.

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* That is, Cypselus. See chap. 5—note.

† A similar sentiment occurs in the Iphigenia in Aulis of Euripides, which is thus translated by Mr. Wodhull:

Yet such splendour oft is found
Precarious.—Empire, tempting to the view,
Comes laden with affliction.

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"Your father is growing old, do not therefore "resign to others, honours which are properly "your own." Thus instructed by her father, she used every argument likely to influence her brother; but he briefly answered, "that as long "as his father lived he would not return to "Corinth." When she had communicated this answer to Periander, he sent a third messenger to his son, informing him, that it was his intention to retire to Corcyra; but that Lycophron might return to Corinth, and take possession of the supreme authority. This proposition was accepted, and Periander prepared to depart for Corcyra, the young man for Corinth. But when the Corcyreans were informed of the business, to prevent the arrival of Periander among them, they put his son to death.—This was what induced that prince to take vengeance on the Corcyreans.

LIV. The Lacedæmonians arriving with a powerful fleet, laid siege to Samos, and advancing towards the walls, they passed by a tower which stands in the suburbs, not far from the sea. At this juncture Polycrates attacked them

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This version is by no means accurate. The Greek is—τετο δε γ'εστι τὸ καλὸν σφαλερόν.

For this, namely power, is an unstable good.

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at the head of a considerable force, and compelled them to retreat. He was instantly seconded by a band of auxiliaries, and a great number of Samians, who falling upon the enemy from a fort which was behind the mountain, after a short conflict effectually routed them, and continued the pursuit with great slaughter of the Lacedæmonians.

LV. If all the Lacedæmonians had behaved in this engagement like Archias and Lycopas, Samos must certainly have been taken; for these two alone entered the city, with those Samians who sought security within the walls, and having no means of retreat were there slain. I myself one day met with a person of the same name, who was the son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias above mentioned; I saw him at Pitane[61],

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61 *Pitane.*]—This proper name involves some perplexity, and has afforded exercise for much acute and ingenious criticism. Martiniere, from mistaking a passage of Pausanias, asserts that it was merely a quarter, or rather suburbs of Lacedæmon, and is consequently often confounded with it. This mistake is ably pointed out and refuted by Bellanger, in his Critique de quelques Articles du Dict. de M. la Martiniere. This word is found in Hesychius, as descriptive of a distinct tribe; in Thucydides, of a small town; and in Herodotus, of a whole people:—See book ix. chap. 52, where he speaks of the cohort of Pitane, which in the glorious battle of Platea was commanded by Amompharetus. It is certain that there were several places of this name; the one

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of which place he was a native. This person paid more attention to Samians than to other foreigners; and he told me, that his father was called Samius, as being the immediate descendant of him, who with so much honour had lost his life at Samos. The reason of his thus distinguishing the Samians, was because they had honoured his grandfather by a public funeral[62].

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here specified was doubtless on the banks of the Eurotas, in Laconia.—See *Essais de Critique, &c.* 316.—*T.*

[62] *Public funeral.*]—The manner in which the funerals of those who had died in defence of their country were solemnized at Athens, cannot fail of giving the English reader an elevated idea of that polished people.

On an appointed day a number of coffins made of cypress wood, and containing the bones of the deceased, were exposed to view beneath a large tent erected for the purpose; they who had relations to deplore, assembled to weep over them, and pay the duties dictated by tenderness or enjoined by religion. Three days afterwards the coffins were placed upon as many cars as there were tribes, and were carried slowly through the town, to the Ceramicus, where funeral games were celebrated. The bodies were deposited in the earth, and their relations and friends paid for the last time the tribute of their tears; an orator appointed by the republic from an elevated place pronounced a funeral oration over his valiant countrymen; each tribe raised over the graves some kind of column, upon which was inscribed the names of the deceased, their age, and the place where they died.

The above solemnities were conducted under the inspection of one of the principal magistrates.

The most magnificent public funeral of which we have any account, was that of Alexander the Great, when his body

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LVI. The Lacedæmonians, after remaining forty days before the place without any advantage, returned to the Peloponnese. It is reported, though most absurdly, that Polycrates struck off a great number of pieces of lead cased with gold[63], like the coin of the country, and that

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was brought from Babylon to Alexandria; a minute description of which is given by Diodorus Siculus.

For a particular description of the ceremonies observed at public and private funerals, amongst the Romans, consult Montfaucon.—*T.*

[63] *Lead cased with gold.*]—Similar to this artifice, was that practised on the people of Gortyna in Crete, by Hannibal, as recorded by Justin. After the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, Hannibal retired to Gortyna, carrying with him an immense treasure. This circumstance exciting the envy of the people against him, he pretended to deposit his riches in the temple of Diana, to which place he carried with much ceremony several vessels filled with lead. He soon took an opportunity of passing over into Asia with his real wealth, which he had concealed in the images of the gods he affected to worship.

No such coins as those mentioned by Herodotus having been ever discovered, is perhaps a sufficient justification of our author, for the discredit which he has here thrown upon the story concerning the artifice of Polycrates. That spurious coins, however, of this kind, were fabricated in very early times, is a fact with which every Medallist must be sufficiently acquainted. The collection of Dr. Hunter will afford several examples. One instance of a leaden coin, cased with silver, as remote as the time of Seleucus the First, of Syria, may be seen in that cabinet; where is also a similar coin of the city of Naples. The collection at the British Museum, would doubtless afford several instances of the

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with these he purchased their departure.—This was the first expedition of the Dorians* of Lacedæmon into Asia.

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like forgery. In the Roman Series, Neumann (*Num. Vet. Anecdoti*, pars xi. p. 201) makes mention of a remarkable instance from Schulzius, of a leaden coin of Nero, which had been anciently circulated for brass, in which metal it was enclosed. Of leaden coins covered with gold there are two examples in the cabinet of Dr. Hunter; one belonging to the Emperor Trajan, and the other to his successor, Hadrian. The lead, however, in these coins, seems to have been hardened by a mixture of some other metal, perhaps tin, or a small portion of silver. Demosthenes relates, from Solon, that several cities in Greece adulterated their coins as well with lead as with brass—*αργυριω προς χαλκον και μολυβδον κεκραμενω. Oratione adv. Timocratem*, vol. iii. p. 440. Edit. Taylor. And Dion Cassius informs us, that the Emperor Caracalla, instead of gold and silver, issued brass and leaden money; the first of which, for the purpose of concealing his fraud, he caused to be washed or cased with gold, and the latter with silver—*το, τε αργυριον και το χρυσιον ὁ παρειχεν ἡμιν, το μεν εκ μολυβδον καταργυρουμενον, το δε και εκ χαλκου καταχρυσουμενον εσκευαξετο.* Lib. 77. p. 876. edit. *Leunclavii.*

Many Samian coins are to be seen in the cabinets of collectors. These have sometimes been mistaken for the coins of Salamis in Cyprus, owing to the circumstance of their having only the two initial letters of the inscription upon them. The French writers still remain in this error, and confound the coins of both the above places.

There cannot, however, be any reasonable doubt entertained upon this point, since we have in our own country, in the Hunterian collection, a genuine coin of this people, which, while it agrees in every other respect with those attributed to Salamis, differs in the important particular of

* For this note, see the next page.

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LVII. Those Samians who had taken up arms against Polycrates, when they saw themselves forsaken by the Lacedæmonians, and were distressed from want of money, embarked for Siphnos[64].

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preserving the impression of the name at full length—ΣΑΜΙΩΝ. See *Pellerin Recueil de Medailles de Peuples et de Villes*, tom. 3, pl. 101. *Catalogue d'une Collection d'empreintes en soufre de Medailles Grecques et Romaines, a Paris*, An. 8. p. 53. *Hunteri Num. Vet. Populorum et Urbium*, p. 258, tab. 47. *Dom. Sestini Classes Generales Geographiæ Numismaticæ*, pars xi. p. 84.

* Larcher, in his first edition, had omitted the term of Lacedæmon, thinking with Valcknaer, that Dorians was sufficient of itself. In his second edition he has rendered it Lacedæmonian Dorians.

[64] *Siphnos.*]—This was one of those small islands lying opposite to Attica: They were seventeen in number, and called, from their situation with respect to each other, the Cyclades; they were all eminently beautiful, and severally distinguished by some appropriate excellence. The marble of Paros was of inimitable whiteness, and of the finest grain; Andros and Naxos produced the most exquisite wine; Amengos was famous for a dye made from a lichen, growing there in vast abundance. The riches of Siphnos are extolled by many ancient writers; it is now called Siphanto.

The following account of the modern circumstances of Siphnos, is extracted principally from Tournefort.

It is remarkable for the purity of its air; the water, fruit, and poultry, are very excellent. Although covered with marble and granite, it is one of the most fertile islands of the Archipelago. They have a famous manufactory of straw hats, which are sold all over the Archipelago, by the name of Siphanto castors: though once so famous for its mines of gold and silver, the inhabitants can now hardly tell

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At this time the power of the Siphnians was very considerable, and they were the richest of all the inhabitants of the islands. Their soil produced both the gold and silver metals in such abundance, that from a tenth part of their revenues, they had a treasury at Delphi, equal in value to the richest which that temple possessed. Every year they made an equal distribution among themselves, of the value of their mines: whilst their wealth was thus accumulating, they consulted the oracle, to know whether they should long continue in the enjoyment of their present good fortune. From the Pythian they received this answer:

When Siphnos shall a milk-white senate show,
And all her market wear a front of snow;
Him let her prize whose wit suspects the most,
A scarlet envoy from a wooden host.

At this period the prytaneum, and the forum of Siphnos, were adorned with Parian marble.

LVIII. This reply of the oracle, the Siphnians were unable to comprehend, both before and after the arrival of the Samians. As soon as the

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you where they were. They have plenty of lead, which the rains discover. The ladies of Siphanto cover their faces with linen bandages so dexterously that you can only see their mouth, nose, and white of the eyes.—*T.*

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Samians touched at Siphnos, they dispatched a messenger to the town, in one of their vessels. According to the ancient custom, all ships were painted of a red colour; and it was this which induced the Pythian, to warn the Siphnians against a wooden snare, and a red ambassador. On their arrival, the Samian ambassadors entreated the inhabitants to lend them ten talents: on being refused, they plundered the country. The Siphnians hearing of this, collected their forces, and were defeated in a regular engagement; a great number were, in the retreat, cut off from the town, and the Samians afterwards exacted from them an hundred talents.

LIX. Instead of money, the Samians had received of the Hermionians, the island of Thyrea*, adjacent to the Peloponnese: this they afterwards gave as a pledge to the Træzenians. They afterwards made a voyage to Crete, where they built Cydonia, although their object in going there, was to expel the Zacynthians. In this place they continued five years, during which period they were so exceedingly prosperous, that they not only erected all those temples which are

* There was another place of this name in Arcadia. See Pausanias, book 8, l. 35. In the original text it is Hydrea; but this, by common consent of the best manuscripts, is erroneous.

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now seen in Cydonia, but built also the temple of Dictynna[65]. In the sixth year, from a junction being made with the Cretans by the Æginetæ, they were totally vanquished in a sea engagement, and reduced to servitude. The prows of their vessels were taken away and defaced, and afterwards suspended in the temple of Minerva at Ægina. The Æginetæ were impelled to this conduct towards the Samians, in resentment of a former injury. When Amphicrates* reigned at Samos, he had carried on a war against the Æginetæ, by which they materially suffered; this, however, they severely retaliated.

LX. I have been thus particular in my account of the Samians, because this people produced the greatest monuments[66] of art which are

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65 *Dictynna.*]—Diana was worshipped in Crete, indifferently under the name of Dyctynna and of Britomartis. *Britu*, in the Cretan language, meant sweet, and *martis*, a virgin. Britomartis was also the name of a virgin greatly beloved by Diana; and what is said by Diodorus Siculus on the subject, seems most worthy of attention. His story is this:—Dictynna was born in Cæron; she invented hunters toils and nets, and thence her name. She was the daughter of Jupiter, which renders it exceedingly improbable that she should be obliged to fly from Minos, and leap into the sea, where she was caught in some fishers nets. The Mons Dictynnæus of Pliny is now called Cape Spada.—*T.*

* This prince is mentioned by no other author.

66 *The greatest monuments.*]—Of these monuments some vestiges are still to be seen; consult Tournefort, i. 514. Port

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to be seen in Greece. They have a mountain which is one hundred and fifty orgyiæ in height; they have made a passage entirely through this, the length of which is seven stadia, it is moreover eight feet high, and as many wide. By the side of this there is also an artificial canal, which in like manner goes quite through the mountain, and though only three feet in breadth, is twenty cubits deep. This, by the means of pipes, conveys to the city the waters of a copious spring[67].

Tigani is in form of a half-moon, and regards the south-east; its left horn is that famous Jettee which Herodotus reckoned amongst the three wonders of Samos. This work, at that time of day, is an evidence of the Samians application to maritime matters.

67 *Copious spring.*]—On the left of the dale, near to the aqueduct which crosses it, are certain caverns, the entrance of some of them artificially cut. In all appearance some of these artificial caverns were what Herodotus says were ranked among the most wonderful performances of the Greek nation. The beautiful spring which tempted them to go upon so great a work, is doubtless that of Metelinous, the best in the island, the disposition of the place proving perfectly favourable, the moment they had conquered the difficulty of boring it; but in all probability they were not exact enough in levelling the ground, for they were obliged to dig a canal of twenty cubits deep for carrying the spring to the place designed. There must have been some mistake in this passage of Herodotus; for neither the Samians nor any other people could make a canal forty feet deep by only three wide.

Some five hundred paces from the sea, and almost the like distance from the river Imbrasis to Cape Cera, are the ruins of the famous temple of the Samian Juno. But for Hero-

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This is their first work, and constructed by Eupalinus, the son of Naustrophus, an inhabitant of Megara. Their second is a mole, which projects from the harbour into the sea, and is two stadia or more in length, and about twenty orgyiæ in height. Their last performance was a temple, which exceeds in grandeur all that I have seen. This structure was first commenced by a native of the country, whose name was Rhœcus[68], son of Phileus.

LXI. Whilst Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, passed his time in Ægypt, committing various excesses, two magi, who were brothers, and one

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dotus we should never have known the name of the architect. He employed a very particular order of columns, as may be now seen. It is indeed neither better nor worse than the Ionian order in its infancy, void of that beauty which it afterwards acquired.—Thus far Tournefort.

Its ancient names were Parthenias, Anthemus, and Melamphissus. It was the birth-place of Pythagoras, and the school of Epicurus. Pococke says, that there are no remains which he could prevail upon himself to believe to belong to this canal. He adds, that the inhabitants are remarkably profligate and poor. Tournefort makes a similar remark. There are no disciples of Pythagoras, observes the Frenchman, now left in Samos; the modern Samians are no more fond of fasting, than they are lovers of silence.—*T.*

[68] *Rhœcus.*]—This Rhœcus was not only a skilful architect, but he farther invented, in conjunction with Theodorus of Samos, the art of making moulds with clay, long before the Bacchiades had been driven from Corinth; they were also the first who made casts in brass, of which they formed

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of whom Cambyses had left in Persia as the manager of his domestic concerns, excited a revolt against him. The death of Smerdis, which had been studiously kept secret, and was known to very few of the Persians, who in general believed that he was alive, was a circumstance to which the last mentioned of these magi had been privy, and of which he determined to avail himself. His brother, who, as we have related, joined with him in this business, not only resembled in person[69], but bore the very name of the young prince, the son of Cyrus, who had been put to death by the order of his brother Cambyses. This man, Patizithes, the other magus, publicly introduced and placed upon the royal throne, having previously

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statues. Pausanias relates the same fact, with this addition, that upon a pedestal behind the altar of Diana, called Protothenia, there is a statue by Rhœcus: it is a woman in bronze, said by the Ephesians to be that of Night. He had two sons, Telecles and Theodorus, both ingenious statuaries. —*Larcher.*

69 *Resembled in person.*]—Similar historical incidents will here occur to the most common reader, there having been no state whose annals are come down to us, in which, from the similitude of person, factious individuals have not excited commotions. In the Roman government a false Pompey and a false Drusus claim our attention, because one exercised the political sagacity of Cicero, the other employed the pen of Tacitus. Neither have we in our own country been without similar impostors, the examples of which must be too familiar to require insertion here. If other examples be thought necessary, not many years have passed since the Russian empire was nearly overturned by a false Demetrius.—*T.*

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instructed him in the part he was to perform. Having done this, he sent messengers to different places, and one in particular to the Ægyptian army, ordering them to obey Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, alone.

LXII. These orders were every where obeyed. The messenger who came to Ægypt found Cambyses with the army, at Ecbatana, in Syria. He entered into the midst of the troops[70], and exe-

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[70] *Into the midst of the troops.*]—It may to an English reader at first sight seem extraordinary that any person should dare to execute such a commission as this, and should venture himself on such a business amongst the troops of a man whose power had been so long established, and whose cruelty must have been notorious. But the persons of heralds, as the functions they were to perform were the most important possible, were on all occasions sacred. Homer more than once calls them the sacred ministers of gods and men; they denounced war, and proclaimed peace. It has been a matter of dispute amongst the learned from whence this sanctity was conferred on them; they were said to be descended from Ceryx, the son of Mercury, and under the protection of that god. This office, in Athens and Sparta, was hereditary. In Athens, as I have observed, the heralds were said to be derived from Ceryx; in Sparta from Talthybius, the celebrated herald of Agamemnon. They usually carried a staff of laurel in their hands, sometimes of olive, round this two serpents were twisted. To what an extreme this reverence for the persons of ambassadors or heralds was carried, will appear from the book Polymnia, chap. 134. It is almost unnecessary to add, that in modern times the persons of ambassadors are in like manner deemed sacred, unless the treatment which in case of war they re-

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cuted the commission which had been given him. When Cambyses heard this, he was not aware of any fallacy, but imagined that Prexaspes, whom he had sent to put Smerdis to death, had neglected to obey his commands. "Prexaspes," said the king, "thou hast not fulfilled my orders." "Sir," he replied, "you are certainly deceived; "it is impossible that your brother should rebel "against you, or occasion you the smallest trou-"ble. I not only executed your orders concern-"ing Smerdis, but I buried him with my own "hands. If the dead can rise again, you may "expect also a rebellion from Astyages the "Mede; but if things go on in their usual course, "you can have nothing to apprehend from your "brother. I would recommend, therefore, that "you send for this herald, and demand by what "authority he claims our allegiance to Smerdis."

LXIII. This advice was agreeable to Cambyses: the person of the herald was accordingly seized, and he was thus addressed by Prexaspes: "You say," my friend, "that you come from "Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but I would advise

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ceive at Constantinople be deemed an exception. The moment that war is declared against any foreign power, the representative of that power is seized, and sent as a prisoner to the Black Tower. Neither is the case much better in France, where the Portuguese minister was not long since thrown into the common jail, and the ministers of other foreign courts, not excepting our own, shamefully insulted.—*T.*

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"you to be cautious, as your safety will depend "upon your speaking the truth; tell me, there-"fore, did Smerdis himself intrust you with this "commission, or did you receive it from some "one of his officers?" "I must confess," replied the herald, "that since the departure of "Cambyses on this Ægyptian expedition, I have "never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. I re-"ceived my present commission from the magus "to whom Cambyses intrusted the management "of his domestic affairs; he it was who told me "that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, commanded "me to execute this business." This was the sincere answer of the herald; upon which, Cambyses thus addressed Prexaspes: "I perceive "that, like a man of integrity, you performed "my commands, and have been guilty of no "crime: but what Persian, assuming the name "of Smerdis, has revolted against me?" "Sir," answered Prexaspes, "I believe I comprehend "the whole of this business: the magi have "excited this rebellion against you, namely, "Patizithes, to whom you intrusted the ma-"nagement of your household, and Smerdis, his "brother."

LXIV. As soon as Cambyses heard the name of Smerdis, he was impressed with conviction of the truth; and he immediately perceived the real signification of the dream in which he had seen

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Smerdis seated on the royal throne, and touching the firmament with his head. Acknowledging that he had destroyed his brother without any just cause, he lamented him with tears. After indulging for a while in the extremest sorrow, which a sense of his misfortunes prompted, he leaped hastily upon his horse, determining to lead his army instantly to Susa, against the rebels. In doing this, the sheath fell from his sword[71],

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[71] *The sheath fell from his sword.*]—The first swords were probably made of brass; for, as Lucretius observes,

Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.

It has been remarked, on the following passage of Virgil,

Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æneus ensis,

that the poet only uses brass poetically instead of iron; this however, seems forced and improbable. More anciently, which indeed appears from Homer, the sword was worn over the shoulder; if, therefore, the attitude of Cambyses in the act of mounting his horse be considered, his receiving the wound here described does not appear at all unlikely. In contradiction to modern custom, the Romans sometimes wore two swords, one on each side; when they wore but one it was usually, though not always, on the right side. On this subject, see Montfaucon, where different specimens of ancient swords may be seen. The Persian swords were called acinaces, or scymetars.—*T.*

In order to see how the ancient Persians wore their swords, we have only to look at the figures on the ruins of Persepolis, where we shall see the swords, or rather daggers, on the right side.

In all our more ancient monuments also, there is a sword at the left, and a dagger at the right side.

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which, being thus naked, wounded him in the thigh. The wound was in the very place in which he had before struck Apis, the deity of the Ægyptians. As soon as the blow appeared to be mortal, Cambyses anxiously inquired the name of the place where he was: they told him it was called Ecbatana. An oracle from Butos had warned him that he should end his life at Ecbatana; this he understood of Ecbatana[72] of the Medes, where all his treasures were deposited, and where he conceived he was to die in his old age. The oracle, however, spoke of the

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[72] *Ecbatana.*]—Ctesias makes this prince die at Babylon; but this is not the only place in which he contradicts Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

It appears by the context, that this Ecbatana was in Syria; an obscure place, probably, and unheard of by Cambyses till this moment. A similar fiction of a prophecy occurs in our own history. Henry the Fourth had been told he was to die in Jerusalem, but died in the Jerusalem-chamber at Westminster. Which tale Shakespeare has immortalized by noticing it.

> It hath been prophesy'd to me many years
> I should not die but in Jerusalem,
> Which vainly I suppos'd the Holy Land.
> But bear me to that chamber, there I 'll lie,
> In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

This fiction was common in all ages, and indeed Shakespeare has three or four others.

Batanæa in Palestine marks the place of this Syrian Ecbatana.—*See D'Anville.*

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Syrian Ecbatana. When he learned the name of the town, the vexation arising from the rebellion of the magus, and the pain of his wound, restored him to his proper senses. "This," he exclaimed, remembering the oracle, "is doubt-
"less the place, in which Cambyses, son of
"Cyrus, is destined to die."

LXV. On the twentieth day after the above event, he convened the more illustrious of the Persians who were with him, and thus addressed them: "What has happened to me, compels me
"to disclose to you what I anxiously desired to
"conceal. Whilst I was in Ægypt, I beheld
"in my sleep a vision, which I could wish had
"never appeared to me. A messenger seemed
"to arrive from home, informing me that Smer-
"dis, sitting on the royal throne, touched the
"heavens with his head. It is not in the power
"of men to counteract destiny; but fearing that
"my brother would deprive me of my kingdom,
"I yielded to passion rather than to prudence.
"Infatuated as I was, I dispatched Prexaspes
"to Susa, to put Smerdis to death. After this
"great crime, I lived with more confidence, be-
"lieving that, Smerdis being dead, no one else
"would rise up against me. But my ideas of
"the future were fallacious; I have murdered
"my brother, a crime equally unnecessary and
"atrocious, and am nevertheless deprived of my

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" power. It was Smerdis the magus[73], whom
" the divinity pointed out to me in my dream,

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73 *Smerdis the magus.*]—Mr. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Language, &c. of Eastern Nations, speaking of the disagreement between the Grecian and Asiatic history of Persia, makes the following remarks:

From this period (610 before Christ) till the Macedonian conquest, we have the history of the Persians as given us by the Greeks, and the history of the Persians as written by themselves. Between these classes of writers we might naturally expect some difference of facts, but we should as naturally look for a few great lines which might mark some similarity of story: yet from every research which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire. The names and numbers of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek historians, the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the great Cyrus, nor of any king of Persia who in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no Crœsus, king of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyses, or of his frantic expedition against the Æthiopians. Smerdis Magus, and the succession of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown, as the numerous assassinations recorded by the Greeks, &c.

To do away, at least in part, any impression to the prejudice of Grecian history, which may be made by perusing the above remarks of Mr. Richardson, the reader is presented with the following sentiments of Mr. Gibbon:

" So little has been preserved of Eastern history before Mahomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation."

The incident here mentioned is the victory of Sapor over Valerian the Roman emperor, who was defeated, taken pri-

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" and who has now taken arms against me.
" Things being thus circumstanced, it becomes
" you to remember that Smerdis, the son of
" Cyrus, is actually dead, and that the two magi,
" one with whom I left the care of my household,
" and Smerdis his brother, are the men who now
" claim your obedience. He, whose office it
" would have been to have revenged on these
" magi any injuries done to me, has unjustly
" perished by those who were nearest to him:
" but since he is no more, I must now tell you,
" O Persians! what I would have you do when
" I am dead.—I entreat you all, by those gods
" who watch over kings, and chiefly you who are
" of the race of the Achæmenides, that you will
" never permit this empire to revert to the
" Medes. If by any stratagem they shall have
" seized it, by stratagem do you recover it. If
" they have by force obtained it, do you by force
" wrest it from them. If you shall obey my ad-
" vice, may the earth give you its fruits in abun-
" dance! may you ever be free, and your wives
" and your flocks prolific! If you do not obey
" me, if you neither recover, nor attempt to re-

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soner, and died in captivity. This happened in the year 260 of the Christian æra. Mahomet was born in the year 571 of the same æra; if, therefore, Mr. Gibbon's observation be well founded, which it appears to be, Mr. Richardson's objections fall to the ground. It may be observed, indeed, that Richardson has discovered a great want of judgment in his account of the Persian history.—*T.*

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" cover the empire, may the reverse of my wishes
" befal you, and may every Persian meet a fate
" like mine!"

LXVI. Cambyses, having thus spoken, bewailed his misfortunes. When the Persians saw the king thus involved in sorrow, they tore their garments, and expressed their grief aloud. After a very short interval, the bone became infected, the whole of the thigh mortified, and death ensued. Thus died Cambyses, son of Cyrus, after a reign of seven years and five months[74], leaving no offspring, male or female. The Persians who were present could not be persuaded that the magi had assumed the supreme authority, but rather believed that what Cambyses had asserted concerning the death of Smerdis, was prompted by his hatred of that prince, and his wish to excite the general animosity of the Persians against him. They were, therefore, generally satisfied that it was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who had assumed the sovereignty. To which they were the more inclined, because Prexaspes afterwards positively denied that he had put Smerdis to death. When Cambyses was dead, he could not safely have confessed that he had killed the son of Cyrus.

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74 *Seven years and five months.*]—Clemens Alexandrinus makes him reign ten years.—*Larcher.*

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LXVII. After the death of Cambyses, the magus, by the favour of his name, pretending to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, reigned in security during the seven months, which completed the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses. In this period he distinguished the various dependents on his power by his great munificence, so that after his death he was seriously regretted by all the inhabitants of Asia, except the Persians. He commenced his reign by publishing every where an edict which exempted his subjects, for the space of three years, both from tribute and military service.

LXVIII. In the eighth month he was detected in the following manner: Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, was of the first rank of the Persians, both with regard to birth and affluence. This nobleman was the first who suspected that this was not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and was induced to suppose who he really was, from his never quitting the citadel, and from his not inviting any of the nobles to his presence. Suspicious of the imposture, he took these measures: He had a daughter named Phædyma, who had been married to Cambyses, and whom, with the other wives of the late king, the usurper had taken to himself. Otanes sent a message to her, to know whether she cohabited with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or with any other person. She

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returned for answer, "that she could not tell, "as she had never seen Smerdis, the son of "Cyrus, nor did she know the person with "whom she cohabited." Otanes sent a second time to his daughter: "If," says he, "you do "not know the person of Smerdis, the son of "Cyrus, enquire of Atossa who it is with whom "you and she cohabit, for she must necessarily "know her brother." To which she thus replied, "I can neither speak to Atossa, nor in-"deed see any of the women that live with him. "Since this person, whoever he is, came to the "throne, the women have all been kept sepa-"rate[75]."

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[75] *Kept separate.*]—Chardin, speaking of the death of a king of Persia, and the intemperate grief of his wives, says, that the reason why the women upon such occasions are so deeply afflicted, is not only for the loss of the king their husband, but for the loss of that shadow of liberty which they enjoyed during his life; for no sooner is the prince laid in his tomb, but they are all shut up in particular houses. Tournefort tells us, that after the death of the sultan at Constantinople, the women whom he honoured with his embraces, and their eldest daughters, are removed into the old seraglio of Constantinople; the younger are sometimes left for the new emperor, or are married to the bashas.

It appears that in the East, from the remotest times, females have been jealously secluded from the other sex. Nevertheless, we learn from modern travellers, that this is done with some restrictions, and that they are not only suffered to communicate with each other, but on certain days to leave the haram or seraglio, and take their amusements abroad.

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LXIX. This reply more and more justified the suspicions of Otanes; he sent, therefore, a third time to his daughter: "My daughter," he observed, "it becomes you, who are nobly born, "to engage in a dangerous enterprize, when "your father commands you. If this Smerdis[76]

Where a plurality of wives is allowed, each, it should seem from Tournefort, has a distinct and separate apartment. "I was extremely at a loss," says he, "how to behave to the great men of the East, when I was called in, and visited, as a physician, the apartments of their wives. These apartments are just like the dormitories of our religious, and at every door I found an arm covered with gauze, thrust out through a small loop-hole, made on purpose: at first I fancied they were arms of wood or brass, to serve for sconces to light up candles in at night; but it surprized me when I was told I must cure the persons to whom these arms belonged." The Easterns listen with much astonishment to the familiarity prevailing betwixt the sexes in Europe. When told that no evil results from this, they answer with a proverb, "Bring butter too near the fire, and you will hardly keep it from melting."—*T.*

76 *If this Smerdis.*]—That Cambyses was the Ahasuerus, and Smerdis the Artaxerxes, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said in Scripture to be the kings of Persia that reigned between the time of Cyrus and the time of that Darius by whose decree the temple was finished; but, that Darius being Darius Hystaspes, and none reigning between Cyrus and that Darius in Persia but Cambyses and Smerdis, it must follow from hence, that none but Cambyses and Smerdis could be the hasuerus and Artaxerxes, who are said in Ezra to have put a stop to this work.—*Prideaux.*

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" be not the son of Cyrus, but the man whom I " suspect, he ought not, possessing your person, " and the sovereignty of Persia, to escape with " impunity. Do this, therefore—when next you " shall be admitted to his bed, and shall observe " that he is asleep, examine whether he has any " ears; if he has, you may be secure you are " with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but if he has " not, it can be no other than Smerdis, one of " the magi." To this Phædyma replied, " That " she would obey him, notwithstanding the " danger she incurred; being well assured, that " if he had no ears, and should discover her " in endeavouring to know this, she should be " instantly put to death." Cyrus had in his lifetime deprived this Smerdis of his ears[77] for some atrocious crime.

Phædyma complied in all respects with the

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77 *This Smerdis of his ears.*]—The discovery of this imposture was long celebrated in Persia as an annual festival. By reason of the great slaughter of the magians then made, it was called magophonia. It was also from this time that they first had the name of magians, which signified the cropt-eared, which was then given them on account of this impostor, who was thus cropt. Mige-gush signified, in the language of the country then in use, one that had his ears cropt; and from a ringleader of that sect who was thus cropt, the author of the famous Arabic lexicon called Camus, tells us they all had this name given them; and what Herodotus and Justin, and other authors, write of this Smerdis, plainly shews that he was the man.—*Prideaux.*

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injunctions of her father. The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns[78]. When this lady next slept with the magus, as soon as she saw him in a profound sleep, she tried to touch his ears, and being perfectly satisfied that he had none, as soon as it was day, she communicated the intelligence to her father.

LXX. Otanes instantly revealed the secret to Aspathines and Gobryas, two of the noblest of the Persians, upon whose fidelity he could depend, and who had themselves suspected the imposture. It was agreed that each should disclose the business to the friend in whom he most confided. Otanes therefore chose Intaphernes; Gobryas, Megabyzus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. The conspirators being thus six in number, Darius,

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[78] *The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns.*]—By the Mahometan law, the Persians, Turks, and indeed all true believers, are permitted to have wives of three different descriptions; those whom they espouse, those whom they hire, and those whom they purchase. Of the first kind they are limited to four, of the two last they may have as many as they please or can afford. Amongst the singularities sanctified by the Alcoran, the following is not the least: a woman legally espoused may insist on a divorce from her husband, if he is impotent, if he is given to unnatural enjoyment, or, to use Tournefort's expression, if he does not pay his tribute upon Thursday and Friday night, which are the times consecrated to the conjugal duties.—*T.*

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son of Hystaspes, arrived at Susa, from Persia, where his father was governor; when they instantly agreed to make him also an associate.

LXXI. These seven met[79], and after mutual vows of fidelity consulted together. As soon as Darius was to speak, he thus addressed his confederates: "I was of opinion that the death of "Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and the usurpation of "the magus, were circumstances known only to "myself, and my immediate purpose in coming "hither, was to accomplish the usurper's death. "But since you are also acquainted with the "matter, I think that all delay will be dangerous, "and that we should instantly execute our "intentions." "Son of Hystaspes," replied Otanes, "born of a noble parent, you seem the "inheritor of your father's virtue; nevertheless, "be not precipitate, but let us enter on this "business with caution: for my own part, I am "averse to undertake any thing, till we shall "have strengthened our party." "My friends," resumed Darius, "if you follow the advice of "Otanes, your ruin is inevitable. The hope of "reward will induce some one to betray your

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79 *These seven met.*]—Mithridates, king of Pontus, who afterwards gave so much trouble to the Romans, was descended from one of these conspirators: See book vii. chap. ii.—*Larcher.*

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" designs to the magus. An enterprize like this
" should be accomplished by yourselves, dis-
" daining all assistance. But since you have
" revealed the secret, and added me to your
" party, let us this very day put our designs in
" execution; for I declare, if this day pass with-
" out our fulfilling our intentions, no one shall
" to-morrow betray me; I will myself disclose
" the conspiracy to the magus."

LXXII. When Otanes observed the ardour of Darius; " Since," he replied, " you will not
" suffer us to defer, but precipitate us to the
" termination of our purpose, explain how we
" shall obtain entrance into the palace, and at-
" tack the usurpers. That there are guards re-
" gularly stationed, if you have not seen them
" yourself, you must have known from others;
" how shall we elude these?" " There are
" many circumstances, Otanes," returned Darius, " which we cannot so well explain by our
" words as by our actions. There are others
" which may be made very plausible by words,
" but are capable of no splendour in the exe-
" cution. You cannot suppose that it will be
" difficult for us to pass the guards; who among
" them will not be impelled by reverence of our
" persons, or fear of our authority, to admit
" us? Besides this, I am furnished with an
" undeniable excuse; I can say that I am just

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" arrived from Persia, and have business from my
" father with the king. If a falsehood must be
" spoken[80], let it be so. They who are sincere,
" and they who are not, have the same object in
" view. Falsehood is prompted by views of in-
" terest, and the language of truth is dictated by
" some promised benefit, or by the hope of in-
" spiring confidence. So that, in fact, these are
" only two different paths to the same end: if no
" emolument were proposed, the sincere man

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[80] *If a falsehood must be spoken.*]—This morality, says Larcher, is not very rigid; but it ought, he continues, to be remembered, that Herodotus is here speaking of falsehood which operates to no one's injury. Bryant, on the contrary, remarks, that we may rest assured these are the author's own sentiments, though attributed to another person; hence, he adds, we must not wonder if his veracity be sometimes called in question. But when we remember that one of the first rudiments of Persian education was to speak the truth, the little scruple with which Darius here adopts a falsehood, must appear very remarkable. Upon this subject of sincerity, Lord Shaftesbury has some very curious remarks. "The chief of ancient critics," says he, "extols Homer above all things for understanding how to lye in perfection. His lyes, according to that master's opinion, and the judgment of the gravest and most venerable writers, were in themselves the justest moral truths, and exhibitive of the best doctrine and instruction in life and manners." It is well remarked by one of the ancients, though I do not remember which, that a violation of truth implies a contempt of God, and fear of man. Yet the gravest of our moralists and divines have allowed that there may be occasions in which a deviation from strict truth is venial.—*T.*

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" would be false, and the false man sincere. As
" to the guards, he who suffers us to pass shall
" hereafter be remembered to his advantage; he
" who opposes us shall be deemed an enemy:
" let us, therefore, now hasten to the palace, and
" execute our purpose."

LXXIII. When he had finished, Gobryas spake as follows: "My friends, to recover the
" empire will indeed be glorious; but if we fail,
" it will be nobler to die, than for Persians to
" live in subjection to a Mede, and he too de-
" prived of his ears. You who were present at the
" last hours of Cambyses, cannot but remember
" the imprecations which he uttered against the
" Persians, if they did not attempt the recovery
" of the empire. We then refused him atten-
" tion, thinking him influenced by malignity and
" resentment; but now I at least second the
" proposal of Darius, nor would I have this as-
" sembly break up, but to proceed instantly against
" the magus." The sentiments of Gobryas gave universal satisfaction.

LXXIV. During the interval of this consultation, the two magi had together determined to make a friend of Prexaspes: they were aware that he had been injured by Cambyses, who had slain his son with an arrow; and that he alone was privy to the death of Smerdis, the son of

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Cyrus, having been his executioner; they were conscious also that he was highly esteemed by the Persians. They accordingly sent for him, and made him the most liberal promises; they made him swear that he would on no account disclose the fallacy which they practised on the Persians; and they promised him, in reward of his fidelity, rewards without number. Prexaspes engaged to comply with their wishes; they then told him of their intention to assemble the Persians beneath the tower[81] which was the royal residence, from whence they desired him to declare aloud that he who then sate on the throne of Persia was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and no other. They were induced to this measure, from a consideration of the great authority of Prexaspes, and because he had frequently declared that he had never put Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, to death, but that he was still alive.

LXXV. Prexaspes agreed to comply with all that they proposed; the magi accordingly assembled the Persians, and leading Prexaspes

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[81] *Beneath the tower.*]—This was the citadel. Anciently the kings lodged here for security. In chap. lxviii. Herodotus observes that the magus would not stir from the citadel; and in chap. lxxix. he says that the conspirators left behind in the citadel such of their friends as were wounded in attacking the magi.]—*Larcher.*

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to the top of the tower, commanded him to make an oration. He, without paying the least attention to the promises he had made, recited the genealogy of the family of Cyrus, beginning with Achæmenes. When he came to Cyrus himself, he enumerated the services which that prince had rendered the Persians. He then made a full discovery of the truth, excusing himself for concealing it so long, from the danger which the revealing it would have incurred, but that it was now forced from him. He assured them that he actually had killed Smerdis, by the order of Cambyses, and that the magi now exercised the sovereign authority. When he had imprecated many curses[82] upon the Persians, if they did not

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[82] *Imprecated many curses.*]—In ancient times, and amongst the Orientals in particular, these kind of imprecations were very frequent, and supposed to have an extraordinary influence. The curse of a father was believed to be particularly fatal; and the Furies were always thought to execute the imprecations of parents upon disobedient children. When Joshua destroyed Jericho, he imprecated a severe curse upon whoever should attempt to rebuild it. This was at a distant period of time accomplished. We have two examples of solemn imprecations on record, which have always been deemed worthy of attention. The one occurred in ancient Rome: when Crassus, in defiance of the auspices, prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians. The tribune Ateius waited for him at the gates of the city, with an altar, a fire, and a sacrifice ready prepared, and with the most

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attempt the recovery of their rights, and take vengeance upon the usurpers, he threw himself from the tower.—Such was the end of Prexaspes, a man who through every period of his life merited esteem[83].

LXXVI. The seven Persians, having determined instantly to attack the magi, proceeded, after imploring the aid of the gods, to execute

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horrid solemnity devoted him to destruction. The other example is more modern: it is the imprecation which Averroes, the famous Arabian philosopher, uttered against his son. As it is less generally known, I shall recite it at length: Averroes was one day seriously conversing with some grave friends, when his son, in a riotous manner, intruded himself, accompanied by some dissolute companions. The old man, viewing him with great indignation, spoke two verses to the following effect: "Thy own beauties could not content thee, thou hast stripped the wild goat of his beauties; and they who are as beautiful as thyself admire thee. Thou hast got his wanton heart, his lecherous eyes, and his senseless head: but to-morrow thou shalt find thy father will have his pushing horns. Cursed be all extravagancies! when I was young, I sometimes punished my father; now I am old, I cannot punish my son; but I beg of God to deprive him rather of life, than suffer him to be disobedient." It is related that the young man died within ten months.—*T.*

83 *Merited esteem.*]—Upon this incident M. Larcher remarks, that this last noble action of his life but ill corresponds with the mean and dastardly behaviour which Prexaspes had before exhibited to the murderer of his son. Larcher, however, forgets the profound veneration which the Persians invariably paid to their sovereigns.

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their purpose. They were at first ignorant of the fate of Prexaspes, but they learned it as they went along. They withdrew for a while to deliberate together; they who sided with Otanes, thought that their enterprize should be deferred, at least during the present tumult of affairs. The friends of Darius, on the contrary, were averse to any delay, and were anxious to execute what they had resolved, immediately. Whilst they remained in this suspense, they observed seven pair of hawks[84], which, pursuing two pair of vultures, beat and severely tore them. At this sight, the conspirators came immediately into the designs of Darius; and,

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[84] *Seven pair of hawks.*]—The superstition of the ancients, with respect to the sight or flight of birds, has often exercised the sagacity and acuteness of philosophers and scholars. Some birds furnished omens from their chattering, as crows, owls, &c.; others from the direction in which they flew, as eagles, vultures, hawks, &c. An eagle seen to the right was fortunate.—The sight of an eagle was supposed to foretel to Tarquinius Priscus, that he should obtain the crown; it predicted, also, the conquests of Alexander; and the loss of their dominions to Tarquin the Proud, and Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; innumerable other examples must here occur to every reader. A raven seen on the left hand was unfortunate:

Sæpe sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice cornix.—*Virgil.*

Upon the subject of the auspicia, the most satisfactory intelligence is to be obtained from the treatise of Cicero de Divinatione. From the Latin word *auspicia*, from *aves inspicere*, comes our English word *auspicious*.—*T.*

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relying on the omen of the birds, advanced boldly to the palace.

LXXVII. On their arrival at the gates, it happened as Darius had foreseen. The guards, unsuspicious of what was intended, and awed by their dignity[85] of rank, who, in this instance, seemed to act from a divine impulse, without any questions, permitted them to enter. As soon as they came to the interior part of the palace, they met with the eunuchs, who were employed as the royal messengers; these asked their business, and at the same time threatened the guards for suffering them to enter. On their opposing their farther entrance, the conspirators drew their swords, and, encouraging each other, put the eunuchs to death; from hence they instantly rushed to the inner apartments.

LXXVIII. Here the two magi happened to

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[85] *Awed by their dignity.*]—The most memorable instance in history, of the effects of this kind of impression, is that of the soldier sent into the prison to kill Caius Marius:—The story is related at length by Plutarch. When the man entered the prison with his sword drawn, "Fellow," exclaimed the stern Roman, "darest thou kill Caius Marius?" Upon which the soldier dropped his sword, and rushed out of doors. This fact, however, being no where mentioned by Cicero, who speaks very largely on the subject of Marius, has given Dr. Middleton reason to suppose, that the whole is a fabulous narration.—*T.*

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be, in consultation about what was to be done in consequence of the conduct of Prexaspes. As soon as they perceived the tumult, and heard the cries of the eunuchs, they ran towards them, and preparing in a manly manner to defend themselves, the one seized a bow and the other a lance. As the conspirators drew near to the attack, the bow became useless; but the other magus, who was armed with the lance, wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, though the blow was not fatal. The magus who found his bow of no service retreated to an adjoining apartment, into which he was followed by Darius and Gobryas. This latter seized the magus round the waist[86]; but as this happened in the dark, Darius stood in hesitation, fearing to strike, lest he should

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86 *Round the waist.*]—Not unlike to this was the manner in which David Rizio, the favourite of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots, was murdered. Rizio was at supper with his mistress, attended by a few domestics, when the king, who had chosen this place and opportunity to satisfy his vengeance, entered the apartment with Ruthven and his accomplices. The wretched favourite, conceiving himself the victim whose death was required, flew for protection to the queen, whom he seized round the waist. This attitude did not save him from the dagger of Ruthven; and before he could be dragged to the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.—See the account in *Robertson's History of Scotland*, vol. i. 359.—*T.*

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wound Gobryas. When Gobryas perceived this, he inquired why he was thus inactive: when Darius replied, "that it was from his fear of "wounding his friend;" "Strike," exclaimed Gobryas, "though you should pierce both."—— Darius instantly complied, and ran his sword through the magus.

LXXIX. Having thus slain the magi[87], they instantly cut off their heads. Their two friends

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[87] *The magi.*]—It may not in this place be impertinent, to give a succinct account of the magi or magians, as selected from various writers on the subject. This sect originating in the East, abominating all images, worshipped God only by fire. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles, one of which was the cause of all good, the other the cause of all evil; the former is represented by light, the other by darkness; and that from these two all things in the world were made. The good god they named Yazdan or Ormund; the evil god, Ahraman: the former is by the Greeks named Oramasdes, the latter Arimanius. Concerning these two gods, some held both of them to have been from eternity; others contended the good being only to be eternal, the other created: both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world, when the good god shall overcome the evil god; and that afterwards each shall have his world to himself, the good god have all good men with him, the evil god all wicked men. Of this system, Zoroaster was the first founder, whom Hyde and Prideaux make contemporary with Darius Hystaspes, but whose æra, as appears from Moyle, the Greek writers of the age of Darius make many hundred years before their own time. After giving a concise but animated account of the theology of Zoroaster, Mr. Gibbon

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who were wounded were left behind, as well to guard the citadel, as on account of their inability

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has this foolish and preposterous remark: "Every mode of religion, to make a deep and lasting impression on the human mind, must exercise our obedience, by enjoining practices of devotion for which we can assign no reason; and must acquire our esteem by inculcating moral duties, analogous to the dictates of our own hearts." The religion of Zoroaster was abundantly provided with the former, and possessed a sufficient portion of the latter. At the age of puberty the faithful Persian was invested with a mysterious girdle; from which moment the most indifferent action of his life was sanctified by prayers, ejaculations, and genuflexions, the omission of which was a grievous sin. The moral duties, however, were required of the disciple of Zoroaster, who wished to escape the persecution of Arimanius, or, as Mr. Gibbon writes it, Ahriman, and to live with Ormund or Ormusd in a blissful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactly proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety. In the time of Theodosius the younger, the Christians enjoyed a full toleration in Persia; but, Abdas indiscreetly pulling down a temple in which the Persians worshipped fire, a persecution against the Christians was excited, and prosecuted with unrelenting cruelty. The magi are still known in Persia, under the name of parsi or parses; their superstition is contained in three books, named Zend, Pazend, and Vestna, said by themselves to be composed by Zerdascht, whom they confound with the patriarch Abraham. The Oriental Christians pretend, that the magi who adored Jesus Christ, were disciples of Zoroaster, who predicted to them the coming of the Messiah, and the new star which appeared at his birth. Upon this latter subject a modern writer has ingeniously remarked, that the presents which the magi made to Christ, indicated their esteeming him a royal child, notwithstanding his mean situation and appearance: they gave him gold, frankincense, and

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to follow them. The remaining five ran out into the public street, having the heads of the magi in their hands, and making violent outcries. They called aloud to the Persians, explaining what had happened, and exposing the heads of the usurpers; at the same time, whoever of the magi appeared was instantly put to death. The Persians hearing what these seven noblemen had effected, and learning the imposture practised on them by the magi, were seized with the desire of imitating their conduct. Sallying forth with drawn swords, they killed every magus whom they met; and if night had not checked their rage, not one would have escaped. The anniversary of this day the Persians celebrate with great solemnity; the festival they observe is called the magophonia, or the slaughter of the magi. On this occasion no magus is permitted to be seen in public, they are obliged to confine themselves at home.

LXXX. When the tumult had subsided, and an interval of five days was elapsed, the conspirators met to deliberate on the situation of affairs. Their sentiments, as delivered on this occasion,

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myrrh, such as the queen of Sheba presented to Solomon in his glory.

It seems almost unnecessary to add, that from these magi or magians the English word *magic* is derived:—See Prideaux, Gibbon, Bayle, Bibliothèque Orientale, and Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture.—*T.*

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however they may want credit with many of the Greeks, were in fact as follows.—Otanes recommended a republican form of government: "It "does not," says he, "seem to me advisable, "that the government of Persia[88] should here-"after be entrusted to any individual person, "this being neither popular nor wise. We all "know the extreme lengths to which the arro-"gance of Cambyses proceeded, and some of "us have felt its influence. How can that form "of government possibly be good, in which an "individual with impunity may indulge his pas-"sions, and which is apt to transport even the "best of men beyond the bounds of reason? "When a man, naturally envious, attains great-"ness, he instantly becomes insolent: Insolence "and jealousy are the distinguishing vices of "tyrants, and when combined lead to the most

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[88] *Government of Persia.*]—Machiavel, reasoning upon the conquests of Alexander the Great, and upon the unresisting submission which his successors experienced from the Persians, takes it for granted, that amongst the ancient Persians there was no distinction of nobility. This, however, was by no means the case; and what Mr. Hume remarks of the Florentine secretary was undoubtedly true, that he was far better acquainted with Roman than with Greek authors:—See the Essay of Mr. Hume, where he asserts that "Politics may be reduced to a science;" with his note at the end of the volume, which contains an enumeration of various Persian noblemen of different periods, as well as a refutation of Machiavel's absurd position above stated.—*T.*

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" enormous crimes. He who is placed at the
" summit of power, ought indeed to be a stranger
" to envy; but we know, by fatal experience,
" that the contrary happens. We know also,
" that the worthiest citizens excite the jealousy
" of tyrants, who are pleased only with the most
" abandoned: they are ever prompt to listen to
" the voice of calumny. If we pay them tem-
" perate respect, they take umbrage that we are
" not more profuse in our attentions: if the re-
" spect with which they are treated seem immo-
" derate, they call it adulation. The severest
" misfortune of all is, that they pervert the in-
" stitutions of their country, offer violence to
" our females, and put those whom they dislike
" to death, without the formalities of justice.
" But a democracy in the first place bears the
" honourable name of an equality[89]; the dis-

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89 *Equality.*]—The word in the original is ισονομιην, which means equality of laws. M. Larcher translates it literally isonomie; but in English, as we have no authority for the use of it, isonomy would perhaps seem pedantic. The following passage from Lord Shaftesbury fully explains the word in question.—Speaking of the influence of tyranny on the arts, " The high spirit of tragedy," says he, " can ill subsist where the spirit of liberty is wanting." The genius of this poetry consists in the lively representation of the disorders and misery of the Great; to the end that the people, and those of a lower condition, may be taught the better to content themselves with privacy, enjoy their safer state, and prize the *equality* and justice of their guardian laws —This however is but a jejune account of tragedy, and as incorrect

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" orders which prevail in a monarchy cannot
" there take place. The magistrate is appointed
" by lot, he is accountable for his administration,
" and whatever is done, must be with the gene-
" ral consent. I am, therefore, of opinion, that
" monarchy should be abolished, and that, as
" every thing depends on the people[90], a popular
" government should be established."—Such were
" the sentiments of Otanes.

LXXXI. Megabyzus, however, was inclined to an oligarchy; in favour of which he thus expressed himself: " All that Otanes has urged,
" concerning the extirpation of tyranny, meets
" with my intire approbation: but when he re-
" commends the supreme authority to be en-
" trusted to the people, he seems to me to err
" in the extreme. Tumultuous assemblies of
" the people are never distinguished by wisdom,
" but always by insolence; neither can any thing

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as it is faulty. Could Lord Shaftesbury think of the fine tragedies under Louis XIV.?—*T.*

90 *Every thing depends on the people.*]—In this place the favourite adage of Vox populi vox Dei, must occur to every reader; the truth of which, as far as power is concerned, is certainly indisputable; but with respect to political sagacity, the sentiment of Horace may be more securely vindicated:

Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.

Which Pope happily renders,

The people's voice is odd;
It is, and it is not, the voice of God. *T.*

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" be possibly more preposterous, than to fly
" from the tyranny of an individual to the in-
" temperate caprice of the vulgar. Whatever a
" tyrant undertakes, has the merit of previous
" concert and design; but the people are always
" rash and ignorant. And how can they be
" otherwise, who are uninstructed, and with no
" internal sense[91] of what is good and right?
" Destitute of judgment, their actions resemble
" the violence of a torrent[92]. To me, a de-

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[91] *No internal sense.*]—The original is somewhat perplexed; but the acute Valcnaer, by reading οικοθεν for οικηιον, at once removes all difficulty.—*T.*

[92] *Their actions resemble the violence of a torrent.*]—Upon the subject of popular assemblies, the following remarks of M. de Lolme seem very ingenious, as well as just.

" Those who compose a popular assembly are not actuated, in the course of their deliberations, by any clear or precise view of any present or positive personal interest. As they see themselves lost as it were in the crowd of those who are called upon to exercise the same function with themselves; as they know that their individual vote will make no change in the public resolution, and that to whatever side they may incline, the general result will nevertheless be the same, they do not undertake to enquire how far the things proposed to them agree with the whole of the laws already in being, or with the present circumstances of the state. As few among them have previously considered the subjects on which they are called upon to determine, very few carry along with them any opinion or inclination of their own, and to which they are resolved to adhere. As, however, it is necessary at last to come to some resolution, the major part of them are determined, by reasons which

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" mocracy seems to involve the ruin of our coun-
" try: let us, therefore, entrust the government
" to a few individuals, selected for their talents
" and their virtues. Let us constitute a part of
" these ourselves, and from the exercise of autho-
" rity so deposited, we may be justified in expect-
" ing the happiest events."

LXXXII. Darius was the third who delivered his opinion. " The sentiments of Megabyzus," he observed, " as they relate to a popular go-

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they would blush to pay any regard to on much less serious occasions: an unusual sight, a change of the ordinary place of assembly, a sudden disturbance, a rumour, are, amidst the general want of a spirit of decision, the *sufficiens ratio* of the determination of the greatest part; and from this assemblage of separate wills, thus formed, hastily and without reflection, a general will results, which is also without reflection."—*Constitution of England*, 250, 251.

Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus, tantas et tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturbationes et quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum.—*Cicero Orat. pro Murena.*

Larcher has quoted the following remark of Goguet, which it may be wondered that the vigilance of Bonaparte's satellites suffered to pass. (1805.)

The best writers of antiquity have invariably expressed themselves in favour of a monarchy. Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates, Cicero, Seneca, Tacitus, Plutarch, and others, have considered a monarchical government as the most advantageous and the most perfect of all those which mankind have invented. It is singular enough that the greater part of the above writers flourished in republics.

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" vernment, are unquestionably wise and just;
" but from his opinion of an oligarchy, I totally
" dissent*. Supposing the three different forms
" of government, monarchy, democracy, and an
" oligarchy, severally to prevail in the greatest
" perfection, I am of opinion that monarchy has
" greatly the advantage. Indeed nothing can
" be better than the government of an individual
" eminent for his virtue. He will not only have
" regard to the general welfare of his subjects,
" but his resolutions will be cautiously concealed
" from the public enemies of the state. In an
" oligarchy, the majority who have the care of

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* I must regret that the limits I have found it necessary to propose to myself, will not allow me to transcribe the whole of M. Larcher's noble and excellent sentiments on the subject of these speeches of the Persian noblemen. He contrasts the situation of the Athenians whilst under their kings, and when in their democratic state. Under their kings, says he, the people were happy, but they were never so under a democratic government. Whether he had in his eye the government under which he lives, when he thus expressed himself, I leave to the reader's sagacity to determine.

The governing power, conducting itself alone by caprice and passion, destroyed on one day the proceedings of the former; controlled by demagogues, it thought to control them, but in reality was enslaved. In a word, it neither knew how to command, nor to obey. It often changed the forms of government, without adhering to any, like those diseased persons who every moment change their posture without being satisfied with any but that in which they are not. What he says a little further on is no less pertinent and spirited, and our only surprize is, that it was endured.

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" the state, though employed in the exercise of
" virtue for the public good, will be the objects
" of mutual envy and dislike. Every individual
" will be anxious to extend his own personal
" importance, from which will proceed, faction,
" sedition, and bloodshed. The sovereign power
" coming by these means to the hands of a
" single person, constitutes the strongest argu-
" ment to prove what form of government is
" best. Whenever the people possess the su-
" preme authority, disorders in the state are
" unavoidable: such disorders introduced in a
" republic, do not separate the bad and the pro-
" fligate from each other, they unite them in the
" closest bonds of connection. They who mu-
" tually injure the state, mutually support each
" other; this evil exists till some individual, as-
" suming authority, suppresses the sedition; he
" of course obtains popular admiration, which
" ends in his becoming the sovereign[93]; and
" this again tends to prove, that a monarchy is
" of all governments the most excellent. To
" comprehend all that can be said at once, to
" what are we indebted for our liberty? did we

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[93] *Ends in his becoming the sovereign.*]—It is probable that the ascendant of one man over multitudes began during a state of war, where the superiority of courage and of genius discovers itself most visibly, where unanimity and concert are most requisite, and where the pernicious effects of disorder are most sensibly felt.—*Hume.*

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" derive it from the people, an oligarchy, or an
" individual? For my own part, as we were
" certainly indebted to one man for freedom, I
" think that to one alone the government should
" be intrusted. Neither can we without danger
" change the customs of our country."

LXXXIII. Such were the three different opinions delivered, the latter of which was approved by four out of the seven[94]. When Otanes saw his desire to establish an equality in Persia, rejected, he spoke thus: " As it seems determined
" that Persia shall be governed by one person,

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[94] *Four out of the seven.*]—This majority certainly decided in favour of that species of government which is most simple and natural; and which would be, if always vested in proper hands, the best: but the abuse of absolute power is so probable, and so destructive, that it is necessary by all means to guard against it. Aristotle inclines to the opinion of those, who esteem a mixed government the best that can be devised. Of this they considered the Lacedæmonian constitution a good specimen; the kings connecting it with monarchy, the senate with oligarchy, and the ephori and syssytia with democracy.—*Aristot. Pol.* l. ii. cap. 4. Modern speculators on this subject, with one accord, allow the constitution of Great Britain, as it stands at present, to be a much more judicious and perfect mixture of the three powers, which are so contrived as to check and counterbalance each other, without impeding that action of the whole machine, which is necessary to the well-being of the people. The sixth book of Polybius opens with a dissertation on the different forms of government; which deserves attention.—*T.*

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" whether chosen among ourselves by lot, or by " the suffrages of the people, or by some other " method, you shall have no opposition from me: " I am equally averse to govern or obey. I " therefore yield, on condition that no one of " you shall ever reign over me, or any of my " posterity." The rest of the conspirators assenting to this, he made no farther opposition, but retired from the assembly. At the present period this is the only family in Persia which retains its liberty, for all that is required of them is not to transgress the laws of their country.

LXXXIV. The remaining six noblemen continued to consult about the most equitable mode of electing a king; and they severally determined, that if the choice should fall upon any of themselves, Otanes himself and all his posterity should be annually presented with a Median habit[95], as well as with every other distinction

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95 *Presented with a Median habit.*]—The custom of giving vests or robes in Oriental countries, as a mark of honour and distinction, may be traced to the remotest antiquity, and still prevails. On this subject the following passage is given, from a manuscript of Sir John Chardin, by Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture.

" The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. They pay great attention to the quality or merit of those to whom these vestments or habits are

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magnificent in itself, and deemed honourable in Persia. They decreed him this tribute of respect, as he had first agitated the matter, and called them together. These were their determinations respecting Otanes; as to themselves, they mutually agreed that access to the royal palace should be permitted to each of them,

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given: those that are given to the great men have as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state."

All modern travellers to the East speak of the same custom. We find also in the Old Testament various examples of a similar kind. Chardin also, in his account of the coronation of Solyman the Third, king of Persia, has the following passage:

"His Majesty, as every grandee had paid him his submissions, honoured him with a calate or royal vest. This Persian word, according to its etymology, signifies intire, perfect, accomplished, to signify either the excellency of the habit, or the dignity of him that wears it; for it is an infallible mark of the particular esteem which the sovereign has for the person to whom he sends it, and that he has free liberty to approach his person; for when the kingdom has changed its lord and master, the grandees who have not received this vest dare not presume to appear before the king without hazard of their lives."

This Median habit was made of silk; it was indeed, among the elder Greeks, only another name for a silken robe, as we learn from Procopius, *την εσθητα—ἣν παλαι μεν Ἑλληνες Μηδικην εκαλουν, νυν δε Σηρικην ονομαζουσιν.* The remainder of this passage, literally translated, is, "and all that present which in Persia is most honourable." This gift is fully explained by Xenophon in the first book of the Anabasis; it consisted of

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without the ceremony of a previous messenger[96], except when the king should happen to be in bed with his wife. They also resolved, that the king should marry no woman but from the family of one of the conspirators. The mode they adopted to elect a king was this:—They agreed to meet on horseback at sun-rise * in the vicinity of the city, and to make him king, whose horse should neigh the first.

LXXXV. Darius had a groom, whose name was Œbares, a man of considerable ingenuity, for whom, on his return home, he immediately sent. " Œbares," said he, " it is determined " that we are to meet at sun-rise on horse- " back, and that he among us shall be king, " whose horse shall first neigh. Whatever acute- " ness you have, exert it on this occasion, that

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a horse with a gilt bridle, a golden collar, bracelets, and a sword of the kind peculiar to Media, called acinaces, besides the silken vest. His expressions are so similar to those of Herodotus, as to satisfy us that these specific articles properly made up the gift of honour.—*T.*

96 *Previous messenger.*]—Visits to the Great in Eastern countries are always preceded by messengers, who carry presents, differing in value according to the dignity of the person who is to receive them. Without some present or other no visit must be made, nor favour expected.—*T.*

* Their appointing this period to determine who was to be prince, arose probably from the custom always observed by the Persians of paying adoration to the rising sun.

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" no one but myself may obtain this honour." " Sir," replied Œbares, " if your being a king or " not depends on what you say, be not afraid; " I have a kind of charm, which will prevent " any one's being preferred to yourself."— " Whatever," replied Darius, " this charm may " be, it must be applied without delay, as the " morning will decide the matter." Œbares, therefore, as soon as evening came, conducted to the place before the city a mare, to which he knew the horse of Darius was particularly inclined: he afterwards brought the horse there, and after carrying him several times round and near the mare, he finally permitted him to cover her.

LXXXVI. The next morning as soon as it was light the six Persians assembled, as had been agreed, on horseback. After riding up and down at the place appointed, they came at length to the spot where, the preceding evening, the mare had been brought; here the horse of Darius instantly began to neigh, which, though the sky was remarkably clear, was instantly succeeded by thunder and lightning. The heavens thus seemed to favour, and indeed to act in concert with Darius. Immediately the other noblemen dismounted, and falling at his feet, hailed him king[97].

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[97] *Hailed him king.*]—Darius was about twenty years old

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LXXXVII. Such, according to some, was the stratagem of Œbares; others, however, relate the matter differently; and both accounts prevail in Persia. These last affirm, that the groom, having rubbed his hand against the private parts of the mare, afterwards folded it up in his vest, and that in the morning, as the horses were about to depart, he drew it out from his garment, and touched the nostrils of the horse of Darius, and that this scent instantly made him snort and neigh.

LXXXVIII. Darius the son of Hystaspes[98]

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when Cyrus died. Cambyses reigned seven years and five months; Smerdis Magus was only seven months on the throne; thus Darius was about twenty-nine years old when he came to the crown.—*Larcher.*

This circumstance of thunder and lightning from a cloudless sky, is often mentioned by the ancients, and was considered by them as the highest omen. Horace has left an ode upon it, as a circumstance which staggered his Epicurean notions, and impressed him with awe and veneration, l. i. Od. 34; and the commentators give us instances enough of similar accounts. With us there is no thunder without clouds, except such as is too distant to have much effect; it may be otherwise in hot climates, where the state of the air is much more electrical.—*T.*

98 *Darius the son of Hystaspes.*]—Archbishop Usher holdeth that it was Darius Hystaspes that was the king Ahasuerus, who married Esther; and that Atossa was the Vashti, and Antystone the Esther of the Holy Scriptures. But Herodotus positively tells us, that Antystone was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Esther: and that Atossa had

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was thus proclaimed king; and, except the Arabians, all the nations of Asia who had been subdued first by Cyrus, and afterwards by Cambyses, acknowledged his authority. The Arabians* were never reduced to the subjection of Persia[99], but were in its alliance: they afforded

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four sons by Darius, besides daughters, all born to him after he was king; and therefore she could not be that queen Vashti, who was divorced from the king her husband in the third year of his reign, nor he that Ahasuerus that divorced her.—*Prideaux.*

* Perhaps it may be said of the Arabians with greater truth than of any other nation, that they have never been enslaved.

On this subject Larcher refers to Genesis, c. xvi. v. 12, where God says of Ismael, the parent of the Arabians:

"And he will be a wild man, his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren."

99 *Never reduced to the subjection of Persia.*]—The independence of the Arabs has always been a theme of praise and admiration, from the remotest ages to the present. Upon this subject the following animated apostrophe from Mr. Gibbon, includes all that need be said. "The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia. The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs; the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity; and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain

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Cambyses the means of penetrating into Ægypt, without which he could never have accomplished his purpose. Darius first of all married two women of Persia, both of them daughters of Cyrus, Atossa who had first been married to Cambyses, and afterwards to the magus, and Antystone a virgin. He then married Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus *, and also that daughter of Otanes who had been the instrument in discovering the magus. Being firmly established on the throne, his first work was the erection of an equestrian statue, with this inscription: "Darius, "son of Hystaspes, obtained the sovereignty of "Persia by the sagacity of his horse, and the "ingenuity of Œbares his groom." The name of the horse was also inserted.

LXXXIX. The next act of his authority was to divide Persia into twenty provinces †, which

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their inheritance. When they advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front, and in the rear the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror: the secret waters of the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude."

* Namely Phœdyma. See c. 68.

† The account given of the Persian monarchy by Herodotus is curious, and seems to have been copied from some

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they call satrapies, to each of which a governor was appointed. He then ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many nations together, which were near each other, under one district; and sometimes he passed over many which were adjacent, forming one department * of various remote and scattered nations. His particular division of the provinces, and the mode fixed for the payment of their annual tribute, was this: They whose payment was to be made in silver, were to take the Babylonian talent[100] for their standard; the

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public record, which had been communicated to him. According to it, the Persian empire was divided into twenty satrapies, or governments. The tribute levied from each is specified, amounting in all to 14,560 Eubœan talents, which Dr. Arbuthnot reckons to be equal to £2,807,437 sterling money; a sum extremely small for the revenue of the great king, and which ill accords with many facts concerning the mines, magnificence, and luxury of the East, that occur in ancient authors.—*Robertson on India.*

* Much as I dislike the word department, it seems the only one here which will express the meaning of the author. It certainly may be doubted whether Darius connected these scattered nations in one government. Darius the Mede, usually understood to be Cyaxares the Second, divided his empire, which consisted of the territories of Babylon and Media, into 120 provinces; these were subject to three presidents, of whom Daniel was the first. See Daniel, c. vi. v. 1. *Major Rennell*, 231.

100 *Babylonian talent.*]—What follows on the subject of the talent, is extracted principally from Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient coins.

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Euboic talent was to regulate those who made their payment in gold; the Babylonian talent, it is to be observed, is equal to seventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and indeed of Cambyses, there were no specific tributes[101], but presents were made to the sovereign. On account of these and similar innovations, the Persians call Darius a merchant, Cambyses a despot, but Cyrus a parent. Darius seemed to

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The word *talent* in Homer, is used to signify a balance, and in general it was applied either to a weight or a sum of money, differing in value according to the ages and countries in which it was used. Every talent consists of 60 minæ, and every mina of 100 drachmæ; but the talents differed in weight according to the minæ and drachmæ of which they were composed.

What Herodotus here affirms of the Babylonian talent, is confirmed by Pollux and by Ælian.

The Euboic talent was so called from the island Eubœa; it was generally thought to be the same with the Attic talent, because both these countries used the same weights: the mina Euboica, and the mina Attica, each consisted of 100 drachmæ.

According to the above, the Babylonian talent would amount, in English money, to about £226; the Euboic or Attic talent, to £193. 15*s*.—*T*.

101 *No specific tributes.*]—This seemingly contradicts what was said above, that the magus exempted the Persians for three years from every kind of impost. It must be observed that these imposts were not for a constancy, they only subsisted in time of war, and were rather a gratuity than an impost. Those imposed by Darius were perpetual; thus Herodotus does not in fact contradict himself.—*Larcher*.

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have no other object in view but the acquisition of gain; Cambyses was negligent and severe; whilst Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever studious of the good of his subjects.

XC. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans[102], and Pamphylians, were comprehended under one district, and jointly paid a tribute of four hundred talents of silver; they formed the first satrapy. The second, which paid five hundred talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians[103]. A tribute of three hundred and sixty talents was paid by those who inhabit the right side of the Hellespont, by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians[104], and Syrians;

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102 *Melyeans.*]—These people are in all probability the same with the Milyans of whom Herodotus speaks, book i. c. clxxiii. and book vii. c. clxxvii. They were sometimes called Minyans, from Minos, king of Crete.—*T.*

103 *Hygennians.*]—For Hygennians Wesseling proposes to read Obigenians.—*T.*

104 *Mariandynians.*]—These were on the coast of Bithynia, where was said to be the Acherusian cave, through which Hercules dragged up Cerberus to light, whose foam then produced aconite. Thus Dionysius Periegetes, l. 788.

> That sacred plain where erst, as fablers tell,
> The deep-voic'd dog of Pluto, struggling hard
> Against the potent grasp of Hercules,
> With foamy drops impregnating the earth,
> Produc'd dire poison to destroy mankind.

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and these nations constituted the third satrapy *. The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day a white horse, that is to say, three hundred and sixty annually, with five hundred talents of silver; of these one hundred and forty were appointed for the payment of the cavalry who formed the guard of the country; the remaining

* For a most perspicuous and most satisfactory elucidation of the geographical situation of these satrapies, I cannot do better than once for all refer the reader to Major Rennell's excellent work, from p. 234 to p. 323. The conclusion of this portion of Major Rennell's work breathes sentiments worthy a soldier and a Briton. I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of transcribing the last paragraph:

"If the enemy is bent on our destruction, what have we to do, but to dispute the point, even to extermination? What worse can befal us, by contesting it, than by submitting? Take the examples of *conquest*, of *submission*, and of *fraternization*, severally; and then let any one, if he can, point out the distinction between the treatment that the French government has shewn to the different people who have fallen under its power by those different modes! We have therefore nothing to hope but from our own exertions, under the favour of Heaven: and let us trust, that the contest will terminate gloriously, and perpetuate the system of liberty transmitted to us by our ancestors, and thus hold out another bright example to succeeding times. The hatred of Europe is rising against France (or rather against its government; for we hope that this distinction may be made in favour of a great proportion of the people, who may not be made accomplices in its guilt); that hatred must increase, and become general; and all Frenchmen who leave their own country on schemes of hostility, must in the end be hunted down as enemies to the peace and comfort of mankind. We will hope that the time is not far distant."

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three hundred and sixty were received by Darius: these formed the fourth satrapy.

XCI. The tribute levied from the fifth satrapy was three hundred and fifty talents. Under this district, was comprehended the tract of country which extended from the city Posideium, built on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria*, by Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus[105], as far as Ægypt, part of Arabia alone excluded, which paid no tribute. The same satrapy, moreover, included all Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the isle of Cyprus. Seven hundred talents were exacted

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* It should be remembered that Syria is always regarded by Herodotus as synonymous with Assyria.

What the Greeks called Palestine the Arabs call Falastin, which is the Philistines of Scripture.

105 *Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus.*]—For an account of Amphiaraus, see book the first, chap. xlvi. The name of the mother of Amphilochus, according to Pausanias, was Eriphyle. He appears to have obtained an esteem and veneration equal to that which was paid to his father. He had an oracle at Mallus, in Cilicia, which place he built; he had also an altar erected to his honour at Athens. His oracle continued in the time of Plutarch, and the mode of consulting it was this:—The person who wished an answer to some inquiry passed a night in the temple, and was sure to have a vision, which was to be considered as the reply. There is an example in Dion Cassius, of a picture which was painted in the time of Commodus, descriptive of an answer communicated by this oracle.—*T.*

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from Ægypt, from the Africans which border upon Ægypt, from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Ægyptian district. The produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris was not included in this, neither was the corn, to the amount of seven hundred talents more; one hundred and twenty thousand measures of which, were applied to the maintenance of the Persians and their auxiliary troops garrisoned within the white castle of Memphis: this was the sixth satrapy. The seventh was composed of the Satgagydæ, the Gandarii, the Dadicæ and Aparytæ, who together paid one hundred and seventy talents. The eighth satrapy furnished three hundred talents, and consisted of Susa* and the rest of the Cissians.

XCII. Babylón and the other parts of Assyria constituted the ninth satrapy, and paid a thousand talents of silver, with five hundred young eunuchs. The tenth satrapy furnished four hundred and fifty talents, and consisted of Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii, and the Ortho-

* The modern Khusistan answers to this division. The Persian monarchs had more than one residence, and according to Major Rennell, Susa and Persepolis were their winter habitations. In the time of Herodotus, however, Susa was the capital.

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corybantes. The Caspians, the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ, contributed amongst them two hundred talents, and formed the eleventh satrapy. The twelfth produced three hundred and sixty talents, and was composed of the whole country from the Bactrians to Æglos.

XCIII. From the thirteenth satrapy four hundred talents were levied; this comprehended Pactyïca, the Armenians, with the contiguous nations, as far as the Euxine. The fourteenth satrapy consisted of the Sangatians, the Sarangæans, the Thamanæans, Utians, and Menci, with those who inhabit the islands of the Red Sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes[106]; these jointly contributed six hundred

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106 *Whom he banishes.*]—Banishment seems to have been adopted as a punishment at a very early period of the world; and it may be supposed that, in the infancy of society, men, reluctant to sanguinary measures, would have recourse to the expulsion of mischievous or unworthy members, as the simpler and less odious remedy. When we consider the effect which exile has had upon the minds of the greatest and wisest of mankind, and reflect on that attractive sweetness of the natal soil, which whilst we admire in poetic description we still feel to be *ratione valentior omni*, it seems wonderful that banishment should not more frequently supersede the necessity of sanguinary punishments. That Ovid, whose mind was enervated by licentious habits, should deplore, in strains the most melancholy, the absence of what alone could make life supportable, may not perhaps be

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talents. The Sacæ and Casii* formed the fifteenth satrapy, and provided two hundred and fifty talents. Three hundred talents were levied from the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, who were the sixteenth satrapy.

XCIV. The Paricanii and Æthiopians of Asia paid four hundred talents, and formed the seventeenth satrapy. The eighteenth was taxed at two hundred talents, and was composed of the Matieni, the Saspirians, and Alarodians. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mardians, provided three hundred talents, and were the nineteenth satrapy. The Indians, the most numerous nation of whom we have any knowledge, were proportionably taxed; they

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thought wonderful; but that Cicero, whose whole life was a life of philosophic discipline, should so entirely lose his firmness, and forget his dignity, may justify our concluding of the punishment of exile, that human vengeance need not inflict a more severe calamity. In opposition to what I have asserted above, some reader will perhaps be inclined to cite the example of Lord Bolingbroke, his conduct, and his reflections upon exile; but I think I can discern through that laboured apology, a secret chagrin and uneasiness, which convinces me at least, that whilst he acted the philosopher and the stoic, he had the common feelings and infirmities of man.—*T.*

* I have altered this word, which was Caspii in the former edition, to Casii, on the authority of Major Rennell. The Caspii have already been concluded with the Daritæ, in c. 92, and the Kashgurians actually join to the Sacæ.

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formed the twentieth satrapy, and furnished six hundred talents in golden ingots*.

XCV. If the Babylonian money be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the aggregate sum will be found to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty talents in silver; and, estimating the gold at thirteen times[107] the value of silver, there will be found, according to the Euboic talent, four thousand six hundred and eighty of these talents. The whole being estimated together, it will appear that the annual tribute[108]

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* Gold was found in the rivers of India, in the region which was towards Persia; so says the Ayin Acbary. The number of six hundred must be a mistake; it is out of all proportion, and would make this satrapy pay four times and a half as much as Babylonia and Assyria, which was one of the richest satrapies. See Rennell, as before.

107 *Thirteen times the value of silver.*]—The proportion of gold to silver varied at different times, according to the abundance of these two metals. In the time of Darius it was thirteen to one; in the time of Plato, twelve; and in the time of Menander, the comic poet, it was ten.—*Larcher.*

In the time of Julius Cæsar the proportion of gold to silver at Rome was no more than nine to one. This arose from the prodigious quantity of gold which Cæsar had obtained from the plunder of cities and temples. It is generally supposed amongst the learned, that in the gold coin of the ancients one-fiftieth part was alloy.—*T.*

108 *The annual tribute.*]—The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (book i. chap. cxcii. and book iii. chaps. lxxxix. xcvi.) reveals an important difference between the *gross* and

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paid to Darius was fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents, omitting many trifling sums not deserving our attention*.

XCVI. Such was the sum which Asia principally, and Africa in some small proportion, paid to Darius. In process of time, the islands also were taxed, as was that part of Europe which extends to Thessaly. The manner in which the king deposited these riches in his treasury, was this:—The gold and silver were melted and poured into earthen vessels; the vessel, when full, was removed, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, such a piece was broken off, as the contingence required.

XCVII. We have thus described the different

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the *net* revenue of Persia, the sums paid by the provinces, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasury. The monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.—*Gibbon.*

* Taking the value of the Euboic talent at £193. 15*s.* according to Arbuthnot's valuation, the sum arising on the above number of talents is about £2,821,000. If to this be added, according to the above statement, 700 talents for the value of the Ægyptian grain, and 1,000 more for the contribution of the Arabians, and if we are allowed to value the gratuities from the Persians, the Æthiopians, and the Colchians, at 2,000 more, that is 3,700 talents in addition, the aggregate will be about £3,650,000, or somewhat more than three millions and a half of our money.—*Rennell.*

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satrapies, and the impost on each. Persia is the only province which I have not mentioned as tributary. The Persians are not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but they present a regular gratuity. The Æthiopians who border upon Ægypt, subdued by Cambyses in his expedition against the Æthiopian Macrobians, are similarly circumstanced, as are also the inhabitants of the sacred town of Nyssa, who have festivals in honour of Bacchus. These Æthiopians, with their neighbours, resemble in their customs the Calantian Indians: they have the same rites of sepulture[109], and their dwellings are subterraneous. Once in every three years these two nations present to the king two chœnices of gold unrefined, two hundred blocks of ebony, twenty large elephants teeth, and five Æthiopian youths; which custom has been continued to my time. The people of Colchos[110] and their neighbours, as far

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109 *The same rites of sepulture.*]—The word in the text is, σπερματι, which means grains: to say of two different nations that they use the same grain, seems ridiculous enough. Valcnaer proposes to read σημματι. I have followed Valcnaer, though I think the transition somewhat violent. To say that they used the same kind of grain, namely Spelt, would make very good sense.

110 *The people of Colchos.*]—It was the boast of the Colchians, that their ancestors had checked the victories of Sesostris; but they sunk without any memorable effort under the arms of Cyrus, followed in distant wars the standard of the great king, and presented him every fifth year with a hundred boys and as many virgins, the fairest produce of

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as mount Caucasus, imposed upon themselves the payment of a gratuity. To this latter place the Persian authority extends; northward of this, their name inspires no respect. Every five years the nations above mentioned present the king with an hundred youths and an hundred virgins[111], which also has been continued within my remembrance. The Arabians contribute every year frankincense to the amount of a thousand talents.—Independent of the tributes before specified, these were the presents which the king received.

XCVIII. The Indians* procure the great number of golden ingots, which, as I have observed,

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the land. Yet he accepted this *gift* like the gold and ebony of India, the frankincense of the Arabs, and the negroes and ivory of Æthiopia: The Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a satrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as substance of national independence.—*Gibbon.*

[111] *Hundred virgins.*]—The native race of Persians is small and ugly, but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood. This remark Mr. Gibbon applies to the Persian women in the time of Julian. Amongst modern travellers, the beauty of the Persian ladies is a constant theme of praise and admiration.—*T.*

* Herodotus's very confined knowledge of India is proved by the extraordinary reports which he has detailed concerning its inhabitants, some of which are highly injurious to the character of that industrious, inoffensive, and highly civilized

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they present as a donative to the king, in this manner:—That part of India which lies towards the east is very sandy; and indeed, of all nations concerning whom we have any authentic accounts, the Indians are the people of Asia who are nearest to the east, and the place of the rising sun. The part most eastward, is a perfect desert, from the sand. Under the name of Indians many nations are comprehended using different languages; of these, some attend principally to the care of cattle, others not; some inhabit the marshes, and live on raw fish, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint [112] makes one canoe. These Indians have cloth made of rushes [113], which

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people. For, with many particulars that are true respecting their customs and manners, he has mixed a greater number that are false, and of such a nature as to brand their characters with a charge of odious and obscene practices, from which they are perfectly free at this time, and were so, no doubt then.—*Rennell.*

[112] *Every joint.*]—This assertion seems wonderful; but Pliny, book xvi. chap. 36, treating of reeds, canes, and aquatic shrubs, affirms the same, with this precaution indeed, "if it may be credited." His expression is this:—Harundini quidem Indicæ arborea amplitudo, quales vulgo in templis videmus.—Spissius mari corpus, fœminæ capacius. Navigiorumque etiam vicem præstant (si credimus) *singula interuodia.* The *Si credimus* is not improbably a sneer at Herodotus.—*T.*

[113] *Cloth made of rushes.*]—To trace the modern dress back to the simplicity of the first skins, and leaves, and

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having mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuirass.

XCIX. To the east of these are other Indians, called Padæi [114], who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh [115], and are said to observe these cus-

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feathers, that were worn by mankind in the primitive ages, if it were possible, would be almost endless; the fashion has been often changed, while the materials remained the same: the materials have been different as they were gradually produced by successive arts, that converted a raw hide into leather, the wool of the sheep into cloth, the web of the worm into silk, and flax and cotton into linen of various kinds. One garment also has been added to another, and ornaments have been multiplied on ornaments, with a variety almost infinite, produced by the caprice of human vanity, or the new necessities to which man rendered himself subject by those many inventions which took place after he ceased to be, as God had created him, upright.—See historical remarks on dress, prefixed to a collection of the dresses of different nations, ancient and modern.

The canoes and dresses here described, will strike the reader as much resembling those seen and described by modern voyagers to the South Seas.—*T.*

[114] *Padæi.*]—

> Impia nec sævis celebrans convivia mensis
> Ultima vicinus Phœbo tenet arva Padæus.
>
> *Tibull.* l. iv. 144.

Herodotus does not appear to have heard of the Ganges, but these Padæi probably inhabited the banks of that river. The Sanscrit and proper name of the Ganges is Padda. Major Rennell is of opinion that these Padæi may answer to the Gangaridæ of the latter Greek writers.

[115] *On raw flesh.*]—Not at all more incredible is the cus-

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toms:—If any man among them be diseased, his nearest connections put him to death, alleging in excuse that sickness would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connections treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten; but there are very few who arrive at old age, for in case of sickness they put every one to death.

C. There are other Indians, who, differing in manners from the above, put no animal to death[116], sow no grain, have no fixed habitations,

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tom, said to be prevalent among the Abyssinians, of eating a slice of meat raw from the living ox, and esteeming it one of the greatest delicacies. The assertion of this fact by Mr. Bruce, the celebrated traveller, excited a clamour against him, and by calling his veracity in question, probably operated, amongst other causes, to the delay of his publication. This very fact, however, is also asserted of the Abyssinians by Lobo and Poncet. If it be allowed without reserve, an argument is deducible from it, to prove that bullock's blood, in contradiction to what is asserted by our historian, in chap. 15 of this book, is not a poison; unless we suppose that the quantity thus taken into the stomach would be too small to produce the effect. Lobo, as well as Bruce, affirms, that the Abyssinians eat beef, not only in a raw state, but reeking from the ox.—*T.*

116 *Put no animal to death.*]—Nicholas Damascenus has preserved the name of this people. He calls them Aritonians. On

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and live solely upon vegetables. They have a particular grain, nearly of the size of millet, which the soil spontaneously produces, which is protected by a calyx; the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of these Indians be taken sick, they retire to some solitude, and there remain, no one expressing the least concern about them during their illness, or after their death.

CI. Among all these Indians whom I have specified, the communication between the sexes* is like that of the beasts, open and unrestrained. They are all of the same complexion, and much resembling the Æthiopians. The semen which their males emit is not, like that of other men, white, but black like their bodies[117]; which is also the case with the Æthiopians. These In-

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On this name Mr. Wilkins observes that it may be a corrupt reading of Barrata, or Bharata, which is the Sanscrit name of India. I cannot help thinking Mr. Wilkins a little fanciful on this subject.—*Larcher.*

See in Melpomene an account of the Issedenes, and in Clio what Herodotus says of the Massagetæ.

* See Clio, c. 216

[117] *Black like their bodies.*]—Semen si probe concoctum fuerit, colore album et splendens esse oportet, ut vel hinc pateat quam parum vere Herodotus scribat semen nigrum Æthiopes promere. *Rodericus a Castro de universa mulierum medicina.*—Aristotle had before said the same thing, in his History of Animals.—*Larcher.*

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dians are very remote from Persia towards the south*, and were never in subjection to Darius.

CII. There are still other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of Caspatyrum, and the country of Pactyïca. Of all the Indians these in their manners most resemble the Bactrians; they are distinguished above the rest by their bravery, and are those who are employed in searching for the gold †. In the vicinity of this district there are vast deserts of sand, in which a species of ants[118] is produced, not so

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* Thus it appears that Herodotus had a very good idea of the form and extent of the Erythrean sea, but he certainly did not know that India extended so far southward as it actually does.

† See Vincent's Nearchus, p. 70, and Rennell, p. 410.

[118] *Species of ants.*]—Of these ants Pliny also makes mention, in the following terms:

"In the temple of Hercules, at Erythræ, the horns of an Indian ant were to be seen, an astonishing object. In the country of the northern Indians, named Dandæ, these ants cast up gold from holes within the earth. In colour they resemble cats, and are as large as the wolves of Ægypt This gold, which they throw up in the winter, the Indians contrive to steal in the summer, when the ants, on account of the heat, hide themselves under ground. But if they happen to smell them, the ants rush from their holes, and will often tear them in pieces, though mounted on their swiftest camels; such is the swiftness and fierceness they display from the love of their gold."

Upon the above, Larcher has this remark.—The little com-

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large as a dog, but bigger than a fox. Some of these, taken by hunting, are preserved in the palace of the Persian monarch. Like the ants common in Greece, which in form also they nearly resemble, they make themselves habitations in the ground, by digging under the sand. The sand thus thrown up is mixed with gold-dust, to collect which, the Indians are dispatched into the deserts. To this expedition they proceed, each with three camels fastened together, a female being secured between two males, and upon her the Indian is mounted, taking particular care to have one which has recently foaled. The females of this description are in all respects

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munication which the Greeks had with the Indians, prevented their investigating the truth with respect to this animal; and their love of the marvellous inclined them to assent to this description of Herodotus. Demetrius Triclinius says, on the Antigone of Sophocles, doubtless from some ancient Scholiast which he copies, that there are in India winged animals, named ants, which dig up gold. Herodotus and Pliny say nothing of their having wings. Most of our readers will be induced to consider the description of these ants as fabulous; nevertheless, De Thou, an author of great credit, tells us, that Shah Thomas, sophi of Persia, sent, in the year 1559, to Soliman an ant like these here described.

They who had seen the vast nests of the termites, or white ants, might easily be persuaded that the animals which formed them were as large as foxes. The disproportion between the insect, though large, and its habitation, is very extraordinary.—*T.*

The reader will find an elaborate account of the termites in the Philosophical Transactions for 1781.

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as swift as horses, and capable of bearing much greater burdens [119].

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[119] *Greater burdens.*]—Of all the descriptions I have met with of this wonderful animal, the following, from Volney, seems the most animated and interesting:—

No creature seems so peculiarly fitted to the climate in which it exists, as the camel. Designing the camel to dwell in a country where he can find little nourishment, Nature has been sparing of her materials in the whole of his formation. She has not bestowed upon him the fleshiness of the ox, horse, or elephant, but limiting herself to what is strictly necessary, she has given him a small head without ears, at the end of a long neck without flesh. She has taken from his legs and thighs every muscle not immediately requisite for motion, and in short has bestowed on his withered body only the vessels and tendons necessary to connect its frame together. She has furnished him with a strong jaw, that he may grind the hardest aliments; but, lest he should consume too much, she has straitened his stomach, and obliged him to chew the cud. She has lined his foot with a lump of flesh, which, sliding in the mud, and being no way adapted to climbing, fits him only for a dry, level, and sandy soil, like that of Arabia: she has evidently destined him likewise for slavery, by refusing him every sort of defence against his enemies. So great, in short, is the importance of the camel to the desert, that were it deprived of that useful animal, it must infallibly lose every inhabitant.—*Volney.*

With respect to the burdens which camels are capable of carrying, Russel tells us, that the Arab camel will carry one hundred rotoloes, or five hundred pounds weight; but the Turcomans camels common load is one hundred and sixty rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds weight. Their ordinary pace is very slow, Volney says, not more than thirty-six hundred yards in an hour; it is needless to press them, they will go no quicker. Raynal says, that the Arabs qualify the camels for expedition by matches, in which the horse runs

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CIII. As my countrymen of Greece are well acquainted with the form of the camel, I shall not here describe it; I shall only mention those particulars concerning it with which I conceive them to be less acquainted[120]. Behind, the camel has four thigh and as many knee joints; the member of generation falls from between the hinder legs, and is turned towards the tail.

CIV. Having thus connected their camels, the Indians proceed in search of the gold, choosing

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against him; the camel, less active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long course. There is one peculiarity with respect to camels, which not being generally known, I give the reader, as translated from the Latin of Father Strope, a learned German missionary. "The camels which have had the honour to bear presents to Mecca and Medina are not to be treated afterwards as common animals; they are considered as consecrated to Mahomet, which exempts them from all labour and service. They have cottages built for their abodes, where they live at ease, and receive plenty of food, with the most careful attention."—*T.*

[120] *To be less acquainted.*]—These farther particulars concerning the camel, are taken from Mr. Pennant.

The one-bunched camel, is the Arabian camel, the two-bunched, the Bactrian. The Arabian has six callosities on the legs, will kneel down to be loaded, but rises the moment he finds the burden equal to his strength. They are gentle always, except when in heat, when they are seized with a sort of madness, which makes it unsafe to approach them. The Bactrian camel is larger and more generous than the domesticated race. The Chinese have a swift variety of this, which they call by the expressive name of Fong Kyo Fo, or camels with feet of the wind.

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the hottest time of the day as most proper for their purpose, for then it is that the ants conceal themselves under the earth. In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people is greatest, not at mid-day, but in the morning. They have a vertical sun till about the time when, with us, people withdraw from the forum[121];

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[121] *People withdraw from the forum.*]—The periods of the forum were so exactly ascertained, as to serve for a notation of time. The time of full forum is mentioned by many authors, as Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, and others, and is said by Suidas to have been the third hour in the morning, that is, nine o'clock; and Dio Chrysostom places it at an intermediate point between morning or sunrise, and noon, which agrees also with nine o'clock. One passage in Suidas speaks also of the fourth, fifth, and sixth hours; but either they were fora of different kinds, or the author is there mistaken, or the passage is corrupt. See Ælian, xii. 30. and Athenæus, xiv. 1. The time of breaking up the forum, *αγορης διαλυσις*, is not, I believe, mentioned, except here, by Herodotus; but by this passage it appears that it must have been also a stated time, and before noon; probably ten or eleven o'clock. This account of a sun hotter and more vertical in the morning than at noon, is so perfectly unphilosophical, that it proves decisively, what the hypothesis of our author concerning the overflowing of the Nile gave strong reason to suspect, that Herodotus was entirely uninformed on subjects of this kind. Mid-day, or noon, can be only, at all places, when the sun is highest and consequently hottest, unless any clouds or periodical winds had been assigned as causes of this singular effect. Whoever fabricated the account, which he here repeats, thought it necessary to give an appearance of novelty even to the celestial phenomena of the place.

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during which period the warmth is more excessive than the mid-day sun in Greece, so that the inhabitants are then said to go into the water for refreshment. Their mid-day is nearly of the same temperature as in other places; after which the warmth of the air becomes like the morning elsewhere; it then progressively grows milder, till at the setting sun it becomes very cool.

CV. As soon as they arrive at the spot, the Indians precipitately fill their bags with sand, and return as expeditiously as possible. The Persians say that these ants know and pursue the Indians by their smell, with inconceivable swiftness. They affirm, that if the Indians did not make considerable progress whilst the ants were collecting themselves together, it would be impossible for any of them to escape. For this reason, at different

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Herodotus himself uses the term of πληθωρα αγορης in book ii. ch. 173, and vii. 223.—*T.*

Whatever credit Herodotus may be in various respects entitled to, this and other passages demonstrate him to have been grossly ignorant of natural philosophy. He did not believe the earth to be globular. See Melpomene, c. 36. He did not credit the existence of snow in elevated situations in warmer climates; and most unphilosophically indeed does he explain the phenomena of the inundation of the Nile, Euterpe, c. 24. See again, Melpomene, c. 42, his account of the voyage of Nechao. See on the subject Rennell, p. 8.

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intervals [122], they separate one of the male camels from the female, which are always fleeter than the males, and are at this time additionally incited by the remembrance of their young whom they had left. Thus, according to the Persians, the Indians obtain their greatest quantity of gold; what they procure by digging is of much inferior importance.

CVI. Thus it appears that the extreme parts of the habitable world, are distinguished by the possession of many beautiful things, as Greece is for its agreeable and temperate seasons. India, as I have already remarked, is the last inhabited country towards the east*, where every species of birds and of quadrupeds, horses excepted [123], are

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[122] *At different intervals.*]—This passage is somewhat perplexing. The reader must remember that the Indian rode upon the female camel, which was betwixt two males. This being the swiftest, he trusted to it for his own personal security; and it may be supposed that he untied one or both of the male camels, as the enemy approached, or as his fears got the better of his avarice.—*T.*

The knowledge which Herodotus had of India, was obtained from the Persians, which, says Dr. Robertson, renders it probable that in the time of the Historian very little intercourse subsisted between Egypt and India.

* See Rennell, p. 166, 7, and 197.

[123] *Horses excepted.*]—Every thing of moment which is involved in the natural history of the horse, may be found in M. Buffon: but, as Mr. Pennant observes, we may in this

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much larger than in any other part of the world. Their horses are not so large as the Nisæan horses of Media. They have also a great abundance of gold, which they procure partly by digging, partly from the rivers, but principally by the method

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country boast a variety which no other single kingdom possesses. Most other countries produce but one kind, while ours, by a judicious mixture of the several species, by the happy difference of our soil, and by our superior skill in management, may triumph over the rest of Europe in having brought each quality of this noble animal to the highest perfection. The same auther tells us, that the horse is in some places found wild: that these are less than the domestic kinds, of a mouse colour, have greater heads than the tame, their foreheads remarkably arched, go in great herds, will often surround the horses of the Mongals and Kalkas while they are grazing, and carry them away. These are excessively vigilant: a sentinel placed on an eminence gives notice to the herd of any approaching danger, by neighing aloud, when they all run off with amazing swiftness. These are sometimes taken by the means of hawks, which fix on their heads, and distress them so as to give the pursuers time to overtake them. In the interior parts of Ceylon is a small variety of the horse, not exceeding thirty inches in height, which is sometimes brought to Europe as a rarity. It may not, in this place, be impertinent to inform the reader, that in the East the riding on a horse is deemed very honourable, and that Europeans are very seldom permitted to do it. In the book of Ecclesiastes, chap. x. ver. 7. we meet with this expression, " I have seen servants on horses," which we may of course understand to be spoken of a thing very unusual and improper.

To conclude this subject, I have only to observe, that the Arabian horses are justly allowed to be the finest in the world in point of beauty and of swiftness, and are sent into all parts to improve the bread of this animal.—*T*

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above described. They possess likewise a kind of plant, which, instead of fruit, produces wool[124], of a finer and better quality than that of sheep: of this the natives make their clothes.

CVII. The last inhabited country towards the south, is Arabia, the only region of the earth which produces frankincense[125], myrrh, cinnamon[126], casia[127], and ledanum[128]. Except the

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[124] *Produces wool.*]—This was doubtless the cotton shrub, called by the ancients byssus. This plant grows to the height of about four feet: it has a yellow flower, streaked with red, not unlike that of the mallow; the pistil becomes a pod of the size of a small egg; in this are from three to four cells, each of which, on bursting, is found to contain seeds involved in a whitish substance, which is the cotton. The time of gathering the cotton is when the fruit bursts, which happens in the months of March and April. The scientific name of this plant is gossypium.—*T.*

[125] *Frankincense.*]—This, of all perfumes, was the most esteemed by the ancients; it was used in divine worship, and was in a manner appropriated to princes and great men. Those employed in preparing it were naked, they had only a girdle about their loins, which their master had the precaution to secure with his own seal.—*T.*

[126] *Cinnamon*]—is a species of laurel, the bark of which constitutes its valuable part. This is taken off in the months of September and February. When cut into small slices, it is exposed to the sun, the heat of which curls it up in the form in which we receive and use it. The berry, when boiled in water, yields, according to Raynal, an oil, which,

[127]—[128] For these Notes, see next page.

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myrrh, the Arabians obtain all these aromatics without any considerable trouble. To collect the frankincense, they burn under the tree which produces it a quantity of the styrax [129], which the Phœnicians export into Greece; for these trees are each of them guarded by a prodigious number of flying serpents, small of body, and of different colours, which are dispersed by the smoke of the gum. It is this species of serpent which, in an immense body, infests Ægypt.

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suffered to congeal, acquires a whiteness. Of this candles are made, of a very aromatic smell, which are reserved for the sole use of the king of Ceylon, in which place it is principally found.—*T.*

It is now well understood that the substance called cinnamon by the ancients was extremely different from this of ours, which is peculiar to the island of Ceylon. The cinnamon of the ancients, as well as their other spices, ledanum excepted, came most probably through Arabia, from India. These tales of Herodotus were most likely invented by the Arabians, to conceal a fact of such importance to their interest.

[127] *Casia.*]—This is, I believe, a bastard kind of cinnamon, called in Europe cassia lignea; the merchants mix it with true cinnamon, which is four times its value; it is to be distinguished by a kind of viscidity perceived in chewing it.—*T.*

[128] *Ledanum.*]—Ledanum, or ladanum, according to Pliny, was a gum made of the dew which was gathered from a shrub called lada.—*T.*

[129] *Styrax.*]—This is the gum of the storax tree, is very aromatic, and brought to this country in considerable quantities from the Archipelago. It is obtained by making incisions in the tree. The Turks adulterate it with saw-dust. Another species of storax is imported to Europe from America, and is procured from the liquid-amber-tree.—*T.*

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CVIII. The Arabians, moreover, affirm, that their whole country would be filled with these serpents, if the same thing were not to happen with respect to them which we know happens, and, as it should seem, providentially, to the vipers. Those animals, which are more timid, and which serve for the purpose of food, to prevent their total consumption are always remarkably prolific[130], which is not the case with those which are fierce and venomous. The hare, for instance, the prey of every beast and bird, as well as of man, produces young abundantly. It is the singular property of this animal[131], that it conceives a second time, when it is already pregnant, and at the same time carries in its womb young ones covered with down, others not yet

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[130] *Remarkably prolific.*]—See Derham's chapter on the balance of animals, *Physico-Theology*, b. iv. chap. x. and ch. xiv. § 3.

[191] *The singular property of this animal.*]—With respect to the superfœtation of this animal, Pliny makes the same remark, assigning the same reason. Lepus omnium prædæ nascens, solus præter Dasypodem superfœtat, aliud educans, aliud in utero pilis vestitum, aliud implume, aliud inchoatum gerens pariter. This doctrine of superfœtation is strenuously defended by Sir T. Brown, in his Vulgar Errors; and, as far as it respects the animal in question, is credited by Larcher: but Mr. Pennant very sensibly remarks, that as the hare breeds very frequently in the course of the year, there is no *necessity* for having recourse to this doctrine to account for their numbers.—*T.*

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formed, others just beginning to be formed, whilst the mother herself is again ready to conceive. But the lioness, of all animals the strongest and most ferocious, produces but one young one[132] in her life, for at the birth of her cub she loses her matrix. The reason of this seems to be, that as the claws of the lion are sharper by much than those of any other animal, the cub, as soon as it begins to stir in the womb, injures and tears the matrix, which it does still more and more as it grows bigger, so that at the time of its birth no part of the womb remains whole.

CIX. Thus, therefore, if vipers and those winged serpents of Arabia were to generate in the ordinary course of nature, the natives could not live. But it happens, that when they are incited by lust to copulate, at the very instant of emission, the female seizes the male by the neck, and does not quit her hold till she has quite devoured it[133]. The male thus perishes, but the female is also punished; for whilst the young are still within the womb, as the time of birth approaches, to make themselves a passage they tear

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[132] *But one young one.*]—This assertion is perfectly absurd and false. The lioness has from two to six young ones, and the same lioness has been known to litter four or five times.—*T.*

[133] *Quite devoured it.*]—This narrative must also be considered as intirely fabulous.—*T.*

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in pieces the matrix, thus avenging their father's death. Those serpents which are not injurious to mankind lay eggs, and produce a great quantity of young. There are vipers in every part of the world, but winged serpents are found only in Arabia, where there are great numbers.

CX. We have described how the Arabians procure their frankincense; their mode of obtaining the cassia is this:—they cover the whole of their body, and the face, except the eyes, with skins of different kinds; they thus proceed to the place where it grows, which is in a marsh not very deep, but infested by a winged species of animal much resembling a bat, very strong, and making a hideous noise; they protect their eyes from these, and then gather the cassia.

CXI. Their manner of collecting the cinnamon[134] is still more extraordinary. In what

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[134] *Cinnamon.*]—The substance of Larcher's very long and learned note on this subject, may, if I mistake not, be comprised in very few words: by cinnamomum the ancients understood a branch of that tree, bark and all, of which the cassia was the bark only. The cutting of these branches is now prohibited, because found destructive of the tree. I have before observed, that of cinnamon there are different kinds; the cassia of Herodotus was, doubtless, what we in general understand to be cinnamon, of which our cassia, or cassia lignea, is an inferior kind.—*T.*

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particular spot it is produced, they themselves are unable to certify. There are some who assert that it grows in the region where Bacchus was educated, and their mode of reasoning is by no means improbable. These affirm that the vegetable substance, which we, as instructed by the Phœnicians[135], call cinnamon, is by certain large

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[135] *As instructed by the Phœnicians.*]—I cannot resist the pleasure of giving at full length the note of Larcher on this passage, which detects and explains two of the most singular and unaccountable errors ever committed in literature.

" The above is the true sense of the passage, which Pliny has mistaken. He makes Herodotus say that the cinnamon and casia are found in the nests of certain birds, and *in particular of the phœnix.* Cinnamomum et casias, fabulose narravit antiquitas, princepsve Herodotus, avium nidis et privatim phœnicis, in quo situ Liber Pater educatus esset, ex inviis rupibus arboribusque decuti. The above passage from Pliny, Dupin has translated, most ridiculously, ' l'antiquité fabuleuse, et *le prince des menteurs*, Herodote, disent,' &c. He should have said Herodotus first of all, for princeps, in this place, does not mean prince, and menteur cannot possibly be implied from the text of Pliny. Pliny had reason to consider the circumstance as fabulous, but he ought not to have imputed it to our Historian, who says no such thing. But the authority of Pliny has imposed not only on Statius,

Phariæque exempta volucri
Cinnama,

where Pharia volucris means the phœnix; and on Avienus,

Internis etiam procul undique ab oris
Ales amica deo largum congessit amomum;

but also on Van Stapel, in his Commentaries on Theophrastus. Pliny had, doubtless, read too hastily this passage of Herodotus, which is sufficiently clear. Suidas and the Etymologicum Magnum, are right in the word κιναμωμον."

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birds carried to their nests constructed of clay, and placed in the cavities of inaccessible rocks. To procure it thence, the Arabians have contrived this stratagem:—they cut in very large pieces the dead bodies of oxen, asses, or other beasts of burden, and carry them near these nests: they then retire to some distance; the birds soon fly to the spot, and carry these pieces of flesh to their nests, which not being able to support the weight, fall in pieces to the ground. The Arabians take this opportunity of gathering the cinnamon *, which they afterwards dispose of to different countries.

CXII. The ledanum[136], or, as the natives term it, ladanum, is gathered in a more remark-

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* The same cause that allotted a place in Herodotus to the description of the ants that were said to dig up gold in India, and to that of the mode of collecting cinnamon in Arabia, namely, the difficulty of getting at the truth, gave occasion also to the description of the table of the sun in Æthiopia.—*Rennell.*

The mode here described of getting the cinnamon, resembles in many particulars one of the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor, in the Arabian Nights Entertainments.

136 *Ledanum.*]—The following farther particulars concerning this aromatic are taken from Tournefort.

It is gathered by the means of whips, which have long handles, and two rows of straps; with these they brush the plants, and to these will stick the odoriferous glue which hangs on the leaves; when the whips are sufficiently laden

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able manner than even the cinnamon. In itself it is particularly fragrant, though gathered from a place as much the contrary. It is found sticking to the beards of he-goats, like the mucus of trees. It is mixed by the Arabians in various aromatics, and indeed it is with this that they commonly perfume themselves.

CXIII. I have thought it proper to be thus minute on the subject of the Arabian perfumes; and we may add, that the whole of Arabia exhales a most delicious fragrance. There are also in this country two species of sheep, well deserving admiration, and to be found no where else. One of them is remarkable for an enormous length of tail [137], extending to three cubits, if not

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with this glue, they take a knife and scrape it clean off the straps.

In the time of Dioscorides, and before, they used to gather the ledanum not only with whips, but they also were careful in combing off such of it as was found sticking to the beards and thighs of the goats, which fed upon nothing but the leaves of the cistus. They still observe the same process; and the Abbé Manite describes it at length in his account of Cyprus.

The ledum is a species of cistus.

137 *Enormous length of tail.*]—The following description of the broad-tailed sheep, from Pennant, takes away from the seeming improbability of this account.

"This species, says Mr. Pennant, "is common in Syria, Barbary, and Æthiopia. Some of their tails end in a point,

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more. If they were permitted to trail them along the ground, they would certainly ulcerate from the friction. But the shepherds of the country are skilful enough to make little carriages, upon which they secure the tails of the sheep: the tails of the other species are of the size of one cubit.

CXIV. Æthiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to this country on the south-west. This produces gold in great quantities, elephants with their prodigious teeth, trees and shrubs of every kind, as well as ebony; its inhabitants are also remarkable for their size, their beauty, and their length of life *.

CXV. The above are the two extremes of Asia and Africa. Of that part of Europe nearest to the west, I am not able to speak with decision. I by no means believe that the Barbarians give the name of Eridanus [138] to a river which empties

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but are oftener square or round. They are so long as to trail on the ground, and the shepherds are obliged to put boards with small wheels under the tails, to keep them from galling. These tails are esteemed a great delicacy, are of a substance between fat and marrow, and are eaten with the lean of the mutton. Some of these tails weigh 50lb. each."

* Herodotus remarks in another place, Melpomene, c. 187, that, whatever may be the cause, the Africans are more exempt from disease than any other men.

138 *Eridanus.*]—Bellanger was of opinion, that Herodotus intended here to speak of the Eridanus, a river in Italy;

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itself into the Northern Sea, whence, as it is said, our amber comes. Neither am I better acquainted with the islands called the Cassiterides[139], from which we are said to have our tin.

Pliny thought so too, and expresses his surprise that Herodotus should be unable to meet with a person who had seen this river, although part of his life was spent at Thuria, in Magna Græcia.

But this very reflection ought to have convinced both Pliny and Bellanger, that Herodotus had another Eridanus in view.

The Eridanus here alluded to, could not possibly be any other than the Rho-daune, which empties itself into the Vistula, near Dantzic, and on the banks of which amber is now found in large quantities.—*Larcher.*

The historian's want of information on this matter, could only, as Rennell observes, be occasioned by the jealousy of the Phœnicians.

139 *Cassiterides.*]—Pliny says, these islands were thus called from their yielding abundance of lead; Strabo says, that they were known only to the Phœnicians; Larcher is of opinion that Great Britain was in the number of these.

The Phœnicians, who were exceedingly jealous of their commerce, studiously concealed the situation of the Cassiterides, as long as they were able; which fully accounts for the ignorance so honestly avowed by Herodotus. Camden and D'Anville agree in considering the Scilly Isles as undoubtedly the Cassiterides of the ancients. Strabo makes them ten in number, lying to the north of Spain; and the principal of the Scilly Isles are ten, the rest being very inconsiderable. Dionysius Periegetes expressly distinguishes them from the British Isles:

Νεσους θ' Εσπεριδας τοθι κασσιτεροιο γενεθλη—
* * * * * * * *
Αλλαι δ' ωκεανοιο παραι Βορεωτιδας ακτας
Δισσαι νησοι εασι Βρετανιδες.—v. 563.

Yet

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The name Eridanus is certainly not barbarous, it is of Greek derivation, and, as I should conceive, introduced by one of our poets. I have endeavoured, but without success, to meet with some one who from ocular observation might describe to me the sea which lies in that part of Europe. It is nevertheless certain, that both our tin and our amber [140] are brought from those extreme regions.

Yet it is not an improbable conjecture of his commentator Hill, that the promontory of Cornwall might perhaps at first be considered as another island. Diodorus Siculus describes the carrying of tin from the Cassiterides, and from Britain, to the northern coast of France, and thence on horses to Marseilles, thirty days journey; this must be a new trade established by the Romans, who employed great perseverance to learn the secret from the Phœnicians. Strabo tells us of one Phœnician captain, who finding himself followed by a Roman vessel, purposely steered into the shallows, and thus destroyed both his own ship and the other; his life, however, was saved, and he was rewarded by his countrymen for his patriotic resolution.

Eustathius, in his comment on Dionysius, reckons also ten Cassiterides; but his account affords no new proof, as it is manifestly copied from Strabo, to the text of which author it affords a remarkable correction.—*T.*

My friend Major Rennell observes, that what is related by Diodorus Siculus concerning the island to which tin was carried at low water, seems to point to Cornwall. The island might be St. Michael's Mount, in Mount's Bay.

140 *Amber.*]—Amber takes its name from *ambra*, the Arabian name for this substance; the science of electricity is so called from *electrum*, the Greek word for amber. This term of electricity is now applied not only to the power of

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CXVI. It is certain that in the north of Europe* there is a prodigious quantity of gold; but how it is produced I am not able to tell with certainty. It is affirmed indeed, that the Arimaspi†, a people who have but one eye, take this gold away violently from the griffins; but I can never persuade myself that there are any men who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other

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attracting lighter bodies, which amber possesses, but to many other powers of a similar nature. Amber is certainly not of the use, and consequently not of the value, which it has been, but it is still given in medicine, and is, as I am informed, the basis of all varnishes. It is found in various places, but Prussia is said to produce the most and the best.—*T.*

* By the north of Europe, the north-west part of Asia is intended. The Europe of Herodotus is extended indefinitely to the east, Asia being placed to the south rather than to the east of Europe.

† Of this fable, Milton makes a happy use in his second book of Paradise Lost:

> As when a griffin thro' the wilderness
> With winged course, o'er hill or mossy dale,
> Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stealth
> Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
> The guarded gold.

Lucan speaks of the Arimaspians as a people who ornamented their hair with gold.

> Auroque ligatas
> Substringens Arimaspe comas.

Pliny relates the same fable with Herodotus. See Nat. Hist. l. vii. c. 2. See again Melpomene, 13 and 27.

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respects the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much seems unquestionable, that these extreme parts of the world contain within themselves things the most beautiful as well as rare.

CXVII. There is in Asia a large plain, surrounded on every part by a ridge of hills, through which there are five different apertures. It formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, who inhabit those hills in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangensians, and Thomaneans; but after the subjection of these nations to Persia, it became the property of the great king. From these surrounding hills there issues a large river called Aces*: this formerly, being conducted through the openings of the mountain, watered the several countries above mentioned. But when these regions came under the power of the Persians, the apertures were closed, and gates placed at each of them, to prevent the passage of

* This story, so improbably told, seems to relate either to the river Oxus, or to the Ochus, both of which have undergone considerable changes in their courses, partly by the management of dams, partly by their own depositions, for they certainly flow near the countries of the Chorasmians, the Hyrcanians, and Parthians; but the Sarangæans, if taken for the people of Zarang, that is, Segistan, as no doubt they ought to be, are out of the question as to any connection with these rivers.—*Rennell.*

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the river. Thus on the inner side, from the waters having no issue, this plain became a sea, and the neighbouring nations, deprived of their accustomed resource, were reduced to the extremest distress from the want of water. In winter they, in common with other nations, had the benefit of the rains, but in summer, after sowing their millet and sesamum, they required water but in vain. Not being assisted in their distress, the inhabitants of both sexes hastened to Persia, and presenting themselves before the palace of the king, made loud complaints. In consequence of this, the monarch directed the gates to be opened towards those parts where water was most immediately wanted; ordering them again to be closed after the lands had been sufficiently refreshed: the same was done with respect to them all, beginning where moisture was wanted the most. I have, however, been informed, that this is only granted in consideration of a large donative above the usual tribute.

CXVIII. Intaphernes, one of the seven who had conspired against the magus, lost his life from the following act of insolence. Soon after the death of the usurpers, he went to the palace, with the view of having a conference with the king; for the conspirators had mutually agreed, that, except the king should happen to be in bed with his wife, they might any of them have access

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to the royal presence, without sending a previous messenger. Intaphernes, not thinking any introduction necessary, was about to enter, but the porter and the introducing officer* prevented him, pretending that the king was retired with one of his wives. He, not believing their assertion, drew his sword, and cut off their ears and noses; then taking the bridle from his horse, he tied them together, and so dismissed them.

CXIX. In this condition they presented themselves before the king, telling him why they had been thus treated. Darius, thinking that this might have been done with the consent of the other conspirators, sent for them separately, and desired to know whether they approved of what had happened. As soon as he was convinced that Intaphernes had perpetrated this deed without any communication with the rest, he ordered him, his son, and all his family, to be taken into custody; having many reasons to suspect, that in concert with his friends he might excite a sedition: he afterwards commanded them all to be put in chains, and prepared for execution. The wife of Intaphernes then presented herself before the royal palace, exhibiting every demonstration

* *Introducing officer.*]—This was an officer of the highest rank in the empire, as appears from both Cornelius Nepos and Ælian.

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of grief*. As she regularly continued this conduct, her frequent appearance at length excited the compassion of Darius; who thus addressed her by a messenger: "Woman, king Darius "offers you the liberty of any individual of your "family, whom you may most desire to pre-"serve." After some deliberation with herself, she made this reply: "If the king will grant me "the life of any one of my family, I choose my "brother in preference to the rest." Her determination greatly astonished the king; he sent to her therefore a second message to this effect: "The king desires to know why you have thought "proper to pass over your children and your "husband, and to preserve your brother; who "is certainly a more remote connection than "your children, and cannot be so dear to you

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* *Grief.*]—Bruce amuses himself and his readers with drawing a parallel between the manners of the Abyssinians and those of the ancient Persians. In one place he goes so far as to intimate that Abyssinia might not improbably have been colonized from Persia. But he here exhibits a notable proof of his extreme carelessness and inaccuracy, for in referring to this passage, after telling us, that in Abyssinia it was the custom for supplicants to crowd round the royal palace with noisy complaints of their grievances, he says, Herodotus tells us that in Persia the people in great crowds and of both sexes come roaring and crying to the door of the palace, and Intaphernes is also said to come to the door of the king, making great lamentations.

Herodotus expressly says it was the wife of Intaphernes; Intaphernes himself was in chains.

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"as your husband?" She answered thus: "O "king! if it please the deity, I may have an- "other husband; and if I be deprived of these, "may have other children; but as my parents "are both of them dead, it is certain that I can "have no other brother[141]." The answer ap-

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[141] *I can have no other brother.*]—This very singular and, I do not scruple to add, preposterous sentiment, is imitated very minutely by Sophocles, in the Antigone. That the reader may the better understand, by comparing the different application of these words, in the historian and the poet, I shall subjoin a part of the argument of the Antigone.

Eteocles and Polynices were the sons of Œdipus, and successors of his power; they had agreed to reign year by year alternately; but Eteocles breaking the contract, the brothers determined to decide the dispute in a single combat; they fought, and mutually slew each other. The first act of their uncle Creon, who succeeded to the throne, was to forbid the rites of sepulture to Polynices, denouncing immediate death upon whoever should dare to bury him. Antigone transgressed this ordinance, and was detected in the fact of burying her brother; she was commanded to be interred alive; and what follows is part of what is suggested by her situation and danger:

And thus, my Polynices, for my care
Of thee, I am rewarded, and the good
Alone shall praise me: for a husband dead,
Nor, had I been a mother, for my children
Would I have dar'd to violate the laws.—
Another husband and another child
Might sooth affliction; but, my parents dead,
A brother's loss can never be repair'd.

Franklin's Sophocles.

The reader will not forget to observe, that the piety of Antigone is directed to a lifeless corpse, but that of the wife of

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peared to Darius very judicious; indeed he was so well pleased with it, that he not only gave the woman the life of her brother, but also pardoned her eldest son; the rest were all of them put to death. Thus, at no great interval of time, perished one of the seven conspirators.

CXX. About the time of the last illness of Cambyses, the following accident happened. The governor of Sardis was a Persian, named Orœtes*, who had been promoted by Cyrus. This man conceived the atrocious design of accomplishing the death of Polycrates of Samos, by whom he had never in word or deed been injured, and whose person he never had beheld. His assigned motive was commonly reported to be this: Orœtes one day sitting at the gates of

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Intaphernes, to her living brother, which is surely less repugnant to reason, and the common feelings of the human heart, not to speak of the superior claims of duty.

There is an incident similar to this in Lucian:—See the tract called Toxaris, or Amicitia, where a Scythian is described to neglect his wife and children, whilst he incurs the greatest danger to preserve his friend from the flames. "Other children," says he, "I may easily have, and they are at best but a precarious blessing; but such a friend I could no where obtain."—*T.*

* Historians are not quite agreed about the name of this man. He is called by some Orontes. See Valerius Maximus, book 6. chap. 9. Comprehensum enim Orontes Darii Regis Præfectus in excelsissimo montis vertice cruci affixit. Lucian, however, in more than one place, calls him Orontes.

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the palace[142] with another Persian, whose name was Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, entered into a conversation with him, which at length terminated in dispute. The subject about which they contended was military virtue: "Can you," says Mitrobates to Orœtes, "have any preten-
"sions to valour, who have never added Samos
"to the dominions of your master, contigious as
"it is to your province; and which indeed may
"so easily be taken, that one of its own citizens
"made himself master of it, with the help of
"fifteen men in arms, and still retains the su-
"preme authority?" This made a deep impression upon the mind of Orœtes; but without meditating revenge against the person who had affronted him, he determined to effect the death of Polycrates, on whose account he had been reproached.

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[142] *At the gates of the palace.*]—In the Greek, it is at the king's gate. The grandees waited at the gate of the Persian kings:—This custom, established by Cyrus, continued as long as the monarchy, and at this day, in Turkey, we say the Ottoman port, for the Ottoman court.—*Larcher.*

Ignorance of this custom has caused several mistakes, particularly in the history of Mordecai, in the book of Esther, who is by many authors, and even by Prideaux, represented as meanly situated when placed there. Many traces of this custom may be found in Xenophon's Cyropædia. Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, uses the expression of *those at the king's gate*, *των επι θυρᾳ βασιλεως*, as a general designation for nobles and state officers.—See *Brisson, de Regno Persarum*, lib. i.—*T.*

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CXXI. There are some, but not many, who affirm that Orœtes sent a messenger to Samos, to propose some question to Polycrates, but of what nature is unknown; and that he found Polycrates in the men's apartment, reclining on a couch, with Anacreon of Teos[143] by his side. The man advanced to deliver his message; but Polycrates, either by accident, or to demonstrate the contempt[144] in which he held Orœtes, con-

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[143] *Anacreon of Teos.*]—It is by no means astonishing to find, in the court of a tyrant, a poet who is eternally singing in praise of wine and love: his verses are full of the encomiums of Polycrates. How different was the conduct of Pythagoras! That philosopher, perceiving that tyranny was established in Samos, went to Ægypt, and from thence to Babylon, for the sake of improvement: returning to his country, he found that tyranny still subsisted; he went therefore to Italy, and there finished his days.—*Larcher.*

This poet was not only beloved by Polycrates, he was the favourite also of Hipparchus the Athenian tyrant. And, notwithstanding the inference which Larcher seems inclined to draw, from contrasting his conduct with that of Pythagoras, he was called σοφος by Socrates himself; and the terms νηφος και αγαθος, are applied to him by Athenæus. By the way, much as has been said on the compositions of Anacreon by H. Stephens, Scaliger, M. Dacier, and others, many of the learned are in doubt whether the works ascribed to him by the moderns are genuine. Anacreontic verse is so called, from its being much used by Anacreon; it consists of three Iambic feet and a half, of which there is no instance in the Lyrics of Horace.—See the Prolegomena to *Barnes's Anacreon*, § 12.

[144] *Demonstrate the contempt.*]—This behaviour of Polycrates, which was doubtless intended to be expressive of

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tinued all the time he was speaking, with his face towards the wall, and did not vouchsafe any reply.

CXXII. These are the two assigned motives for the destruction of Polycrates: every one will prefer that which seems most probable. Orœtes, who lived at Magnesia, which is on the banks of the Mæander[145], sent Myrsus the Lydian, son of Gyges, with a message to Polycrates at Samos. With the character of Polycrates, Orœtes was well acquainted; for, except Minos[146] the Cnossian, or whoever before him accomplished it, he was the first Greek who formed the design of making himself master of the sea. But as far as historical tradition may be depended upon, Polycrates is the only individual who projected the subjection of Ionia and the islands. Perfectly aware of these circumstances, Orœtes sent this message:

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contempt, brings to mind the story of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who at an interview with the Grand Vizier, expressed his contempt and indignation by tearing the minister's robe with his spur, and afterwards leaving the apartment without saying a word.

[145] *On the banks of the Mæander.*]—This is added in order to distinguish that city from the Magnesia on the Sipylus, lying between Sardes and Phocæa.

[146] *Except Minos.*]—What Herodotus says of the maritime power of Minos, is confirmed by Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus. His testimony concerning Polycrates is supported also by Thucydides and Strabo.—*Larcher.*

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"ORŒTES to POLYCRATES.

"I understand that you are revolving some "vast project in your mind, but have not money "responsible to your views. Be advised by me, "and you will at the same time promote your "own advantage and preserve me. I am in-"formed, and I believe it to be true, that king "Cambyses has determined on my death. Re-"ceive, therefore, me with my wealth, part of "which shall be at your disposal, part at mine: "with the assistance of this, you may easily ob-"tain the sovereignty of Greece. If you have "any suspicions, send to me some one who is in "your intimate confidence, and he shall be con-"vinced by demonstration."

CXXIII. With these overtures, Polycrates was so exceedingly delighted, that he was eager to comply with them immediately, for his love of money was excessive. He sent, first of all, to examine into the truth of the affair, Mæandrius his secretary, called so after his father. This Mæandrius, not long afterwards, placed as a sacred donative in the temple of Juno, the rich furniture of the apartment of Polycrates. Orœtes, knowing the motive for which this man came, contrived and executed the following artifice: He filled eight chests nearly to the top with stones, then covering over the surface with gold,

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they were tied together[147], as if ready to be removed. Mæandrius on his arrival saw the above chests, and returned to make his report to Polycrates.

CXXIV. Polycrates, notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, and the remonstrances of his friends, was preparing to meet Orœtes, when his daughter in a dream saw this vision: She beheld her father aloft in the air, washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun. Terrified by

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[147] *Tied together.*]—Before the use of locks, it was the custom in more ancient times to secure things with knots: of these some were so difficult, that he alone who possessed the secret was able to unravel them. The famous Gordian knot must be known to every one; this usage is often also alluded to by Homer:

> Then bending with full force, around he roll'd
> A labyrinth of bands in fold on fold,
> Closed with Circæan art.

According to Eustathius, keys were a more modern invention, for which the Lacedæmonians are to be thanked.

Upon the above passage from Eustathius, Larcher remarks, that it is somewhat singular, that the Lacedæmonians, whose property was in common, should be the inventors of keys.

The version of Pope which I have given in the foregoing lines, is very defective, and certainly inadequate to the expression of

> Αυτις επηρτυε πωμα, θοως δ' ἐπι δεσμον ἵηλε
> Ποικιλον, ὁν ποτε μιν δεδαε φρεσι ποτνια Κιρκη.—*T.*

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this incident, she used every means in her power to prevent his going to meet Orœtes; and as he was about to embark for this purpose, on board a fifty-oared galley, she persisted in auguring unfavourably of his expedition. At this he was so incensed, as to declare, that if he returned safe she should remain long unmarried. To this she expressed herself very desirous to submit; being willing to continue long a virgin[148], rather than be deprived of her father.

CXXV. Polycrates, disregarding all that had been said to him, set sail to meet Orœtes. He was accompanied by many of his friends, and amongst the rest by Democedes[149], the son of

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[148] *Long a virgin.*]—To die a virgin, or without having any children, was amongst the ancients esteemed a very serious calamity. Electra in Sophocles enumerates this in the catalogue of her misfortunes:

- - - Ατεκνος
Ταλαιν', ανυμφευτος αιεν οιχνῶ.—166.

Electra makes a similar complaint, in the Orestes of Euripides; as does also Polyxena at the point of death, in the Hecuba of Euripides.—*T.*

[149] *Democedes.*]—Of this personage, a farther account is given in the fourth book. He is mentioned also by Ælian, in his Various History, book viii. chap. 17; and also by Athenæus, book xii. chap. 4. which last author informs us, that the physicians of Crotona were, on account of Democedes, esteemed the first in Greece.—See also chap. 131 of this book.—*T.*

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Calliphon; he was a physician of Crotona, and the most skilful practitioner of his time. As soon as Polycrates arrived at Magnesia, he was put to a miserable death, unworthy of his rank and superior endowments. Of all the princes who ever reigned in Greece, those of Syracuse alone excepted, none equalled Polycrates in magnificence. Orœtes, having basely put him to death [150], fixed his body to a cross: his attendants he sent back to Samos, telling them, "They "ought to be thankful, that he had not made "them slaves." The strangers, and the servants of those who had accompanied Polycrates, he detained in servitude. The circumstance of his being suspended on a cross, fulfilled the vision of the daughter of Polycrates: for he was washed by Jupiter, that is to say, by the rain, and he was anointed by the sun, for it extracted the moisture from his body. The great prosperity of Poly-

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[150] *Put him to death.*]—The Persians generally beheaded or flayed those whom they crucified: see an account of their treatment of Histiæus, book vi. chap. 30, and of Leonidas, book vii. 238.—*T.*

The beautiful and energetic lines which Juvenal applied to Sejanus, are remarkably apposite to the circumstances and fate of Polycrates:

> Qui inimicos optabat honores,
> Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
> Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset
> Casus, et impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ.

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crates terminated in this unfortunate death, which indeed had been foretold him by Amasis king of Ægypt.

CXXVI. But it was not long before Orœtes paid ample vengeance to the manes of Polycrates. After the death of Cambyses, and the usurpation of the magi, Orœtes, who had never deserved well of the Persians, whom the Medes had fraudulently deprived of the supreme authority, took the advantage of the disorder of the times [151], to put to death Mitrobates, the governor of Dascylium, and his son Cranapes. Mitrobates was the person who had formerly reproached Orœtes; and both he and his son were highly esteemed in Persia. In addition to his other numerous and atrocious crimes, he compassed the death of a messenger, sent to him from Darius, for no other reason but because the purport of the message was not agreeable to him. He ordered the man to be way-laid in his return, and both he and his horse were slain, and their bodies concealed.

CXXVII. As soon as Darius ascended the throne, he determined to punish Orœtes for his various enormities, but more particularly for the

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[151] *Disorder of the times.*]—For εν ταυτῃ τῃ αρχῃ, which prevailed in preceding editions, Wesseling proposes to read εν ταυτῃ ταραχῃ, which removes all perplexity.—*T.*

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murder of Mitrobates and his son. He did not think it prudent to send an armed force openly against him, as the state was still unsettled, and as his own authority had been so recently obtained; he was informed, moreover, that Orœtes possessed considerable strength: his government extended over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, and he was regularly attended by a guard of a thousand men. Darius was, therefore, induced to adopt this mode of proceeding: He assembled the noblest of the Persians, and thus addressed them: "Which of you, O Persians! will undertake "for me the accomplishment of a project which "requires sagacity alone, without military aid, "or any kind of violence? for where wisdom is "required, force is of little avail;—which of "you will bring me the body of Orœtes, alive "or dead? He has never deserved well of the "Persians; and, in addition to his numerous "crimes, he has killed two of our countrymen, "Mitrobates and his son. He has also, with "intolerable insolence, put a messenger of mine "to death: we must prevent, therefore, his per-"petrating any greater evils against us, by put-"ting him to death."

CXXVIII. When Darius had thus spoken, thirty Persians offered to accomplish what he wished. As they were disputing on the subject, the king ordered the decision to be made by lot;

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which fell upon Bagæus, the son of Artontes. To attain the end which he proposed, he caused a number of letters to be written on a variety of subjects, and sealing them with the seal of Darius, he proceeded with them to Sardis. As soon as he came to the presence of Orœtes, he delivered the letters one by one to the king's secretary; one of whom is regularly attendant upon the governors of provinces. The motive of Bagæus in delivering the letters separately was to observe the disposition of the guards, and how far they might be inclined to revolt from Orœtes. When he saw that they treated the letters with great respect[152], and their contents with still greater, he delivered one to this effect: "Per-" sians, king Darius forbids you serving any " longer Orœtes as guards:" in a moment they threw down their arms. Bagæus, observing their prompt obedience in this instance, assumed still greater confidence, he delivered the last of his letters, of which these were the contents: "King " Darius commands the Persians who are at " Sardis to put Orœtes to death:" without hesita-

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[152] *Treated the letters with great respect.*.]—At the present period, the distinction observed with regard to letters in the East is this: those sent to common persons are rolled up, and not sealed; those sent to noblemen and princes are sealed up, and inclosed in rich bags of silk or satin curiously embroidered.—*T.*

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tion they drew their swords and killed him. In this manner was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged on Orœtes the Persian.

CXXIX. Upon the death of Orœtes, his effects were all removed to Susa. Not long after which, Darius, as he was engaged in the chace, in leaping from his horse, twisted his foot with so much violence, that the ancle-bone was dislocated. Having at his court some Ægyptians, supposed to be the most skilful of the medical profession, he trusted to their assistance. They, however, increased the evil, by twisting and otherwise violently handling the part affected: from the extreme pain which he endured, the king passed seven days and as many nights without sleep. In this situation, on the eighth day, some one ventured to recommend Democedes of Crotona, having before heard of his reputation at Sardis. Darius immediately sent for him: he was discovered amongst the slaves of Orœtes, where he had continued in neglect, and was brought to the king just as he was found, in chains and in rags.

CXXX. As soon as he appeared, Darius asked him if he had any knowledge of medicine? In the apprehension that if he discovered his art, he should never have the power of returning to Greece, Democedes for a while dissembled;

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which Darius perceiving, he ordered those who had brought him, to produce the instruments of punishment and torture. Democedes began then to be more explicit, and confessed that, although he possessed no great knowledge of the art, yet by his connection with a physician he had obtained some little proficiency. The management of the case was then intrusted to him; he accordingly applied such medicines and strong fomentations as were customary in Greece; by which means Darius, who began to despair of ever recovering the intire use of his foot, was not only enabled to sleep, but in a short time perfectly restored to health. In acknowledgment of his cure, Darius presented him with two pair of fetters of gold: upon which Democedes ventured to ask the king, whether, in return for his restoring him to health, he wished to double his calamity[153]? The king, delighted with the

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153 *Double his calamity.*]—The ancients were very fond of this play upon words: — See, in the Septem contra Thebas of Æschylus, a play on the word Polynices:

> Οἱ δῆτ' ορθως κατ' επωνυμιην
> Και πολυνεικεις
> Ωλοντ' ασεβει διανοιᾳ—v. 835.

The particular point in this passage, is omitted by Mr. Potter, probably because he did not find it suited to the genius of the English language.

See also Ovid's description of the flower:

> Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit et ai ai
> Flos habet inscriptum. *T.*

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reply, sent the man to the apartments of his women: the eunuchs who conducted him informed them, that this was the man who had restored the king to life; accordingly, every one of them taking out a vase of gold [154], gave it to Democedes with the case. The present was so very valuable, that a servant who followed him behind, whose name was Sciton, by gathering up the staters which fell to the ground, obtained a prodigious sum of money.

CXXXI. The following incident was what induced Democedes to forsake Crotona, and attach himself to Polycrates. At Crotona he suffered continual restraint from the austere temper of his father; this becoming insupportable, he left him, and went to Ægina. In the first year of his residence at this place, he excelled the most

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154 *Taking out a vase of gold.*]—This is one of the most perplexed passages in Herodotus; and the conjectures of the critics are proportionably numerous. The great difficulty consists in ascertaining what is designed by ὑποτυπτησα and θηκη. The φιαλη appears to have been a jar or vase, probably itself of gold. Few have doubted that the passage is corrupt: the best conjectural reading gives this sense, "that each, taking gold out of a chest in a vase (φιαλη), gave it, vase and all, to Democedes. Ὑποτυπτησα is thus made to signify plunging the vase among the gold to fill it, as a pitcher into water; which sense is confirmed by good authorities. The idea more immediately excited by the word is, that they struck the bottom of the vase to shake out all the gold; but according to this interpretation, the vase itself is the θηκη, or case.—*T.*

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skilful of the medical profession, without having had any regular education, and indeed without the common instruments of the art. His reputation, however, was so great that, in the second year, the inhabitants of Ægina, by general consent, engaged his services at the price of one talent. In the third year, the Athenians retained him, at a salary of one hundred minæ [155]; and in

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[155] *One hundred minæ.*]—Valcnaer suspects that this place has been altered by some copyists. Athens, in the time of its greatest splendour, allowed their ambassadors but two drachmæ a day; and a hundred drachmæ make but one mina. If when the Athenians were rich, they gave no more to an ambassador, how is it likely that, when they were exceedingly poor, they should give a hundred minæ to a physician? Thus far Valcnaer. From this and other passages in the ancient writers, it appears that in remoter times it was usual to hire physicians for the assistance of a whole city, by the year. The fees which were given physicians for a single incidental visit, were very inconsiderable, as appears from the famous verses of Crates, preserved by Diogenes Laertius.

> Τίθει μαγειρῷ μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμὴν,
> Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλῳ καπνὸν,
> Πόρνῃ ταλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

"To a cook 30*l.*; to a physician two groats; to a flatterer 900*l.*; to a counsellor nothing; to a whore 180*l.*; to a philosopher a groat." The above is supposed to describe part of the accounts of a man of fortune. See Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 198.—The yearly pension paid Democedes the physician, by the Athenians, was one hundred minæ, or 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* The Egineta paid him yearly the pension of a talent, or 193*l.* 15*s.* He had a pension from Polycrates of Samos of two talents, 387*l.* 10*s.*

The

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the fourth year Polycrates engaged to give him two talents. His residence was then fixed at Samos; and to this man the physicians of Crotona are considerably indebted for the reputation which they enjoy; for at this period, in point of medical celebrity, the physicians of Crotona held the first, and those of Cyrene, the next place. At this time also the Argives had the credit of being the most skilful musicians[156] of Greece.

CXXXII. Democedes having in this manner restored the king to health, had a sumptuous house provided him at Susa, was entertained at the king's own table, and, except the restriction of not being able to return to Greece, enjoyed all that he could wish. The Ægyptian physicians, who, before this event, had the care of the king's health, were on account of their inferiority to Democedes, a Greek, condemned to the cross, but he obtained their pardon. He also procured the liberty of an Elean soothsayer, who having followed Polycrates was detained and neglected

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The daily allowance of two drachmæ to an ambassador is 15*d.* or 23*l.* 11*s.* 5½*d.* per annum. All that can be said of the difference is the high opinion entertained of a skilful physician both at Athens and in Persia.—*T.*

[156] *Musicians.*]—Music was an important part of Grecian education. Boys till they were ten years old were taught to read by the grammatistes; they were then taught music three years by the citharistes; after the thirteenth year they learned the gymnastic exercises, under the care of the paidotades.—*T.*

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among his other slaves. It may be added, that Democedes remained in the highest estimation with the king.

CXXXIII. It happened not long afterwards, that Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Darius, had an ulcer on her breast, which finally breaking, spread itself considerably. As long as it was small, she was induced by delicacy to conceal it; but when it grew more troublesome, she sent for Democedes, and shewed it to him. He told her he was able to cure it; but exacted of her an oath, that in return she should serve him in whatever he might require, which he assured her, should be nothing to disgrace her.

CXXXIV. Atossa was cured by his skill, and, observant of her own promise and his instructions, she took the opportunity of thus addressing Darius, while she was in bed with him: "It is "wonderful, my lord, that having such a nume- "rous army at command, you have neither in- "creased the power of Persia, nor at all extended "your dominions. It becomes a man like you, in "the vigour of your age, and master of so many "and such powerful resources, to perform some "act which may satisfy the Persians of the spirit "and virtue of their prince. There are two "reasons which give importance to what I re- "commend:—The one, that your subjects may "venerate the manly accomplishments of their

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"master: the other, that you may prevent the "indolence of peace exciting them to tumult "and sedition. Do not therefore consume your "youth in inactivity, for the powers of the "mind[157] increase and improve with those of the "body; and in like manner, as old age comes on "they become weaker and weaker, till they are "finally blunted to every thing." "What you "say[158]," answered Darius, "coincides with what "was passing in my mind. I had intended to "make war against Scythia, and to construct a "bridge to unite our continent with the other; "which things shall soon be executed." "Will "it not, Sir," returned Atossa, "be better to

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[157] *Powers of the mind.*]—This opinion is thus expressed by Lucretius, which I give the reader from the version of Creech.

Besides, 'tis plain that souls are born and grow,
And all by age decay as bodies do:
To prove this truth, in infants, minds appear
Infirm and tender, as their bodies are;
In man the mind is strong; when age prevails,
And the quick vigour of each member fails,
The mind's pow'rs too decrease and waste apace,
And grave and reverend folly takes the place.—*T.*

[158] *What you say.*]—I have not translated Ω γυναι, which is in the original, because I do not think we have any correspondent word in our language. O woman! would be vulgar; and according to our *norma loquendi*, O wife! would not be adequate. In the Ajax of Sophocles, v. 293, γυναι is used to express contempt; but in the passage before us it certainly denotes tenderness. The address of our Saviour to his mother proves this most satisfactorily:—See also Homer.

Και εμοι ταδε παντα μελει, γυναι.—*T.*

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"defer your intentions against the Scythians, who "will at any time afford you an easy conquest? "Rather make an expedition against Greece: "I wish much to have for my attendants some "women of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Corinth, "of whom I have heard so much. You have, "moreover, in the man who healed the wound "of your foot, the person of all others the best "qualified to describe and explain to you every "thing which relates to Greece." "If it be "your wish," replied Darius, "that I should "first make a military excursion against Greece, "it will be proper to send previously thither some "Persians as spies, in company with the man to "whom you allude. As soon as they return, and "shall have informed me of the result of their "observations, I will proceed against Greece."

CXXXV. Darius having delivered his sentiments, no time was lost in fulfilling them. As soon as the morning appeared, he sent for fifteen Persians of approved reputation, and commanded them, in company with Democedes, to examine every part of the sea-coast of Greece, enjoining them to be very watchful of Democedes, and by all means to bring him back with them. When he had done this, he next sent for Democedes himself, and after desiring him to examine and explain to the Persians every thing which related to Greece, he entreated him to return in their company. All the valuables which

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he possessed, he recommended him to take, as presents to his father and his brethren, assuring him that he should be provided with a greater number on his return. He moreover informed him, that he had directed a vessel to accompany him, which was to be furnished with various things of value. In these professions Darius, as I am of opinion, was perfectly sincere; but Democedes, apprehending that the king meant to make trial of his fidelity, accepted these proposals without much acknowledgement. He desired, however, to leave his own effects, that they might be ready for his use at his return; but he accepted the vessel which was to carry the presents for his family. Darius, after giving these injunctions to Democedes, dismissed the party to prosecute their voyage.

CXXXVI. As soon as they arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and loaded a large transport with different articles of wealth; after this, they proceeded to Greece, examining the sea-coasts with the most careful attention. When they had informed themselves of the particulars relating to the most important places in Greece, they passed over to Tarentum[159] in Italy. Here Aristophilides, prince of Tarentum, and a

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[159] *Tarentum.*]—These places, with the slightest variation possible, retain their ancient names. We now say the gulph of Tarento; and Crotona is now called Cottrone.—*T.*

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native of Crotona, took away the helms of the Median vessels, and detained the Persians as spies. Whilst his companions were in this predicament, Democedes himself went to Crotona. Upon his arrival at his native place, Aristophilides gave the Persians their liberty, and restored what he had taken from them.

CXXXVII. The Persians, as soon as they recovered their liberty, sailed to Crotona, in pursuit of Democedes, and meeting with him in the forum, seized his person. Some of the inhabitants, through fear of the Persian power, were willing to deliver him up; others, on the contrary, beat the Persians with clubs; who exclaimed, "Men of Crotona, consider what ye "do, in taking away from us a fugitive from our "king. Do you imagine that you will derive "any advantage from this insult to Darius; will "not rather your city be the first object of our "hostilities, the first that we shall plunder and "reduce to servitude?" These menaces had but little effect upon the people of Crotona, for they not only assisted Democedes to escape, but also deprived the Persians of the vessel which accompanied them. They were, therefore, under the necessity of returning to Asia, without exploring any more of Greece, being thus deprived of their conductor. On their departure, Democedes commissioned them to inform Darius, that he was married to a daughter of Milo, the name

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of Milo * the wrestler being well known to the Persian monarch. To me it seems that he hastened his marriage, and expended a vast sum of money on the occasion, to convince Darius that he enjoyed considerable reputation in his own country.

CXXXVIII. The Persians, leaving Crotona, were driven by contrary winds to Japygia [160], where they were made slaves. Gillus, an exile of Tarentum, ransomed them, and sent them home to Darius. For this service, the king declared himself willing to perform whatever Gillus should require; who accordingly explaining the circumstances of his misfortune, requested to be restored to his country. But Darius thinking that if, for the purpose of effecting the restoration of this man, a large fleet should be fitted out, all Greece would take alarm; Gillus affirmed that the Cnidians would of themselves be able to accomplish it: imagining that as this people were in alliance with the Tarentines, it might be effected without difficulty. Darius acceded to his wishes, and sent a messenger to Cnidos [161], requiring them to restore

* For an account of Milo, see the translation of Aulus Gellius, b. 15. c. 16. There was a statue of Milo erected at Olympia, the work of Damesas of Crotona. See also Philostratus, in his life of Apollonius, l. 4. c. 28.

[160] *Japygia.*]—This place is now called Cape de Leuca.—*T.*

[161] *Cnidos.*]—At this remote period, when navigation was certainly in its infancy, it seems not a little singular that

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Gillus to Tarentum. The Cnidians wished to satisfy Darius; but their solicitations had no effect on the Tarentines, and they were not in a situation to employ force.—Of these particulars, the above is a faithful relation, and these were the first Persians who, with the view of examing the state of Greece, passed over thither from Asia.

CXXXIX. Not long afterwards, Darius besieged and took Samos. This was the first city, either of Greeks or barbarians, which felt the force of his arms, and for these reasons: Cambyses, in his expedition against Ægypt, was accompanied by a great number of Greeks. Some, as it is probable, attended him from commercial views, others as soldiers, and many from no other motive than curiosity. Among these last was Syloson, an exile of Samos, son of Æaces, and brother of Polycrates. It happened one day very fortunately for this Syloson, that he was walking in the great square of Memphis with a red cloak folded about him. Darius, who was then in the king's guards, and of no particular consideration, saw him, and was so delighted with his cloak, that he

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there should be any communication or alliance between the people of Tarentum and of Cnidos. The distance is not inconsiderable, and the passage certainly intricate. Ctesias the historian was a native of Cnidos: here also was the beautiful statue of Venus, by Praxiteles; here also was Venus worshipped. O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique, &c.

It is now a very miserable place, and called Cape Chio, or Cnio.—*T.*

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went up to him with the view of purchasing it. Syloson, observing that Darius was very solicitous to have the cloak, happily, as it proved for him, expressed himself thus: "I would not part with "this cloak for any pecuniary consideration what-"ever; but if it must be so, I will make you a "present of it." Darius praised his generosity, and accepted the cloak.

CXL. Syloson for a while thought he had foolishly lost his cloak, but afterwards when Cambyses died, and the seven conspirators had destroyed the Magus, he learned that Darius, one of these seven, had obtained the kingdom, and was the very man to whom formerly, at his request, in Ægypt, he had given his cloak. He went, therefore, to Susa, and presenting himself before the royal palace, said that he had once done a service to the king. Of this circumstance the porter informed the king; who was much astonished, and exclaimed, "To what Greek can I possibly "be obliged for any services? I have not long "been in possession of my authority, and since "this time no Greek has been admitted to my "presence, nor can I at all remember being in-"debted to one of that nation. Introduce him, "however, that I may know what he has to say." Syloson was accordingly admitted to the royal presence; and being interrogated by interpreters who he was, and in what circumstance he had rendered service to the king, he told the story of the

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cloak, and said that he was the person who had given it. In reply, Darius exclaimed, " Are you " then that generous man, who, at a time when " I was possessed of no authority, made me a " present, which, though small, was as valuable " to me then, as any thing of importance would " be to me now? I will give you in return, that " you may never repent of your kindness to " Darius, the son of Hystaspes, abundance of " gold and silver." " Sir," replied Syloson, " I " would have neither gold nor silver; give me " Samos my country, and deliver it from ser- " vitude. Since the death of Polycrates my " brother, whom Orœtes slew, it has been in the " hands of one of our slaves. Give me this, " Sir, without any effusion of blood, or reducing " my countrymen to servitude."

CXLI. On hearing this, Darius sent an army, commanded by Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish all that Syloson had desired. Otanes proceeded to the sea, and embarked with his troops.

CXLII. The supreme authority at Samos was then possessed by Mæandrius son of Mæandrius, to whom it had been confided by Polycrates himself. He was desirous of proving himself a very honest man, but the times would not permit him. As soon as he was informed of the death of Polycrates, the first thing he did was to erect an altar

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to Jupiter Liberator, tracing round it the sacred ground, which may now be seen in the neighbourhood of the city. Having done this, he assembled the citizens of Samos, and thus addressed them: "You are well acquainted that Polycrates confided to me his sceptre and his power, which if I think proper I may retain; but I shall certainly avoid doing that myself, which I deemed reprehensible in another. The ambition of Polycrates to rule over men who were his equals, always seemed to me unjust; nor can I approve of a like conduct in any man. Polycrates has yielded to his destiny; and for my part, I lay down the supreme authority, and restore you all to an equality of power. I only claim, which I think I reasonably may, six talents to be given me from the wealth of Polycrates, as well as the appointment in perpetuity, to me and my posterity, of the priesthood of Jupiter Liberator, whose temple I have traced out; and then I restore you to liberty." When Mæandrius had thus spoken, a Samian exclaimed from the midst of the assembly, "You are not worthy to rule over us, your principles are bad, and your conduct reproachable. Rather let us make you give an account of the wealth which has passed through your hands." The name of this person was Telesarchus, a man much respected by his fellow-citizens.

CXLIII. Mæandrius revolved this circum-

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stance in his mind; and being convinced that if he resigned his power, some other would assume it, he determined to continue as he was. Returning to the citadel, he sent for the citizens, as if to give them an account of the monies which had been alluded to, instead of which, he seized and confined them. Whilst they remained in imprisonment, Mæandrius was taken ill; his brother Lycaretus, not thinking he would recover, that he might the more easily succeed in his views upon Samos, put the citizens who were confined to death; indeed it did not appear that they were desirous of life under the government of a tyrant [162].

CXLIV. When, therefore, the Persians arrived at Samos, with the view of restoring Syloson, they met with no resistance*. The Mæandrian faction expressed themselves on certain conditions

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[162] *The government of a tyrant.*]—See Wesseling's note and Pauw's conjecture upon this passage.—

The Greek says, they did not, as it seems, desire to be free, *ου γαρ ὡς εοικασι εβουλεατο ειναι ελευθεροι.*—Pauw reads *ανελευθεροι*, and Wesseling explains it, they did not wish for liberty on such terms. Perhaps it may be doubted whether *ελευθεροι* here means political liberty, or merely a release from prison as opposed to *δεσμωτως.*

* Literally, no man lifted up his hands against them. Thus, in the Septuagint, 1 Kings, ch. ii. ver. 27. "Jeroboam lifted up his hands against the king, Rehoboam." See also Genesis, xli. 44. "And Pharaoh said to Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Ægypt." See, too, 2 Sam. ch. xx. ver. 21. "A man of Mount Ephraim hath lifted up his hand against the king, even against David."

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ready to submit: and Mæandrius himself consented to leave the island. Their propositions were accepted by Otanes; and whilst they were employed in ratifying them, the principal men of the Persians had seats brought, on which they placed themselves in front of the citadel.

CXLV. Mæandrius had a brother, whose name was Charileus, who was of an untoward disposition, and for some offence was kept chained in a dungeon. As soon as he heard what was doing, and beheld from his place of confinement the Persians sitting at their ease, he clamorously requested to speak with Mæandrius. Mæandrius, hearing this, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him. As soon as Charileus came into his presence, he began to reproach and abuse him, earnestly importuning him to attack the Persians. "Me," he exclaimed, "who am your brother, "and who have done nothing worthy of chains, "you have most basely kept bound in a dun-"geon; but on the Persians, who would afford "you an easy victory, and who mean to drive "you into exile, you dare not take revenge. If "your fears prevent you, give me your auxiliary "troops, who am equally disposed to punish them "for coming here, and to expel you also from "our island."

CXLVI. To this discourse Mæandrius gave a favourable ear, not, I believe, that he was ab-

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surd enough to imagine himself equal to a contest with the forces of the king, but from a spirit of envy against Syloson, and to prevent his receiving the government of Samos without trouble or exertion. He wished, by irritating the Persians, to debilitate the power of Samos, and then to deliver it into their hands; for he well knew that the Persians would resent whatever insults they might receive, upon the Samians, and as to himself, he was certain that whenever he pleased he could depart unmolested, for he had provided a secret path, which led immediately from the citadel to the sea, by which he afterwards escaped. In the mean while Charileus, having armed the auxiliaries, opened the gates, and sallied forth to attack the Persians, who, so far from expecting any thing of the kind, believed that a truce had been agreed upon, and was then in force. Upon these Persians, who were sitting at their ease, and who were persons of distinction, the Samians sallied, and put them to death; the rest of the troops, however, soon came to their assistance, by whom the party of Charileus was repulsed, and again obliged to seek shelter in the citadel.

CXLVII. Otanes, the commander in chief, had hitherto observed the orders of Darius, not to put any Samian to death, or to take any prisoners, but to deliver the island to Syloson, secure and without injury: but seeing so great a slaughter of his countrymen, his indignation prevailed, and he

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ordered his soldiers to put every Samian they could meet with to death, without any distinction of age. Part of his forces immediately blockaded the citadel, whilst another part were putting the inhabitants to the sword, not suffering the sacred places to afford any protection.

CXLVIII. Mæandrius, leaving Samos, sailed to Lacedæmon. On his arrival there with his wealth, he set in order his goblets of gold and silver, and directed his servants to clean them. Having entered into conversation with Cleomenes [163], son of Anaxandrides, the king of Sparta, he invited him to his house. Cleomenes saw his plate, and was struck with astonishment. Mæandrius desired him to accept of what he pleased [164],

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[163] *Cleomenes.*]—Of this Cleomenes, a memorable saying is preserved in the Apophthegms of Plutarch. It relates to Homer and Hesiod; the former he called the poet of the Lacedæmonians, the latter, the poet of the Helots, or the slaves; because Homer gave directions for military conduct, Hesiod, about the cultivation of the earth.—*T.*

[164] *To accept of what he pleased.*]—This self-denial will appear less extraordinary to an English reader, when he is informed, that according to the institutions of Lycurgus, it was a capital offence for a Spartan to have any gold or silver in his possession. This we learn from Xenophon; and it is also ascertained by the following passage from Athenæus; see the sixth book of the Deipnosoph: "The divine Plato and Lycurgus of Sparta would not suffer in their republics either gold or silver, thinking that of all the metals iron and brass were sufficient." Plutarch, in the life of Lysander, tells us of a man named Therax, who, though the friend and colleague of Lysander, was put to death by the ephori, because some

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but Cleomenes was a man of the strictest probity, and although Mæandrius persisted in importuning him to take something, he would by no means consent; but hearing that some of his fellow-citizens had received presents from Mæandrius, he went to the ephori, and gave it as his opinion, that it would be better for the interests of Sparta to expel this Samian from the Peloponnese, lest either he himself, or any other Spartan, should be corrupted by him. The advice of Cleomenes was generally approved, and Mæandrius received a public order to depart.

CXLIX. When the Persians had taken the Samians as in a net [165], they delivered the island to Syloson almost without an inhabitant [166]. After a certain interval, however, Otanes, the Persian general, repeopled it, on account of some vision

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silver was found in his house. The self-denial, therefore, or rather forbearance of the ancient Romans, amongst whom no such interdiction existed, seems better entitled to our praise. This sumptuary law, with respect to gold and silver, took its rise from an oracle, which affirmed that the destruction of Sparta would be owing to its avarice:—it was this,

Α' φιλοχρηματια Σπαρταν ὀλεῖ. *T.*

165 *As in a net.*]—The Greek is σαγηνευσαντες, which was the custom of the Persians, and was also done with respect to the islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos: see book vi. chap. 31, where their manner of doing it is described.—*T.*

166 *Without an inhabitant.*]—Strabo imputes this want of inhabitants to the cruelty of Syloson, and not to the severity of the Persians.—*Larcher.*

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which he had, as well as from a disorder which seized his privities.

CL. Whilst the expedition against Samos was on foot, the Babylonians, being very well prepared, revolted. During the reign of the Magus, and whilst the seven were engaged in their conspiracy against him, they had taken advantage of the confusion of the times to provide against a siege, and their exertions had never been discovered. When they had once resolved on the recovery of their liberties, they took this measure: —Excepting their mothers, every man chose from his family the female whom he liked best, the remainder were all of them assembled together and strangled [167]. Their reserve of one woman was to bake their bread [168]; the rest were destroyed to prevent a famine.

CLI. On the first intelligence of this event,

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[167] *Assembled together and strangled.*]—Prideaux, making mention of this strange and unnatural action, omits informing his readers that the Babylonians made an exception in favour of their mothers; but by this barbarous action the prophecy of Isaiah against this people was very signally fulfilled:—

"But these two things shall come to thee in a moment, in one day, the loss of children, and widowhood; they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments." Isaiah, xlvii. 9.—*T.*

[168] *Bake their bread.*]—This anciently was the employment of the women: see book vii. chap. 187.—*T.*

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Darius assembled his forces, and marched against them: on his arrival before the city, he besieged it in form. This, however, made so little impression upon them, that they assembled upon the ramparts, amused themselves with dancing, and treated Darius and his army with the extremest contempt. One among them exclaimed, "Persians, why do you lose your time? if you be wise, depart. When mules produce young[169], you shall take Babylon." This was the speech of a Babylonian, not believing such a thing possible.

CLII. A whole year and seven months having been consumed before the place, Darius and his army began to be hopeless with respect to the

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169 *Mules produce young.*]—Upon this passage M. Larcher remarks, that mules but seldom engender. As I have never seen nor heard of any well authenticated account of such a circumstance, I give the reader the following passage from Pennant, with some confidence of its being invariably the case. "Neither mules, nor the spurious offspring of any other animal, generate any farther: all these productions may be looked upon as monsters; therefore, nature, to preserve the original species of animals entire and pure, wisely stops, in instances of deviation, the powers of propagation."

What Theophrastus or Pliny may have asserted, in contradiction to the above, will weigh but very little against the unqualified assertion of so able a naturalist as Mr. Pennant. The circumstance was ever considered as a prodigy, as appears from the following lines of Juvenal:

> Egregium, sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
> Hoc monstrum puero, vel miranti sub aratro
> Piscibus inventis et *fœtæ* comparo *mulæ*.—*T.*

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event. They had applied all the offensive engines, and every stratagem, particularly those which Cyrus had before successfully used against the Babylonians; but every attempt proved ineffectual, from the unremitting vigilance of the besieged.

CLIII. In the twentieth month of the siege, the following remarkable prodigy happened to Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven that dethroned the Magus: one of the mules employed to carry his provisions, produced a young one; which, when it was first told him, he disbelieved, and desired to see it; forbidding those who had witnessed the fact to disclose it, he revolved it seriously in his mind; and remembering the words of the Babylonian, who had said the city should be taken when a mule brought forth, he from this conceived that Babylon was not impregnable. The prophecy itself, and the mule's having a young one, seemed to indicate something supernatural.

CLIV. Having satisfied himself that Babylon might be taken, he went to Darius, and inquired if the capture of this city was of particular importance to him. Hearing that it really was, he began to think how he might have the honour of effecting it by himself: for in Persia there is no more certain road to greatness, than by the performance of illustrious actions. He conceived there was no more probable means of obtaining his end,

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than first to mutilate himself, and thus pass over to the enemy. He made no scruple to wound himself beyond the power of being healed, for he cut off his nose and his ears, and clipping his hair close, so as to give it a mean appearance[170], he scourged himself; and in this condition presented himself before Darius.

CLV. When the king beheld a man of his illustrious rank in so deplorable a condition, he instantly leaped in anger from his throne[171], and asked who had dared to treat him with such barbarity? Zopyrus made this reply, "No man, "Sir, except yourself, could have this power "over my person: I alone have thus disfigured "my body, which I was prompted to do from

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[170] *To give it a mean appearance.*]—I do not remember an instance of the hair being cut off as a punishment; it was frequently done as expressive of mourning in the most remote times; and it was one characteristic mark of the servile condition. See Juvenal, sat. v. book i. 170.

Omnia ferre
Si potes et debes pulsandum *vertice raso*
Præbebis quandoque caput nec dura tenebis
Flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico.

It was also, as I have elsewhere observed, done in ridiculo.

[171] *Leaped in anger from his throne.*]—This incident, with the various circumstances attending it, properly considered, would furnish an artist with an excellent subject for an historical painting. The city of Babylon at a distance, the Persian camp, the king's tent, himself and principal nobles in deep consultation, with the sudden appearance of Zopyrus in the mutilated condition here described, might surely be introduced and arranged with the most admirable effect.—*T.*

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"vexation at beholding the Assyrians* thus "mock us."—"Wretched man," answered the king, "do you endeavour to disguise the shameful "action you have perpetrated, under an honour-"able name? Do you suppose that because "you have thus deformed yourself, the enemy "will the sooner surrender? I fear what you "have done has been occasioned by some defect "of your reason." "Sir," answered Zopyrus, "If "I had previously disclosed to you my intentions, "you would have prevented their accomplish-"ment; my present situation is the result of my "own determination only. If you do not fail "me, Babylon is our own. I propose to go, "in the condition in which you see me, as a "deserter to the Babylonians: it is my hope to "persuade them that I have suffered these cruel-"ties from you, and that they will, in consequence, "give me some place of military trust. Do "you, on the tenth day after my departure, "detach to the gate of Semiramis [172] a thousand

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* Assyrians and Babylonians are used as synonymous terms in Clio, c. 106, 178, as well as elsewhere,

[172] *The gate of Semiramis.*]—Mr. Bryant's remark on this word is too curious to be omitted :—

Semiramis was an emblem, and the name was a compound, of Sama-Ramas, or Ramis: it signified the divine token, the type of providence; and as a military ensign, it may with some latitude be interpreted the standard of the Most High. It consisted of the figure of a dove, which was probably encircled with the Iris, as those two emblems were often represented together. All who went under that standard, or who

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"men of your army, whose loss will be of no "consequence; at an interval of seven days "more, send to the Ninian gates other two "thousand; again, after twenty days, let another "party, to the number of four thousand, be "ordered to the Chaldean gates, but let none of "these detachments have any weapons but their "swords; after this last-mentioned period, let "your whole army advance, and surround the "walls. Be careful that Persians are stationed "at the Belidian and Cissian gates. I think that "the Babylonians, after witnessing my exploits in "the field, will entrust me with the keys of those "gates. Doubt not but the Persians, with my "aid, will then accomplish the rest."

CLVI. After giving these injunctions, he proceeded towards the gates; and, to be consistent in the character which he assumed [173], he fre-

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paid any deference to that emblem, were styled Semarim and Samorim. One of the gates of Babylon was styled the gate of Semiramis, undoubtedly from having the sacred emblem of Sama-Ramas, or the dove, engraved by way of distinction over it. Probably the lofty obelisk of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, was named from the same hieroglyphic.—This note was inserted in the first edition, but I now think it liable to many objections. Sama-Rama is an Indian deity, and has nothing to do with a dove. It is an emblem of power. It seems much more reasonable and natural to suppose that the gates of Babylon were named from the ancient monarchs, Bel, Ninus, &c.

173 *The character which he assumed.*]—Many circumstances in the history of Zopyrus resemble those of Sinon in the Æneid:

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quently stopped to look behind him. The sentinels on the watch-towers, observing this, ran down to the gate, which, opening a little, they inquired who he was, and what he wanted? When he told them his name was Zopyrus, and that he had deserted from the Persians, they conducted him before their magistrates. He then began a miserable tale of the injuries he had suffered from Darius, for no other reason but that he had advised him to withdraw his army, seeing no likelihood of his taking the city. "And "now," says he, "men of Babylon, I come "a friend to you, but a fatal enemy to Darius "and his army. I am well acquainted with all "his designs, and his treatment of me shall not "be unrevenged."

——— Qui se ignotum venientibus ultro
Hoc ipsum ut strueret, Trojamque aperiret Achivis,
Obtulerat, fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus
Seu versare dolos, seu certæ occumbere morti.—

Both tell a miserable tale of injuries received from their countrymen, and both affect an extraordinary zeal to distinguish themselves in the service of their natural enemies.

Sinon says of himself;

Cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
Dardanidæ infensi pœnas cum sanguine poscunt.—

Again he says,

Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere jura,
Fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras
Si qua tegunt: teneor patriæ nec legibus ullis.—*T.*

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CLVII. When the Babylonians beheld a Persian of such high rank deprived of his ears and nose, and covered with wounds and blood, they entertained no doubts of his sincerity, or of the friendliness of his intentions towards them. They were prepared to accede to all that he desired; and on his requesting a military command, they gave it him without hesitation. He then proceeded to the execution of what he had concerted with Darius. On the tenth day, at the head of some Babylonian troops, he made a sally from the town, and encountering the Persians, who had been stationed for this purpose by Darius, he put every one of them to death. The Babylonians, observing that his actions corresponded with his professions, were full of exultation, and were ready to yield him the most implicit obedience. A second time, at the head of a chosen detachment of the besieged, he advanced from the town at the time appointed, and slew the two thousand soldiers of Darius. The joy of the citizens at this second exploit was so extreme, that the name of Zopyrus resounded with praise from every tongue. The third time also, after the number of days agreed upon had passed, he led forth his troops, attacked and slaughtered the four thousand. Zopyrus, after this, was every thing with the Babylonians, so that they made him the commander of their army, and guardian of their walls.

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CLVIII. At the time appointed, Darius advanced with all his forces to the walls. The perfidy of Zopyrus then became apparent; for as soon as the Babylonians mounted the wall to repel the Persian assault, he immediately opened to his countrymen what are called the Belidian and Cissian gates. Those Babylonians who saw this transaction fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; they who saw it not, continued in their posts, till the circumstance of their being betrayed became notorious to all.

CLIX. Thus was Babylon a second time taken. As soon as Darius became master of the place[174], he levelled the walls*, and took away the gates,

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[174] *Master of the place.*]—Plutarch informs us, in his Apophthegms, that Xerxes being incensed against the Babylonians for revolting, after having conquered them a second time, forbad their carrying arms, and commanded them to employ their time in singing, music, and all kinds of dissipation, &c,

The Babylonians did not revolt under Xerxes. Plutarch assigns to him a fact, which regards Darius; however this may be, after the reduction of Babylon, the Persian monarchs fixed their residence in three great cities; the winter they passed at Babylon, the summer at Media, doubtless at Ecbatané, and the greater part of the spring at Susa.—*Larcher.*

* I think with Major Rennell that this expression must be understood with some reserve. The following are M. Rennell's words on this subject:

It must not be omitted that Herodotus states that Darius Hystaspes, on the taking of Babylon by the stratagem of

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neither of which things Cyrus had done before. He ordered three thousand of the most distinguished nobility to be crucified: the rest were suffered to continue where they were. He took care also to provide them with women, for the Babylonians, as we have before remarked, to prevent a famine, had strangled their wives. Darius ordered the neighbouring nations to send females to Babylon, each being obliged to furnish a stipulated number. These in all amounted to fifty thousand, from whom the Babylonians of the present day are descended.

CLX. With respect to the merit of Zopyrus, in the opinion of Darius, it was exceeded by no Persian of any period, unless by Cyrus; to him,

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Zopyrus, levelled the walls, and took away the gates; neither of which things Cyrus had done before. But let it be remarked that Darius lived about a century and a half before Alexander, in whose time the walls appear to have been in their original state, or at least nothing is said that implies the contrary. And it cannot be believed, if Darius had even taken the trouble to level thirty-four miles of so prodigious a rampart as that of Babylon, that ever it would have been rebuilt in the manner described by Ctesias, Clitarchus, and others, who describe it at a much later period. Besides, it would have been quite unnecessary to level more than a part of the wall, in order to lay the place open, and in this way probably the historian ought to be understood.

It is much to be lamented that no traveller has taken pains to investigate the site and ruins of Babylon, which would surely well repay the care and labour of the undertaking.

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indeed, he thought no one of his countrymen could possibly be compared. It is affirmed of Darius, that he used frequently to assert, that he would rather Zopyrus had suffered no injury, than have been master of twenty Babylons. He rewarded him magnificently: every year he presented him with the gifts deemed most honourable in Persia; he made him also governor of Babylon for life, free from the payment of any tribute, and to these he added other marks of liberality. Megabyzus, who commanded in Ægypt against the Athenians and their allies, was a son of this Zopyrus; which Megabyzus had a son named Zopyrus [175], who deserted from the Persians to the Athenians.

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[175] *A son named Zopyrus.*] — Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, and grandson of the famous Zopyrus, revolted from Artaxerxes after the death of his father and mother, and advanced towards Athens, on account of the friendship which subsisted betwixt his mother and the Athenians. He went by sea to Caunus, and commanded the inhabitants to give up the place to the Athenians who were with him. The Caunians replied, that they were willing to surrender it to him, but they refused to admit any Athenians. Upon this, he mounted the wall; but a Caunian, named Alcides, knocked him on the head with a stone. His grandmother Amestris afterwards crucified this Caunian. — *Larcher.*

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE.

CHAP. I.

DARIUS, after the capture of Babylon, undertook an expedition against Scythia. Asia was now both populous and rich, and he was desirous of avenging on the Scythians, the injuries they had formerly committed, by entering Media, and defeating those who opposed them. During a period of twenty-eight years, the Scythians, as I have before remarked, retained the sovereignty of the Upper Asia; entering into which, when in pursuit of the Cimmerians[1], they

[1] *Cimmerians.*]—From this people came the proverb of Cimmerian darkness.

We reach'd old ocean's utmost bounds,
Where rocks control his waves with ever-during mounds;
There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells:

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expelled the Medes, its ancient possessors. After this long absence from their country, the Scythians were desirous to return, but here as great a labour awaited them, as they had experienced in their expedition into Media; for the women, deprived so long of their husbands, had connected themselves with their slaves, and they found a numerous body in arms ready to dispute their progress.

The sun ne'er views th' uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances or retreats.
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.
Odyss. book xi.

Of this proverb, Ammianus Marcellinus makes a happy use, when censuring the luxury and effeminacy of the Roman nobility. "If," says he, (I use the version of Mr. Gibbon,) "a fly should presume to settle in the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas, should a sun-beam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians, the regions of eternal darkness."

Ovid also chooses the vicinity of Cimmeria as the properest place for the palace of the god of sleep:

Est prope Cimmerios, longo spelunca recessu,
Mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni,
Quo nunquam radiis oriens, mediusve, cadensve
Phœbus adire potest, nebulæ caligine mixtæ
Exhalantur humo, dubiæque crepuscula lucis.

The region assigned to this people in ancient geography was part of European Scythia, now called Little Tartary.—*T.*

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II. It is a custom with the Scythians to deprive all their slaves of sight[2] on account of the milk[3], which is their customary drink. They have a particular kind of bone, shaped like a flute: this is

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2 *Deprive all their slaves of sight.*] — Barbarous as this conduct may appear to every humane reader, although practised amongst an uncivilized race of men, he will be far more shocked when I remind him that in the most refined period of the Roman empire, those who were deemed the wisest and most virtuous of mankind did not scruple to use their slaves with yet more atrocious cruelty. It was customary at Rome to expose slaves who were sick, old, and useless, to perish miserably in an island of the Tyber. Plutarch tells us, in his Life of Cato, that it was his custom to sell his old slaves for any price, to get rid of the burden. They were employed, and frequently in chains, in the most laborious offices, and for trivial offences, and not seldom, on mere suspicion, were made to expire under the most horrid tortures that can be imagined. —*T.*

3 *On account of the milk.*]—Of this people, Homer speaks in the following lines:

> And where the far-fam'd Hippomolgian strays,
> Renown'd for justice and for length of days,
> Thrice happy race, that, innocent of blood,
> From milk innoxious seek their simple food.—*Il.* xiii.

Upon this subject, Larcher gives the following passage from Niebuhr: —

" J'entendis et vis moi-même, à Bafra, que lorsqu'un Arabe trait la femelle du bufle, un autre lui fourre la main et le bras jusqu'au coude, dans la vulva, parce qu'on prétend savoir par expérience qu'étant chatouillée de la sorte, elle donne plus de lait. Cette methode resemble beaucoup à celle des Scythes."—We learn, from some lines of Antiphanes, preserved in Athenæus, that the Scythians gave this milk to their children as soon as they were born.

Ἐπ'

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applied to the private parts of a mare, and blown into from the mouth. It is one man's office to blow, another's to milk the mare. Their idea is, that, the veins of the animal being thus inflated, the dugs are proportionably filled. When the milk is thus obtained, they place it in deep wooden vessels, and the slaves are directed to keep it in continual agitation. Of this, that which remains at top[4] is most esteemed, what subsides is of inferior value. This it is which induces the Scythians to deprive all their captives of sight, for

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Ειτ' ου σοφοι δητ' εισιν οἱ Σκυθαι σφοδρα;
Οἱ γενομενοισιν ευθεως τοις παιδιοις
Διαδιδοασιν ἱππων και βοων πινειν γαλα.

"Do not those Scythians appear to you remarkably wise who give to their children, as soon as ever they are born, the milk of mares and cows?"—*T.*

[4] *Remains at top.*]—Is it not surprising, asks M. Larcher in this place, that neither the Greeks nor the Latins had any term in their language to express cream?

Butter also was unknown to the Greeks and Romans till a late period. Pliny speaks of it as a common article of food among barbarous nations, and used by them as an unction. The very name of butter (*βουτυρον*) which signifies cheese, or coagulum of cow's milk, implies an imperfect notion of the thing. It is clear that Herodotus here describes the making of butter, though he knew no name for the product. Pliny remarks, that the barbarous nations were as peculiar in neglecting cheese, as in making butter. *Spuma lactis*, which that author uses in describing what butter is, seems a very proper phrase for cream. Butter is often mentioned in Scripture; see Harmer's curious accounts of the modes of making it in the East, vol. i. and iii.—*T.*

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they do not cultivate the ground, but lead a pastoral[5] life.

III. From the union of these slaves with the Scythian women, a numerous progeny was born, who, when informed of their origin, readily advanced to oppose those, who were returning from Media. Their first exertion was to intersect the country by a large and deep trench*, which extended from the mountains of Taurus, to the Palus

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[5] *Lead a pastoral life.*]—The influence of food or climate, which in a more improved state of society is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life.—*Gibbon.*

* It is by no means easy to conceive what mountains can here be intended. Larcher translates the passage as I do, and thus expresses himself in a note:

The Chersonesus Taurica is surrounded on all sides by the Euxine, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotica, except in one narrow neck which separates the gulph of Carcinitis from the Palus Mæotis. It is in this spot, I suppose, that the trench mentioned by Herodotus was sunk. It commences at the spot called Taphræ, where the city Perekop now stands, which according to P. Briel in the Tartarian language signifies a trench. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us that in his time this trench was filled up. The mountains of which Herodotus speaks were within Tauris; there are none beyond it.

 Perhaps

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Mæotis. They then encamped opposite to the Scythians, who were endeavouring to effect their passage. Various engagements ensued, in which the Scythians obtained no advantage. "My "countrymen," at length one of them exclaimed, "what are we doing? In this contest with our "slaves, every action diminishes our number, and "by killing those who oppose us, the value of "victory decreases: let us throw aside our darts "and our arrows, and rush upon them only with "the whips which we use for our horses. Whilst "they see us with arms, they think themselves "our equals in birth and importance; but as "soon as they shall perceive the whip in our "hands, they will be impressed with the sense of "their servile condition, and resist no longer."

IV. The Scythians approved the advice; their opponents forgot their former exertions, and fled: in this manner the Scythians obtained the sovereignty of Asia; and thus, after having been expelled by the Medes, they returned to their country. From the above motives Darius, eager for revenge, prepared to lead an army against them.

V. The Scythians affirm of their country that

Perhaps, says my friend Major Rennell, the passage is corrupt, and it may be from some part of Tauris to the Palus Mæotis.—May it not then be the trench which separates the Peninsula of the Crimea from the main land?

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it was of all others the last formed[6], which happened in this manner: When this region was in its original and desert state, the first inhabitant was named Targitaus*, a son, as they say (but which to me seems incredible) of Jupiter, by a daughter of the Borysthenes. This Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and lastly Colaxais. Whilst they possessed the country, there fell from heaven into the Scythian district a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a goblet, all of gold. The eldest of the brothers was the first who saw them; who, running to take them, was burnt by the gold. On his retiring, the second brother approached, and was burnt also. When these two had been repelled by the burning gold, last of all the youngest brother advanced; upon him the gold had no effect, and he carried it to his house. The two elder brothers, observing what had happened, resigned all authority to the youngest.

VI. From Lipoxais those Scythians were de-

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[6] *Last formed.*]—Justin informs us, that the Scythians pretended to be more ancient than the Ægyptians.—*T.*

* The fabulous accounts of the origin of the Scythians, merit little attention as matters of history; but there are certain accordances in respect of names with the modern traditions amongst the inhabitants of Western Tartary that appear remarkable. See Rennell farther on this subject, p. 73. M. Rennell thinks he perceives in the Targitaus of Herodotus some affinity to the name Turk, the reputed son of Japhet, and the patriarch of the Tribes of Turkestan and Tartary.

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scended who are termed the Auchatæ; from Arpoxais, the second brother, those who are called the Catiari and the Traspies; from the youngest, who was king, came the Paralatæ[7]. Generally speaking, these people are named Scoloti, from a surname of their king, but the Greeks call them Scythians.

VII. This is the account which the Scythians give of their origin; and they add, that from their first king Targitaus, to the invasion of their country by Darius, is a period of a thousand years, and no more. The sacred gold is preserved by their kings with the greatest care; and every year there are solemn sacrifices, at which the prince assists. They have a tradition, that if the person who has the custody of this gold, sleeps in the open air during the time of their annual festival, he dies before the end of the year; for this reason they give him as much land[8] as he can pass over on horseback in the course of a day[9].

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[7] *Paralatæ.*]—This passage will be involved in much perplexity, unless for τυς βασιληας, we read του βασιληος.—*T.*

[8] *They give him as much land.*]—This is, beyond doubt, a very perplexed and difficult passage; and all that the different annotators have done, has been to intimate their conjectures. I have followed that which to my judgment seemed the happiest.—*T.*

[9] *On horseback in the course of a day.*]—Larcher adduces, from Pliny, Ovid, and Seneca, the three following passages, to prove that anciently this was the mode of rewarding merit.

Dona

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As this region is extensive, king Colaxais divided the country into three parts, which he gave to three sons, making that portion the largest in which the gold was deposited. As to the district which lies farther to the north, and beyond the extreme inhabitants of the country, they say that it neither can be passed, nor yet discerned with the eye, on account of the feathers[10] which are continually falling: with these both the earth and the air are so filled, as effectually to obstruct the view.

VIII. Such is the manner in which the Scythians describe themselves and the country beyond them. The Greeks who inhabit Pontus speak of both as follows: Hercules, when he

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Dona amplissima imperatorum et fortium civium quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaravisset.—*Pliny.*

This from Ovid is more pertinent:

At proceres ————
Ruris honorati tantum tibi Cipe dedere
Quantum depresso subjectis bobus aratro
Complecti posses ad finem solis ab ortu.—

See also Seneca:—

Illi ob virtutem et bene gestam rempublicam tantum agri decerneretur, quantum arando uno die circuire potuisset.

10 *On account of the feathers.*]—It must immediately occur to the reader that these feathers can be nothing but snow; and so Herodotus himself explains it. See c. 31.

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was driving away the heifers of Geryon[11], came to this region, now inhabited by the Scythians, but which then was a desert. This Geryon lived beyond Pontus, in an island which the Greeks call Erythia, near Gades, which is situate in the ocean, and beyond the Columns of Hercules. The ocean, they say, commencing at the east, flows round all the earth[12]; this, however, they

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[11] *Geryon.*]—To this personage the poets assigned three heads and three bodies. Hesiod calls him τρικεφαλον, and Euripides, τρισωματον. See also Horace:—

Qui ter amplum
Geryonem, Tityonique tristi
Compescit undâ.—

Virgil calls him Tergeminus: but the minutest description is found in Silius Italicus; the most satisfactory, in Palæphatus de incredibilibus:—

Qualis Atlantiaco memoratur litore quondam
Monstrum Geryones immane tricorporis iræ,
Cui tres in pugna dextræ varia arma gerebant
Una ignes sævos, ast altera pone sagittas
Fundebat, validam torquebat tertia cornum,
Atque uno diversa dabat tria vulnera nisu.—
Punic. Bell. 13. 200.

Palæphatus, says he, lived at Tricarenia; and that, being called the Tricarenian Geryon, he was afterwards said to have had three heads.—*T.*

[12] *Flows round the earth.*]—Upon this passage, the following remark occurs in Stillingfleet's *Origin. Sacr.* book i. c. 4.

"It cannot be denied but a great deal of useful history may be fetched out of Herodotus; yet who can excuse his ignorance, when he not only denies there is an ocean compassing the land, but condemns the geographers for asserting it?" This assertion of Stillingfleet is not true, for Herodotus neither denies the fact, nor condemns the geographers.

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affirm without proving it. Hercules coming from thence, arrived at this country, now called Scythia, where, finding himself overtaken by a severe storm, and being exceedingly cold, he wrapped himself up in his lion's skin, and went to sleep. They add, that his mares, which he had detached from his chariot to feed, by some divine interposition disappeared during his sleep.

IX. As soon as he awoke, he wandered over all the country in search of his mares, till at length he came to the district which is called Hylæa: there in a cave he discovered a female of most unnatural appearance, resembling a woman as far as the thighs, but whose lower parts were like a serpent[13]. Hercules beheld her with astonishment, but he was not deterred from asking her whether she had seen his mares? She made answer, that they were in her custody: she refused, however, to restore them, but upon condition of his cohabiting with her. The terms proposed, induced Hercules to consent; but she

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13 *Like a serpent.*]—M. Pelloutier calls this monster a syren, but Homer represents the Syrens as very lovely women.

Diodorus Siculus speaks also of this monster, describing it in terms like Herodotus. He makes her the mistress of Jupiter, by whom she had Scythes, who gave his name to the nation. —*Larcher.*

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still deferred restoring his mares, from the wish of retaining him longer with her, whilst Hercules was equally anxious to obtain them and depart. After a while she restored them with these words: "Your mares which wandered "here, I have preserved; you have paid what "was due to my care, I have conceived by you "three sons; I wish you to say how I shall dis-"pose of them hereafter; whether I shall detain "them here, where I am the sole sovereign, or "whether I shall send them to you." The reply of Hercules was to this effect: "As soon "as they shall be grown up to man's estate, "observe this, and you cannot err; whichever "of them you shall see bend this bow, and wear "this belt[14] as I do, him detain in this country: "the others, who shall not be able to do this, "you may send away. By minding what I say, "you will have pleasure yourself, and will satisfy "my wishes."

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14 *This belt.*]—It was assigned to Hercules as one of his labours by Eurystheus, to whom he was subject, to deprive Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, of her belt. Ausonius, in the inscription which he probably wrote for some ancient relievo, mentions it as the sixth labour;

Threïciam sexto spoliavit Amazona baltheo.

This labour is also mentioned thus by Martial:

Peltatam Scythico discinxit Amazona nodo.

Whether Herodotus means to speak of this belt, I pretend not to determine.—*T.*

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X. Having said this, Hercules took one of his bows, for thus far he had carried two, and shewing her also his belt, at the end of which a golden cup was suspended, he gave her them, and departed. As soon as the boys of whom she was delivered grew up, she called the eldest Agathyrsus, the second Gelonus, and the youngest Scytha. She remembered also the injunctions she had received; and two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, who were incompetent to the trial which was proposed, were sent away by their mother from this country. Scytha the youngest was successful in his exertions, and remained. From this Scytha, the son of Hercules, the Scythian monarchs are descended; and from the golden cup the Scythians to this day have a cup at the end of their belts.

XI. This is the story which the Greek inhabitants of Pontus relate; but there is also another, to which I am more inclined to assent:—The Scythian Nomades of Asia, having been harassed by the Massagetæ in war, passed the Araxis, and settled in Cimmeria; for it is to be observed, that the country now possessed by the Scythians, belonged formerly to the Cimmerians. This people, when attacked by the Scythians, deliberated what it was most adviseable to do against the inroad of so vast a multitude. Their sentiments were divided; both were violent, but

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that of the kings appears preferable. The people were of opinion, that it would be better not to hazard an engagement, but to retreat in security; the kings were at all events for resisting the enemy. Neither party would recede from their opinions, the people and the princes mutually refusing to yield; the people wished to retire before the invaders, the princes determined rather to die where they were, reflecting upon what they had enjoyed before, and alarmed by the fears of future calamities. From verbal disputes they soon came to actual engagement, and they happened to be nearly equal in number. All those who perished by the hands of their countrymen, were buried by the Cimmerians near the river Tyré, where their monuments may still be seen. The survivors fled from their country, which in its abandoned state was seized and occupied by the Scythians.

XII. There are still to be found in Scythia walls* and bridges which are termed Cimme-

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* Respecting the walls still found in the time of Herodotus, under the name of Cimmerian, he does not say they were in the Peninsula, but the context implies it, and it is not improbable that he had seen them. Baron Tott saw, in the mountainous part of the Crimea, ancient castles and other buildings, a part of which were excavated from the live rock, together with subterraneous passages from one to

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rian; the same name is also given to a whole district, as well as to a narrow sea. It is certain that when the Cimmerians were expelled their country by the Scythians, they fled to the Asiatic Chersonese, where the Greek city of Sinopé [15] is at present situated. It is also apparent, that, whilst engaged in the pursuit, the Scythians deviated from their proper course, and entered Media. The Cimmerians in their flight * kept

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the other. These were, he says, always on mountains difficult of access. He refers them to the Genoese; with what justice we know not: it is possible they might have made use of them: but it is more than probable that these are the works alluded to by our author, for it may be remarked that works of this kind are commonly of very ancient date. See Rennell.

[15] *Sinopé.*]—There were various opinions amongst the ancients concerning this city. Some said it was built by an Amazon so called; others affirm it was founded by the Milesians; Strabo calls it the most illustrious city of Pontus. It is thus mentioned by Valerius Flaccus, an author not so much read as he deserves:

> Assyrios complexa sinus stat opima Sinope
> Nympha prius, blandosque Jovis quæ luserat ignes
> Cœlicolis immota procis.

There was also a celebrated courtesan of this name, from whom Sinopissare became a proverb for being very lascivious.

The modern name of the place is Sinub.—*T.*

* Such migrations as these, observes Major Rennell, have frequently happened; and we may quote, in particular, the famous migration of the Kalmucs in 1770, 1771, when they moved, or rather took flight from the west of the river

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uniformly by the sea-coast; but the Scythians, having Mount Caucasus to their right, continued the pursuit, till by following an inland direction they entered Media.

XIII. There is still another account, which has obtained credit both with the Greeks and barbarians. Aristeas [16] the poet, a native of Proconnesus, and son of Caustrobius, relates, that under the influence of Apollo he came to the Issedones, that beyond this people he found the Arimaspi [17], a nation who have but one eye;

Wolga to the Balchaler Lake, called also Palkata Nor, and Lake of the Kalmucs.

The numbers were said to be from 55 to 60 thousand families, perhaps 350,000 persons.

16 *Aristeas.*]—This person is mentioned also by Pliny and Aulus Gellius; it is probable that he lived in the time of Cyrus and Crœsus. Longinus has preserved six of his verses; see chap. 10; of which he remarks, that they are rather florid than sublime. Tzetzes has preserved six more. The account given of him by Herodotus is far from satisfactory.

17 *Arimaspi.*]—The Arimaspians were Hyperborean Cyclopeans, and had temples named Charis or Charisia, in the top of which was preserved a perpetual fire. They were of the same family as those of Sicily, and had the same rites, and particularly worshipped the Ophite deity under the name of Opis. Aristeas Proconnesius wrote their history, and among other things mentioned that they had but one eye, which was placed in their graceful forehead. How could the front of a Cyclopean, one of the most hideous monsters that ever poetic fancy framed, be styled graceful? The whole is a mistake of terms, and what this writer had

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farther on were the Gryphins [18], the guardians of the gold; and beyond these the Hyperboreans [19], who possess the whole country quite to the sea, and that all these nations, except the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbours. Of these hostilities the Arimaspians were the first authors, for they drove out the Issedones, who did the same to the Scy-

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misapplied related to Charis a tower, and the eye was a casement in the top of the edifice, where a light and fire were kept up.—*Bryant.*

With all due respect for Mr. Bryant, it does not seem that the Arimaspians could have much to do with fire-towers. They did not dwell on the sea-coast, between which and them, according to Herodotus, were two nations.

18 *Gryphins.*]—

Thus the Gryphins,
Those dumb and ravenous dogs of Jove, avoid
The Arimaspian troops, whose frowning foreheads
Glare with one blazing eye: along the banks
Where Pluto rolls his streams of gold, they rein
Their foaming steeds.

Prometheus Vinctus; Æschyl. Potter's Translation.

Pausanias tells us, that the Gryphins are represented by Aristeas as monsters resembling lions, with the beaks and wings of eagles. By the way, Dionysius of Halicarnassus is of opinion that no such poem as this of Aristeas ever existed.—*T.*

19 *Hyperboreans.*]—The ancients do not appear to have had any precise ideas of the country of this people. The Hyperborean mountains are also frequently mentioned, which, as appears from Virgil, were the same as the Ryphean:

Talis Hyperboreo septem subjecta trioni
Gens effræna virum Riphæo tunditur Euro
Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora satis. *T.*

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thians: the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who possessed the country towards the south, to abandon their native land. Thus it appears, that the narrative of Aristeas differs also from that of the Scythians.

XIV. Of what country the relater of the above account was, we have already seen; but I ought not to omit what I have heard of this personage, both at Proconnesus and Cyzicus[20]. It is said of this Aristeas, that he was of one of the best families of his country, and that he died in the workshop of a fuller, into which he had accidentally gone. The fuller immediately secured his shop, and went to inform the relations of the deceased of what had happened. The report having circulated through the city, that Aristeas was dead, there came a man of Cyzicus, of the city of Artaces, who affirmed that this assertion was false, for that he had met Aristeas going to

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[20] *Cyzicus.*]—This was one of the most flourishing cities of Mysia, situate in a small island of the Propontis, and built by the Milesians. It is thus mentioned by Ovid:

> Inde Propontiacis hærentem Cyzicon oris
> Cyzicon Æmoniæ nobile gentis opus.

The people of this place were remarkable for their effeminacy and cowardice; whence tinctura Cyzicena became proverbial for any dastardly character. It has now become a peninsula, by the filling up of the small channel by which it was divided from the continent.—*T.*

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Cyzicus [21], and had spoken with him. In consequence of his positive assertions, the friends of Aristeas hastened to the fuller's shop with every thing which was necessary for his funeral, but when they came there, no Aristeas was to be found, alive or dead. Seven years afterwards it is said that he re-appeared at Proconnesus, and composed those verses which the Greeks call Arimaspian; after which, he vanished a second time.

XV. This is the manner in which these cities speak of Aristeas: but I am about to relate a circumstance which to my own knowledge happened to the Metapontines of Italy, three hundred and forty years after Aristeas had a second time disappeared, according to my conjecture, as it agrees with what I heard at Proconnesus and Metapontus. The inhabitants of this latter place affirm, that Aristeas, having appeared in their city, directed them to construct an altar to Apollo, and near it a statue to Aristeas of Pro-

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[21] *Going to Cyzicus.*]—Upon this story Larcher remarks, that there are innumerable others like it, both among the ancients and moderns. A very ridiculous one is related by Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus:—A man named Cleomedes, seeing himself pursued, jumped into a great chest, which closed upon him: after many ineffectual attempts to open it, they broke it in pieces, but no Cleomedes was to be found, alive or dead.—*T.*

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connesus. He told them that they were the only people of Italy whom Apollo had ever honoured by his presence, and that he himself had attended the god under the form of a crow[22]: having said this, he disappeared. The Metapontines relate, that in consequence of this they sent to Delphi, to inquire what that unnatural appearance might mean; the Pythian told them in reply, to perform what had been directed, for that they would find their obedience rewarded; they obeyed accordingly, and there now stands near the statue of Apollo himself, another bearing the name of Aristeas: it is placed in the public square of the city, surrounded with laurels.

XVI. Thus much of Aristeas.—No certain knowledge is to be obtained of the places which lie remotely beyond the country of which I before spake: on this subject I could not meet with

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22 *Under the form of a crow.*]—Pliny relates this somewhat differently. He says, it was the soul of Aristeas, which having left his body, appeared in the form of a crow. His words are these: Aristeæ etiam visam evolantem ex ore in Proconneso, corvi effigie magna quæ sequitur fabulositate.—*Larcher.*

The crow was sacred to Apollo, às appears from Ælian de Animalibus, book vii. 18. We learn also from Scaliger, in his Notes on Manilius, that a crow sitting on a tripod was found on some ancient coins, to which Statius also alludes in the following line:

Non comes obscurus tripodum. *T.*

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any person able to speak from his own knowledge. Aristeas above-mentioned confesses, in the poem which he wrote, that he did not penetrate beyond the Issedones; and that what he related of the countries more remote, he learned of the Issedones themselves. For my own part, all the intelligence which the most assiduous researches, and the greatest attention to authenticity, have been able to procure, shall be faithfully related.

XVII. As we advance from the port of the Borysthenites, which is unquestionably the centre of all the maritime parts of Scythia, the first people who are met with are the Callipidæ[23], who are Greek Scythians: beyond these is another nation, called the Halizones[24]. These two people in general observe the customs of the Scythians, except that for food they sow corn, onions, garlick, lentils, and millet. Beyond the Halizones dwell some Scythian husbandmen, who sow corn not to eat, but for sale. Still more remote are the Neuri[25], whose country towards

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23 *Callipidæ.*]—Solinus calls these people Callipodes.—*T.*

24 *Halizones.*]—So called, because surrounded on all sides by the sea, as the word itself obviously testifies.—*T.*

25 *Neuri.*]—Mela, book ii. 1, says of this people, that they had the power of transforming themselves into wolves, and resuming their former shape at pleasure.—Neuris statum singulis tempus est, quo si velint in lupos, iterumque in eos qui fuere mutentur.—*T.*

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the north, as far as I have been able to learn, is totally uninhabited. All these nations dwell near the river Hypanis, to the west of the Borysthenes.

XVIII. Having crossed the Borysthenes, the first country towards the sea is Hylæa, contiguous to which are some Scythian husbandmen, who call themselves Olbiopolitæ, but who, by the Greeks living near the Hypanis, are called Borysthenites [26]. The country possessed by these Scythians towards the east, is the space of a three days journey, as far as the river Panticapes; to the north, their lands extend to the amount of an eleven days voyage along the Borysthenes. The space beyond this, is a vast inhospitable desert; and remoter still are the Androphagi, or man-eaters, a separate nation, and by no means Scythian. As we pass farther from these, the country is altogether desert, not containing, to our knowledge, any inhabitants.

XIX. To the east of these Scythians, who are husbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, are the Scythian Nomades or shepherds, who are totally unacquainted with agriculture: except Hylæa, all this country is naked of trees. These Nomades inhabit a district to the extent of a

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26 *Borysthenites.*]—These people are called by Propertius the Borysthenidæ:

Gloria ad hybernos lata Boristhenidas. *T.*

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fourteen days journey towards the east, as far as the river Gerrhus.

XX. Beyond the Gerrhus is situate what is termed the royal province of Scythia, possessed by the more numerous part and the noblest of the Scythians, who consider all the rest of their countrymen as their slaves. From the south they extend to Tauris, and from the east as far as the trench which was sunk by the descendants of the blinded slaves, and again as far as the port of the Palus Mæotis, called Chemni; and indeed many of them are spread as far as the Tanaïs. Beyond these, to the north, live the Melanchlæni, another nation who are not Scythians. Beyond the Melanchlæni, the lands are low and marshy, and as we believe intirely uninhabited.

XXI. Beyond the Tanaïs the region of Scythia terminates, and the first nation we meet with are the Sauromatæ, who, commencing at the remote parts of the Palus Mæotis, inhabit a space to the north, equal to a fifteen days journey; the country is totally destitute of trees, both wild and cultivated. Beyond these are the Budini, who are husbandmen, and in whose country trees are found in great abundance.

XXII. To the north, beyond the Budini, is an immense desert of eight days journey;

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passing which to the east are the Thyssagetæ, a singular but populous nation, who support themselves by hunting. Contiguous to these, in the same region, are a people called Iyreæ[27]; they also live by the chace, which they thus pursue:—Having ascended the tops of the trees, which every where abound, they watch for their prey. Each man has a horse, instructed to lie close to the ground, that it may not be seen; they have each also a dog. As soon as the man from the tree discovers his game, he wounds it with an arrow, then mounting his horse he pursues it, followed by his dog. Advancing from this people still nearer to the east, we again meet with Scythians, who having seceded from the royal Scythians, established themselves here.

XXIII. As far as these Scythians, the whole country is flat, and the soil excellent; beyond them it becomes barren and stony. After travelling over a considerable space, a people are found living at the foot of some lofty mountains, who, both male and female, are said to be bald from their birth, having large chins, and nostrils like the ape species. They have a language of

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[27] *Iyreæ.*]—It is in vain that Messieurs Falconnet and Mallet are desirous of reading here Τυρκοι, the Turks, the same as it occurs in Pomponius Mela; it would be better, with Pintianus, to correct the text of the geographer by that of Herodotus. Pliny also joins this people with the Thyssagetæ.—*Larcher.*

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their own, but their dress is Scythian; they live chiefly upon the produce of a tree which is called the ponticus; it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean: when it is ripe they press it through a cloth; it produces a thick black liquor which they call aschy; this they drink, mixing it with milk; the grosser parts which remain they form into balls* and eat. They have but few cattle, from the want of proper pasturage. Each man dwells under his tree; this during the winter they cover with a thick white cloth, which in the summer is removed; they live unmolested by any one, being considered as sacred, and having among them no offensive weapon. Their neighbours apply to them for decision in matters of private controversy; and whoever seeks an asylum amongst them is secure from injury. They are called the Argippæi[23].

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* *Balls.*]—This probably refers to the balls of cheese which the Tartars prepare and soften in milk and water, before they eat them.

[23] *Argippæi.*]—These people are said to have derived their name from the white horses with which their country abounded. The Tartars of the present day are said to hold white horses in great estimation; how much they were esteemed in ancient times, appears from various passages of different writers, who believed that they excelled in swiftness all horses of a different colour.

Qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras.

It still seems a little singular, that a district described as stony, barren, and without proper pasturage, should ever have been celebrated for its horses.—*T.*

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XXIV. As far as these people who are bald, the knowledge of the country and intermediate nations is clear and satisfactory; it may be obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them, from the Greeks of the port on the Borysthenes, and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As these nations have seven different languages, the Scythians who communicate with them have occasion for as many interpreters.

XXV. Beyond these Argippæi, no certain intelligence is to be had, a chain of lofty and inaccessible mountains precluding all discovery. The

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We regard the Argippæi as the people who inhabited the eastern part of the *Great Steppe*, bordering northward on the great chain of mountains that divides the *Steppe* from S. E. to N. W. and which separates the northern from the southern waters in that quarter. It is a marked feature in the geography, and is described by the Arabian geographers to be remarkably lofty, steep, and difficult of access.

The Argippæi would also border eastward on the mountains that separate the Ocgur country from the *Steppe*, or which, perhaps with more propriety, may be regarded as the western declivity of the elevated region inhabited by the Kalmuc Eluths. A part of these mountains are named Arga and Argia in Strahterberg and the map of Russia. According to these suppositions, the Argippæi must have occupied the northern part of the tract now in the possession of the greater or eastern horde of the Kirgees, who are dependent on China, as the middle and western hordes are on Russia.—*Rennell.*

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people who are bald assert, what I can by no means believe, that these mountains are inhabited by men, who in their lower parts resemble a goat; and that beyond these are a race who sleep away six months of the year: neither does this seem at all more probable. To the east of the Argippæi it is beyond all doubt that the country is possessed by the Issedones; but beyond them to the north neither the Issedones nor the Argippæi know any thing more than I have already related.

XXVI. The Issedones have these, among other customs:—As often as any one loses his father, his relations severally provide some cattle; these they kill, and having cut them in pieces, they dismember also the body of the deceased, and, mixing the whole together, feast upon it; the head alone is preserved; from this they carefully remove the hair, and cleansing it thoroughly set it in gold[29]: it is afterwards esteemed sacred,

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[29] *Set in gold.*]—We learn from Livy, that the Boii, a people of Gaul, did exactly the same with respect to the sculls of their enemies.—Purgato inde capite ut mos iis est, calvum auro cælavere: idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo solemnibus libarent.—*See Livy*, chap. xxiv. book 23.

It appears that the Issedones do the same by the sculls of their friends, as the Scythians and others with those of their inveterate enemies. The author has seen brought from

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and produced in their solemn annual sacrifices. Every man observes the above rites in honour of his father, as the Greeks do theirs in memory of the dead[30]. In other respects it is said that

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Bootan, nearly in the same region with Ocgur, in the country of the Issedones, sculls that were taken out of temples or places of worship; but it is not known whether the motive to their preservation was friendship or enmity; it might very probably be the former. They were formed into drinking-bowls in the manner described by our author, Melpom. 65. by cutting them off *below the eyebrows*, and they were neatly varnished all over.—*Rennell.*

[30] *In memory of the dead.*]—The Greeks had anniversary days in remembrance of departed friends. These were indifferently termed Νεμεσια, as being solemnized on the festival of Nemesis, Ωραια, and Γενεσια. This latter word seems to intimate that these were feasts instituted to commemorate the birth-days; but these, it appears, were observed by surviving relations and friends upon the anniversary of a person's death. Amongst many other customs which distinguished these Γενεσια, some were remarkable for their simplicity and elegance. They strewed flowers on the tomb, they encircled it with myrtle, they placed locks of their hair upon it, they tenderly invoked the names of those departed, and lastly they poured sweet ointments upon the grave.

These observances, with little variation, took place both in Greece and Rome.—See the beautiful Ode of Anacreon:

Τι σε δει λιθον μυριζειν,
Τι δε γῃ χεειν ματαια;
Εμε μαλλον, ὡς ετι ζῶ
Μυρισον, ῥοδοις δε κρᾶτα
Πυκασον.

Thus rendered by Cowley:

Why do we precious ointments show'r,
Noble wines why do we pour,

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they venerate the principles of justice; and that their females enjoy equal authority* with the men.

XXVII. The Issedones themselves affirm, that the country beyond them is inhabited by a race of men who have but one eye, and by Gryphins who are guardians of the gold.—Such is the information which the Scythians have from the Issedones, and we from the Scythians; in the Scythian tongue they are called Arimaspians, from Arima, the Scythian word for one, and spu, an eye.

Beauteous flowers why do we spread
Upon the mon'ments of the dead?
Nothing they but dust can shew,
Or bones that hasten to be so;
Crown me with roses whilst I live.

See also the much-admired apostrophe addressed by Virgil to the memory of Marcellus:

Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis. *T.*

* Rennell remarks, that this evinced a degree of refinement far above the standard of Scythian nations. But as we learn, he continues, that the Ocgurs were a lettered nation, and that they alone furnished the conqueror Jenghis Kan with secretaries, we are the less surprized at the refinements of their ancestors. The physical geography of their country is such, being one of the most elevated tracts in the centre of Asia, as is likely to preserve national manners through a long course of ages. P. 147.

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XXVIII. Through all the region of which we have been speaking, the winter season, which continues for eight months, is intolerably severe and cold. At this time, if water be poured upon the ground, unless it be near a fire, it will not make clay. The sea itself[31], and all the Cimmerian Bosphorus, is congealed; and the Scythians who live within the trench before mentioned make hostile incursions upon the ice, and penetrate with their waggons as far as Sindica*. During eight months the climate is thus severe, and the remaining four are sufficiently cold. In this region the winter is by no means the same as in

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31 *The sea itself.*]—The Greeks, who had no knowledge of this country, were of opinion that the sea could not be congealed; they consequently considered this passage of Herodotus as fabulous. The moderns, who are better acquainted with the regions of the north, well know that Herodotus was right.—*Larcher.*

Upon this subject, the following whimsical passage occurs in Macrobius.—Nam quod Herodotus historiarum scriptor, contra omnium ferme qui hæc quæsiverunt, opinionem scripsit, mare Bosporicum, quod et Cimmerium appellat, earumque partium mare omne quod Scythicum dicitur, id gelu constringi et consistere, aliter est quam putatur; nam non marina aqua contrahitur, sed quia plurimum in illis regionibus fluviorum est, et paludum in ipsa maria influentium, superficies maris cui dulces aquæ innatant, congelascit, et incolumi aqua marina videtur in mari gelu, sed de advenis undis coactum, &c.

* This region is opposite to the Cimmerian Bosphorus. See chap. 86, where Sindica is placed opposite to the river Thermodon.

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other climates; for at this time, when it rains abundantly elsewhere, it here scarcely rains at all, whilst in the summer the rains are incessant. At the season when thunder is common in other places, here it is never heard, but during the summer it is very heavy. If it be ever known to thunder in the winter, it is considered as ominous. If earthquakes happen in Scythia, in either season of the year, it is thought a prodigy. Their horses are able to bear the extremest severity of the climate, which the asses and mules frequently cannot[32]; though in other regions the cold which destroys the former has little effect upon the latter.

XXIX. This circumstance of their climate seems to explain the reason why their cattle are

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[32] *Asses and mules frequently cannot.*]—This assertion of Herodotus is confirmed by Pliny, who says, "Ipsum animal (asinus) frigoris maxime impatiens: ideo non generatur in Ponto, nec æquinoctis verno, et cætera pecua admittitur sed solstitio." The ass is a native of Arabia; the warmer the climate in which they are produced, the larger and the better they are. "Their size and their spirit," says Mr. Pennant, "regularly decline as they advance into colder regions." Hollingshed says, that in his time "our 'lande did yeelde no asses." At present they appear to be naturalized in our country; and M. Larcher's observation, that they are not common in England, must have arisen from misinformation. That the English breed of asses is comparatively less beautiful, must be acknowledged.—*T.*

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without horns[33]; and Homer in the Odyssey has a line which confirms my opinion:—"And Libya, where the sheep have always horns[34];" which is as much as to say, that in warm climates horns will readily grow; but in places which are extremely cold they either will not grow at all, or are always diminutive.

XXX. The peculiarities of Scythia are thus explained from the coldness of the climate; but as I have accustomed myself from the commencement of this history to deviate occasionally from my subject, I cannot here avoid expressing my surprize, that the district of Elis never produces mules; yet the air is by no means cold, nor can any other satisfactory reason be assigned. The inhabitants themselves believe that their not possessing mules is the effect of some curse[35].

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[33] *Without horns.*]—Hippocrates, speaking of the Scythian chariots, says, they are drawn by oxen which have no horns, and that the cold prevents their having any.—*Larcher.*

[34] *Always horns.*]—The line here quoted from Homer is thus rendered by Pope:

> And two fair crescents of translucent horn
> The brows of all their young increase adorn.—*T.*

[35] *Of some curse.*]—The following passage is found in Plutarch's Greek questions.

Q. Why do the men of Elis lead their mares beyond their borders, when they would have them covered?

A. Was

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When their mares require the male, the Eleans take them out of the limits of their own terri-

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A. Was it because Ænomaus, being remarkable for his great love of horses, imprecated many horrid curses upon mares that should be (thus) covered in Elis, and that the people, in terror of his curses, will not suffer it to be done within their district?

It is indisputably evident, that something is omitted or corrupted in this passage of Plutarch. As it stands at present, it appears that the mares were to be covered by horses, and so the translators have rendered it; but the love of Ænomaus for horses, would hardly lead him to so absurd an inconsistency as that of cursing the breed of them within his kingdom. The truth is, it was the breed of mules which he loaded with imprecations; and it was only when the mares were to be covered by asses, that it was necessary to remove them, to avoid falling under his curse. Some word expressing this, ought therefore to be found in Plutarch, and the suspicion of corruption naturally falls at once on the unintelligible word *ἐνόδας*, which is totally omitted in the Latin version, and given up by Xylander as inexplicable; Wesseling would change it to *ἐνθόρους*, but that does not remove the fault: if we read *ὀνοδόκους* all will be easy. The question will then stand thus: "Why do the men of Elis lead those mares *which are to receive asses*, beyond their borders to be covered?" And we must render afterwards, "that should be *thus* covered," instead of *covered* only: *ονοδοκος* being a compound formed at pleasure, according to the genius of the Greek language, but not in common use, might easily be corrupted by a careless or ignorant transcriber. I should not have dwelt so long on a verbal criticism of this kind, had not the emendation appeared important, and calculated to throw additional light on this passage of Herodotus.

Conformable to this, is the account of Pausanias:—"In Elis," says he, "mares will not produce from asses, though

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tories, and there suffer asses to cover them; when they have conceived they return.

XXXI. Concerning those feathers, which, as the Scythians say, so cloud the atmosphere that they cannot penetrate nor even discern what lies beyond them, my opinion is this:—In those remoter regions there is a perpetual fall of snow, which, as may be supposed, is less in summer than in winter. Whoever observes snow falling continually, will easily conceive what I say; for it has a great resemblance to feathers. These regions, therefore, which are thus situated remotely to the north, are uninhabitable from the unremitting severity of the climate; and the Scythians, with the neighbouring nations, mistake the snow for feathers[36].—But on this subject I have said quite enough.

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they will in the places contiguous: this the people impute to some curse." Book v. p. 384.

And Eustathius has a similar remark in his Comment on Dionysius, l. 409.

Upon the above, Larcher remarks, that this doubtless was the reason why the race of chariots drawn by mules was abolished at the Olympic games, which had been introduced there in the seventieth Olympiad by Thersias of Thessaly. —*T.*

[36] *Snow for feathers.*]—The comparison of falling snow to fleeces of wool, as being very obvious and natural, is found in abundance of writers, ancient and modern.

See Psalm cxlvii. ver. 5.—Who sendeth his snow like wool.

Martial

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XXXII. Of the Hyperboreans[37] neither the Scythians nor any of the neighbouring people, the Issedones alone excepted, have any knowledge; and indeed what they say merits but little attention. The Scythians speak of these as they do of the Arimaspians. It must be confessed that Hesiod mentions these Hyperboreans, as Homer also does in the Epigonoi[38], if he was really the author of those verses.

XXXIII. On this subject of the Hyperbo-

Martial beautifully calls snow, densum tacitarum vellus aquarum.

In whose capacious womb
A vapoury deluge lies to snow congeal'd;
Heavy they roll their fleecy world along.—*Thomson.*

37 *Hyperboreans.*]—It appears from the Scholiast on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians, Boreans; there is therefore great probability that they called the people beyond these the Hyperboreans.—*Larcher.*—Doubtless, the inhabitants of Russia and part of Siberia. The Hyperboreans of the Romans corresponded with the Gog and Magog of the Arabians.

38 *Epigonoi.*]—That Homer was the author of various poems besides the Iliad and the Odyssey, there seems little reason to doubt; that he was the author of these in question can hardly be made appear. The Scholiast of Aristophanes assigns them to Antimachus; but Antimachus of Colophon was later than Herodotus, or at least his cotemporary. The subject of these verses were, the supposed authors of the second Theban war. At the time in which Homer flourished, the wars of Thebes and of Troy were the subjects of universal curiosity and attention.—*T.*

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reans, the Delians are more communicative. They affirm, that some sacred offerings of this people, carefully folded in straw, were given to the Scythians, from whom descending regularly through every contiguous nation[39], they arrived at length at the Adriatic. From hence, transported towards the south, they were first of all received by the Dodoneans of Greece; from them again they were transmitted to the gulph of Melis; whence passing into Eubœa, they were sent from one town to another, till they arrived at Carystus; not stopping at Andros, the Carystians carried them to Tenos, the Tenians to Delos; at which place the Delians affirm they came as we have related. They farther observe, that to bring these offerings the Hyperboreans[40]

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[39] *Through every contiguous nation.*]—On this subject the Athenians have another tradition.—*See Pausanias*, c. xxxi. p. 77.

According to them, these offerings were given by the Hyperboreans to the Arimaspians, by the Arimaspians to the Scythians, by the Scythians carried to Sinopé. The Greeks from thence passed them from one to another, till they arrived at Prasis, a place dependant on Athens; the Athenians ultimately sent them to Delos. "This," says M. Larcher, "seems to me a less probable account than that of the Delians."

[40] *Hyperboreans.*]—Upon the subject of the Hyperboreans, our learned mythologist Mr. Bryant has a very curious chapter. The reader will do well to consult the whole; but the following extract is particularly applicable to the chapter before us.

Of

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sent two young women, whose names were Hyperoche and Laodice: five of their countrymen accompanied them as a guard, who are held in great veneration at Delos, and called the Peripheres[41]. As these men never returned, the Hyperboreans were greatly offended, and took the following method to prevent a repetition of this evil:—They carried to their frontiers their

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Of all other people the Hyperboreans seem most to have respected the people of Delos. To this island they used to send continually mystic presents, which were greatly reverenced: in consequence of this, the Delians knew more of their history than any other community of Greece. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, takes notice both of the Hyperboreans and their offerings.

This people were esteemed very sacred; and it is said that Apollo, when exiled from heaven, and when he had seen his offspring slain, retired to their country. It seems he wept; and there was a tradition that every tear was amber.

See Apollonius Rhodius, book iv. 611.

The Celtic sages a tradition hold,
That every drop of amber was a tear
Shed by Apollo, when he fled from heaven;
For sorely did he weep, and sorrowing pass'd
Through many a doleful region, till he reach'd
The sacred Hyperboreans.

See Bryant, vol. iii. 491.

41 *Peripheres.*]—Those whom the different states of Greece sent to consult Apollo, or to offer him sacrifice in the name of their country, they called Theoroi. They gave the name of Deliastoi to those whom they sent to Delos; and of Pythastoi to those who went to Delphi.—*Larcher.*

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offerings, folded in barley-straw*, and committing them to the care of their neighbours, directed them to forward them progressively, till, as is reported, they thus arrived at Delos. This singularity observed by the Hyperboreans is practised, as I myself have seen, amongst the women of Thrace and Pæonia, who in their sacrifices to the regal Diana make use of barley-straw.

XXXIV. In honour of the Hyperborean virgins who died at Delos, the Delian youth of both sexes celebrate certain rites, in which they cut off their hair[42]; this ceremony is observed by virgins previous to their marriage, who, having

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* Pliny mentions this circumstance, and seems to intimate that the Hyperboreans suspected that these individuals were not fairly dealt with. Pliny says these offerings were composed of the first fruits of their corn.

[42] *Cut off their hair.*]—The custom of offering the hair to the gods is of very great antiquity. Sometimes it was deposited in the temples, as in the case of Berenice, who consecrated hers in the temple of Venus; sometimes it was suspended upon trees.—*Larcher.*

When the hair was cut off in honour of the dead, it was done in a circular form. Allusion is made to this ceremony in the Electra of Sophocles, line 52. See also Ovid;

Scissæ cum veste capillos.

This custom, by the way, was strictly forbidden by the Jews. Pope has a very ludicrous allusion to it:—

When fortune or a mistress frowns,
Some plunge in business, others shave their crowns.—*T.*

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deprived themselves of their hair, wind it round a spindle, and place it on the tomb. This stands in the vestibule of the temple of Diana, on the left side of the entrance, and is shaded by an olive, which grows there naturally. The young men of Delos wind some of their hair round a certain herb, and place it on the tomb.—Such are the honours which the Delians pay to these virgins.

XXXV. The Delians add, that in the same age, and before the arrival of Hyperoche and Laodice at Delos, two other Hyperborean virgins came there, whose names were Argis and Opis[43]; their object was to bring an offering to Lucina, in acknowledgment of the happy delivery of their females; but that Argis and Opis were accompanied by the deities themselves. They are,

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[43] *Opis.*]—Orion, who was beloved by Aurora, and whom Pherecydes asserts to have been the son of Neptune and Euryale, or, according to other authors, of Terra, endeavouring to offer violence to Opis, was slain with an arrow by Diana.

The first Hyperboreans who carried offerings to Delos were, according to Callimachus, named Oupis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, daughter of Boreas.—*Larcher.*

Opis is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Opis ad Ætherium pennis aufertur Olympum.

According to Servius, Opis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, were synonymous terms for the moon. Opis was also the name of a city on the Tigris.—*T.*

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therefore, honoured with other solemn rites. The women assemble together, and in a hymn composed for the occasion by Olen of Lycia[44], they call on the names of Argis and Opis. Instructed by these, the islanders and Ionians hold similar assemblies, introducing the same two names in their hymns. This Olen was a native of Lycia, who composed other ancient hymns in use at Delos. When the thighs of the victims are consumed on the altar, the ashes are collected and scattered over the tomb of Opis and

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[44] *Olen of Lycia.*]—Olen, a priest and very ancient poet, was before Homer; he was the first Greek poet, and the first also who declared the oracles of Apollo. The inhabitants of Delphi chanted the hymns which he composed for them. In one of his hymns he called Ilithya the mother of Love; in another he affirmed that Juno was educated by the Hours, and was the mother of Mars and Hebe.—*Larcher.*

The word Olen was properly an Ægyptian sacred term, and expressed Olen, Olenus, Ailinus, and Linus, but is of unknown meaning. We read of Olenium sidus, Olenia capella, and the like.

Nascitur Oleniæ sidus pluviale capellæ.—*Ovid.*

A sacred stone in Elis was called Petra Olenia. If then this Olen, styled an Hyperborean, came from Lycia and Ægypt, it makes me persuaded of what I have often suspected, that the term Hyperborean is not of that purport which the Grecians have assigned to it. There were people of this family from the north, and the name has been distorted, and adapted solely to people of those parts. But there were Hyperboreans from the east, as we find in the history of Olen.—See Bryant further on this subject, vol. iii. 492, 3.

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Argis. This tomb is behind the temple of Diana, facing the east, and near the place where the Ceians celebrate their festivals.

XXXVI. Concerning these Hyperboreans we have spoken sufficiently at large, for the story of Abaris[45], who was said to be an Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without food, and carried on an arrow[46], merits no attention. As there are Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the extreme parts of the north, one would suppose there ought also to be Hypernotians, or inhabitants of the corresponding parts of the south. For my own part, I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the circumference of the earth, pre-

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[45] *Abaris.*]—Jamblicus says of this Abaris, that he was the disciple of Pythagoras; some say he was older than Solon; he foretold earthquakes, plagues, &c. Authors differ much as to the time of his coming into Greece: Harpocration says it was in the time of Crœsus.—*T.*

[46] *On an arrow.*]—There is a fragment preserved in the Anecdota Græca, a translation of which Larcher gives in his notes, which throws much light upon this singular passage; it is this: a famine having made its appearance amongst the Hyperboreans, Abaris went to Greece, and entered into the service of Apollo. The deity taught him to declare oracles. In consequence of this, he travelled through Greece, declaring oracles, having in his hand an arrow, the symbol of Apollo.—An acute friend has suggested to me that this must be an allusion to the introduction of the letters of the alphabet. It is certain that Herodotus did not understand it.

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tending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth *; that the earth is round, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe. I will, therefore, concisely describe the figure and the size of each of these portions of the earth.

XXXVII. The region occupied by the Persians extends southward to the Red Sea; beyond these to the north are the Medes, next to them are the Sapirians †. Contiguous to the Sapirians, and where the Phasis empties itself into the Northern Sea, are the Colchians. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas.

XXXVIII. From hence to the west, two tracts of land stretch themselves towards the sea, which I shall describe: The one on the north side commences at the Phasis, and extends to the sea along the Euxine and the Hellespont, as far as the Sigeum of Troy. On the south side it begins at the bay of Margandius ‡, contiguous to Phœnicia, and is continued to the sea as far as the

* We might be induced to conclude, from this incidental sneer of Herodotus, that there were some excellent astronomers and geographers in his time, although, like Copernicus and others, they did not obtain much credit among their cotemporaries.

† These are elsewhere called Saperians.

‡ The Gulph of Issus. The Mariandini are on the coast of the Euxine.

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Triopian promontory; this space of country is inhabited by thirty different nations.

XXXIX. The other district commences in Persia, and is continued to the Red Sea[47]. Besides Persia, it comprehends Assyria and Arabia, naturally terminating in the Arabian Gulph, into which Darius introduced[48] a channel of the Nile. The interval from Persia to Phœnicia is very extensive. From Phœnicia it again continues beyond Syria of Palestine, as far as Ægypt, where

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[47] *The Red Sea.*]—It is necessary to be observed, that not only the Arabian Gulph was known by this name, but also the Persian Gulph and the Southern Ocean, that is to say, that vast tract of sea which lies between the two gulphs.—*Larcher.*

What Herodotus calls the Erythrean Sea, must be understood to be that between Ethiopia and India, generally. This includes the Arabian Gulph, but which he particularly distinguishes by that name in several places, as also the sea into which the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves, but which Herodotus conceived to be an open sea, and not a gulph.

Both Herodotus and Agathemenus industriously distinguish the Erythrean Sea from the Arabian Gulph, though the latter was certainly so called, and had the name of Erythrean. The Parthic empire, which included Persia, is by Pliny said to be bounded to the south by the Mare Rubrum, which was the boundary also of the Persians: by Mare Rubrum he here means the great southern sea.—*Bryant.*

[48] *Darius introduced.*]—See book the second, chap. 158.

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it terminates. The whole of this region is occupied by three nations only.—Such is the division of Asia from Persia westward.

XL. To the east beyond Persia, Media, the Sapirians and Colchians, the country is bounded by the Red Sea; to the north by the Caspian and the river Araxes, which directs its course towards the east. As far as India, Asia is well inhabited; but from India eastward the whole country is one vast desert, unknown and unexplored.

XLI. The second tract comprehends Libya, which begins where Ægypt ends. About Ægypt the country is very narrow. One hundred thousand orgyiæ, or one thousand stadia, comprehend the space between this and the Red Sea [49]. Here the country expands, and takes the name of Libya.

XLII. I am much surprised at those who

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[49] *This and the Red Sea.*]—Here we must necessarily understand the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulph or Red Sea. Herodotus says, book ii. chap. 158, that the shortest way betwixt one sea and the other was one thousand stadia. Agrippa says, on the authority of Pliny, that from Pelusium to Arsinoë on the Red Sea was one hundred and twenty-five miles, which comes to the same thing, that author always reckoning eight stadia to a mile.—*Larcher.*

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have divided and defined the limits of Libya, Asia, and Europe, betwixt which the difference is far from small. Europe, for instance, in length much exceeds the other two, but is of far inferior breadth: except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia, the whole of Libya is surrounded by the sea. The first person who has proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho king of Ægypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulph, he dispatched some vessels[50], under the conduct of Phœnicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules,

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[50] *Dispatched some vessels.*]—This Necho is the same who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Necho. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking; for having gotten some of the expertest Phœnician sailors into his service, he sent them out by the Red Sea, through the straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa, who having sailed round it came home the third year through the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before Vasquez de Gama, a Portugueze, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies by which these Phœnicians came from thence. Since that, it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world. —*Prideaux.*

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and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Ægypt. These Phœnicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean*: on the approach of autumn they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Ægypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible[51], for they affirmed, that

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* Meaning the Ocean that washes Africa on the East. The circumnavigators are said to have entered the Southern Ocean, when they quitted the Arabian Gulph.

Dr. Vincent observes (see his Nearchus, p. 275, 6,) that it is very doubtful whether this voyage was performed by the Phœnicians; it requires more evidence, more particulars, and a clearer detail of facts, to enable us to form a judgment. See also the very learned Doctor's Periplus, p. 175, where he thus expresses himself:

It must be confessed that the facts he gives us of this voyage, though few, are consistent. The shadow falling to the South, the delay of stopping to sow grain and reap a harvest, and the space of three years employed in the circumnavigation, joined with the simplicity of the narrative, are all points so strong, and so convincing, that if they are insisted on by those who believe the possibility of effecting the passage by the ancients, no arguments to the contrary, however founded upon a different opinion, can leave the mind without a doubt upon the question.

[51] *To me it seems incredible.*]—Herodotus does not doubt that the Phœnicians made the circuit of Africa, and returned

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having sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand.—Thus was Libya for the first time known.

XLIII. If the Carthaginian account may be credited, Sataspes, son of Teaspes, of the race of the Achæmenides, received a commission to circumnavigate Libya, which he never executed: alarmed by the length of the voyage, and the solitary appearance of the country, he returned without accomplishing the task enjoined him by his mother. This man had committed violence on a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, for which offence Xerxes had ordered him to be crucified; but the influence of his mother, who was sister to Darius, saved his life. She avowed, however, that it was her intention to inflict a still severer punishment upon him, by obliging him to sail round Libya, till he should arrive at the Arabian Gulph. To this Xerxes assented, and Sataspes accordingly departed for Ægypt; he here embarked with his crew, and

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to Ægypt by the straits of Gibraltar; but he could not believe that in the course of the voyage they had the sun on their right hand. This, however, must necessarily have been the case after the Phœnicians had passed the line; and this curious circumstance, which never could have been imagined in an age when astronomy was yet in its infancy, is an evidence to the truth of a voyage, which without this might have been doubted.—*Larcher.*

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proceeded to the columns of Hercules; passing these, he doubled the promontory which is called Syloes*, keeping a southern course. Continuing his voyage for several months, in which he passed over an immense tract of sea, he saw no probable termination of his labours, and therefore sailed back to Ægypt. Returning to the court of Xerxes, he amongst other things related, that in the most remote places he had visited he had seen a people of diminutive appearance, clothed in red garments[52], who on the approach of his

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* Often written Soloeis.

It appears, says Rennell, that the Soloeis of Hanno, and of Scylax, and the Solis of Pliny, and of Ptolemy, must have been situated between the Capes Blanco and Geen on the coast of Morocco, in which quarter also the Soloeis of Herodotus, as being a part of the inhabited tract, must of necessity be situated.

[52] *Red garments.*]—This passage has been indifferently rendered Phœnician garments, and red garments; the original is *εσθητι Φοινικηΐη.*—Larcher, dissenting from both these, translates it "des habits de palmier:" his reasoning upon it does not appear quite satisfactory. "It seems very suspicious," says he, "that people so savage as these are described by Herodotus, should either have cloth or stuff, or if they had, should possess the means of dying it red." But in the first place, Herodotus does not call these a savage people; and, in the next, the narrative of Sataspes was intended to excite astonishment, by representing to Xerxes what to him at least seemed marvellous. That a race of uncivilized men should clothe themselves with skins, or garments made of the leaves or bark of trees, could not appear wonderful to a subject of Xerxes, to whom many barbarous nations were per-

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vessel to the shore, had deserted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, satisfied with taking a supply of provisions, offered them no violence. He denied the possibility of his making the circuit of Libya, as his vessel was totally unable to proceed[53]. Xerxes gave no credit to his assertions*; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms imposed upon him, he was executed according to his former sentence. An eunuch belonging to this Sataspes, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to Samos, but he was there robbed of his property

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fectly well known. His surprise would be much more powerfully excited, at seeing a race of men of whom they had no knowledge, habited like the members of a civilized society; add to this, that granting them to be what they are not here represented, Barbarians, they might still have in their country some natural or prepared substances, communicative of different colours. I therefore accede to the interpretation of rubrâ utentes veste, which is given by Valla and Gronovius, and which the word Φοινικηΐη will certainly justify.—*T.*

[53] *Unable to proceed.*]—This was, according to all appearances, the east wind which impeded the progress of the vessel, which constantly blows in that sea during a certain period.—*Larcher.*—See the note of Wesseling.

* This, says Major Rennell, reminds me of the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh. It is very possible, continues the Major, that Sataspes was discouraged from prosecuting his voyage by the adverse winds and currents that prevail on the coast of Sierra Leone, &c. from April to October, and which would be felt by those who left Ægypt or Carthage in the Spring, a more likely season to undertake an expedition of this sort than in winter, when the order of things is different.—p. 716.

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by a native of the place, whose name I know, but forbear to mention.

XLIV. A very considerable part of Asia was first discovered by Darius. He was extremely desirous of ascertaining where the Indus meets the ocean, the only river but one in which crocodiles are found; to effect this, he sent, among other men in whom he could confide, Scylax of Caryandia[54]. Departing from Caspatyrus in the Pactyian territories, they followed the eastern

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[54] *Scylax of Caryandia.*]—About this time, Darius being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them: for which reason, having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus, a city on the river Indus, and as far upon it as the borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a city in Caria, and one well skilled in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river to make the best discoveries he could, of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side; ordering him for this end to sail down the current till he should arrive at the mouth of the river: and that then passing through it into the Southern Ocean, he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea; and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from Caspatyrus landed in Ægypt, at the same place from whence Necho king of Ægypt formerly sent out his Phœnicians to sail round the coasts of Africa, which it is most likely was the port where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of the said Red Sea.—*Prideaux.*

There were three eminent persons of this place, and of this name:—The one flourished under Darius Hystaspes, the second under Darius Nothus, the third lived in the time of

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course of the river, till they came to the sea; then sailing westward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the very point from whence, as I have before related, the Ægyptian prince dispatched the Phœnicians to circumnavigate Libya. After this voyage, Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean: whence it appears that Asia in all its parts, except those more remotely to the east, entirely resembles Libya*.

Polybius. This was also the name of a celebrated river in Cappadocia.—*T.*

* See Vincent as before quoted, Nearchus, p. 275, and Periplus, 178. From the last I extract what follows, as highly deserving attention.

The name of Sataspes still lives in the same page of Herodotus, whom Xerxes put to death because he attempted the same circumnavigation in vain from the straits of Gades; and the following page celebrates Scylax of Caryandia, who passed from the Indus into the Gulph of Arabia, to the point from whence the Phœnicians had commenced their expedition. I have as little faith in the voyage of Scylax as in that of the Phœnicians; but it is unjust that Darius should suffer the name of the inferior to survive, while Necho should totally suppress the fame of the superior. The great argument against both is the total failure of all consequences whatsoever, the total want of all collateral evidence, and the total silence of all other historians, but those who have copied from Herodotus.

This argument of the learned Dean seems to me conclusive: it is surely improbable that so great a discovery should neither be followed up, nor substantiated by other evidence, nor proclaimed by other writers. Major Rennell, however, thinks otherwise, and what he says, of course demands the highest respect.—See p. 718.

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XLV. It is certain that Europe has not hitherto been carefully examined; it is by no means determined whether to the east and north it is limited by the ocean. In length it unquestionably exceeds the two other divisions of the earth; but I am far from satisfied why to one continent three different names, taken from women, have been assigned. To one of these divisions some have given as a boundary the Ægyptian Nile, and the Colchian Phasis; others the Tanais, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis. The names of those who have thus distinguished the earth, or the first occasion of their different appellations, I have never been able to learn. Libya, is by many of the Greeks said to have been so named from Libya, a woman of the country; and Asia from the wife of Prometheus. The Lydians contradict this, and affirm that Asia[55] was so called from Asias, a son of Cotys, and grandson of Manis, and not from the wife of Prometheus; to confirm this, they

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[55] *Asia.*]—In reading the poets of antiquity, it is necessary carefully to have in mind the distinction of this division of the earth into Asia Major and Minor.—When Virgil says

> Postquam res Asiæ, Priamique evertere gentem
> Immeritam visum superis,

it is evident that he can only mean to speak of a small portion of what we now understand to be Asia; it may not be amiss to remember, that there was a large lake of this name near Mount Tmolus, which had its first syllable long.

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adduce the name of a tribe at Sardis, called the Asian tribe. It has certainly never been ascertained, whether Europe be surrounded by the ocean: it is a matter of equal uncertainty, whence or from whom it derives its name. We cannot willingly allow that it took its name from the Syrian Europa, though we know that, like the other two, it was formerly without any. We are well assured that Europa was an Asiatic, and that she never saw the region which the Greeks now call Europe; she only went from Phœnicia to Crete, from Crete to Lycia.—I shall now quit this subject, upon which I have given the opinions generally received.

XLVI. Except Scythia, the countries of the Euxine, against which Darius undertook an expedition, are of all others the most barbarous; among the people who dwell within these limits, we have found no individual of superior learning and accomplishments, but Anacharsis[56] the

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Longa canoros
Dant per colla modos, sonat amnis et Asia longe
Pulsat palus.

By Asia palus, the poet probably meant the Lake of Grygaus, near Sardis, and beneath mount Tmolus.—*T.*

[56] *Anacharsis.*]—Of Anacharsis the life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius; his moral character was of such high estimation, that Cicero does not scruple to call him sobrius, continens, abstinens, et temperans. He gave rise to the proverb, applicable to men of extraordinary endowments,

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Scythian. Even of the Scythian nation I cannot in general speak with extraordinary commendation; they have, however, one observance, which for its wisdom excels every thing I have met with. The possibility of escape is cut off from those who attack them; and if they are averse to be seen, their places of retreat can never be discovered: for they have no towns nor fortified cities, their habitations they constantly carry along with them, their bows and arrows they manage on horseback, and they support themselves not by agriculture, but by their cattle[57]; their constant

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of Anacharsis inter Scythas: he flourished in the time of Solon. The idea of his superior wisdom and desire of learning, has given rise to an excellent modern work by the Abbé Barthelemy, called the Voyage du jeune Anacharsis. With respect to what Herodotus here says concerning Anacharsis, he seemingly contradicts himself in chap. xciv. and xcv. of this book, where he confesses his belief that Zamolxis, the supposed deity of the Scythians, was a man eminent for his virtue and his wisdom.

Dicenus also was a wise and learned Scythian; and one of the most beautiful and interesting of Lucian's works, is named from a celebrated Scythian physician, called Toxaris.

It must be remembered, that subsequent to the Christian æra, many exalted and accomplished characters were produced from the Scythians or Goths.—*T.*

[57] *By their cattle.*]—"The skilful practitioners of the medical art," says Mr. Gibbon, "may determine, if they are able to determine, how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel, deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary prejudice of humanity.

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abode may be said to be in their waggons[58]. How can a people so circumstanced afford the means of victory, or even of attack?

Yet if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox or the sheep are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served, with very little preparation, at the table of their unfeeling murderer."—Mr. Gibbon afterward gives the reader the following curious quotation from the Emile of Rousseau:

"Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en general cruels et feroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de touts les lieux, et de touts les tems: la barbarité Angloise est connue," &c.—I hope this reproach has long ceased to be applied to England by those who really know it, and that the dispositions of our countrymen may furnish a proof against the system, in favour of which they were thus adduced.

As for Rousseau, he deserves to be lashed for his impudence: for it is very certain that the French have committed more cruelties within fifteen years, than all the flesh-eaters in the world ever committed in fifteen hundred.

[58] *In their waggons.*]—See the advice of Prometheus to Io, in Æschylus:

First then, from hence
Turn to the orient sun, and pass the height
Of these uncultur'd mountains: thence descend
To where the wandering Scythians, train'd to bear
The distant-wounding bow, on wheels aloft
Roll on their wattled cottages. *Potter.*

See also Gibbon's description of the habitation of more modern Scythians. "The houses of the Tartars are no more

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XLVII. Their particular mode of life may be imputed partly to the situation of their country, and the advantage they derive from their rivers; their lands are well watered, and well adapted for pasturage. The number of rivers is almost equal to the channels of the Nile; the more celebrated of them, and those which are navigable to the sea, I shall enumerate; they are these: The Danube *, having five mouths, the

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than small tents of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team, perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen." The same circumstance respecting the Scythians, is thus mentioned by Horace:

Campestres meliùs Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas ritè trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ. *T.*

* Of these rivers the Danube is the most Western, the Tanaïs the most Eastern.

The Tyres, or Tyras, answers in all respects to the Dneister. There were many rivers which bore the name of Hypanis, but this, as Major Rennell, p. 56, observes, answers to the Bog. The Borysthenes is the largest river next to the Danube. The port of Cherson, established by Catherine of Russia, seems to answer to the situation of the Borysthenitæ. The following three rivers, viz. the Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus, must have been of inferior note, nor have their situations been defined by modern geographers. The last river, the Tanaïs, is unquestionably the Don. Don, says

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Tyres, the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, Panticapes, Hypacyris, Gerrhus, and the Tanaïs.

XLVIII. No river of which we have any knowledge, is so vast as the Danube; it is always of the same depth, experiencing no variation from summer or from winter. It is the first river of Scythia to the east, and it is the greatest of all, for it is swelled by the influx of many others: there are five which particularly contribute to increase its size; one of these the Greeks call Pyreton, the Scythians, Porata; the other four are the Tiarantus, Ararus*, Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first of these rivers is of immense size; flowing toward the east, it mixes with the Danube: the second, the Tiarantus, is smaller, having an inclination to the west: betwixt these, the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus, have their course, and empty themselves into the Danube. These rivers have their rise in Scythia, and swell the waters of the Danube [59].

Major Rennell, seems to be a corruption of Tana, the proper name of a city which stood on or near the site of Azoph. Tana and Tanaïs are obviously the same.

* D'Anville recognises the Porata in the Pruth, the Ararus in the Siret, the Naparis in the Proava, and the Ordessus in the Argis; but the Tiarantus he has not made out. See Rennell, p. 9.

59 *Waters of the Danube.*]—Mr. Bryant's observations on this river, are too curious to be omitted.

The river Danube was properly the river of Noah, ex-

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XLIX. The Maris also, commencing among the Agathyrsi, is emptied into the Danube, which is likewise the case with the three great rivers, Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis; these flow from the summits of Mount Hæmus, and have the same termination. Into the same river are received the waters of the Athres, Noes, and Artanes, which flow through Thrace, and the country of the Thracian Crobyzi. The Cius, which, rising in Pæonia, near Mount Rhodope, divides Mount Hæmus, is also poured into the Danube. The Angrus comes from Illyria, and with a northward course passes over the Tribalian plains, and mixes

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pressed Da-Nau, Da-Nauos, Da-Nauvas, Da-Naubus. Herodotus plainly calls it the river of Noah, without the prefix; but appropriates the name only to one branch, giving the name of Ister to the chief stream.

It is mentioned by Valerius Flaccus:

Quas Tanaïs, flavusque Lycus, Hypanisque Noasque.

This, some would alter to Novasque, but the true reading is ascertained from other passages where it occurs; and particularly by this author, who mentions it in another place:

Hyberna qui terga Noæ, gelidumque securi
Haurit, et in totâ non audit Amazona ripâ.

Most writers compound it with the particle Da, and express it Da-Nau, Da-Nauvis, Da-Naubis. Stephanus Byzantinus speaks of it both by the name of Danoubis, and Danousis, &c.; vol. ii. 339.

The reader will find a very fine description of the Danube and its alluvions, in Polybius, book iv. chap. v.—It is obvious that Herodotus had never heard of the Ganges, the Burrampooter, and other great rivers of India and China.

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with the Brongus; the Brongus meets the Danube, which thus receives the waters of these two great rivers. The Carpis, moreover, which rises in the country beyond the Umbrici, and the Alpis, which flows towards the north, are both lost in the Danube. Commencing with the Celtæ, who, except the Cynetæ, are the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe, this river passes directly through the center of Europe, and by a certain inclination enters Scythia.

L. By the union of these and of many other waters, the Danube becomes the greatest of all rivers; but if one be compared with another, the preference must be given to the Nile, into which no stream nor fountain enters *. The reason why in the two opposite seasons of the year the Danube is uniformly the same †, seems to me to be this: in the winter it is at its full natural height, or perhaps somewhat more, at which season there is, in the regions through which it passes, abundance of snow, but very little rain; but in

* This assertion must be understood with some limitation; after the Nile actually enters Ægypt, it certainly is increased by no stream; but in its progress through Abyssinia, it is certainly swelled by many rivers, some of which are of considerable magnitude.—*T.*

† The Danube, however, certainly varies in its bulk at different seasons, as is proved by Marsigli.

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the summer all this snow is dissolved, and emptied into the Danube, which together with frequent and heavy rains greatly augment it. But in proportion as the body of its waters is thus multiplied, are the exhalations of the summer sun. The result of this action and re-action on the Danube, is, that its waters are constantly of the same depth.

LI. Thus, of the rivers which flow through Scythia, the Danube is the first; next to this, is the Tyres, which rising in the north from an immense marsh, divides Scythia from Neuris. At the mouth of this river, those Greeks live who are known by the name of the Tyritæ.

LII. The third is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, rising from an immense lake, round which are found wild white horses, and which is properly enough called the mother of the Hypanis[60]. This river, through a space of five days journey from its first rise, is small, and its waters are sweet, but from thence to the sea, which is a journey of four days more, it becomes

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[60] *The Hypanis.*]—There were three rivers of this name: —One in Scythia, one in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and a third in India, the largest of that region, and the limits of the conquests of Alexander the Great. This last was sometimes called the Hypasis.—*T.*

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exceedingly bitter. This is occasioned by a small fountain, which it receives in its passage, and which is of so very bitter a quality[61], that it infects this river, though by no means contemptible in point of size: this fountain rises in the country of the ploughing Scythians*, and of the Alazones. It takes the name of the place where it springs, which in the Scythian tongue is Exampæus, corresponding in Greek to the "Sacred Ways." In the district of the Alazones, the streams of the Tyres and the Hypanis have an inclination towards each other, but they soon separate again to a considerable distance.

LIII. The fourth river, and the largest next to the Danube, is the Borysthenes[62]. In my opinion this river is more fertile, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other

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61 *Bitter a quality.*] — This circumstance respecting the Hypanis, is thus mentioned by Ovid:

> Quid non et Scythicis Hypanis a montibus ortus
> Qui fuerat dulcis salibus vitiatur amaris.

It is mentioned also by Pomponius Mela, book ii. c. 1.—*T.*

* Herodotus distinguishes the Σκυθαι ἀροτηρες, from the Σκυθαι γεωργοι.

62 *Borysthenes.*] — The emperor Hadrian had a famous horse, to which he gave this name; when the horse died, his master, not satisfied with erecting a superb monument to his memory, inscribed to him some elegant verses, which are still in being.—*T.*

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in the world, except the Ægyptian Nile. The Nile, it must be confessed, disdains all comparison; the Borysthenes nevertheless affords most agreeable and excellent pasturage, and contains great abundance of the more delicate fish. Although it flows in the midst of many turbid rivers, its waters are perfectly clear and sweet; its banks are adorned by the richest harvests, and in those places where corn is not sown, the grass grows to a surprising height; at its mouth a large mass of salt is formed of itself. It produces also a species of large fish, which is called Antacæus: these, which have no prickly fins, the inhabitants salt: it possesses various other things which deserve our admiration. The course of the stream may be pursued as far as the country called Gerrhus, through a voyage of forty days, and it is known to flow from the north. But of the remoter places through which it passes, no one can speak with certainty; it seems probable that it runs toward the district of the Scythian husbandmen, through a pathless desert. For the space of a ten days journey, these Scythians inhabit its banks. The sources of this river, like those of the Nile, are to me unknown, as I believe they are to every other Greek. This river, as it approaches the sea, is joined by the Hypanis, and they have both the same termination: the neck of land betwixt these two streams, is called the Hippoleon promontory, in which a

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temple is erected to Ceres[63]. Beyond this temple as far as the Hypanis, dwell the Borysthenites.—But on this subject enough has been said.

LIV. Next to the above, is a fifth river, called the Panticapes; this also rises in the north, and from a lake. The interval betwixt this and the Borysthenes, is possessed by the Scythian husbandmen. Having passed through Hylæa, the Panticapes mixes with the Borysthenes.

LV. The sixth river is called the Hypacyris: this, rising from a lake, and passing through the midst of the Scythian Nomades, empties itself into the sea near the town of Carcinitis[64]. In its course it bounds to the right Hylæa, and what is called the course of Achilles.

LVI. The name of the seventh river is the Gerrhus; it takes its name from the place Gerrhus,

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[63] *To Ceres.*]—Some manuscripts read to "Ceres;" others, to "the Mother;" by this latter expression, Ceres must be understood, and not Vesta, as Gronovius would have it. In his observation, that the Scythians were acquainted neither with Ceres nor Cybele, he was perfectly right; but he ought to have remembered that the Borysthenites or Olbiopolitæ were of Greek origin, and that they had retained many of the customs and usages of their ancestors.—*Larcher.*

[64] *Carcinitis.*]—Many are of opinion that this is what is now called Golfo di Moscovia; but as this is in the Taurica Chersonesus, now Crimea, it may rather perhaps be Precop, or some adjoining town.

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near which, it separates itself from the Borysthenes, and where this latter river is first known. In its passage toward the sea, it divides the Scythian Nomades from the Royal Scythians, and then mixes with the Hypacyris.

LVII. The eighth river is called the Tanaïs[65]; rising from one immense lake, it empties itself into another still greater, named the Mæotis, which separates the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ. —The Tanaïs is increased by the waters of another river, called the Hyrgis.

LVIII. Thus the Scythians have the advantage of all these celebrated rivers. The grass which

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[65] *Tanaïs.*]—This river is now called the Don. According to Plutarch, in his Treatise of celebrated Rivers, it derived its name from a young man called Tanis, who, avowing an hatred of the female sex, was by Venus caused to feel an unnatural passion for his own mother; and he drowned himself in consequence in this river. It was also called the river of the Amazons; and, as appears from an old scholiast on Horace, was sometimes confounded with the Danube.—It divides Europe from Asia:

Ευρωπην δ' Ασιης Ταναϊς δια μεσσον οριζει.

Dionysius.

See also Quintus Curtius.—Tanaïs Europam et Asiam medius interfluit, l. vi. c. 2. Of this river very frequent mention is made by ancient writers; by Horace, prettily enough, in the Ode beginning with "Extremum Tanaïm si biberes Lyce," &c.—*T.*

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this country produces, is of all that we know the fullest of moisture, which evidently appears from the dissection of their cattle.

LIX. We have shewn that this people possess the greatest abundance; their particular laws and observances are these: Of their divinities[66], Vesta is without competition the first, then Jupiter, and Tellus, whom they believe to be the wife of Jupiter *; next to these are Apollo, the Cœlestial Venus, Hercules, and Mars. All the Scythians revere these as deities, but the Royal Scythians pay divine rites also to Neptune. In the Scythian tongue Vesta is called Tabiti; Jupiter, and, as I think very properly, Papæus †;

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66 *Of their divinities.*]—It is not unworthy the attention of the English reader, that Herodotus is the first author who makes any mention of the religion of the Scythians. In most writings on the subject of ancient mythology, Vesta is placed next to Juno, whose sister she was generally supposed to be: Montfaucon also remarks, that the figures which remain of Vesta, have a great resemblance to those of Juno. With respect to this goddess, the ancients were much divided in opinion; Euripides and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, agree in calling her Tellus. Ovid seems also to have had this in his mind, when he said, "Stat vi terra suâ, vi stando Vesta vocatur." Most of the difficulties on this subject may be solved, by supposing there were two Vestas.—*T.*

* Jortin on Spenser, 57.

† *Papæus*]—or Pappæus, signifying father; as being, according to Homer, πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε, *the sire of gods and men.* In every language, says Larcher, it is notorious that ap, pa, and papa, are the first sounds by which infants distinguish their fathers.

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Tellus, Apia; Apollo, Œtosyrus; the Cœlestial Venus, Artimpasa; and Neptune, Thamimasadas. Among all these deities, Mars is the only one to whom they think it proper to erect altars, shrines, and temples.

LX. Their mode of sacrifice in every place appointed for the purpose, is precisely the same, and it is this: The victim is secured with a rope, by its two fore feet; the person who offers the sacrifice[67], standing behind, throws the animal down by means of this rope; as it falls he invokes the name of the divinity, to whom the sacrifice is offered; he then fastens a cord round the neck of the victim, and strangles it, by winding the cord round a stick; all this is done without fire, without libations, or without any of the ceremonies in use amongst us. When the beast is strangled, the sacrificer takes off its skin, and prepares to dress it.

LXI. As Scythia is very barren of wood, they have the following contrivance to dress the flesh of the victim:—Having flayed the animal, they

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67 *Who offers the sacrifice.*]—Montfaucon, in his account of the gods of the Scythians, apparently gives a translation of this passage, except that he says "the sacrificing priest, after having turned aside part of his veil:" Herodotus says no such thing, nor does any writer on this subject whom I have had the opportunity of consulting.—*T.*

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strip the flesh from the bones, and if they have them at hand, they throw it into certain pots made in Scythia, and resembling the Lesbian caldrons, though somewhat larger; under these, a fire is made with the bones[63]. If these pots can-

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63 *Fire is made with the bones.*]—Montfaucon remarks on this passage, that he does not see how this could be done. Resources equally extraordinary seem to be applied in the eastern countries, where there is a great scarcity of fuel. In Persia, it appears from Sir John Chardin, they burn heath: in Arabia they burn cow-dung; and according to Dr. Russel, they burn parings of fruit, and such like things. The prophet Ezekiel was ordered to bake his food with human dung. See Ezekiel, chap. iv. 12. "Thou shalt bake it with dung that cometh out of man." Voltaire, in his remarks on this passage, pretends to understand that the prophet was to eat the dung with his food.—"Comme il n'est point d'usage de manger de telles confitures sur son pain, la plupart des hommes trouvent ces commandemens indignés de la Majesté divin." The passage alluded to admits of no such inference: but it may be concluded, that the burning of bones for the purpose of fuel, was not a very unusual circumstance, from another passage in Ezekiel.—See chap. xxiv. 5. "Take also the choice of the flock, and burn the bones under it, and make it boil well."—*T.*—See on this subject of fuel in Eastern countries, Russel's Aleppo, i. p. 39.

The fuel employed for heating them (the bagnios), consists chiefly of the dung of animals, the filth of stables, and the parings of fruit, with the offals collected by persons who go about the streets for that purpose. These materials, accumulated in a yard belonging to the bagnios, both in drying and when burning, are extremely offensive to the neighbourhood. The bakehouses use brushwood, but these are only troublesome an hour or two in the day. Cow-dung is seldom used

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not be procured, they enclose the flesh with a certain quantity of water in the paunch* of the victim, and make a fire with the bones as before. The bones being very inflammable, and the paunch without difficulty made to contain the flesh separated from the bone, the ox is thus made to dress itself, which is also the case with the other victims. When the whole is ready, he who sacrifices, throws down with some solemnity before him the entrails, and the more choice pieces. They sacrifice different animals, but horses in particular.

LXII. Such are the sacrifices and ceremonies observed with respect to their other deities; but to the god Mars, the particular rites which are paid are these:—In every district, they construct a temple to this divinity, of this kind; bundles of small wood are heaped together, to the length of three stadia, and quite as broad, but not so high; the top is a regular square, three of the sides are steep and broken, but the fourth is an inclined plane forming the ascent. To this place are every year brought one hundred and fifty wag-

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in the city, but by the Arabs and peasants it is not only used as fuel but employed to make a flat pan, in which they fry their eggs. Camel and sheeps' dung with brushwood, or stalks of such plants as grow in the desert, are the common fuel.

* I have also heard that in the Isle of Portland, and in other parts of England, fuel is made of dried cow-dung.—The same was done, and probably is still done, in Scotland.

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gons full of these bundles of wood, to repair the structure, which the severity of the climate is apt to destroy. Upon the summit of such a pile, each Scythian tribe places an ancient scymetar[69], which is considered as the shrine of Mars, and is annually honoured by the sacrifice of sheep and horses; indeed more victims are offered to this deity, than to all the other divinities. It is their custom also to sacrifice every hundredth captive, but in a different manner from their other victims*. Having poured libations upon

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69 *Ancient scymetar.*]—It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter.—*Gibbon.*

In addition to this iron scymetar or cimeter, Lucian tells us that the Scythians worshipped Zamolxis as a god. See also Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 2.—Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed *gladius* Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque et Martem regionum quas circumcircant præsulem verecundiùs colunt.

Larcher, who quotes the above passage from Amm. Mar. tells us from Varro, that anciently at Rome the head of a spear was considered as a representation of Mars.

Varro, Festus, and Clemens Alexandrinus, affirm that Mars was worshipped by the Sabines and Romans under the form of a spear. Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus, says, the spear placed in the Royal Palace was called Curis or Quiris.

* See the History of the Conquest of Mexico, by Bernal

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their heads, they cut their throats into a vessel placed for that purpose. With this, carried to the summit of the pile, they besmear the above-mentioned scymetar. Whilst this is doing above, the following ceremony is observed below:—From these human victims they cut off the right arms close to the shoulder, and throw them up into the air. This ceremony being performed on each victim severally, they depart: the arms remain where they happen to fall, the bodies elsewhere.

LXIII. The above is a description of their sacrifices. Swine are never used for this purpose, nor will they suffer them to be kept in their country.

LXIV. Their military customs are these:—Every Scythian drinks the blood of the first per-

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Diaz del Castillo, translated by Maurice Keating, Esq. p. 142.

These animals were fed with game, fowls, dogs, and, as I have heard, the bodies of Indians who were sacrificed; the manner of which, I have been informed, is this: they open the body of the victim, when living, with large knives of stone; they take out his heart and blood, which they offer to their gods, and then they cut off the limbs and the head, upon which they feast, giving the body to be devoured by the wild beasts, and the sculls they hang up in their temples. How singular must it appear, that in nations so remote, so similar examples of cruelty and superstition should prevail!—*T.*

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son he slays; the heads of all the enemies who fall by his hand in battle, he presents to his king: this offering entitles him to a share of the plunder, which he could not otherwise claim. Their mode of stripping the skin from the head[70] is this:—They make a circular incision behind the ears, then, taking hold of the head at the top, they gradually flay it, drawing it towards them. They next soften it in their hands, removing every fleshy part which may remain, by rubbing it with an ox's hide; they afterwards suspend it,

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70 *The skin from the head.*]—To cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, seems no unnatural action amongst a race of fierce and warlike barbarians. The art of scalping the head was probably introduced to avoid the trouble and fatigue of carrying these sanguinary trophies to any considerable distance. Many incidents which are here related of the Scythians, will necessarily remind the reader of what is told of the native Americans. The following war-song, from Bossu's Travels through Louisiana, places the resemblance in a striking point of view:—" I go to war to revenge the death of my brothers—I shall kill—I shall exterminate—I shall burn my enemies—I shall bring away slaves—I shall devour their hearts, dry their flesh, drink their blood—I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their sculls."

The quickness and dexterity with which the Indians perform the horrid operation of scalping, is too well known to require any description. This coincidence of manners is very striking, and serves greatly to corroborate the hypothesis, that America was peopled originally from the northern parts of the old continent.—*T.*

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thus prepared, from the bridles of their horses, when they both use it as a napkin, and are proud of it as a trophy. Whoever possesses the greater number of these, is deemed the most illustrious. Some there are who sew together several of these portions of human skin, and convert them into a kind of shepherd's garment. There are others who preserve the skins of the right arms, nails and all, of such enemies as they kill, and use them as a covering for their quivers. The human skin is of all others certainly the whitest, and of a very firm texture; many Scythians will take the whole skin of a man, and having stretched it upon wood, use it as a covering to their horses.

LXV. Such are the customs of this people: this treatment, however, of their enemies' heads, is not universal, it is only perpetrated on those whom they most detest. They cut off the scull, below the eye-brows, and having cleansed it thoroughly, if they are poor, they merely cover it with a piece of leather; if they are rich, in addition to this, they decorate the inside with gold; it is afterwards used as a drinking cup*. They

* William de Rubruquis travelled through Thibet in the 13th century; and it could not be very far from thence that these Scythians lived in the time of Herodotus. Speaking of the inhabitants, he says, "In times past they bestowed on

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do the same with respect to their nearest connections, if any dissensions have arisen, and they overcome them in combat before the king. If any stranger whom they deem of consequence, happen to visit them, they make a display of these heads[71], and relate every circumstance of

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their parents no other sepulchre than their own bowels, and yet in part retain it, makyng fine cuppes of their deceased parents skulls, that drinking out of them in the middest of their jollitie, they may not forget their progenitors." See Purchas, 430. Hole on the Arabian Nights, p. 257.

[71] *Display of these heads.*]—Many instances may be adduced, from the Roman and Greek historians, of the heads of enemies vanquished in battle being carried in triumph, or exposed as trophies; examples also occur in Scripture of the same custom. Thus David carried the Philistine's head in triumph; the head of Ishbosheth was brought to David as a trophy; why did Jael *smite off* the head of Sisera, but to present it triumphantly to Barak? It is at the present day practised in the East, many examples of which occur in Niebuhr's Letters. This is too well known to require farther discussion; but many readers may perhaps want to be informed, that it was also usual to cut off the hands and the feet of vanquished enemies.—The hands and feet of the sons of Rimmon, who slew Ishbosheth, were cut off and hanged up over the pool of Hebron.—See also *Lady Wortley Montague*, vol. ii. p. 19.

"If a minister displeases the people, in three hours time he is dragged even from his master's arms: they cut off his hands, head, and feet, and throw them before the palace gate with all the respect in the world; while the sultan, to whom they all profess unlimited adoration, sits trembling in his apartment."—*T.*

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the previous connection, the provocations received, and their subsequent victory; this they consider as a testimony of their valour.

LXVI. Once a year the prince or ruler of every district, mixes a goblet of wine, of which those Scythians drink[72] who have destroyed a

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It may be added, that the body of Cyrus the younger, as Xenophon tells us in the Anabasis, had its head and right hand cut off.

[72] *Those Scythians drink.*]—These, with many other customs of the ancient Scythians, will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader various circumstances of the Gothic mythology, as represented in the poems imputed to Ossian, and as may be seen described at length in Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark. To sit in the Hall of Odin, and quaff the flowing goblets of mead and ale, was an idea ever present to the minds of the Gothic warriors; and the hope of attaining this glorious distinction, inspired a contempt of danger, and the most daring and invincible courage. See Gray's Descent of Odin:

O. Tell me what is done below;
For whom yon glittering board is spread,
Drest for whom yon golden bed.
Pr. Mantling in the goblet see
The pure beverage of the bee;
O'er it hangs the shield of gold
'Tis the drink of Balder bold. *T.*

See also in the Edda, the Ode of king Regner Lodbrog.

"Odin sends his goddesses to conduct me to his palace.—I am going to sit in the place of honour, to drink ale with the gods.—The hours of my life are passed away, I die in rapture." Some of my readers may probably thank me for

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public enemy *. But of this, they who have not done such a thing are not permitted to taste; these are obliged to sit apart by themselves, which is considered as a mark of the greatest ignominy [73]. They who have killed a number

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giving them a specimen of the stanzas, as preserved by Olaus Wormius.

25.

Pugnavimus ensibus:
Hoc ridere me facit semper,
Quod Balderi patris scamna
Parata scio in aula.
Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum.
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venis desperabundus
Verbis ad Odini aulam.

29.

Fert animus finire;
Invitant me Dysæ,
Quas ex Odini aula
Odinus mihi misit.
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede bibam:
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ;
Ridens moriar. *T.*

* Something of this kind was done by the Parthians, when the head of Crassus was brought to their king. It should be remembered that the Parthians were descendants of Scythians, and not very far removed.

[73] *Greatest ignominy.*]—Ut quisque plures interemit; ita apud eos habetur eximius: cæterùm expertem esse cædis, inter opprobria vel maximum.—*Pomp. Mela,* l. ii. c. 1.

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of enemies, are permitted on this occasion to drink from two cups joined together.

LXVII. They have amongst them a great number who practise the art of divination; for this purpose they use a number of willow twigs[74], in this manner:—They bring large bundles of these together, and having untied them, dispose them one by one on the ground, each bundle at a distance from the rest. This done, they pre-

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[74] *Willow twigs.*]—Ammianus Marcellinus, in speaking of the Huns, says, "Futura miro præsagiunt modo; nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis præstituto tempore discernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt."—Larcher, in quoting the above passage, remarks, that he has seen some traces of this superstition practised in the province of Berry. There is an animated fragment of Ennius remaining, in which he expresses a most cordial contempt for all soothsayers: as it is not perhaps familiar to every reader, I may be excused inserting it.

Non vicinos aruspices, non de circo astrologos,
Non Isiacos conjectores, non interpretes somnium,
Non enim sunt ii aut sapientia aut arte divina,
Sed superstitiosi vates, impudentesque harioli,
Aut inertes, aut insani, aut quibus egestas imperat.

A similar contempt for diviners, is expressed by Jocasta, in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles:

Εμου' πακουσον, και μαθ' ουνεκ' ιστι σοι
Βροτειον ουδεν μαντικης εχον τεχνης.

Let not fear perplex thee, Œdipus;
Mortals know nothing of futurity,
And these prophetic seers are all impostors.—*T.*

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tend to foretel the future, during which they take up the bundles separately, and tie them again together.—This mode of divination is hereditary among them. The enaries, or "effeminate men," affirm that the art of divination[75] was taught them by the goddess Venus. They take also the leaves of the lime-tree, which dividing into three parts they twine round their fingers; they then unbind it, and exercise the art to which they pretend.

LXVIII. Whenever the Scythian monarch happens to be indisposed, he sends for three of the most celebrated of these diviners. When the Scythians desire to use the most solemn kind

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75 *Art of divination.*]—To enumerate the various modes of divination which have at different times been practised by the ignorant and superstitious, would be no easy task. We read of hydromancy, libanomancy, onyctomancy, divinations by earth, fire, and air: we read in Ezekiel of divination by a rod or wand. To some such mode of divination, in all probability, the following passage from Hosea alludes. "My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them."

This passage affords an additional explanation of that which occurs in vol. i. Whether this phænomenon was more common in Scythia after a particular event, or whether it were a disease or languor, the subjects of it formed a distinct class of people, and fell into every effeminate excess.—For farther remarks on this subject, see the end of this volume, where the reader will find a novel explanation, for which I am indebted to Mr. Blair.

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of oath, they swear by the king's throne[76]: these diviners, therefore, make no scruple of affirming, that such or such individual, pointing him out by name, has forsworn himself by the royal throne.—Immediately the person thus marked out is seized, and informed that by their art of divination, which is infallible, he has been indirectly the occasion of the king's illness, by having violated the oath which we have mentioned. If the accused not only denies the charge, but expresses himself enraged at the imputation, the king convokes a double number of diviners, who, examining into the mode which has been pursued in criminating him, decide accordingly. If he be found guilty, he immediately loses his head, and the three diviners who were first consulted, share his effects. If these last diviners acquit the accused, others are at hand, of whom if the greater number absolve him, the first diviners are put to death.

LXIX. The manner in which they are executed is this:—Some oxen are yoked to a waggon filled with fagots, in the midst of which, with their feet tied, their hands fastened behind,

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76 *King's throne.*]—"The Turks at this day," says Larcher, "swear by the Ottoman Porte." Reiske has the same remark: "Adhuc obtinet apud Turcas, per Portam Ottomanicum, hoc est, domicilium sui principis, jurare."—*T.*

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and their mouths gagged, these diviners are placed; fire is then set to the wood, and the oxen are terrified, to make them run violently away. It sometimes happens that the oxen themselves are burned; and often when the waggon is consumed, the oxen escape severely scorched. This is the method by which, for the above-mentioned or similar offences, they put to death those whom they call false diviners.

LXX. Of those whom the king condemns to death, he constantly destroys the male children, leaving the females unmolested. Whenever the Scythians form alliances[77], they observe these ceremonies:—A large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties, obtained by a slight incision of a knife or a sword*; in this cup they dip a scymetar, some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After this, they pronounce some solemn prayers,

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77 *Form alliances.*]—See book i. c. 74.

* On this subject, Larcher relates the following anecdote from Daniel's History of France:

"When Henry the Third entered Poland, to take possession of the crown, he found on his arrival thirty thousand cavalry ranged in order of battle. The general of these advancing towards him, drew his sword, pierced his arm with it, and receiving in his hand the blood which flowed from the wound, drank it, saying, "Evil be to him among us who would not shed in your service every drop of his blood; it is from this principle that I count it nothing to shed my own."

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and the parties who form the contract, with such of their friends as are of superior dignity, finally drink the contents of the vessel.

LXXI. The sepulchres of the kings are in the district of the Gerrhi. As soon as the king dies[78], a large trench of a quadrangular form is sunk, near where the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. When this has been done, the body is inclosed in wax, after it has been thoroughly cleansed, and the entrails taken out; before it is sown up, they fill it with anise, parsley-seed, bruised cypress, and various aromatics. They then place it on a carriage, and remove it to another district, where the persons who receive it, like the Royal Scythians, cut off a part of their ear *, shave their heads in a circular form, take a round piece of flesh from their arm, wound their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. The body is again carried to another province of the deceased king's realms,

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[78] *King dies.*]—A minute and interesting description of the funeral ceremonies of various ancient nations, may be found in Montfaucon, vol. v. 126, &c.—*T.*

The funeral ceremonies of the Scythian kings, and the golden goblets buried with them under large barrows, remind us of the tombs found in Great Tartary, ascribed to the descendants of Genghis Kan, in the 13th century. See Archæologia, v. iii. p. 222.

* Bayer, in his Memoriæ Scythicæ, makes Herodotus say that the Scythians cut off a piece of the king's ear.

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the inhabitants of the former district accompanying the procession. After thus transporting the dead body through the different provinces of the kingdom, they come at last to the Gerrhi, who live in the remotest parts of Scythia, and amongst whom the sepulchres are. Here the corpse is placed upon a couch, round which, at different distances, daggers are fixed; upon the whole are disposed pieces of wood, covered with branches of willow. In some other part of this trench, they bury one of the deceased's concubines, whom they previously strangle, together with the baker, the cook, the groom, his most confidential servant, his horses, the choicest of his effects, and, finally, some golden goblets, for they possess neither silver nor brass: to conclude all, they fill up the trench with earth, and seem to be emulous in their endeavours to raise as high a mound as possible *.

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* Modern discoveries abundantly prove the general truth of our author's report concerning the sepulchres of the ancient Scythians; if it be allowed that a part of the *tumuli*, found in the plains towards the upper branches of the *Irtish*, Oby, &c. are of so ancient a date: or, on the other hand, if the sepulchres in question are not so ancient, it at least proves that the same custom prevailed amongst their descendants. It appears, that tumuli are scattered over the whole tract, from the borders of the Wolga and its western branches, to the lake Baikal. Those amongst them, which have attracted the greatest notice, on the score of the gold and silver (but principally the former) contained in them,

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LXXII. The ceremony does not terminate here.—They select such of the deceased king's attendants, in the following year, as have been most about his person; these are all native Scythians, for in Scythia there are no purchased slaves, the king selecting such to attend him as he thinks proper: fifty of these they strangle[79],

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lie between the *Wolga* and the *Oby:* for, those which are farther to the east, and more particularly, at the upper part of the *Jenisei*, have the utensils contained in them, of copper.

It has not come to our knowledge, that any of these monuments have been found in the *Ukraine*, where the sepulchres described by Herodotus should have been; however, it may be conceived that it is a sufficient testimony of the general truth of his description, that they are found so far west as the *southern* parts of *Russia*, and on the banks of the Okka, Wolga, and Tanaïs; since much the same sort of customs may have been supposed to exist amongst the Scythians and Sarmatians generally; and it is certain that the *Sarmatians* and *seceding Scythians* occupied the tracts just mentioned.—*Rennell.*

[79] *They strangle.*]—Voltaire supposes that they impaled alive the favourite officers of the khan of the Scythians, round the dead body; whereas Herodotus expressly says that they strangled them first.—*Larcher.*

Whoever has occasion minutely to examine any of the more ancient authors, will frequently feel his contempt excited, or his indignation provoked, from finding a multitude of passages ignorantly misunderstood, or wilfully perverted. This remark is in a particular manner applicable to M. Voltaire, in whose work false and partial quotations, with ignorant misconceptions of the ancients, obviously abound. The learned Pauw cannot in this respect be intirely exculpated; and I have a passage now before me in which the

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with an equal number of his best horses. They open and cleanse the bodies of them all, which having filled with straw, they sew up again: then upon two pieces of wood they place a third, of a semicircular form, with its concave side uppermost, a second is disposed in like manner, then a third, and so on, till a sufficient number have been erected. Upon these semicircular pieces of wood they place the horses, after passing large poles through them, from the feet to the neck. One part of the structure, formed as we have described, supports the shoulders of the horse, the other his hinder parts, whilst the legs are left to project upwards. The horses are then bridled, and the reins fastened to the legs; upon each of these they afterwards place one of the youths who have been strangled, in the following manner: a pole is passed through each, quite to

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fault I would reprobate is eminently conspicuous. Speaking of the Chinese laws, he says, "they punish the relations of a criminal convicted of a capital offence with death, excepting the females, *whom they sell as slaves*, following in this respect the maxim of the Scythians, recorded by Herodotus." On the contrary, our historian says, chap. 70, that the females are not molested. A similar remark, as it respects M. Pauw, is somewhere made by Larcher.—*T.*

In the mild and polished country of China, the Emperor Chun-Tchi having lost one of his wives, sacrificed more than thirty slaves upon her tomb. He was a Tartar, that is, a Scythian; which historical fact, observes Larcher, may serve to make what Herodotus relates of the ancient Scythians the more credible.

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the neck, through the back, the extremity of which is fixed to the piece of timber with which the horse has been spitted; having done this with each, they so leave them.

LXXIII. The above are the ceremonies observed in the interment of their kings: as to the people in general, when any one dies, the neighbours place the body on a carriage, and carry it about to the different acquaintance of the deceased; these prepare some entertainment for those who accompany the corpse, placing the same before the body, as before the rest. Private persons, after being thus carried about for the space of forty days, are then buried[80]. They

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[80] *Are then buried.*]—The Scythians did not all of them observe the same customs with respect to their funerals: there were some who suspended the dead bodies from a tree, and in that state left them to putrefy. "Of what consequence," says Plutarch, "is it to Theodorus, whether he rots in the earth, or upon it?—Such with the Scythians is the most honourable funeral."

Silius Italicus mentions also this custom:

> At gente in Scythicâ suffixa cadavera truncis
> Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

It is not perhaps without its use to observe, that barbarous nations have customs barbarous like themselves, and that these customs much resemble each other, in nations which have no communication. Captain Cook relates, that in Otaheite they leave dead bodies to putrefy on the surface of the ground, till the flesh is intirely wasted, they then bury the bones.—*Larcher.* See *Hawksworth's Voyages.*

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who have been engaged in the performance of these rites, afterwards use the following mode of purgation:—After thoroughly washing the head, and then drying it, they do thus with regard to the body; they place in the ground three stakes, inclining towards each other; round these they bind fleeces of wool as thickly as possible, and finally, into the space betwixt the stakes they throw red-hot stones.

LXXIV. They have among them a species of hemp resembling flax, except that it is both thicker and larger; it is indeed superior to flax, whether it is cultivated or grows spontaneously. Of this the Thracians[81] make themselves garments, which so nearly resemble those of flax, as to require a skilful eye to distinguish them: they who had never seen this hemp, would conclude these vests to be made of flax.

LXXV. The Scythians take the seed of this hemp, and placing it beneath the woollen fleeces which we have before described, they throw it upon the red-hot stones, when immediately a

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81 *Of this the Thracians.*]—Hesychius says that the Thracian women make themselves garments of hemp: consult him at the word Κανναβις:—"Hemp is a plant which has some resemblance to flax, and of which the Thracian women make themselves vests."—*T.*

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perfumed vapour [82] ascends stronger than from any Grecian stove. This, to the Scythians, is in the place of a bath, and it excites from them cries of

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[82] *A perfumed vapour.*]—I translate, for the benefit of the reader, what Palæphatus says upon the subject of Medea's magic powers.

Concerning Medea, who was said, by the process of boiling, to make old men young again, the matter was this: she first of all discovered a flower which could make the colour of the hair black or white; such therefore as wished to have black hair rather than white, by her means obtained their wish. Having also invented baths, she nourished with warm vapours those who wished it, but not in public, that the professors of the medical art might not know her secret. The name of this application was παρεψησις, or "the boiling." When therefore by these fomentations men became more active, and improved in health, and her apparatus, namely the caldron, wood, and fire, was discovered, it was supposed that her patients were in reality boiled. Pelias, an old and infirm man, using this operation, died in the process.—*T.*

The reader will necessarily be impressed with the particular resemblance to this custom, which we find at this day among the Finlanders. The following description is given by one of the latest travellers in that country:

Almost all the forest peasants have a small house built on purpose for a bath; it consists of only one small chamber, in the innermost part of which are placed a number of stones, which are heated by fire till they become red. On these stones thus heated, water is thrown, until the company within be involved in a thick cloud of vapour. In this innermost part, the chamber is formed of two stories for the accommodation of a greater number of persons within that small compass; and it being the nature of heat and vapour to ascend, the second story is of course the hottest, &c.—*Acerbi.*

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exultation. It is to be observed, that they never bathe themselves: the Scythian women bruise under a stone, some wood of the cypress, cedar, and frankincense; upon this they pour a quantity of water, till it becomes of a certain consistency, with which they anoint the body[83] and the face;

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[83] *Anoint the body.*]—When we read in this place of the custom of anointing the body amongst an uncivilized race, in a cold climate, and afterwards find that in warmer regions it became an indispensable article of luxury and elegance with the politest nations, we pause to admire the caprice and versatility of the human mind. The motive of the Scythians was at first perhaps only to obtain agility of body, without any views to cleanliness, or thoughts of sensuality. In hot climates, fragrant oils were probably first used to disperse those fœtid smells which heat has a tendency to generate; precious ointments therefore soon became essential to the enjoyment of life; and that they really were so, may be easily made appear from all the best writers of antiquity. See Anacreon, Ode xv.

Εμοι μελει μυροισι
Καταβρεχειν ὑπηνην·
Εμοι μελει ῥοδοισι
Καταστεφειν καρηνα.

Let my hair with unguents flow,
With rosy garlands crown my brow.

See also Horace:

——— funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis.

The same fact also appears from the sacred Scriptures; see the threat of the prophet Micah: "Thou shalt tread the olive, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil." These

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this at the time imparts an agreeable odour, and when removed on the following day, gives the skin a soft and beautiful appearance.

LXXVI. The Scythians have not only a great abhorrence of all foreign customs, but each province seems unalterably tenacious of its own. Those of the Greek they particularly avoid, as appears both from Anacharsis and Scyles. Of Anacharsis it is remarkable, that having personally visited a large part of the habitable world, and acquired great wisdom, he at length returned to Scythia. In his passage over the Hellespont, he touched at Cyzicus[84], at the time when the inhabitants were celebrating a solemn and magnificent festival to the mother of the gods. He made a vow, that if he should return safe and without

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instances are only adduced to prove that fragrant oils were used in private life for the purposes of elegant luxury; how they were applied in athletic exercises, and always before the baths, is sufficiently notorious.

I might also with great propriety refer to the costly and most precious ointment which was made by Moses at the command of God himself, and to which David so beautifully alludes;—"Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. It is like the precious ointment upon the head that ran down unto the beard, even unto Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing."—*T.*

[84] *Cyzicus.*]—This Cyzicus was formerly an island, but is now a peninsula. It was besieged by Mithridates, and has been described by Pococke. Here also was a temple on Mount Dindymene.

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injury to his country, he would institute, in honour of his deity, the same rites which he had seen performed at Cyzicus, together with the solemnities observed on the eve of her festival[85]. Arriving therefore in Scythia, in the district of Hylæa, near the Course of Achilles, a place abounding with trees, he performed all the particulars of the abovementioned ceremonies, having a number of small statues fastened about him[86], with a cymbal in his hand. In this situa-

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85 *Eve of her festival.*]—These festivals probably commenced early on the evening before the day appointed for their celebration; and it seems probable that they passed the night in singing hymns in honour of the god or goddess to whom the feast was instituted. See the Pervigilium Veneris. —*Larcher.*

The Pervigilia were observed principally in honour of Ceres and of Venus, and, as appears from Aulus Gellius, and other writers, were converted to the purposes of excess and debauchery.—*T.*

86 *Statues fastened about him.*]—These particularities are related at length in Apollonius Rhodius, book 1. 1139.—This circumstance of the small figures tied together, is totally omitted by Mr. Fawkes in his version, who satisfies himself by saying,

> The Phrygians still their goddess' favour win
> By the revolving wheel and timbrel's din.

The truest idea perhaps of the rites of Cybele, may be obtained from a careful perusal of the Atys of Catullus, one of the most precious remains of antiquity, and perhaps the only perfect specimen of the old dithyrambic verse.—*T.*

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tion he was observed by one of the natives, who gave intelligence of what he had seen to Saulius, the Scythian king. The king went instantly to the place, and seeing Anacharsis so employed, killed him with an arrow.—If any enquiries are now made concerning this Anacharsis, the Scythians disclaim all knowledge of him, merely because he visited Greece, and had learned some foreign customs: but I have been informed by Timnes, the tutor of Spargapithes, that Anacharsis was the uncle of Idanthyrsus, a Scythian king, and that he was the son of Gnurus, grandson of Lycus, and great-grandson of Spargapithes. If therefore this genealogy be true, it appears that Anacharsis was killed by his own brother; for Saulius, who killed Anacharsis, was the father of Idanthyrsus *.

LXXVII. It is proper to acknowledge, that from the Peloponnesians I have received a very different account: they affirm that Anacharsis was sent by the Scythian monarch to Greece, for the express purpose of improving himself in science; and they add, that at his return he informed his employer, that all the people of Greece were occupied in scientific pursuits, except the Lacedæmonians; but they alone endeavoured to perfect

* A long life of this Anacharsis may be found in Diogenes Laertius.

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themselves in discreet and wise conversation. This, however, is a tale of Grecian invention; I am convinced that Anacharsis was killed in the manner which has been described, and that he owed his destruction to the practice of foreign customs and Grecian manners.

LXXVIII. Not many years afterwards, Scyles, the son of Aripithes, experienced a similar fortune. Aripithes, king of Scythia, amongst many other children, had this son Scyles by a woman of Istria, who taught him the language and sciences of Greece. It happened that Aripithes was treasonably put to death by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi. He was succeeded in his dominions by this Scyles, who married one of his father's wives, whose name was Opæa. Opæa was a native of Scythia, and had a son named Oricus by her former husband. When Scyles ascended the Scythian throne, he was exceedingly averse to the manners of his country, and very partial to those of Greece, to which he had been accustomed from his childhood. As often therefore as he conducted the Scythian forces to the city of the Borysthenites, who affirm that they are descended from the Milesians, he left his army before the town, and entering into the place, secured the gates. He then threw aside his Scythian dress, and assumed the habit of Greece. In this, without guards or attendants, it was his

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custom to parade through the public square, having the caution to place guards at the gates, that no one of his countrymen might discover him. He not only thus shewed his partiality to the customs of Greece, but he also sacrificed to the gods in the Grecian manner. After continuing in the city for the space of a month, and sometimes for more, he would resume his Scythian dress, and depart. This he frequently repeated, having built a palace in this town, and married an inhabitant of the place.

LXXIX. It seemed however ordained[87] that his end should be unfortunate; which accordingly happened. It was his desire to be initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus; and he was already about to take some of the sacred utensils in his hands, when the following prodigy appeared to him. I have before mentioned the palace which

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[87] *It seemed however ordained.*]—This idea, which occurs repeatedly in the more ancient writers, is most beautifully expressed in the Persæ of Æschylus; which I give the reader in the animated version of Potter.

For when Misfortune's fraudful hand
Prepares to pour the vengeance of the sky,
What mortal shall her force withstand,
What rapid speed th' impending fury fly?
Gentle at first, with flattering smiles,
She spreads her soft enchanting wiles;
So to her toils allures her destin'd prey,
Whence man ne'er breaks unhurt away. *T.*

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he had in the city of the Borysthenites; it was a very large and magnificent structure, and the front of it was decorated with sphinxes and griffins of white marble: the lightning[83] of heaven descended upon it, and it was totally consumed. Scyles nevertheless persevered in what he had undertaken. The Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of their Bacchanalian festivals, and assert it to be contrary to reason, to suppose that any deity should prompt men to acts of madness. When the initiation of Scyles was completed, one of the Borysthenites discovered to the Scythians what he had done.—"You Scythians," says he, "censure us on account of our Bacchanalian "rites, when we yield to the impulse of the deity. "This same deity has taken possession of your "sovereign, he is now obedient in his service, "and under the influence of his power. If you "disbelieve my words, you have only to follow "me, and have ocular proof that what I say is

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83 *The lightning.*]—The ancients believed that lightning never fell but by the immediate interposition of the gods; and whatever thing or place was struck by it, was ever after deemed sacred, and supposed to have been consecrated by the deity to himself. There were at Rome, as we learn from Cicero de Divinatione, certain books called "Libri Fulgurales," expressly treating on this subject. In Ammianus Marcellinus, this expression occurs; "contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere pronuntiant libri fulgurales." The Greeks placed an urn over the place where the lightning fell: the Romans had a similar observance.

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"true." The principal Scythians accordingly followed him, and by a secret avenue were by him conducted to the citadel. When they beheld Scyles approach with his thiasus, and in every other respect acting the Bacchanal, they deemed the matter of most calamitous importance, and returning, informed the army of all that they had seen.

LXXX. As soon as Scyles returned, an insurrection was excited against him; and his brother Octomasades, whose mother was the daughter of Tereus, was promoted to the throne. Scyles having learned the particulars and the motives of this revolt, fled into Thrace; against which place, as soon as he was informed of this event, Octomasades advanced with an army. The Thracians met him at the Ister; when they were upon the point of engaging, Sitalces sent an herald to Octomasades, with this message: "A "contest betwixt us would be absurd, for you are "the son of my sister. My brother is in your "power; if you will deliver him to me, I will "give up Scyles to you; thus we shall mutually "avoid all danger." As the brother of Sitalces had taken refuge with Octomasades, the above overtures effected a peace. The Scythian king surrendered up his uncle, and received the person of his brother. Sitalces immediately withdrew his army, taking with him his brother: but on

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that very day Octomasades deprived Scyles of his head. Thus tenacious are the Scythians of their national customs, and such is the fate of those who endeavour to introduce foreign ceremonies amongst them.

LXXXI. On the populousness of Scythia I am not able to speak with decision; they have been represented to me by some as a numerous people, whilst others have informed me, that of real Scythians there are but few. I shall relate however what has fallen within my own observation. Betwixt the Borysthenes and the Hypanis, there is a place called Exampæus: to this I have before made some allusion, when speaking of a fountain which it contained, whose waters were so exceedingly bitter, as to render the Hypanis, into which it flows, perfectly impalatable. In this place is a vessel of brass, six times larger than that which is to be seen in the entrance of Pontus, consecrated there by Pausanias[89] the

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89 *Consecrated there by Pausanias.*]—Nymphis of Heraclea relates, in the sixteenth book of his history of his country, that Pausanias, who vanquished Mardonius at Platea, in violation of the laws of Sparta, and yielding to his pride, consecrated, whilst he was near Byzantium, a goblet of brass to those gods whose statues may be seen at the mouth of the Euxine, which goblet may still be seen. Vanity and insolence had made him so far forget himself, that he presumed to specify in the inscription, that it was he himself who had

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son of Cleombrotus. For the benefit of those who may not have seen it, I shall here describe it. This vessel which is in Scythia, is of the thickness of six digits, and capable of containing six hundred amphoræ. The natives say that it was made of the points of arrows, for that Ariantas[90], one of their kings, being desirous to ascertain the number of the Scythians, commanded each of his subjects, on pain of death, to bring him the point of an arrow: by these means, so prodigious a quantity were collected, that this vessel was composed from them. It was left by the prince as a monument of the fact, and by him consecrated at Exampæus.—This is what I have heard of the populousness of Scythia.

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consecrated it: "Pausanias of Lacedæmon, son of Cleombrotus, and of the ancient race of Hercules, general of Greece, has consecrated this goblet to Neptune, as a monument of his valour."—*Athenæus.*

What would have been the indignation of this or any historian of that period, if he could have foreseen the base and servile inscriptions dedicated in after-times, in almost all parts of the habitable world, to the Cæsars and their vile descendants? Many of these have been preserved, and are an outrage against all decency.—*T.*

[90] *Ariantas.*]—I have now a remarkable instance before me, how dangerous it is to take upon trust what many learned men put down upon the authority of ancient writers. Hoffman, whose Lexicon is a prodigy of learning and of industry, speaking of this Ariantas, says, "that he made each of his subjects bring him *every year* the point of an arrow." For the truth of this, he refers the reader to Herodotus, and the passage before us. Herodotus says no such thing.—*T.*

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LXXXII. This country has nothing remarkable except its rivers, which are equally large and numerous. If besides these and its vast and extensive plains, it possesses any thing worthy of admiration, it is an impression which they shew of the foot of Hercules[91]. This is upon a rock, two cubits in size, but resembling the footstep of a man; it is near the river Tyras.

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91 *Foot of Hercules.*]—The length of the foot of Hercules was ascertained by that of the stadium at Olympia, which was said to have been measured by him to the length of 600 of his own feet: hence Pythagoras estimated the size of Hercules by the rule of proportion; and hence too the proverb, *ex pede Herculem*, a more modern substitution for the ancient one of εξ ονυχων λεοντα.—See Aul. Gell. l. i. and Erasmus's Adagia, in which the proverb of *ex pede Herculem* has no place.—*T.*

Similar traditions and superstitions prevail in other parts of the world, and even at this day. The following is from Symes's account of his embassy to Ava:

In the course of our walks, not the least curious object that presented itself was a flat stone, of a coarse grey granite, laid horizontally on a pedestal of masonry, six feet in length and three wide, protected from the weather by a wooden shed. This stone, like that at Ponoodang, was said to bear the genuine print of the foot of Gandma, and we were informed that a similar impression is to be seen on a large rock situated between two hills, one day's journey west of Memboo. On the plane of the foot, upwards of one hundred emblematical figures are engraven in separate compartments; two convoluted serpents are pressed beneath the feet, and five conch-shells with the involutions to the right form the toes: it was explained to me as a type of the creation, and was held in profound reverence. There is said to be a similar

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LXXXIII. I shall now return to the subject from which I originally digressed.—Darius, preparing to make an expedition against Scythia, dispatched emissaries different ways, commanding some of his dependents to raise a supply of infantry, others to prepare a fleet, and others to throw a bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus. Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, endeavoured to dissuade the prince from his purpose, urging with great wisdom the indigence of Scythia; nor would he desist till he found all his arguments ineffectual. Darius, having completed his preparations, advanced from Susa with his army.

LXXXIV. Upon this occasion a Persian, whose name was Œbazus, and who had three sons in the army, asked permission of the king to detain one of them. The king replied, as to a friend, that the petition was very modest, "and "that he would leave him all the three." Œbazus was greatly delighted, and considered his three sons as exempted from the service: but the king commanded his guards to put the three young men to death; and thus were the three sons of Œbazus left, deprived of life.

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impression on a rock on Adam's Peak, in the island of Ceylon, and it is traditionally believed both by the Birmans, the Siamese, and the Cingalese, that Gaudma or Boodh placed one foot on the Continent, and the other on the island of Ceylon. p. 248.

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LXXXV. Darius marched from Susa to where the bridge* had been thrown over the Bosphorus at Chalcedon. Here he embarked and set sail for the Cyanean islands, which, if the Greeks may be believed, formerly floated [92]. Here, sitting in the temple [93], he cast his eyes over the Euxine,

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* The bridge of Darius, which was for the purpose of transporting his army into Scythia, through Thrace by the right, was laid across the Bosphorus, now called the Canal of Constantinople.—*Rennell.*

92 *Formerly floated.*]—The Cyanean rocks were at so little distance one from the other, that, viewed remotely, they appeared to touch. This optic illusion probably gave place to the fable, and the fable gained credit from the dangers encountered on this sea.—*Larcher.*

See a description of these rocks, in Apollonius Rhodius: I give it from the version of Fawkes.

When hence your destined voyage you pursue,
Two rocks will rise, tremendous to the view,
Just in the entrance of the watery waste,
Which never mortal yet in safety pass'd.
Not firmly fix'd, for oft, with hideous shock,
Adverse they meet, and rock encounters rock.
The boiling billows dash their hairy brow,
Loud thundering round the ragged shore below.

The circumstance of their floating is also mentioned by Valerius Flaccus;

Errantesque per altum
Cyaneas———— *T.*

93 *In the temple.*]—Jupiter was invoked in this temple, under the name of Urius, because this deity was supposed favourable to navigation, ουρος signifying a favourable wind. And never could there be more occasion for his assistance than in a sea remarkably tempestuous.—*Larcher.*

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which of all seas most deserves admiration. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stadia; its breadth, where it is greatest, is three thousand two hundred. The breadth of the entrance is four stadia; the length of the neck, which is called the Bosphorus, where the bridge had been erected, is about one hundred and twenty stadia. The Bosphorus is connected with the Propontis[94], which flowing into the Hellespont[95], is five hundred stadia in breadth, and

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94 *Propontis.*]—Between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, the shores of Europe and Asia, receding on either side, inclose the sea of Marmara, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bosphorus to the entrance of Hellespont, is about one hundred and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis, may at once descry the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows. They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which, Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus, before they cast anchor at Gallipoli, where the sea which separates Asia from Europe, is again contracted into a narrow channel.—*Gibbon.*

95 *Hellespont.*]—The geographers, who, with the most skilful accuracy, have surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign about sixty miles for the winding course, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth of these celebrated streights. But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkish castles, between the cities of Sestos and Abydos. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the possession

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four hundred in length. The Hellespont itself, in its narrowest part, where it enters the Ægean sea, is forty stadia long, and seven wide.

LXXXVI. The exact mensuration of these seas is thus determined; in a long day[96] a ship will sail the space of seventy thousand orgyiæ, and sixty thousand by night. From the entrance of the Euxine to Phasis, which is the extreme length of this sea, is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which is equal to eleven hundred and ten thousand orgyiæ, or eleven thousand one hundred stadia. The broadest part of this sea, which is from Sindica[97] to Themiscyra, on the river Thermodon, is a voyage of three days and

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of his mistress:—It was here likewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes composed a stupendous bridge of boats for the purpose of transporting into Europe an hundred and seventy myriads of Barbarians. A sea contracted within such narrow limits may seem but ill to deserve the epithet of *broad*, which Homer as well as Orpheus has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont.—*Gibbon.*

96 *In a long day.*]—That is, a ship in a long day would sail eighty miles by day, and seventy miles by night. See Wesseling's notes on this passage.—*T.*

97 *Sindica.*]—The river Indus was often called the Sindus. There were people of this name and family in Thrace. Some would alter it to Sindicon, but both terms are of the same purport. Herodotus speaks of a regio Sindica, upon the Pontus Euxinus, opposite to the river Thermodon. This

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two nights, which is equivalent to three thousand three hundred stadia, or three hundred and thirty thousand orgyiæ. The Pontus, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, were thus severally measured by me; and circumstanced as I have already described. The Palus Mæotis flows into the Euxine, which in extent almost equals it, and which is justly called the mother of the Euxine *.

LXXXVII. When Darius had taken a survey of the Euxine, he sailed back again to the bridge constructed by Mandrocles the Samian. He then examined the Bosphorus, near which[98] he

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some would alter to Sindica, but both terms are of the same amount. The Ind or Indus of the east is at this day called the Sind; and was called so in the time of Pliny.—*Bryant.*

* See what Major Rennell says on this subject, p. 53, as well as on the bridges constructed over the Hellespont by Darius and Xerxes, p. 120, & seq.

98 *Near which.*]—The new castles of Europe and Asia are constructed on either continent upon the foundations of two celebrated temples of Serapis, and of Jupiter Urius. The old castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other. These fortresses were restored and strengthened by Mahomet the Second, when he meditated the siege of Constantinople: but the Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant that near two thousand years before his reign, Darius had chosen the same situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats.—*Gibbon.*

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ordered two columns of white marble to be erected; upon one were inscribed in Assyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the different nations which followed him. In this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to seventy thousand men, independent of his fleet, which consisted of six hundred ships. These columns the Byzantines afterwards removed to their city, and placed before the altar of the Orthosian Diana[99], excepting only one stone, which they deposited in their city before the temple of Bacchus, and which was covered with Assyrian characters. That part of the Bosphorus where Darius ordered the bridge to be erected, is, as I conjecture, nearly at the point of middle distance between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the Euxine*.

LXXXVIII. With this bridge Darius was so much delighted, that he made many valuable

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99 *Orthosian Diana.*]—We are told by Plutarch, that in honour of the Orthosian Diana, the young men of Lacedæmon permitted themselves to be flagellated at the altar with the extremest severity, without uttering the smallest complaint.—*T.*

* See Rennell on this subject, as before quoted.

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presents[100] to Mandrocles the Samian, who constructed it: with the produce of these, the artist caused a representation to be made of the Bosphorus, with the bridge thrown over it, and the king seated on a throne, reviewing his troops as they passed. This he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Juno, with this inscription:

Thus was the fishy Bosphorus inclos'd,
When Samian Mandrocles his bridge impos'd:
Who there, obedient to Darius' will,
Approv'd his country's fame, and private skill.

LXXXIX. Darius, having rewarded the artist, passed over into Europe: he had previously ordered the Ionians to pass over the Euxine to the Ister, where having erected a bridge, they were to wait his arrival. To assist this expedition, the Ionians and Æolians, with the inhabitants of the Hellespont, had assembled a fleet; accordingly, having passed the Cyanean islands, they sailed directly to the Ister; and arriving, after a passage of two days from the sea, at that part of the river where it begins to branch off, they constructed a bridge. Darius crossed the Bos-

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[100] *Valuable presents.*]---Gronovius retains the reading of παισι δεκα, which is very absurd in itself, and ill agrees with the context: the true reading is πασι δεκα, that is, ten of each article presented.---See Casaubon on Athenæus, and others.---*T.*

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phorus, and marched through Thrace; and arriving at the sources of the river Tearus, he encamped for the space of three days.

XC. The people who inhabit its banks, affirm the waters of the Tearus to be an excellent remedy for various diseases, and particularly for ulcers, both in men and horses. Its sources are thirty-eight in number, issuing from the same rock, part of which are cold, and part warm; they are at an equal distance from Heræum, a city near Perinthus[101], and from Apollonia on the Euxine, being a two days journey from both. The Tearus flows into the Contadesdus, the Contadesdus into the Agrianis, the Agrianis into the Hebrus, the Hebrus into the sea, near the city Ænus.

XCI. Darius arriving at the Tearus, there fixed his camp: he was so delighted with this river, that he caused a column to be erected on the spot, with this inscription: "The sources of "the Tearus afford the best and clearest waters "in the world:—In prosecuting an expedition "against Scythia, Darius son of Hystaspes, the

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[101] *Perinthus.*]—This place was anciently known by the different names of Mygdonia, Heraclea, and Perinthus.—It is now called Pera.—*T.*

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" best and most amiable of men, sovereign of " Persia, and of all the continent, arrived here " with his forces."

XCII. Leaving this place, Darius advanced towards another river, called Artiscus, which flows through the country of the Odrysians[102]. On his arrival here, he fixed upon one certain spot, on which he commanded every one of his soldiers to throw a stone as he passed: this was accordingly done; and Darius, having thus raised an immense pile of stones, proceeded on his march.

XCIII. Before he arrived at the Ister, he first of all subdued the Getæ, a people who pretend to immortality. The Thracians of Salmydessus, and they who live above Apollonia, and the city of Mesambria, with those who are called Cyrmianians and Mypsæans, submitted themselves to Darius without resistance. The Getæ obstinately defended themselves, but were soon reduced:

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102 *Odrysians.*]—Major Rennell refers these Odrysians to Thrace and the quarter in the neighbourhood of Adrianople. Darius comes to them before he arrives among the Getæ, who were seated to the south of the Danube. Mention is made of them by Claudian in his Gigantomachia:

> Primus terrificum Mavors non segnis in hostem
> Odrisios impellit equos.

Silius Italicus also speaks of Odrisius Boreas.—*T.*

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these, of all the Thracians, are the bravest and the most upright.

XCIV. They believe themselves to be immortal[103]; and whenever any one dies, they are of opinion that he is removed to the presence of their god Zamolxis[104], whom some believe to be

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[103] *They believe themselves to be immortal.*]—Arrian calls these people Dacians. "The first exploits of Trajan," says Mr. Gibbon, "were against the Dacians, the most warlike of men, who dwelt beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had insulted with impunity the majesty of Rome. To the strength and fierceness of Barbarians, they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a vain persuasion of the immortality of the soul."

The Getæ are represented by all the classic writers as the most daring and ferocious of mankind; in the Latin language particularly, every harsh term has been made to apply to them: Nulla Getis toto gens est truculentior orbe, says Ovid. Hume speaks thus of their principles of belief, with respect to the soul's immortality:—"The Getes, commonly called immortal, from their steady belief of the soul's immortality, were genuine Theists and Unitarians. They affirmed Zamolxis, their deity, to be the only true God, and asserted the worship of all other nations to be addressed to mere fictions and chimæras: but were their religious principles any more refined on account of these magnificent pretensions?"

It is very easy to see that both Hume and Gibbon are very angry with the poor Getæ, for their belief in the immortality of the soul.—*T.*

[104] *Zamolxis.*]—Larcher, in conformity to Wesseling, prefers the reading of Zalmoxis.—In the Thracian tongue, Zalmos means the skin of a bear; and Porphyry, in the life of Pythagoras, observes, that the name of Zalmoxis was given him, because as soon as he was born he was covered with the skin of that animal.

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the same with Gebeleizes. Once in every five years they choose one by lot, who is to be dispatched as a messenger to Zamolxis, to make known to him their several wants. The ceremony they observe on this occasion is this:—Three amongst them are appointed to hold in their hands, three javelins, whilst others seize by the feet and hands the person who is appointed to appear before Zamolxis; they throw him up, so as to make him fall upon the javelins. If he dies in consequence, they imagine that the deity is propitious to them; if not, they accuse the victim of being a wicked man. Having disgraced him, they proceed to the election of another, giving him, whilst yet alive, their commands. This same people, whenever it thunders or lightens, throw their weapons into the air, as if menacing their god; and they seriously believe that there is no other deity.

XCV. This Zamolxis, as I have been informed by those Greeks who inhabit the Hellespont and the Euxine, was himself a man, and formerly lived at Samos, in the service of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus; having obtained his liberty, with considerable wealth, he returned to his country. Here he found the Thracians distinguished equally by their profligacy and their ignorance; whilst he himself had been accustomed to the Ionian mode of life, and to man-

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ners more polished than those of Thrace; he had also been connected with Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece. He was therefore induced to build a large mansion, to which he invited the most eminent of his fellow-citizens: he took the opportunity of the festive hour to assure them, that neither himself, his guests, nor any of their descendants, should ever die, but should be removed to a place, where they were to remain in the perpetual enjoyment of every blessing. After saying this, and conducting himself accordingly, he constructed a subterranean edifice: when it was completed, he withdrew himself from the sight of his countrymen, and resided for three years beneath the earth.—During this period, the Thracians regretted his loss, and lamented him as dead. In the fourth year he again appeared among them, and by this artifice, gave the appearance of probability to what he had before asserted.

XCVI. To this story of the subterraneous apartment, I do not give much credit, though I pretend not to dispute it; I am, however, very certain that Zalmoxis must have lived many years before Pythagoras: whether, therefore, he was a man, or the deity of the Getæ, enough has been said concerning him. These Getæ, using the ceremonies I have described, after submitting themselves to the Persians under Darius, followed his army.

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XCVII. Darius, when he arrived at the Ister, passed the river with his army; he then commanded the Ionians to break down the bridge, and to follow him with all the men of their fleet. When they were about to comply with his orders, Coes, son of Erxander, and leader of the Mytilenians, after requesting permission of the king to deliver his sentiments, addressed him as follows:

"As you are going, Sir, to attack a country, "which, if report may be believed, is without "cities and entirely uncultivated, suffer the "bridge to continue as it is, under the care of "those who constructed it:—By means of this, "our return will be secured, whether we find "the Scythians, and succeed against them according to our wishes, or whether they elude "our endeavours to discover them. I am not "at all apprehensive that the Scythians will overcome us; but I think that if we do not meet "them, we shall suffer from our ignorance of the "country. It may be said, perhaps, that I speak "from selfish considerations, and that I am desirous of being left behind; but my real motive "is a regard for your interest, whom at all events "I am determined to follow."

With this counsel Darius was greatly delighted, and thus replied:—"My Lesbian friend, when I "shall return safe and fortunate from this ex-

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" pedition, I beg that I may see you, and I will
" not fail amply to reward you, for your excellent
" advice."

XCVIII. After this speech, the king took a cord, upon which he tied sixty knots[105], then

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[105] *Sixty knots.*]—Larcher observes that this mode of notation proves extreme stupidity on the part of the Persians.* It is certain, that the science of arithmetic was first brought to perfection in Greece, but when or where it was first introduced is entirely uncertain; I should be inclined to imagine, that some knowledge of numbers would be found in regions the most barbarous, and amongst human beings the most ignorant, had I not now before me an account of some American nations, who have no term in their language to express a greater number than three, and even this they call by the uncouth and tedious name of patarrarorincoursac. In the Odyssey, when it is said that Proteus will count his herd of sea-calves, the expression used is *πεμπασσεται, he will reckon them by fives*, which has been remarked as being probably a relick of a mode of counting practised in some remote age, when five was the greatest numeral. To count the fingers of one hand, was the first arithmetical effort: to carry on the account through the other hand, was a refinement, and required attention and recollection.

M. Goguet thinks, that in all numerical calculations pebbles were first used: *ψηφιζω*, to calculate, comes from *ψηφος*, a little stone, and the word *calculation* from *calculi*, pebbles. This is probably true; but between counting by the five fingers and standing in need of pebbles to continue a calcu-

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* Larcher is severe upon the Persians, who were certainly not a stupid people. He possibly took this method to prevent the possibility of a mistake.

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sending for the Ionian chiefs, he thus addressed them:—

"Men of Ionia, I have thought proper to "change my original determination concerning "this bridge: do you take this cord, and ob- "serve what I require; from the time of my

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lation, there must have been many intervening steps of improvement. A more complicated mode of counting by the fingers, was also used by the ancients, in which they reckoned as far as 100 on the left hand, by different postures of the fingers; the next hundred was counted on the right hand, and so on, according to some authors, as far as 9000. In allusion to this, Juvenal says of Nestor,

—— Atque suos jam *dextrâ* computat annos.

Sat. x. 249.

and an old lady is mentioned by Nicarchus, an Anthologic poet, who made Nestor seem young, having returned to the *left* hand again:

——ἡ χερι λαιῃ
Γηρας αριθμειεσθαι δευτερον αρξαμενη.—

Anthology. l. ii.

This, however, must be an extravagant hyperbole, as it would make her above 9000 years old, or there is some error in the modern accounts.—There is a tract of Bede's on this subject, which I have not seen; it is often cited. Macrobius and Pliny tell us, that the statues of Janus were so formed, as to mark the number of days in the year by the position of his fingers, in Numa's time 355, after Cæsar's correction 365.—*Saturn.* i. 9. and *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 7.—*T.*

On this subject, my friend Major Rennell thus expresses himself:

To me it seems clear that the figures called Arabic are from India, through the Arabians. I regard our arithmetic as Indian, and the figures may be traced as clearly as the Roman Letters from the Greek.

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" departure against Scythia, do not fail every day
" to untie one of these knots. If they shall be all
" loosened before you see me again, you are at li-
" berty to return to your country; but in the mean
" time it is my desire that you preserve and defend
" this bridge, by which means you will effectually
" oblige me." As soon as Darius had spoken, he proceeded on his march.

For the following Remarks on book i. c. 105. I am indebted to Mr. Blair.

THREE things should be particularly attended to in the interpretation of this author's words (Book i. § 105. and iv. 67.); viz.

1st. That he is naming a bodily infirmity θηλεια νουσος (fem. dis.) supposed by the Scythians to have been inflicted as a punishment for their sacrilege, at the ancient temple of Venus, in the city of Ascalon.

2dly. That the immediate effects of this disorder were evident to foreigners who visited the Scythians.

3dly. That this dreadful affliction descended (or was supposed to descend) to the posterity of the delinquents, who were generally denominated εναρεες (effeminate men) by the Scythians.

Various opinions have been entertained respecting the disease in question: but the one which has been most plausibly urged, is, that Herodotus here means, in decent terms, to point out a detestable and unnatural crime. It may be asked, however, why should the author employ an obscure periphrasis or circumlocution, to express that which in other parts of the first book (§ 61. 135) he has depicted very intelligibly? Besides, it is not conceivable how any people should adopt the notion of this abominable vice being inflicted as a national punishment; since no man can be so

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stupidly ignorant as not to know that this sinful habit of which we are speaking, is entirely voluntary and acquired.

With regard to the effects of this vile propensity, there can be no doubt that (if it were indulged inordinately) men would by slow degrees become inert, and wholly incapacitated for the rites of a married life: but these do not seem to be the effects intended by Herodotus, when he speaks of their manifest appearance to common observation. Travellers in Scythia were unlikely to discover the *enarees* by any other than outward and visible symptoms of effeminacy; so that I am at a loss to reconcile this circumstance of notoriety with the opinion of a secret practice which generally superinduces invisible effects. Probably too, this practice itself, if it really prevailed in Scythia, did not exist to that degree which is common in warmer countries; for example, in Italy and in Greece.

But the idea which, in my mind, is most inconsistent with this explanation, is that of the disease being transmitted to the posterity of the delinquents. Now, if the debilitating consequences of this supposed vice, rendered the offenders unfit for marriage, they would, *à fortiori*, be disabled from the power of propagating their own infirmities to posterity! Who could be the descendants of the impotent *εναρεες*, their crimes having been punished by an incurable imbecility? May we not thus derive, from the father of history himself, the means of refuting this opinion, although it has been supported by the learning of more numerous and more profound critics, than any other interpretation?

Let us now see whether some light may not be thrown on this inquiry, by Hippocrates, who was a countryman of Herodotus, as well as his contemporary; and who has expatiated pretty largely on this effeminate state of the Scythians, in his book, *περι αερων, ὑδάτων, τόπων.*

From Hippocrates we learn that this disease was only experienced by the opulent Scythians; that the notion of its divine original was altogether chimerical and superstitious; that the infirmity was to be attributed to a natural cause, viz. to constant riding on horseback, and exposure to very

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inclement weather; that its effects were principally confined to the hips and lower parts of the body, including the genitals; and that the disorder consisted, not merely in the loss of virility, but in *chronical rheumatic dispositions* (κεδματα) *accompanied with lameness and effeminate habits.* This is all I can collect from Hippocrates, apart from his theory. The learned Dr. Hensler, indeed, supposes these Scythians had a discharge from the urethra, a malignant kind of gleet: but this does not appear either from the account of Herodotus or of Hippocrates, and is therefore only a conjectural idea.

Upon the whole, I think these two ancient authors may be sufficiently reconciled, and the one may be adduced in illustration of the other. Both of them speak of the symptoms as evident and permanent, attacking those who had formerly been inured to hardships, and disposing them afterwards to a state of indolence or effeminacy. The natural constitution of the Scythians, in so cold a region, would unfit them, as Hippocrates observes, for connubial duties; and, if the higher classes were chiefly afflicted with this infirmity, it might arise from something peculiar in their mode of living, and so be imagined by the common people to have been an hereditary evil, the fruits of sacrilegious profanations in the temple of Venus.

END OF VOL. II.

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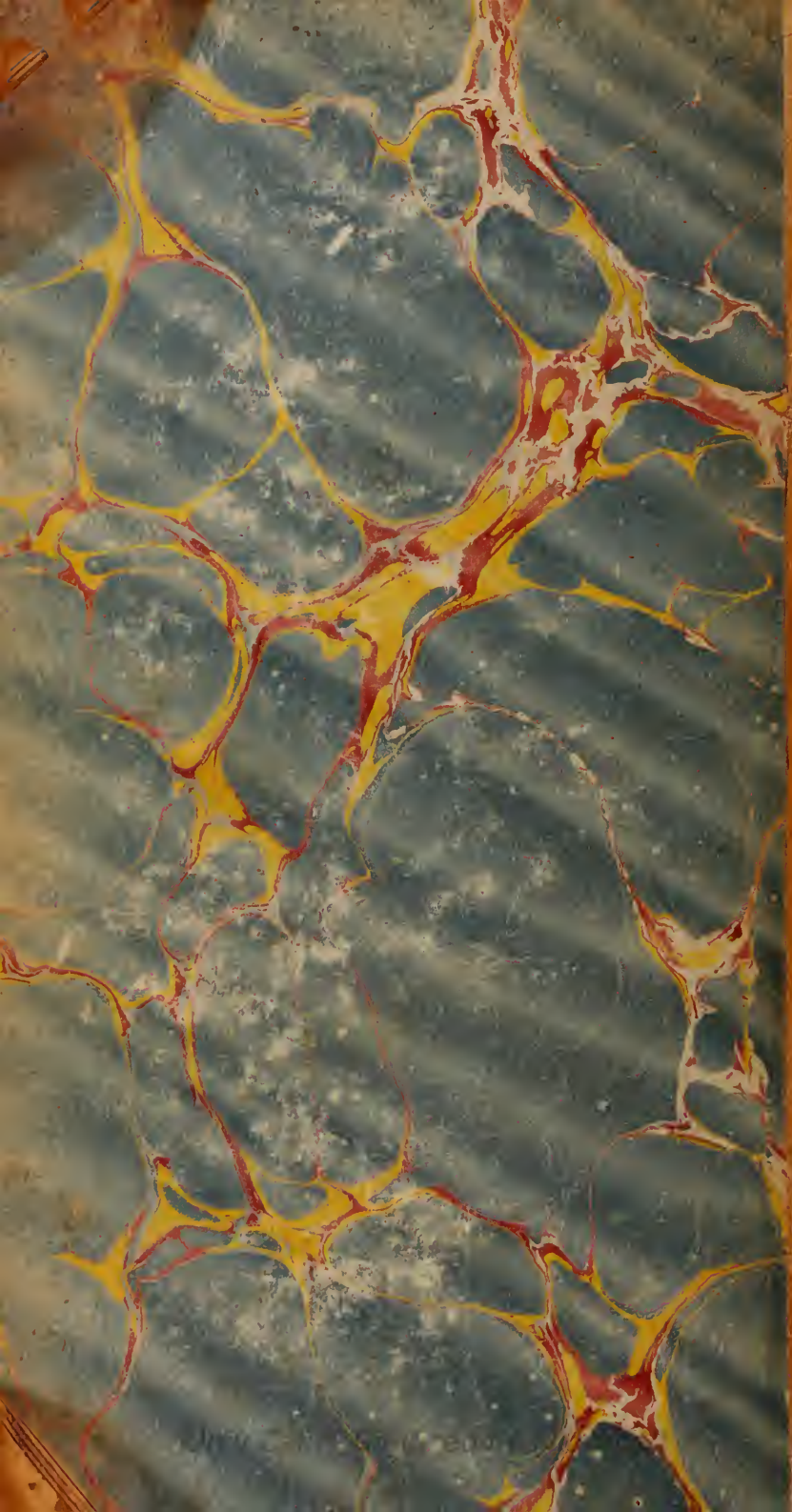

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Herodotus,

HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM BELOE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE

CONTINUED.

CHAP. XCIX.

THAT part of Thrace[106] which stretches to the sea, has Scythia immediately contiguous to it; where Thrace ends, Scythia begins, through which the Ister passes, commencing at the south-east, and emptying itself into the Euxine. It shall be my business to describe that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Ister to the sea-coast. Ancient Scythia extends

106 *That part of Thrace.*]—This chapter will, doubtless, appear perplexed on a first and casual view: but whoever will be at the trouble to examine M. D'Anville's excellent maps, illustrative of ancient geography, will in a moment find every difficulty respecting the situation of the places here described effectually removed.—*T.*

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from the Ister, westward, as far as the city Carcinitis. The mountainous country above this place, in the same direction, as far as what is called the Trachean Chersonese, is possessed by the people of Taurus; this place is situated near the sea to the east. Scythia, like Attica, is in two parts bounded by the sea, westward and to the east. The people of Taurus are circumstanced with respect to Scythia, as any other nation would be with respect to Attica, who, instead of Athenians, should inhabit the Sunian promontory, stretching from the district of Thonicus, as far as Anaphlystus. Such, comparing small things with great, is the district of Tauris: but as there may be some who have not visited these parts of Attica, I shall endeavour to explain myself more intelligibly. Suppose, that beginning at the port of Brundusium [107], another nation, and not the Iapyges [108], should occupy that country, as far as

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107 *Brundusium.*]—This place, which is now called Brindisi, was very memorable in the annals of ancient Rome: here Augustus first took the name of Cæsar, here the poet Pacuvius was born, and here Virgil died:—It belongs to the king of Naples; and it is the opinion of modern travellers, that the kingdom of Naples possesses no place so advantageously situated for trade.—*T.*

108 *Iapyges.*]—The region of Iapygia has been at different times called Messapia, Calabria, and Salentum: it is now called Terra d'Otranto: it derived its name of Iapyges from the wind called Iapyx:

Sed

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Tarentum, separating it from the rest of the continent: I mention these two, but there are many other places similarly situated, to which Tauris might be compared.

C. The country above Tauris, as well as that towards the sea to the east [109], is inhabited by Scythians, who possess also the lands which lie to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the

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Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
Peccet Iapyx.

Where I suppose the Albus, contrasted to Ater, means that this wind surprized the unwary mariner, during a very severe sky.

Others are of opinion, that the Iapyges were so named from Iapyx, the son of Dædalus; and that the wind was named Iapyx, from blowing in the direction of that extremity of Italy; which is indeed more conformable to the analogy of the Latin names for several other winds.

[109] *To the east.*]—This description of Scythia is attended with great difficulties; it is not, in the first place, easy to seize the true meaning of Herodotus; in the second, I cannot believe that the description here given accords correctly with the true position of the places. I am, nevertheless, astonished that it should be generally faithful, when it is considered how scanty the knowledge of this country was: the historian must have laboured with remarkable diligence to have told us what he has. By the phrase of "the sea to the east," Bellanger understands the Palus Mæotis; but I am convinced that when he describes the sea which is to the south, and to the west, he means only to speak of different points of the Euxine.—*Larcher.*

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Palus Mæotis, as far as the Tanaïs, which empties itself into this lake; so that as you advance from the Ister inland, Scythia is terminated first by the Agathyrsi, then by the Neuri, thirdly by the Androphagi, and last of all, by the Melanchlæni *.

CI. Scythia thus appears to be of a quadrangular form, having two of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two towards the land are perfectly equal: from the Ister to the Borysthenes is a ten days journey, which is also the distance from the Borysthenes to the Palus Mæotis. Ascending from the sea inland, as far as the country of the Melanchlæni, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days: according to my computation, a day's journey is equal to two hundred stadia [110]: thus the extent of Scythia, along

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* Scythia may be supposed to have extended northward to the river Dresna, and its eastern branch the Sem, on the east of the Borysthenes, and to Polish Russia on the west of that river: wherefore Wolynia, the proper Ukraine, the countries of Belgerod, &c. must have formed the northern frontier of Scythia, on which side it was bounded by the tribe of Androphagi on the side of Poland, and by the Melanchlæni on the side of Russia, as on the N. W. by the Neuri, and on the west by the Agathyrsi.—*Rennell*, p. 61.

110 *Two hundred stadia.*]—Authors do not agree with each other, nor indeed with themselves, about the length of the day's journey; Herodotus here gives two hundred stadia to

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its sides, is four thousand stadia; and through the midst of it inland, is four thousand more.

CII. The Scythians, conferring with one another, conceived that of themselves they were unable to repel the forces of Darius; they therefore made application to their neighbours. The princes

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a day's journey; but in the fifth book he gives no more than one hundred and fifty.—It is probable that the two hundred stadia are the ordinary journey of a traveller, and the one hundred and fifty stadia the march of an army. The army of Xenophon ordinarily marched five parasangs, which he states to be equal to one hundred and fifty stadia.

Strabo and Pliny make the length of the Arabian Gulph a thousand stadia, which the first of these authors says will take up a voyage of three or four days: what Livy calls a day's journey, Polybius describes as two hundred stadia. The Roman lawyers assigned to each day twenty miles, that is to say, one hundred and sixty stadia.—See *Casaubon on Strabo*, page 61 of the Amsterdam edition, page 23 of that of Paris.

The evangelist Luke tells us, that Joseph and Mary went a day's journey before they sought the child Jesus; now Maundrel, page 64, informs us that, according to tradition, this happened at Beer, which was no more than ten miles from Jerusalem; according, therefore, to this estimation, a day's journey was no more than eighty stadia. When we recollect that the day has different acceptations, and has been divided into the natural day, the artificial day, the civil day, the astronomical day, &c. we shall the less wonder at any apparent want of exactness in the computations of space passed over in a portion of time by no means determinate.—*T.*

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also to whom they applied, held a consultation concerning the powerful army of the invader; at this meeting were assembled the princes of the Agathyrsi, Tauri, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ.

CIII. Of these nations, the Tauri are distinguished by these peculiar customs[111]: All strangers shipwrecked on their coast, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to a virgin, in the following manner: after the ceremonies of prayer, they strike the victim on the head with a club. Some affirm, that, having fixed the head upon a cross, they precipitate the body from the rock, on the craggy part of which the temple stands: others again, allowing that the head is thus exposed, deny that the body is so treated, but say that it is buried. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered, the Taurians themselves assert to be Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. The manner in which they treat their captives is this:

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111 *Peculiar customs.*]—These customs, as far as they relate to the religious ceremonies described in the subsequent paragraphs of this chapter, must have been rendered by the Iphigenia of Euripides, and other writers, too familiar to require any minute discussion. The story of Iphigenia also, in all its particulars, with the singular resemblance which it bears to the account of the daughter of Jephtha in the sacred Scriptures, must be equally well known.—*T.*

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—Every man cuts off the head of his prisoner, and carries it to his house; this he fixes on a stake, which is placed generally at the top of the chimney: thus situated, they affect to consider it as the protector of their families. Their whole subsistence is procured by acts of plunder and hostility.

CIV. The Agathyrsi[112] are a people of very effeminate manners, but abounding in gold; they have their women in common, so that, being all connected by the ties of consanguinity, they know nothing of envy or of hatred: in other respects they resemble the Thracians.

CV. The Neuri observe the Scythian customs. In the age preceding this invasion of Darius, they were compelled to change their habitations, from the multitude of serpents which infested them: besides what their own soil produced, these came

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[112] *Agathyrsi.*]—The country inhabited by this people is now called Vologhda, in Muscovy: the Agathyrsi were by Juvenal called cruel;

Sauromatæque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi.

Virgil calls them the painted Agathyrsi:

Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi.

They are said to have received the name of Agathyrsi from Agathyrsus, a son of Hercules.—*T.*

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in far greater numbers from the deserts above them; till they were at length compelled to take refuge with the Budini; these people have the character of being magicians *. It is asserted by the Scythians, as well as by those Greeks who dwell in Scythia, that once in every year they are all of them changed into wolves [113]; and that after remaining so for the space of a few days, they resume their former shape; but this I do not believe, although they swear that it is true.

CVI. The Androphagi are, perhaps, of all mankind, the rudest: they have no forms of law or justice, their employment is feeding of cattle; and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves.

CVII. The Melanchlæni [114] have all black

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* They were probably, says Rennell, an ingenious people, and exceeded their neighbours in arts as well as in hospitality. p. 93.

113 *Into wolves.*]—Pomponius Mela mentions the same fact, as I have observed in Vol. II. p. 369. It has been supposed by some, that this idea might arise from the circumstance of these people clothing themselves in the skins of wolves during the colder months of winter; but this is rejected by Larcher, without giving any better hypothesis to solve the fable.—*T.*

114 *Melanchlæni.*]—

Melanchlænis atra vestis: & ex eâ nomen.—

Pomp. Mela.

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garments; from whence they derive their name: these are the only people known to feed on human flesh [115]; their manners are those of Scythia.

CVIII. The Budini [116] are a great and numerous people; their bodies are painted of a blue and red colour; they have in their country a town called Gelonus, built entirely of wood. Its walls are of a surprising height: they are on each side three hundred stadia in length; the houses and the temples are all of wood. They have temples built in the Grecian manner to Grecian deities, with the statues, altars, and shrines of wood. Every three years [117] they have a festival in honour of Bacchus. The Geloni are of

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[115] *Human flesh.*]—M. Larcher very naturally thinks this a passage transposed from the preceding chapter, as indeed the word Androphagi literally means eaters of human flesh.

[116] *Budini.*]—The district possessed by this people is now called Podolia: Pliny supposes them to have been so called from using waggons drawn by oxen. —*T.*

The country of the Budini has been taken for that of Woroner and its neighbourhood, as well from description as position; it being, like the other, full of forests.—*Rennell*, p. 93.

[117] *Every three years.*]—This feast, celebrated in honour of Bacchus, was named the Trieterica, to which there are frequent allusions in the ancient authors—See Statius:

——— Non hæc Trieterica vobis
Nox patrio de more venit.

From which we may presume that this was kept up throughout the night.

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Grecian origin; but being expelled from the commercial towns, they established themselves amongst the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Greek and Scythian.

CIX. The Budini are distinguished equally in their language and manner of life from the Geloni: they are the original natives of the country, feeders of cattle, and the only people of the country who eat vermin. The Geloni[118], on the contrary, pay attention to agriculture, live on corn, cultivate gardens, and resemble the Budini neither in appearance nor complexion. The Greeks however are apt, though erroneously, to confound them both under the name of Geloni. Their country is covered with trees of every species: where these are the thickest, there is a large and spacious lake with a marsh surrounded with reeds. In this lake are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have square snouts: of these, the skins are used to border the garment[119]; and their testicles are esteemed useful in hysteric diseases.

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118 *Geloni.*]—These people are called Picti by Virgil:

Pictosque Gelonos. *Georg.* ii. 115.

And by Lucan, fortes:

Massagetes quo fugit equo fortesque Gelonos.—L. iii. 283.

119 *Border the garment.*]—It is perhaps not unworthy remark, that throughout the sacred Scriptures we find no men-

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CX. Of the Sauromatæ[120] we have this account. In a contest which the Greeks had with

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tion made of furs; and this is the more extraordinary, as in Syria and Ægypt, according to the accounts of modern travellers, garments lined and bordered with costly furs are the dresses of honour and of ceremony. Purple and fine linen are what we often read of in Scripture; but never of fur.—*T.*

120 *Sauromatæ.*]—This people were also called Sarmatæ or Sarmatians. It may perhaps tend to excite some novel and interesting ideas in the mind of the English reader, when he is informed, that among a people rude and uncivilized as these Sarmatians are here described, the tender and effeminate Ovid was compelled to consume a long and melancholy exile. It was on the banks of the Danube that he wrote those nine books of epistles, which are certainly not the least valuable of his works. The following lines are eminently harmonious and pathetic:

At puto cum requies medicinaque publica curæ
Somnus adest, solitis nox venit orba malis,
Somnia me terrent veros imitantia casus,
Et vigilant sensus in mea damna mei;
Aut ego Sarmaticas videor vitare sagittas,
Aut dare captivas ad fera vincla manus;
Aut ubi decipior melioris imagine somni,
Aspicio patriæ tecta relicta meæ,
Et modò vobiscum quos sum veneratus amici,
Et modò cum carâ conjuge multa loquor. *T.*

Herodotus relates the origin of this people in this and the subsequent chapters. The account of Diodorus Siculus differs materially: the Scythians, says this author, having subdued part of Asia, drove several colonies out of the country, and amongst them one of the Medes; this, advancing towards the Tanaïs, formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.—*Larcher.*

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the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata [121], or, as it may be interpreted, men-slayers (for Oeor signifies a man, and pata to kill), they obtained a victory over them at Thermodon. On their return, as many Amazons [122] as they were

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121 *Oiorpata.*]—This etymology is founded upon a notion that the Amazons were a community of women who killed every man with whom they had any commerce, and yet subsisted as a people for ages. This title was given them from their worship; for Oiorpata, or, as some manuscripts have it, Aorpata, is the same as Patah-Or, the priest of Orus, or, in a more lax sense, the votaries of that god. They were Ἀνδροκτόνοι, for they sacrificed all strangers whom fortune brought upon their coast: so that the whole Euxine sea, upon which they lived, was rendered infamous from their cruelty.—*Bryant.*

122 *Amazons.*]—The more striking peculiarities relating to this fancied community of women, are doubtless familiar to the most common reader. The subject, considered in a scientific point of view, is admirably discussed by Bryant. His chapter on the Amazons is too long to transcribe, and it would be injurious to mutilate it. "Among barbarous nations," says Mr. Gibbon, "women have often combated by the side of their husbands; but it is *almost* impossible that a society of Amazons should ever have existed in the old or new world."—*T.*

Since the story of the Amazons in the way it is commonly told is so justly exploded in these times, one is surprised how it came to be so universally believed, as that most of the writers of antiquity should speak of it as a fact. Nay, even Herodotus has gone so far (Calliope, c. 27) as to make the Athenians say that the Amazons had advanced from the river Thermodon, to attack Attica. That a community of

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able to take captive, they distributed in three vessels: these, when they were out at sea, rose against their conquerors, and put them all to death. But as they were totally ignorant of navigation, and knew nothing at all of the management either of helms, sails, or oars, they were obliged to resign themselves to the wind and the tide, which carried them to Cremnes *, near the Palus Mæotis, a place inhabited by the free Scythians. The Amazons here disembarked, and advanced towards the part which was inhabited, and meeting with a stud of horses in their route, they immediately seized them, and, mounted on these, proceeded to plunder the Scythians.

CXI. The Scythians were unable to explain what had happened, being neither acquainted with the language, the dress, nor the country of

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women existed for a short time, is not improbable, since accidents may have deprived them of their husbands: but were there not in that, as in every community, males growing up towards maturity?

Justin l. ii. c. 4, describes the origin of the Amazons to be this. A colony of exiled Scythians established themselves on the coast of the Euxine sea, in Cappadocia, near the river Thermodon, and being exceedingly troublesome to their neighbours, the men were all massacred. This accounts very rationally for the existence of a community of women: but who can believe that it continued?—*Rennell*, p. 92.

* This is probably the same place as Chemni, mentioned in c. 20.

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the invaders. Under the impression that they were a body of men nearly of the same age, they offered them battle. The result was, that, having taken some as prisoners, they at last discovered them to be women. After a consultation among themselves, they determined not to put any of them to death, but to select a detachment of their youngest men, equal in number, as they might conjecture, to the Amazons. They were directed to encamp opposite to them, and by their adversaries' motions to regulate their own: if they were attacked, they were to retreat without making resistance; when the pursuit should be discontinued, they were to return, and again encamp as near the Amazons as possible. The Scythians took these measures, with the view of having children by these invaders.

CXII. The young men did as they were ordered. The Amazons, seeing that no injury was offered them, desisted from hostilities. The two camps imperceptibly approached each other. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses; and both obtained their subsistence from the chace.

CXIII. It was the custom of the Amazons, about noon, to retire from the rest, either alone or two in company, to ease nature. The Sey-

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thians discovered this, and did likewise. One of the young men met with an Amazon, who had wandered alone from her companions, and who, instead of rejecting his caresses, suffered him to enjoy her person. They were not able to converse with each other, but she intimated by signs, that if on the following day he would come to the same place, and bring with him a companion, she would bring another female to meet him. The young man returned, and told what had happened: he was punctual to his engagement, and the next day went with a friend to the place, where he found the two Amazons waiting to receive them.

CXIV. This adventure was communicated to the Scythians, who soon conciliated the rest of the women. The two camps were presently united, and each considered her as his wife to whom he had first attached himself. As they were not able to learn the dialect of the Amazons, they taught them theirs; which having accomplished, the husbands thus addressed their wives: —" We have relations and property, let us " therefore change this mode of life; let us go " hence, and communicate with the rest of our " countrymen, where you and you only shall be " our wives." To this, the Amazons thus replied: " We cannot associate with your females, " whose manners are so different from our own;

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" we are expert in the use of the javelin and the
" bow, and accustomed to ride on horseback,
" but we are ignorant of all feminine employ-
" ments: your women are very differently ac-
" complished; instructed in female arts, they
" pass their time in their waggons[123], and de-
" spise the chace, with all similar exercises; we
" cannot therefore live with them. If you really
" desire to retain us as your wives, and to be-
" have yourselves honestly towards us, return to
" your parents, dispose of your property, and
" afterwards come back to us, and we will live
" together, at a distance from your other con-
" nections."

CXV. The young men approved of their advice; they accordingly took their share of the property which belonged to them, and returned to the Amazons, by whom they were thus addressed: " Our residence here occasions us much
" terror and uneasiness: we have not only de-
" prived you of your parents, but have greatly
" wasted your country. As you think us worthy
" of being your wives, let us leave this place, and
" dwell beyond the Tanaïs."

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[123] *In their waggons.*]—These waggons served them instead of houses. Every one knows that in Greece the women went out but seldom; but I much fear that Herodotus attributes to the Scythian women the manners of those of Greece.—*Larcher.*

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CXVI. With this also the young Scythians complied, and having passed the Tanaïs, they marched forwards a three days journey towards the east, and three more from the Palus Mæotis towards the north. Here they fixed themselves, and now remain. The women of the Sauromatæ* still retain their former habits of life; they pursue the chace on horseback, sometimes with and sometimes without their husbands, and, dressed in the habits of the men, frequently engage in battle.

CXVII. The Sauromatæ use the Scythian language, but their dialect has always been impure, because the Amazons themselves had learned it but imperfectly. With respect to their institutions concerning marriage, no virgin is permitted to marry till she shall first have killed an enemy[124]. It sometimes therefore hap-

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* It may be observed that these Sauromatæ of the Greeks were the Samnites of the Romans.

[124] *Killed an enemy.*] — The account which Hippocrates gives is somewhat different: the women of the Sauromatæ mount on horseback, draw the bow, lance the javelin from on horseback, and go to war as long as they remain unmarried: they are not suffered to marry till they have killed three enemies; nor do they cohabit with their husbands till they have performed the ceremonies which their laws require. Their married women do not go on horseback, unless indeed it should be necessary to make a national expedition.

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pens that many women die single at an advanced age, having never been able to fulfil the conditions required.

CXVIII. To these nations, which I have described, assembled in council, the Scythian ambassadors were admitted;—they informed the princes, that the Persian, having reduced under his authority all the nations of the adjoining continent, had thrown a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus, in order to pass into theirs: that he had already subdued Thrace, and constructed a bridge over the Ister, ambitiously hoping to reduce them also. "Will it be just," they continued, "for you to remain inactive spectators of "our ruin? Rather, having the same senti- "ments, let us advance together against this "invader: unless you do this, we shall be re- "duced to the last extremities, and be com- "pelled either to forsake our country, or to "submit to the terms he may impose. If you "withhold your assistance, what may we not "dread? Neither will you have reason to ex- "pect a different or a better fate; for are not "you the object of the Persian's ambition as "well as ourselves? or do you suppose that, "having vanquished us, he will leave you un- "molested? That we reason justly, you have "sufficient evidence before you. If his hosti- "lities were directed only against us, with the

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" view of revenging upon us the former servile
" condition of his nation, he would immediately
" have marched into our country, without at all
" injuring or molesting others; he would have
" shewn by his conduct, that his indignation was
" directed against the Scythians only. On the
" contrary, as soon as ever he set foot upon our
" continent, he reduced all the nations which he
" met, and has subdued the Thracians, and our
" neighbours the Getæ."

CXIX. When the Scythians had thus delivered their sentiments, the princes of the nations who were assembled, deliberated among themselves, but great difference of opinion prevailed; the sovereigns of the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ, were unanimous in their inclination to assist the Scythians; but those of the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and Tauri, made this answer to the ambassadors: " If you
" had not been the first aggressors in this dis-
" pute, having first of all commenced hostilities
" against Persia, your desire of assistance would
" have appeared to us reasonable; we should
" have listened to you with attention, and yielded
" the aid which you require: but without any
" interference on our part, you first made incur-
" sions into their territories, and, as long as
" fortune favoured you, ruled over Persia. The
" same fortune now seems propitious to them,

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" and they only retaliate your own conduct upon
" you. We did not before offer any injury to
" this people, neither without provocation shall
" we do so now: but if he attack our country,
" and commence hostilities against us, he will
" find that we shall not patiently endure the in-
" sult. Until he shall do this, we shall remain
" neutral. We cannot believe that the Persians
" intend any injury to us, but to those alone who
" first offended them."

CXX. When the Scythians heard this, and found that they had no assistance to expect, they determined to avoid all open and decisive encounters: with this view they divided themselves into two bodies, and retiring gradually before the enemy, they filled up the wells and fountains which lay in their way, and destroyed the produce of their fields. The Sauromatæ were directed to advance to the district under the authority of Scopasis, with orders, upon the advance of the Persians, to retreat towards the Mæotis, by the river Tanaïs. If the Persians retreated, they were to harass and pursue them. This was the disposition of one part of their power. The two other divisions of their country, the greater one under Indathyrsus, and the third under Taxacis, were to join themselves to the Geloni and Budini, and advancing a day's march before the Persians, were gradually to retreat,

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and in other respects perform what had been previously determined in council. They were particularly enjoined to allure the enemy to pass the dominions of those nations who had withheld their assistance, in order that their indignation might be provoked; that as they were unwilling to unite in any hostilities before, they should now be compelled to take arms in their own defence. They were finally to retire into their own country, and to attack the enemy, if it could be done with any prospect of success [125].

CXXI. The Scythians, having determined upon these measures, advanced silently before the forces of Darius, sending forwards as scouts a select detachment of their cavalry: they also dispatched before them the carriages in which their wives and children usually live, together with their cattle, reserving only such a number as was necessary to their subsistence, giving directions that their route should be regularly towards the north.

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125 *Prospect of success.*] —The very judicious plan of operation here pourtrayed, seems rather to belong to a civilized nation, acquainted with all the subterfuges of the most improved military discipline, than to a people so rude and barbarous as the Scythians are elsewhere represented. The conduct of the Roman Fabius, who, to use the words of Ennius, cunctando restituit rem, was not very unlike this.—*T.*

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CXXII. These carriages accordingly advanced as they were directed; the Scythian scouts, finding that the Persians had proceeded a three days journey from the Ister, encamped at the distance of one day's march from their army, and destroyed all the produce of the lands. The Persians, as soon as they came in sight of the Scythian cavalry, commenced the pursuit; whilst the Scythians regularly retired before them. Directing their attention to one part of the enemy in particular, the Persians continued to advance eastward towards the Tanaïs. The Scythians having crossed this river, the Persians did the same, till passing over the country of the Sauromatæ, they came to that of the Budini.

CXXIII. As long as the Persians remained in Scythia and Sarmatia, they had little power of doing injury, the country around them was so vast and extensive; but as soon as they came amongst the Budini, they discovered a town built entirely of wood, which the inhabitants had totally stripped and deserted; to this they set fire. This done, they continued their pursuit through the country of the Budini, till they came to a dreary solitude. This is beyond the Budini, and of the extent of a seven days journey, without a single inhabitant. Farther on are the Thyssa-

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getæ[126], from whose country four great rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Palus Mæotis. The names of these rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanaïs, and the Syrgis.

CXXIV. As soon as Darius arrived at the above solitude, he halted, and encamped his army upon the banks of the Oarus: he then constructed eight large forts, at the distance of sixty stadia from each other, the ruins of which have been visible to my time. Whilst he was thus employed, that detachment of the enemy which he had pursued, making a circuit by the higher parts of the country, returned into Scythia. When these had disappeared, and were no more to be discovered, Darius left his forts in an un-

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126 *Thyssagetæ.*]—This people are indifferently named the Thyssagetæ, the Thyrsagetæ, and the Tyrregetæ; mention is made of them by Strabo, Pliny, and Valerius Flaccus.—This latter author says,

> Non ego sanguineis gestantem tympana bellis
> Thyrsagetem, cinctumque vagis post terga silebo
> Pellibus. *T.*

Concerning this nation, it is evident that Herodotus knew but little, probably, as Rennell observes, because Darius stopped short on the borders of their country.

This also is a proof, that what was known to the Greeks of this region, was the result of this expedition of Darius.

The Wolga may well be taken for the Oarus, and perhaps the Medmedelza and Choper for the Lycus and Syrgis, or Hyrgis. Rennell, p. 90.

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finished state, and directed his march westward, thinking that the Scythians whom he had pursued were the whole of the nation, and had fled towards the west: accelerating therefore his march, he arrived in Scythia, and met with two detachments of Scythians; these also he pursued, who took care to keep from him at the distance of one day's march.

CXXV. Darius continued his pursuit, and the Scythians, as had been previously concerted, led him into the country of those who had refused to accede to their alliance, and first of all into that of the Melanchlæni. When the lands of this people had been effectually harassed by the Scythians, as well as the Persians, the latter were again led by the former into the district of the Androphagi. Having in like manner distressed these, the Persians were allured on to the Neuri: the Neuri being also alarmed and harassed, the attempt was made to carry the Persians amongst the Agathyrsi *. This people however had observed, that before their own country had suffered any injury from the invaders, the Scythians had taken care to distress the lands of their neighbours; they accordingly

* Notwithstanding this was the only Scythian nation that shewed a becoming courage in defending their borders, they are before stigmatized by Herodotus as being remarkably effeminate.

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dispatched to them a messenger, forbidding their nearer approach, and threatening that any attempt to advance should meet with their hostile resistance: with this determination, the Agathyrsi appeared in arms upon their borders. But the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, although they had suffered equally from the Persians and the Scythians, neither made any exertions, nor remembered what they had before menaced, but fled in alarm to the deserts of the north. The Scythians, turning aside from the Agathyrsi, who had refused to assist them, retreated from the country of the Neuri, towards Scythia, whither they were pursued by the Persians.

CXXVI. As they continued to persevere in the same conduct, Darius was induced to send a messenger to Indathyrsus, the Scythian prince. "Most wretched man," said the ambassador, "why do you thus continue to fly, having the "choice of one of these alternatives — If you "think yourself able to contend with me, stop "and let us engage: if you feel a conscious "inferiority, bring to me, as to your superior, "earth and water[127]. — Let us come to a con-"ference."

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[127] *Earth and water.*] — Amongst the ancient nations of the west, to shew that they confessed themselves overcome,

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CXXVII. The Scythian monarch made this reply: "It is not my disposition, O Persian, to "fly from any man through fear; neither do I "now fly from you. My present conduct differs "not at all from that which I pursue in a state "of peace. Why I do not contend with you in "the open field, I will explain: we have no in-"habited towns nor cultivated lands of which we

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or that they surrendered at discretion, they gathered some grass, and presented it to the conqueror. By this action they resigned all the claims they possessed to their country. In the time of Pliny, the Germans still observed this custom. Summum apud antiquos signum victoriæ erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc est terra et altrice ipsâ humo et humatione etiam cedere; quem morem etiam nunc durare apud Germanos scio.—Festus and Servius, upon ver. 128, book viii. of the Æneid of Virgil,—

Et vittâ comptes voluit prætendere ramos,—

affirm, that herbam do, is the same thing as victum me fateor, et cedo victoriam. The same ceremony was observed, or something like it, when a country, a fief, or a portion of land, was given or sold to any one.—See Du Cange, Glossary, at the word Investitura. In the East, and in other countries, it was by the giving of earth and water, that a prince was put in possession of a country; and the investiture was made him in this manner. By this they acknowledged him their master without control: for earth and water involve every thing.—Aristotle says, that to give earth and water, is to renounce one's liberty.—*Larcher.*

Amongst the Romans, when an offender was sent into banishment, he was emphatically interdicted the use of fire and water; which was supposed to imply the absence of every aid and comfort.—*T.*

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" can fear your invasion or your plunder, and
" have therefore no occasion to engage with you
" precipitately: but we have the sepulchres of
" our fathers, these you may discover; and if
" you endeavour to injure them, you shall soon
" know how far we are able or willing to resist
" you; till then we will not meet you in battle.
" Remember farther, that I acknowledge no
" master or superior, but Jupiter, who was my
" ancestor, and Histia the Scythian queen. In-
" stead of the presents which you require, of earth
" and water, I will send you such as you better
" deserve: and in return for your calling yourself
" my master, I only bid you weep.'—Such was the answer of the Scythian *, which the ambassador related to Darius.

CXXVIII. The very idea of servitude exasperated the Scythian princes; they accordingly dispatched that part of their army which was under Scopasis, together with the Sauromatæ, to

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* *Answer of the Scythian.*]—To bid a person weep, was a kind of proverbial form of wishing him ill; thus Horace,

- - - Demetri, teque Tigelli
Discipularum inter *jubeo plorare* cathedras.

Afterwards, *the answer of the Scythians* became a proverb to express the same wish; as was also the bidding a person eat onions.—See *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of Bias, and Erasmus in *Scytharum oratio*, and *cepas edere.*—*T.*

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solicit a conference with the Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; those who remained did not think it necessary any more to lead the Persians about, but regularly endeavoured to surprize them when at their meals; they watched, therefore, their proper opportunities, and executed their purpose. The Scythian horse never failed of driving back the cavalry of the Persians, but these last, in falling back upon their infantry, were always secured and supported. The Scythians, notwithstanding their advantage over the Persian horse, always retreated from the foot; they frequently, however, attacked them under cover of the night.

CXXIX. In these attacks of the Scythians upon the camp of Darius, the Persians had one advantage, which I shall explain—it arose from the braying of the asses, and appearance of the mules: I have before observed, that neither of these animals are produced in Scythia[128], on account of the extreme cold. The braying, there-

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[128] *Are produced in Scythia.*]—The Scythians nevertheless, if Clemens Alexandrinus may be believed, sacrificed asses; but it is not improbable that he confounded this people with the Hyperboreans, as he adduces in proof of his assertion a verse from Callimachus, which obviously refers to this latter people. We are also informed by Pindar, that the Hyperboreans sacrificed hecatombs of asses to Apollo.—*Larcher.*

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fore, of the asses greatly distressed the Scythian horses, which, as often as they attacked the Persians, pricked up their ears and ran back, equally disturbed by a noise which they had never heard, and figures they had never seen: this was of some importance in the progress of hostilities.

CXXX. The Scythians, discovering that the Persians were in extreme perplexity, hoped that by detaining them longer in their country, they should finally reduce them to the utmost distress: with this view, they occasionally left exposed some of their cattle with their shepherds, and artfully retired; of these, with much exultation, the Persians took possession.

CXXXI. This was again and again repeated; Darius nevertheless became gradually in want of almost every necessary: the Scythian princes, knowing this, sent to him a messenger, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows[129], as a

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[129] *A bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows.*]—This naturally brings to the mind of an Englishman a somewhat similar present, intended to irritate and provoke, best recorded and expressed by our immortal Shakespeare.—See his Life of Henry the Fifth:—

French Ambassador.——Thus then, in few;—
Your highness lately sending into France,
Did claim some certain dukedoms, in the right

Of

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present. The Persians inquired of the bearer, what these might mean; but the man declared, that his orders were only to deliver them and re-

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Of your great predecessor Edward the Third;
In answer of which claim, the prince our master
Says, that you savour too much of your youth,
And bids you be advised—There's nought in France
That can be with a nimble galliad won,
You cannot revel into dukedoms there;
He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,
This tun of treasure, and in lieu of this
Desires you, let the dukedoms that you claim
Hear no more of you.—Thus the Dauphin speaks.

K. Henry. What treasure, uncle?

Exet. Tennis-balls, my liege.

K. Henry. We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us:
His present and your pains we thank you for.
When we have match'd our rackets to these balls,
We will in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.
Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler,
That all the courts of France will be disturb'd
With chaces.

It may not be improper to remark, that of this enigmatical way of speaking and acting, the ancients appear to have been remarkably fond. In the Pythagorean school, the precept to abstain from beans, *κυαμων απεχεσθαι*, involved the command of refraining from unlawful love; and in an epigram imputed to Virgil, the letter Y intimated a systematic attachment to virtue; this may be found in Lactantius, book vi. c. iii. The act of Tarquin, in striking off the heads from the tallest poppies in his garden, in sufficiently notorious; and the fables of Æsop and of Phædrus may serve to prove that this partiality to allegory was not more universal than it was founded in a delicate and just conception of things.—*T.*

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turn: he advised them, however, to exert their sagacity, and interpret the mystery.

CXXXII. The Persians accordingly held a consultation on the subject. Darius was of opinion, that the Scythians intended by this to express submission to him, and give him the earth and the water which he required. The mouse, as he explained it, was produced in the earth, and lived on the same food as man; the frog was a native of the water; the bird bore great resemblance to a horse[130]; and in giving the arrows, they intimated the surrender of their power: this was the interpretation of Darius. Gobryas, however, one of the seven who had dethroned the Magus, thus interpreted the presents: "Men "of Persia, unless like birds ye shall mount into "the air, like mice take refuge in the earth, or "like frogs leap into the marshes, these arrows "shall prevent the possibility of your return to "the place from whence you came." This explanation was generally accepted.

CXXXIII. That detachment of the Scythians who had before been intrusted with the defence

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[130] *To a horse.*]—It is by no means easy to find out any resemblance which a bird bears to a horse, except, as Larcher observes, in swiftness, which is, however, very far-fetched.—*T.*

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of the Palus Mæotis, but who were afterwards sent to the Ionians at the Ister, no sooner arrived at the bridge, than they thus spake: "Men of Ionia, "if you will but hearken to our words, we come "to bring you liberty: we have been told, that "Darius commanded you to guard this bridge "for sixty days only; if in that time he should "not appear, you were permitted to return home. "Do this, and you will neither disobey him nor "offend us: stay, therefore, till the time which "he has appointed, and then depart." With this injunction the Ionians promising to comply, the Scythians instantly retired.

CXXXIV. The rest of the Scythians, having sent the present to Darius which we have described, opposed themselves to him, both horse and foot, in order of battle. Whilst they were in this situation, a hare was seen in the space betwixt the two armies; the Scythians immediately pursued it with loud cries. Darius, inquiring the cause of the tumult which he heard, was informed that the enemy were pursuing a hare; upon this, turning to some of his confidential attendants, "These men," he exclaimed, "do, indeed, seem "greatly to despise us; and Gobryas has pro- "perly interpreted the Scythian presents: I am "now of the same opinion myself, and it be- "comes us to exert all our sagacity to effect a "safe return to the place from whence we came."

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"Indeed, Sir," answered Gobryas, "I had be-
"fore heard of the poverty of this people, I
"have now clearly seen it, and can perceive that
"they hold us in extreme contempt. I would
"therefore advise, that as soon as the night sets
"in, we light our fires as usual[131]; and far-
"ther to delude the enemy, let us tie all the
"asses together, and leave behind us the more
"infirm of our forces; this done, let us retire,
"before the Scythians shall advance towards the
"Ister, and break down the bridge, or before the
"Ionians shall come to any resolution which may
"cause our ruin."

CXXXV. Darius having acceded to this opinion of Gobryas, as soon as the evening ap-

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131 *Fires as usual.*]—This incident is related, with very little variation, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, a book which I may venture to recommend to all young students in Greek, from its entertaining matter, as well as from the easy elegance and purity of its style; indeed I cannot help expressing my surprise, that it should not yet have found its way into our public schools; it might, I think, be read with much advantage as preparatory to Xenophon.—*T.*

Since the above was written, a translation of this entertaining book has appeared by Dr. Shepherd. The author was a Macedonian, and lived in the reign of the emperors Antoninus and Verus. The two best manuscripts of his work are in the Grand Duke of Tuscany's library, and in Trinity College, Cambridge. There are collations and various readings by John Price, Isaac Vossius, and Casaubon, in Vossius's library.

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proached, the more infirm of the troops, and those whose loss was deemed of little importance, were left behind; all the asses also were secured together: the motive for this was, the expectation that the presence of those who remained would cause the asses to bray as usual. The sick and infirm were deserted, under the pretence, that whilst the king was marching with his best troops to engage the Scythians, they were to defend the camp. After circulating this report, the fires were lighted, and Darius with the greatest expedition directed his march towards the Ister: the asses, missing the usual multitude, made so much the greater noise, from hearing which, the Scythians were induced to believe that the Persians still continued in their camp.

CXXXVI. When morning appeared, they who were left, perceiving themselves deserted by Darius, made signals to the Scythians, and explained their situation; upon which intelligence, the two divisions of the Scythians, forming a junction with the Sauromatæ, the Budini, and Geloni, advanced towards the Ister, in pursuit of the Persians; but as the Persian army consisted principally of foot, who were ignorant of the country, through which there were no regular paths; and as the Scythians were chiefly horse, and perfectly acquainted with the ways, they mutually missed of each other, and the Scythians

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arrived at the bridge much sooner than the Persians. Here, finding that the Persians were not yet come, they thus addressed the Ionians, who were on board their vessels:—"Ionians, "the number of days is now past, and you do "wrong in remaining here; if motives of fear "have hitherto detained you, you may now break "down the bridge, and having recovered your "liberties, be thankful to the gods and to us: "we will take care that he who was formerly "your master, shall never again make war upon "any one."

CXXXVII. The Ionians being met in council upon this subject, Miltiades, the Athenian leader, and prince of the Chersonese[132], on the Hellespont, was of opinion that the advice of the Scythians should be taken, and Ionia * be thus

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[132] *Prince of the Chersonese.*]—All these petty princes had imposed chains upon their country, and were only supported in their usurpations by the Persians, whose interest it was to prefer a despotic government to a democracy; this last would have been much less obsequious, and less prompt to obey their pleasure.—*Larcher.*

* This fact is mentioned at large by Cornelius Nepos, in his life of Miltiades. Miltiades, presuming the advice which he had given would be communicated to Darius on his return, left the Chersonese and retired to Athens. Cujus natio, says the biographer, etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda cum amicior omnium libertati quàm suæ fuerit dominationi.

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relieved from servitude. Histiæus, the Milesian, thought differently; he represented, that through Darius each of them now enjoyed the sovereignty of their several cities; that if the power of Darius was once taken away, neither he himself should continue supreme at Miletus, nor would any of them be able to retain their superiority: for it was evident that all their fellow-citizens would prefer a popular government to that of a tyrant. This argument appeared so forcible, that all they who had before assented to Miltiades, instantly adopted it.

CXXXVIII. They who acceded to this opinion were also in great estimation with the king. Of the princes of the Hellespont, there were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus[133],

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[133] *Lampsacus.*]—Lampsacus was first called Pityusa, on the Asiatic shore, nearly opposite to Gallipoli; this place was given to Themistocles, to furnish him with wine. Several great men amongst the ancients were natives of Lampsacus, and Epicurus lived here for some time.—*Pococke.*

From this place Priapus, who was here worshipped, took one of his names:

Et te ruricolo Lampsace tuta deo.—*Ovid.*

and from hence Lampsacius was made to signify wanton; see Martial, book ii. ep. 17.—

Nam mea Lampsacio lascivit pagina versu.—*T.*

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Herophantus of Parium [134], Metrodorus the Proconnesian [135], Aristagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariston the Byzantian [136]. Amongst the Ionian leaders were Stratias of Chios, Æacides of Samos, Laodamas the Phocean, and Histiæus the Milesian, whose opinion prevailed in the assembly, in oppo-

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[134] *Parium.*]—Parium was built by the Milesians, Erythreans, and the people of the isle of Paros; it flourished much under the kings of Pergamus, of the race of Attalus, on account of the services this city did to that house.—*Pococke.*

It has been disputed whether Archilochos, the celebrated writer of iambics, was a native of this place, or of the island of Paros. Horace says,

> Parios ego primus iambos
> Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
> Archilochi. *T.*

[135] *Metrodorus the Proconnesian.*] — This personage must not be confounded with the celebrated philosopher of Chios, who asserted the eternity of the world. The ancients make mention of the old and new Proconnesus; the new Proconnesus is now called Marmora, the old is the island of Alonia.—*T.*

[136] *Ariston the Byzantian.*]—This is well known to be the modern Constantinople, and has been too often and too correctly described to require any thing from my pen. Its situation was perhaps never better expressed, than in these two lines from Ovid:

> Quaque tenent ponti Byzantia littora fauces
> Hic locus est gemini janua vasta maris.

This city was originally founded by Byzas, a reputed son of Neptune, 656 years before Christ. Perhaps the most minute and satisfactory account of every thing relating to Byzantium, may be found in Mr. Gibbon's history.—*T.*

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sition to that of Miltiades: the only Æolian of consequence who was present on this occasion, was Aristagoras of Cyme.

CXXXIX. These leaders, acceding to the opinion of Histiæus, thought it would be advisable to break down that part of the bridge which was towards Scythia, to the extent of a bow-shot. This, although it was of no real importance, would prevent the Scythians from passing the Ister on the bridge, and might induce them to believe that no inclination was wanting on the part of the Ionians, to comply with their wishes: accordingly Histiæus thus addressed them in the name of the rest: "Men of Scythia, we consider "your advice as of consequence to our interest, "and we take in good part your urging it upon "us. You have shewn us the path which we "ought to pursue, and we are readily disposed "to follow it; we shall break down the bridge as "you recommend, and in all things shall discover "the most earnest zeal to secure our liberties: "in the mean time, whilst we shall thus be em-"ployed, it becomes you to go in pursuit of the "enemy, and having found them, revenge your-"selves and us."

CXL. The Scythians, placing an entire confidence in the promises of the Ionians, returned

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to the pursuit of the Persians; they did not, however, find them, for in that particular district they themselves had destroyed all the fodder for the horses, and corrupted all the springs; they might otherwise easily have found the Persians; and thus it happened, that the measure which at first promised them success, became ultimately injurious. They directed their march to those parts of Scythia where they were secure of water and provisions for their horses, thinking themselves certain of here meeting with the enemy; but the Persian prince, following the track he had before pursued, found, though with the greatest difficulty, the place he aimed at: arriving at the bridge by night, and finding it broken down, he was exceedingly disheartened, and conceived himself abandoned by the Ionians.

CXLI. There was in the army of Darius an Ægyptian very remarkable for the loudness of his voice[137]: this man, Darius ordered to advance to

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137 *Loudness of his voice.*]—By the use here made of this Ægyptian, and the particular mention of Stentor in the Iliad, it may be presumed that it was a customary thing for one or more such personages to be present on every military expedition. At the present day, perhaps, we may feel ourselves inclined to dispute the utility, or ridicule the appearance of such a character; but before the invention of artillery, and when the firm but silent discipline of the ancients, and of

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the banks of the Ister, and to pronounce with all his strength, the name of "Histiæus the Milesian;" Histiæus immediately heard him, and approaching with all the fleet, enabled the Persians to repass, by again forming a bridge.

CXLII. By these means the Persians escaped, whilst the Scythians were a second time engaged in a long and fruitless pursuit. From this period the Scythians considered the Ionians as the basest and most contemptible of mankind, speaking of

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the Greeks in particular, is considered, such men might occasionally exert their talents with no despicable effect.

> Heaven's empress mingles with the mortal crowd,
> And shouts in Stentor's sounding voice aloud;
> Stentor the strong, endued with brazen lungs,
> Whose throat surpass'd the force of fifty tongues.

The shouting of Achilles from the Grecian battlements, is represented to have had the power of impressing terror on the hearts of the boldest warriors, and of suspending a tumultuous and hard-fought battle:

> Forth march'd the chief, and distant from the crowd
> High on the rampart rais'd his voice aloud;
> With her own shout Minerva swells the sound;
> Troy starts astonish'd, and the shores rebound;
> So high his brazen voice the hero rear'd,
> Hosts drop their arms, and tremble as they heard. *T.*

It has moreover been remarked by travellers, that from frequent habit, the voices of the criers to prayers from the mosques in Mahometan cities, may be heard from a distance hardly credible.

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them as men attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom; and always using towards them the most reproachful terms.

CXLIII. Darius proceeding through Thrace, arrived at Sestos of the Chersonese, from whence he passed over into Asia: he left, however, some troops in Europe, under the command of Megabyzus[138], a Persian, of whom it is reported, that one day in conversation the king spoke in terms of the highest honour.—He was about to eat some pomegranates, and having opened one, he was asked by his brother Artabanus, what thing there was which he would desire to possess in as great a quantity as there were seeds in the pomegranate?[139] "I would rather," he replied, "have "so many Megabyzi, than see Greece under my "power." This compliment he paid him publicly, and at this time he left him at the head of eighty thousand men.

CXLIV. This same person also, for a saying which I shall relate, left behind him in the Helles-

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138 *Megabyzus.*]—The text reads Megabazus, but Herodotus elsewhere says Megabyzus, which is supported by the best manuscripts.—*T.*

139 *Seeds in the pomegranate.*]—Plutarch relates this incident in his apophthegms of kings and illustrious generals, but applies it to Zopyrus, who by mangling his nose, and cutting off his ears, made his master Sovereign of Babylon.—*T.*

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pont a name never to be forgotten. Being at Byzantium, he learned upon inquiry that the Chalcedonians [140] had built their city seventeen years before the Byzantians had founded theirs: he observed, that the Chalcedonians must then have been blind,—or otherwise, having the choice of a situation in all respects better, they would never have preferred one so very inferior.—Megabyzus, being thus left with the command of the Hellespont, reduced all those who were in opposition to the Medes [141].

CXLV. About the same time another great expedition was set on foot in Libya, the occasion of which I shall relate: it will be first necessary to premise this:—The posterity of the Argonauts [142]

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140 *The Chalcedonians.*]—The promontory on which the ancient Chalcedon stood, is a very fine situation, being a gentle rising ground from the sea, with which it is almost bounded on three sides; further on the east side of it, is a small river which falls into the little bay to the south, that seems to have been their port; so that Chalcedon would be esteemed a most delightful situation, if Constantinople was not so near it, which is indeed more advantageously situated.—*Pococke.*

141 *The Medes.*]—Herodotus, and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes. Claudian says,

Remige Medo
Sollicitatus Athos. *Larcher.*

142 *Posterity of the Argonauts.*]—An account of this incident, with many variations and additions, is to be found in Plutarch's Treatise on the Virtues of Women.—*T.*

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having been expelled from Lemnos, by the Pelasgians, who had carried off from Brauron, some Athenian women, sailed to Lacedæmon; they disembarked at Taygetus[143], where they made a great fire. The Lacedæmonians perceiving this, sent to inquire of them who and whence they were; they returned for answer that they were Minyæ, descendants of those heroes who, passing the ocean in the Argo, settled in Lemnos, and there begot them. When the Lacedæmonians heard this account of their descent, they sent a second messenger, inquiring what was the meaning of the fire they had made, and what were their intentions in coming among them. Their reply was to this effect, that, being expelled by the Pelasgians, they had returned, as was reasonable, to the country of their ancestors, and were desirous to fix their residence with them, as partakers of their lands and honours. The Lacedæmonians expressed themselves willing to receive them upon their own terms; and they were induced to this,

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143 *Taygetus.*]—This was a very celebrated mountain of antiquity; it was sacred to Bacchus, for here, according to Virgil, the Spartan virgins acted the Bacchanal in his honour;—

> Virginibus bacchata Lacænis
> Taygeta.

Its dogs are also mentioned by Virgil,—Taygetique canes; though perhaps this may poetically be used for Spartan dogs.—*T.*

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as well from other considerations, as because the Tyndaridæ[144] had sailed in the Argo; they accordingly admitted the Minyæ among them, assigned them lands, and distributed them among their tribes. The Minyæ in return parted with the women whom they had brought from Lemnos, and connected themselves in marriage with others.

CXLVI. In a very short time these Minyæ became distinguished for their intemperance, making themselves not only dangerous from their ambition, but odious by their vices. The Lacedæmonians conceived their enormities worthy of death, and accordingly cast them into prison: it is to be remarked, that this people always inflict capital punishments by night, never by day. When things were in this situation, the wives of the prisoners, who were natives of the country, and the daughters of the principal citizens, solicited permission to visit their husbands in confinement; as no stratagem was suspected, this was granted. The wives of the Minyæ[145] accordingly entered

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144 *Tyndaridæ.*]—Castor and Pollux, so called from Tyndarus, the husband of their mother Leda.—*T.*

145 *The wives of the Minyæ.*]—This story is related at some length by Valerius Maximus, book iv. chap. 6, in which he treats of conjugal affection. The same author tells us of Hipsicratea, the beloved wife of Mithridates, who, to gratify

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the prison, and exchanged dresses with their husbands: by this artifice they effected their escape, and again took refuge on Mount Taygetus.

CXLVII. It was about this time that Theras[146], the son of Autesion, was sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony: Autesion was the son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, great-grandson of Polynices. This Theras was of the Cadmean family, uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus: during the minority of his nephews, the regency of Sparta was confided to him. When his sister's sons grew up, and he was obliged to resign his power, he was little inclined to acknowledge superiority where he had been accustomed to exercise it; he therefore refused to remain in Sparta, but determined to join his relations. In the island now called Thera, but formerly Callista, the posterity of Membliares, son of Pœciles[147] the

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her husband, assumed and constantly wore the habit of a man.—*T.*

[146] *Theras.*]—This personage was the sixth descendant from Œdipus, and the tenth from Cadmus.—See Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, v. 6.

[147] *Pœciles.*]—M. Larcher makes no scruple of translating this Procles; and in a very elaborate note attempts to establish his opinion, that this must be an abbreviation for

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Phœnician, resided; to this place Cadmus, son of Agenor, was driven, when in search of Europa; and either from partiality to the country, or from prejudice of one kind or other, he left there, among other Phœnicians, Membliares[148] his relation. These men inhabited the island of Callista eight years before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon.

CXLVIII. To this people Theras came, with a select number from the different Spartan tribes: he had no hostile views, but a sincere wish to dwell with them on terms of friendship. The Minyæ having escaped from prison, and taken refuge on Mount Taygetus, the Lacedæmonians were still determined to put them to death; Theras, however, intercceded in their behalf, and

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Patrocles; but as, by the confession of this ingenious and learned Frenchman, the authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Porphyry, are against the reading, even of Procles for Pœciles, it has too much the appearance of sacrificing plain sense and probability at the shrines of prejudice and system, for me to adopt it without any thing like conviction.—*T.*

[148] *Membliares.*]—Pausanias differs from Herodotus in his account of the descent of Membliares; he represents him as a man of very mean origin: to mark these little deviations, may not perhaps be of consequence to the generality of English readers, but none surely will be displeased at being informed, where, if they think proper, they may compare what different authors have said upon the same subject.—*T.*

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engaged to prevail on them to quit their situation. His proposal was accepted, and accordingly, with three vessels of thirty oars, he sailed to join the descendants of Membliares, taking with him only a small number of the Minyæ. The far greater part of them had made an attack upon the Paroreatæ, and the Caucons, and expelled them from their country; dividing themselves afterwards into six bodies, they built the same number of towns, namely, Lepreus, Magistus, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epius, and Nudius: of these, the greater part have in my time been destroyed by the Eleans.—The island before mentioned is called Theras, from the name of its founder.

CXLIX. The son of Theras refusing to sail with him, his father left him, as he himself observed, as a sheep amongst wolves; from which saying the young man got the name of Oiolycus, which he ever afterwards retained. Oiolycus had a son named Ægeus, who gave his name to the Ægidæ, a considerable Spartan tribe, who, finding themselves in danger of leaving no posterity behind them, built, by the direction of the oracle, a temple* to the Furies[149] of Laius and Œdipus;

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* *Temple.*]—The original is ἱερον, which means a sacred edifice.

[149] *The Furies.*]—With a view to the information and amusement of the English reader, I subjoin a few particulars concerning the Furies.

They

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this succeeded to their wish. A circumstance similar to this happened afterwards in the island of Thera, to the descendants of this tribe.

They were three in number, the daughters of Night and Acheron: some have added a fourth; their names, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra; their residence in the infernal regions; their office to torment the wicked.

They were worshipped at Athens, and first of all by Orestes, when acquitted by the Areopagites of matricide. Æschylus was the first person who represented them as having snakes instead of hair. Their name in heaven was Diræ, from the Greek word Δειναι, transposing ρ for ν: on earth they were called Furiæ and Eumenides; their name in the regions below was Stygiæ Canes. The ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, abound with passages descriptive of their attributes and influence: the following animated apostrophe to them is from Æschylus—Mr. Potter's version:

See this griesly troop,
Sleep has oppress'd them, and their baffled rage
Shall fail.—Grim-visag'd hags, grown old
In loath'd virginity: nor god nor man
Approach'd their bed, nor savage of the wilds;
For they were born for mischiefs, and their haunts
In dreary darkness, 'midst the yawning gulphs
Of Tartarus beneath, by men abhorr'd,
And by the Olympian gods.

After giving the above quotation from Æschylus, it may not be unnecessary to add, that the three whom I have specified by name, were only the three principal, or supreme of many furies. Here the furies of Laius and Œdipus are mentioned, because particular furies were, as it seems, supposed ready to avenge the murder of every individual;

Thee may th' Erinnys of thy sons destroy.
Eurip. Medea. Potter, 1523.

Or the manes themselves became furies for that purpose:

Their

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CL. Thus far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians and Thereans agree; what follows, is related on the authority of the latter only:—Grinus, son of Æsanius, and descended from the above Theras, was prince of the island; he went to Delphi, carrying with him an hecatomb for sacrifice, and accompanied, among others of his citizens, by Battus the son of Polymnestus, of the family of Euthymus a Minyan; Grinus, consulting the oracle about something of a different nature, was commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Libya. "I," replied the prince, "am "too old and too infirm for such an undertaking; "suffer it to devolve on some of these younger "persons who accompany me;" at the same time he pointed to Battus. On their return, they paid no regard to the injunction of the oracle, being both ignorant of the situation of Libya, and not caring to send a colony on so precarious an adventure.

Their shades shall pour their vengeance on thy head.

Ib. 1503.

Orestes in his madness calls Electra one of his furies; that is, one of those which attended to torment him:

Off, let me go: I know thee who thou art,
One of *my* furies, and thou grapplest with me,
To whirl me into Tartarus.—Avaunt!

Orestes, 270.

It stands at present in the version *the* furies; which is wrong.

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CLI. For seven years after the above event, it never rained in Thera; in consequence of which, every tree in the place perished, except one. The inhabitants consulted the oracle; when the sending a colony to Libya was again recommended by the Pythian: as therefore no alternative remained, they sent some emissaries into Crete, to inquire whether any of the natives or strangers residing among them had ever visited Libya. The persons employed on this occasion, after going over the whole island, came at length to the city Itanus[150], where they became acquainted with a certain dyer of purple, whose name was Corobius; this man informed them, that he was once driven by contrary winds into Libya, and had landed there, on the island of Platea *: they therfore bargained with him for a certain sum, to accompany them to Thera. Very few were induced to leave Thera upon this business; they who went were conducted by Corobius, who was left upon the island he had described, with provisions for some months; the rest of their party made their way back by sea, as expeditiously as possible, to acquaint the Thereans with the event.

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150 *Itanus.*]—Some of the dictionaries inform us, that this place is now called Paleo-Castro; but Savary, in his Letters on Greece, remarks, that the modern Greeks give this name to all ancient places.—*T.*

* This island on the Libyan coast is now called Bomba.

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CLII. By their omitting to return at the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the greatest distress; it happened, however, that a Samian vessel, whose commander's name was Colæus, was, in its course towards Ægypt, driven upon the island of Platea; these Samians, hearing the story of Corobius, left him provisions for a twelvemonth. On leaving this island, with a wish to go to Ægypt, the winds compelled them to take their course westward, and continuing thus, without intermission, carried them beyond the Columns of Hercules, till, as it should seem by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at Tartessus [151]. As this was a port then but little known, their voyage ultimately proved very advantageous; so that, excepting Sostrates, with whom there can be no competition, no Greeks were ever before so fortunate in any commercial undertaking. With six talents, which

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[151] *Tartessus.*]—This place is called by Ptolemy, Carteia, and is seen in D'Anville's maps under that name, at the entrance of the Mediterranean: mention is made in Ovid of Tartessia litora.—*T.*

This place lies without the Columns of Hercules, and at the mouth of the river Betis, near Cadis. The text says, beyond the Columns in respect to Platea and Ægypt. Carteia lay close to Gibraltar, and its ruins are now shewn under the same name.

Mela, l. ii. c. 6. makes Carteia the same with Tartessus.

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was a tenth part of what they gained, the Samians made a brazen vase, in the shape of an Argolic goblet, round the brim of which the heads of griffins [152] were regularly disposed: this was deposited in the temple of Juno, where it is supported by three colossal figures, seven cubits high, resting on their knees. This was the first occasion of the particular friendship, which afterwards subsisted between the Samians, and the people of Cyrene and Thera.

CLIII. The Thereans, having left Corobius behind, returned, and informed their countrymen that they had made a settlement in an island belonging to Libya: they, in consequence, determined, that a select number should be sent from each of their seven cities, and that if these happened to be brothers, it should be determined by lot who should go; and that finally, Battus should be their prince and leader: to Platea, they sent accordingly two ships of fifty oars.

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152 *Griffins.*]—In a former note upon this word I neglected to inform the reader, that in Sir Thomas Brown's Vulgar Errors there is a chapter upon the subject of griffins, very curious and entertaining, p. 142. This author satisfactorily explains the Greek word Γρυψ, or Gryps, to mean no more than a particular kind of eagle or vulture: being compounded of a lion and an eagle, it is a happy emblem of valour and magnanimity, and therefore applicable to princes, generals, &c.; and from this it is borne in the coat of arms of many noble families in Europe.—*T.*

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CLIV. With this account, as given by the Thereans, the Cyreneans agree, except in what relates to Battus; here they differ exceedingly, and tell, in contradiction, the following history: —There is a town in Crete, named Oaxus, where Etearchus was once king; having lost his wife, by whom he had a daughter, called Phronima, he married a second time: no sooner did his last wife take possession of his house, than she proved herself to Phronima, a real step-mother. Not content with injuring her by every species of cruelty and ill-treatment, she at length upbraided her with being unchaste, and persuaded her husband to believe so. Deluded by the artifice of his wife, he perpetrated the following act of barbarity against his daughter: there was at Oaxus a merchant of Thera, whose name was Themison; of him, after shewing him the usual rites of hospitality, he exacted an oath that he would comply with whatever he should require; having done this, he delivered him his daughter, ordering him to throw her into the sea. Themison reflected with unfeigned sorrow on the artifice which had been practised upon him, and the obligation imposed; he determined, however, what to do: he took the damsel, and having sailed to some distance from land, to fulfil his oath, he secured a rope about her, and plunged her into the sea; but he immediately took her out again, and carried her to Thera.

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CLV. Here Polymnestus, a Therean of some importance, took Phronima to be his concubine, and after a certain time had a son by her, remarkable for his shrill and stammering voice: his name, as the Thereans and Cyreneans assert, was Battus[153], but I think it was something else. He was not, I believe, called Battus till after his arrival in Libya; he was then so named, either on account of the answer of the oracle, or from the subsequent dignity which he attained. Battus, in the Libyan tongue, signifies a prince; and I should think that the Pythian, foreseeing he was to reign in Libya, distinguished him by this African title. As soon as he grew up, he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle concerning the imperfection of his voice: the answer he received was this:

Hence, Battus! of your voice inquire no more;
But found a city on the Libyan shore.

This is the same as if she had said in Greek, "Inquire no more, O king, concerning your

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153 *Battus.*]—Battus, according to Hesychius, also signifies, in the Libyan tongue, a king: from this person, and his defect of pronunciation, comes, according to Suidas, the word Βατταριζειν, to stammer. There was also an ancient foolish poet of this name, from whom, according to the same authority, Βαττολογια signified an unmeaning redundance of expression. Neither must the Battus here mentioned be confounded with the Battus whom Mercury turned into a direction-post, and whose story is so well told by Ovid.—*T.*

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"voice." To this Battus replied, "O king, I "came to you on account of my infirmity of "tongue; you, in return, impose upon me an "undertaking which is impossible; for how can "I, who have neither forces nor money, establish "a colony in Libya?" He could not, however, obtain any other answer, which when he found to be the case, he returned to Thera.

CLVI. Not long afterwards, he, with the rest of the Thereans, was visited by many and great calamities; and not knowing to what cause they should impute them, they sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle on the subject. The Pythian informed them, that if, under the conduct of Battus, they would colonize Cyrene in Libya, things would certainly go better with them: they accordingly dispatched Battus to accomplish this, with two fifty-oared vessels. These men acting from compulsion, set sail for Libya, but soon returned to Thera; but the Thereans, forcibly preventing their landing, ordered them to return from whence they came. Thus circumstanced, they again set sail, and founded a city in an island contiguous to Libya, called, as we have before remarked, Platea[154]; this city is said to be

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[154] *Platea.*]—This name is written also *Plataea:* Stephanus Byzantinus has it both in that form, and also *Platēa* or

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equal in extent to that in which the Cyreneans now reside.

CLVII. They continued in this place for the space of two years, but finding their ill fortune still pursue them, they again sailed to Delphi, to inquire of the oracle, leaving only one of their party behind them: when they desired to know why, having established themselves in Libya, they had experienced no favourable reverse of fortune, the Pythian made them this answer:—

Know'st thou then Libya better than the God,
Whose fertile shores thy feet have never trod?
He who has well explor'd them, thus replies;
I can but wonder at a man so wise!

On hearing this, Battus, and they who were with him, again returned; for the deity still persevered in requiring them to form a settlement in Libya, where they had not yet been: touching, therefore, at Platea, they took on board the man whom they had left, and established their colony in Libya itself. The place they selected was Aziris,

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Plateia. Pliny speaks of three *Plateas*, and a *Plate*, off the coast of Troas; but they must have been very inconsiderable spots, and have not been mentioned by any other author. The best editions of Herodotus read *Platĕa* here; but I suspect *Plateia* to be right, for Scylax has it so as well as Stephanus.—The place of the celebrated battle in Bœotia was Platææ.

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immediately opposite to where they had before resided; two sides of which were inclosed by a beautiful range of hills, and a third agreeably watered by a river.

CLVIII. At this place they continued six years; when, at the desire of the Libyans, who promised to conduct them to a better situation, they removed. The Libyans accordingly became their guides, and had so concerted the matter, as to take care that the Greeks should pass through the most beautiful part of their country by night: the direction they took was westward, the name of the country they were not permitted to see was Irasa*.—They came at length to what is called the fountain of Apollo[155]: —"Men of "Greece," said the Libyans, "the heavens are "here opened to you, and here it will be proper "for you to reside."

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* *Irasa.*]—Milton calls this place Irassa.

As when earth's son Antæus, to compare
Small things with greatest, in Irassa strove
With Jove's Alcides.

Milton has however the authority of Pindar:

——— ιβαν
Ιρασσαν προς πολιν Ανταιου.———

155 *Fountain of Apollo.*]—The name of this fountain was Cyre, from which the town of Cyrene had afterwards its name. Herodotus calls it, in the subsequent paragraph, Thestis; but there were probably many fountains in this place.—*Larcher.*

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CLIX. During the life of Battus, who reigned forty years, and under Arcesilaus his son, who reigned sixteen, the Cyreneans remained in this colony, without any alteration with respect to their numbers: but under their third prince, who was also called Battus, and who was surnamed the Happy, the Pythian, by her declarations, excited a general propensity in the Greeks to migrate to Libya*, and join themselves to the Cyreneans. The Cyreneans, indeed, had invited them to a share of their possessions, but the oracle had also thus expressed itself:

Who seeks not Libya 'till the lands are shar'd,
Let him for sad repentance be prepar'd.

The Greeks, therefore, in great numbers, settled themselves at Cyrene. The neighbouring Libyans with their king Adieran, seeing themselves injuriously deprived of a considerable part of their lands, and exposed to much insulting treatment, made an offer of themselves and their country to Apries, sovereign of Ægypt: this prince assembled a numerous army of Ægyptians, and sent

* This province, says Rennell, is named Libya Pentapolis, from its having five towns of note in it,—Cyrene, Barce, Ptolemais, Berenice, and Tauchira; all of which not only exist at present under the form either of towns or villages, but it is remarkable that their names are scarcely changed from what we may suppose the pronunciation to have been among the Greeks.—They are now called, Kurin, Barca, Tollamata, Bernic, and Taukera.—p. 611.

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them to attack Cyrene. The Cyreneans drew themselves up at Irasa, near the fountain Thestis, and in a fixed battle routed the Ægyptians, who till now, from their ignorance, had despised the Grecian power. The battle was so decisive, that very few of the Ægyptians returned to their country; they were on this account so exasperated against Apries, that they revolted from his authority.

CLX. Arcesilaus, the son of this Battus, succeeded to the throne; he was at first engaged in some contest with his brothers, but they removed themselves from him to another part of Libya, where, after some deliberation, they founded a city. They called it Barce, which name it still retains. Whilst they were employed upon this business, they endeavoured to excite the Libyans against the Cyreneans. Arcesilaus without hesitation commenced hostilities both against those who had revolted from him, and against the Libyans who had received them; intimidated by which, these latter fled to their countrymen, who were situated more to the east. Arcesilaus persevered in pursuing them till he arrived at Leucon, and here the Libyans discovered an inclination to try the event of a battle. They accordingly engaged, and the Cyreneans were so effectually routed, that seven thousand of their men in arms, fell in the field. Arcesilaus, after this calamity, fell sick, and was strangled by

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his brother Aliarchus, whilst in the act of taking some medicine. The wife of Arcesilaus, whose name was Eryxo[156], revenged by some stratagem on his murderer, the death of her husband.

CLXI. Arcesilaus was succeeded in his authority by his son Battus, a boy who was lame, and had otherwise an infirmity in his feet. The Cyreneans, afflicted by their recent calamities, sent to Delphi, desiring to know what conduct would most effectually secure their tranquillity. The Pythian in reply, recommended them to procure from Mantinea[157], in Arcadia, some one to compose their disturbances. Accordingly at the request of the Cyreneans, the Mantineans sent them Demonax, a man who enjoyed the universal esteem of his countrymen. Arriving at Cyrene, his first care was to make himself acquainted with their affairs; he then divided the people into three distinct tribes: the first comprehended the

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156 *Eryxo.*]—The story is related at considerable length by Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Virtues of Women. Instead of Aliarchus, he reads Learchus; the woman he calls Eryxene: and the murderer he supposes to have been not the brother, but the friend of Arcesilaus.—*T.*

157 *Mantinea.*]—This place became celebrated by the death of Epaminondas, the great Theban General, who was here slain.—*T.*

According to Ælian, Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 22. the Mantineans were celebrated for their excellent Laws.

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Thereans and their neighbours; the second the Peloponnesians and Cretans; the third all the inhabitants of the islands. He assigned a certain portion of land, with some distinct privileges, to Battus: but all the other advantages which the kings had before arrogated to themselves, he gave to the power of the people.

CLXII. Things remained in this situation during the life of Battus: but in the time of his son, an ambitious struggle for power was the occasion of great disturbances. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus, by Pheretime, refused to submit to the regulations of Demonax the Mantinean, and demanded to be restored to the dignity of his ancestors. A great tumult was excited, but the consequence was, that Arcesilaus was compelled to take refuge at Samos, whilst his mother Pheretime fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Euelthon had at this time the government of Salamis: the same person who dedicated at Delphi, a most beautiful censer now deposited in the Corinthian treasury. To him, Pheretime made application, intreating him to lead an army against Cyrene, for the purpose of restoring her and her son. He made her many presents, but refused to assist her with an army. Pheretime accepted his liberality with thanks, but endeavoured to convince him that his assisting her with forces would be much more honourable. Upon

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her persevering in this request, after every present she received, Euelthon was at length induced to send her a gold spindle, and a distaff with wool; observing, that this was a more suitable present for a woman than an army.

CLXIII. In the mean time Arcesilaus was indefatigable at Samos; by promising a division of lands, he assembled a numerous army: he then sailed to Delphi, to make inquiry concerning the event of his return. The Pythian made him this answer:—"To four Batti[158], and to "the same number of the name of Arcesilaus, "Apollo has granted the dominion of Cyrene. "Beyond these eight generations the deity forbids "even the attempt to reign: to you it is recom-"mended to return, and live tranquilly at home. "If you happen to find a furnace filled with "earthen vessels, do not suffer them to be baked, "but throw them into the air; if you set fire "to the furnace, beware of entering a place "surrounded by water. If you disregard this "injunction, you will perish yourself, as will also "a very beautiful bull."

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158 *To four Batti.*]—According to the Scholiast on Pindar, the Battiades reigned at Cyrene for the space of two hundred years. Battus, son of the last of these, endeavoured to assume the government, but the Cyreneans drove him from their country, and he retired to the Hesperides, where he finished his days.—*Larcher.*

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CLXIV. The Pythian made this reply to Arcesilaus: he, however, returned to Cyrene with the forces he had raised at Samos; and having recovered his authority, thought no more of the oracle. He proceeded to institute a persecution against those who, taking up arms against him, had compelled him to fly. Some of these sought and found a refuge in exile, others were taken into custody and sent to Cyprus, to undergo the punishment of death. These the Cnidians delivered, for they touched at their island in their passage, and they were afterwards transported to Thera; a number of them fled to a large tower, the property of an individual named Aglomachus, but Arcesilaus destroyed them, tower and all, by fire. No sooner had he perpetrated this deed than he remembered the declaration of the oracle, which forbade him to set fire to a furnace* filled with earthern vessels; fearing therefore to suffer for what he had done, he retired from Cyrene, which place he considered as surrounded by water. He had married a relation, the daughter of Alazir, king of Barce, to him therefore he went; but upon his appearing in public, the Barceans, in conjunction with some Cyrenean

* The explanation of the destruction of the furnace filled with earthen vessels is easy enough, but we hear nothing of the beautiful bull. Perhaps there might be some affinity in the name of Alazir.

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fugitives, put him to death, together with Alazir his father-in-law. Such was the fate of Arcesilaus, he having, designedly or from accident, violated the injunctions of the oracle.

CLXV. Whilst the son was thus hastening his destiny at Barce, Pheretime[159], his mother, enjoyed at Cyrene, the supreme authority; and among other regal acts presided in the senate. But as soon as she received intelligence of the death of Arcesilaus, she sought refuge in Ægypt. Her son had some claims upon the liberality of Cambyses, son of Cyrus; he had delivered Cyrene into his power, and paid him tribute. On her arrival in Ægypt, she presented herself before Aryandes in the character of a suppliant, and besought him to revenge her cause, pretending that her son had lost his life, merely on account of his attachment to the Medes.

CLXVI. The Aryandes had been appointed præfect of Ægypt by Cambyses; but afterwards, presuming to rival Darius, he was by him put to death. He had heard, and indeed he had seen, that Darius was desirous to leave some monument of himself, which should exceed all the

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159 *Pheretime.*]—See this story well related in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, book viii. c. 47.—*T.*

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efforts of his predecessors. He thought proper to attempt somewhat similar, but it cost him his life. Darius had issued a coin[160] of the very purest

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160 *Darius had issued a coin.*] — "About the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called Darics, which by reason of their fineness were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout the east: for we are told that the author of this coin was not Darius Hystaspes, as some have imagined, but a more ancient Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this Darius, whom the Scripture calls Darius the Median; and therefore it is most likely he was the author of this coin, and that during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent on his Syrian, Ægyptian, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold which had been brought thither into the treasury; from hence it became dispersed all over the east, and also into Greece, where it was of great reputation: according to Dr. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineness added much more to its value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to be worth twenty-five shillings of our money. In those parts of the Scripture which were written after the Babylonish captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim; and in the Talmudists, by the name of Darkoneth, both from the Greek Δαρεικοι, Darics. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold which were afterwards coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian but also of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius who was the first author

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gold: the præfect of Ægypt issued one of the purest silver, and called it an Aryandic. It may

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of them. And there were either whole Darics or half-Darics, as with us there are guineas and half-guineas."—*Prideaux.*

The above note from Prideaux contains much which is exceptionable and erroneous; what follows will perhaps be found to contain all that is necessary to elucidate the subject.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, being the first sovereign who coined gold in Persia, the coins which he struck were called, after his name, Darics, in the same manner as the gold coins of Philip, the father of Alexander, were called Philips,—

Rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
Hor. Epist. lib. ii. 1, 23.

Herodotus is himself an evidence, that the Darics were made of pure gold, and he is confirmed in that point by the testimony of Julius Pollux: *Καὶ οἱ δαρεικοὶ, ἀπὸ Δαρειου, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἀκριβωθέντες εἰς κάθαρσιν τοῦ χρυσίου.* Lib. iii. c. xi. The type of these coins represented an archer, as may be gathered from the following witticism, said to have been used by Agesilaus: *Τοῦ δὲ Περσικῆ νομίσματος χάραγμα τοξότην ἔχοντος, ἀναζευγνύων ἔφη, Τρισμυρίοις τοξόταις ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐξελαύνεσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας· τοσούτων γὰρ εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ Θήβας κομισθέντων διὰ Τιμοκράτους χρυσῶν δαρεικῶν καὶ διαδοθέντων τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς, ἐξεπολεμώθησαν οἱ δῆμοι πρὸς τὰς Σπαρτιάτας. Plutarch, Apophth. Lacon.* xl. The Daric was equivalent in value to the Attic *χρυσὸς.*--*Εἰσὶ μὲν χρυσοῖ στατῆρες οἱ Δαρεικοὶ. ἠδύνατο δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ὀνομαζόμενος χρυσὸς. Suidas, in voce Δαρεικὸς.* Harpocration records the same circumstance with respect to the Daric, which, it appears from the description given by both these writers,

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still be seen, and is much admired for its purity. Darius hearing of this, condemned him to death, pretending that he had rebelled against him.

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was worth twenty drachms of silver. *Λέγουσι δέ τινες δύνασθαι τὸν Δαρεικὸν δραχμὰς ἀργυρίου εἴκοσι. Suidas. Λέγουσι δέ τινες δύνασθαι τὸν Δαρεικὸν ἀργυρᾶς δραχμὰς εἴκοσι. Harpocration.* To this account of the comparative value of the Daric and the Attic *χρυσὸς*, it may not be amiss to add that the former was a month's pay for a common soldier:—*Καὶ λέγει ὅτι δαρεικὸς ἑκάστῳ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός. Xenoph. Cyri Exped. lib.* vii. *p.* 242. *edit. Steph.* When we consider the immense number of Darics which were employed in presents and bribes alone, independent of the still greater quantity which the common purposes of traffic must have required in a kingdom so extensive and powerful as Persia, it is not a little extraordinary that so few of the coins should have been yet discovered. But it is probable, that, upon the conquest of Persia, many of them were melted down by the conqueror, and were recoined with the type of Alexander. Be this, however, as it may, very few of them, not more than five or six, are now known. The one in Lord Pembroke's collection is said to weigh 129 grains; and two in the highly valuable cabinet of R. P. Knight, Esq. weigh 128 grains each. As the two last coins are particularly fresh, their original weight can have been very little reduced. It appears, therefore, that the Daric approached very nearly to the weight of the Attic *χρυσὸς*, or Didrachm, which in high preservation is found to vary from 132 to 133 grains. And the difference of only three or four grains between the weight of the Persian Daric and the Attic *χρυσὸς*, sufficiently confirms what has been observed of these coins in the passages above cited from Suidas and Harpocration.

With respect to the silver coins of Aryandes, who was appointed a prefect in Egypt by Cambyses, it is necessary to observe, that most of the money current at that time in

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CLXVII. At this time Aryandes, taking compassion on Pheretime, delivered to her command, all the land and sea forces of Ægypt. He entrusted to Amasis, a Maraphian, the conduct of the army; and Badre, a Pasargadian by birth, had the direction of the fleet. Before however they proceeded on any expedition, a herald was dispatched to Barce, demanding the name of the person who had assassinated Arcesilaus. The Barceans replied, that they were equally concerned, for he had repeatedly injured them all. Having received this answer, Aryandes permitted his forces to proceed with Pheretime.

Egypt was Persian, and that therefore we must look for the coins of Aryandes among the coins of the country, which Aryandes represented. Among the coins of this description, is one which immediately offers itself as most likely to be the same, as that to which Herodotus alludes. It has an indented mark on one side, and an archer on the other, like the Daric, from which it only differs in the metal of which it is made, being silver instead of gold. Three of these coins are in Dr. Hunter's collection: one of them weighs 79 grains, and the two others 81 grains each. The coins are mentioned by Hesychius: *Ἀροανδικὸν νόμισμα, ᾧ χρῶνται Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ Ἀροάνδου,* (read *Ἀρυανδικὸν* and *Ἀρυάνδου*). Herodotus is not the only author who speaks of the purity of these coins; for Aryandic silver was an expression employed many ages afterwards to signify silver of the utmost fineness,—*Ἄργυρος καθαρὸς, ἐκκεκαθαρμένος, Ἀροανδικὸν ἀργύριον,* (read *Ἀρυανδικὸν*): *Jul. Pollux, lib.* iii. *c.* 11. *Ἄργυρος καθαρὸς, διαφανὴς, Ἀρυανδικὸς, οὐχ ὑπόχαλκος*: *Jul. Pollux, lib.* vii. *c.* 23.

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CLXVIII. This was the pretence with Aryandes for commencing hostilities: but I am rather inclined to think that he had the subjection of the Libyans in view *.—The nations of Libya are many and various; few of them had ever submitted to Darius, and most of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Ægypt, the Libyans are to be enumerated in the order following:—The first are the Adyrmachidæ,† whose manners are in every respect Ægyptian; their dress is Libyan. On each leg, their wives wear a ring of brass. They suffer their hair to grow; if they catch any fleas upon their bodies, they first bite

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* At this place, Herodotus abruptly leaves his narrative, to give a description of Libya, which is continued to c. 200.

† *Adyrmachidæ.*]—It is well known, that in the age which followed, the Greeks drove these Adyrmachidæ into the higher parts of Libya, and took possession of the sea-coast. When, therefore, Ptolemy describes the Adyrmachidæ as inhabiting the interior parts of Libya, there is no contradiction betwixt his account and that of Herodotus. The manners of this people are described by Herodotus, and they are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:

> Versicolor contra cetra et falcatus ab arte
> Ensis Adyrmachidæ ac lævo tegmina crure;
> Sed mensis asper populus, victuque maligno
> Nam calida tristes epulæ torrentur arena.—
>
> L. iii. 278.

They are again mentioned by the same author, book ix. 223, 224.

> —— ferro vivere lætum
> Vulgus Adyrmachidæ.

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and then throw them away.* They are the only people of Libya who do this. It is also peculiar to them, to present their daughters to the king just before their marriage[162], who may enjoy the persons of such as are agreeable to him. The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Ægypt and the port of Pleunos.

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* The Hottentots do more; they eat them, and justify the disgusting practice on the principle of the law of retaliation. Why not, say they, eat those who eat us?

162 *Before their marriage.*] — A play of Beaumont and Fletcher is founded upon the idea of this obscene and unnatural custom. The following note is by Mr. Theobald upon the "Custom of the Country," *Beaumont and Fletch.* 1778.

The custom on which a main part of the plot of this comedy is built, prevailed at one time, as Bayle tells us, in Italy, till it was put down by a prudent and truly pious cardinal. It is likewise generally imagined to have obtained in Scotland for a long time; and the received opinion hath hitherto been, that Eugenius, the third king of Scotland, who began his reign A. D. 535, ordained that the lord or master should have the first night's lodging with every woman married to his tenant or bondsman. This obscene ordinance is supposed to have been abrogated by Malcolm the third, who began his reign A. D. 1061, about five years before the Norman Conquest, having lasted in force somewhat above five hundred years.—See Blount, in his Law Dictionary, under the word Mercheta. Another commentator remarks, that Sir David Dalrymple denies the existence of this custom in Scotland.—Judge Blackstone is of opinion that this custom never prevailed in England, but that it certainly did in Scotland.

It is singular, says Rennell, that a custom should have been introduced here (Britain) which was too barbarous to obtain among more than one of the African tribes; and that

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CLXIX. Next to these are the Giligammæ*, who dwell towards the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias. In the midst of this region is the island of Platea, which the Cyreneans colonized. The harbour of Menelaus and Aziris †, possessed

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a privilege reserved for the king alone there, should be extended to every superior lord here, in the quarter where the custom prevailed. It is impossible to place the base servility of some of our ancestors in a more striking point of view. P. 608.—My friend here forgets that these ancestors were a conquered people, and compelled to submit to whatever the conqueror imposed. All absurd and cruel tenures sprung from this source.

Concerning the Mercheta Mulierum, see the judicious Dissertation of Lord Hailes, at the end of the first volume of his Annals of Scotland.—Consult also vol. 57. p. 384 of the Gentleman's Magazine.

* Here, says Rennell, there must be a mistake, because a great part of the fertile and cultivated district of Cyrenaica would otherwise be allotted to a Nomadic tribe. Possibly the island of Drepanum, near Derna, might be meant.

† See the Hymn of Callimachus to Apollo, verse 89, where this place is written Αζιλις.

Herodotus in this place speaks of two islands, inhabited by the Giligammæ, Platea, and Aphrodisias; it is not certain whether the first of these is what Ptolemy called Ædonis; the second was afterwards named Læa, and was, according to Scylax, a good harbour for ships.

The country of the Giligammæ produced a species of the silphium, called by the Latins laserpiticum, from which a medical drug was extracted: see Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 3: "In the country of the Cyrene (where the best silphium grew) none of late years has been found, the farmers turning their cattle into the places where it grew: one stem only has been found in my time; this was sent as a present to Nero."

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also by the Cyreneans, is upon the continent. Silphium[163] begins where these terminate, and is continued from Platea to the mouth of the Syrtes[164]. The manners of these people nearly resemble those of their neighbours.

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163 *Silphium.*]—Either M. Larcher or myself must be grossly mistaken in the interpretation of this passage. "The plant Silphium," says his version, "begins in this place to be found, and is continued," &c. This in my opinion neither agrees with the context, nor is in itself at all probable. In various authors, mention is made of the Silphii, and reference is made by them to this particular passage of Herodotus.—*T.* See chapter cxcii. of this book, where Silphium is distinctly mentioned as a place.—Upon more serious reflection I am induced to adhere to the opinion I have before expressed, that Herodotus intends to speak of a place, and not a plant.

What this Silphium was, botanists are not determined. We learn from Johannes Boukerius and others, that the plant deposited a resin, which, being pulverized, was administered as a corroborant and aromatic. The coins also of Cyrene were distinguished by the plant Silphium. One of these coins is engraved, and appears in Pennant's Quadrupeds, vol. ii. p. 166; and in Hayni's Tesauro Britannico.—The Silphium was held in such high veneration, that a leaf of it was suspended in the temple of Apollo.

164 *Syrtes.*]—The Great Syrtes must be here meant, which is in the neighbourhood of Barce, and nearer Egypt than the Small Syrtes.—*Larcher.*

There were the Greater and the Lesser Syrtes, and both deemed very formidable to navigators. Their nature has never been better described than in the following lines from Lucan, which I give the reader in Rowe's version:

When nature's hand the first formation try'd,
When seas from lands she did at first divide,

The

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CLXX. From the west, and immediately next to the Giligammæ, are the Asbystæ.* They are

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The Syrts, not quite of sea nor land bereft,
A mingled mass uncertain still she left;
For nor the land with sea is quite o'erspread,
Nor sink the waters deep their oozy bed,
Nor earth defends its shore, nor lifts aloft its head;
The scite with neither, and with each complies,
Doubtful and inaccessible it lies;
Or 'tis a sea with shallows bank'd around,
Or 'tis a broken land with waters drown'd:
Here shores advanc'd o'er Neptune's rule we find,
And there an inland ocean lags behind.
Thus nature's purpose, by herself destroy'd,
Is useless to herself, and unemploy'd,
And part of her creation still is void.
Perhaps, when first the world and time began,
Her swelling tides and plenteous waters ran;
But long confining on the burning zone,
The sinking seas have felt the neighbouring sun:
Still by degrees we see how they decay,
And scarce resist the thirsty god of day.
Perhaps, in distant ages 'twill be found,
When future suns have run the burning round,
These Syrts shall all be dry and solid ground;
Small are the depths their scanty waves retain,
And earth grows daily on the yielding main.

It should be added, that Herodotus speaks only of one Syrtes, as of one Oasis. The Lesser Syrtes was his Lake of Tritonis. For a variety of curious particulars on the subject of the Syrtes, the Lake and River Tritonis, I must refer the reader to Major Rennell's book, p. 646.

Pliny says that the Nasamones were called Mesamones by the Greeks, as being situated between two quicksands—*Augila* or Augela. This place has undergone no change of name since the time of Herodotus.

* Pliny places the Asbystæ, as well as the Masæ or Macæ,

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above Cyrene, but have no communication with the sea-coasts, which are occupied by the Cyreneans: Beyond all the Libyans, they are remarkable for their use of chariots drawn by four horses *, and in most respects they imitate the manners of the Cyreneans.

CLXXI. On the western borders of this people, dwell the Auschisæ; their district commences above Barce †, and is continued to the sea, near the Euesperides ‡. The Cabales §, an inconsider-

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to the west of the Nasamones, and of course is at variance with our author's description: but Strabo, with more probability, says; After the Nasamones, who are situated at the Greater Syrtes and beyond Cyrene, are the Psylli, Gætuli, and Garamantes.—*Rennell*, p. 609.

* This custom of harnessing four horses to a chariot was confessedly borrowed of the Africans by the Greeks.

† *Barce.*]—Many of the ancients believed that this place was anciently called Ptolemais, as Strabo, Pliny, Servius, and others.

Of Cyrene, about which Strabo speaks less fabulously than Herodotus, but few traces now remain; they are differently mentioned under the names of Keroan, Curin, and Guirina.

‡ *Euesperides.*] —This city was afterwards named Berenice; of this appellation some vestiges now remain, for the place is called Bernic, Berbic, and by some Beric.

The fertility of the contiguous country gave rise to the Grecian fable of the gardens of the Hesperides.

§ This word is sometimes written Bacales; and Wesseling hesitates what reading to prefer.

What Herodotus says of the Nasamones, c. 173, is confirmed by Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. c. 2; Silius Italicus, i. 408; Lucan, ix. 439. &c.

Concerning

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able nation, inhabit towards the centre of the Auschisæ, and extend themselves to the sea-coast near Tauchira*, a town belonging to Barce. The Cabales have the same customs as the people beyond Cyrene.

CLXXII. The powerful nation of the Nasamones border on the Auschisæ towards the west. This people during the summer season leave their cattle on the sea-coast, and go up the country to a place called *Augila* to gather dates. Upon this spot, the palms are equally numerous, large, and fruitful: they also hunt for locusts [165], which

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Concerning their manner of plighting troth, c. 172, Shaw tells us, that the drinking out of each other's hands is the only ceremony which the Algerines at this time use in marriage.

The story which Herodotus relates of the Psylli, 173. is told also by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. 16—11. It seems more probable that they were destroyed by the Nasamones.—See Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 1.—See also Hardouin ad Plin. and Larcher, vii. 312.

Concerning τα Ιρασα, called by Herodotus, 158, καλλιστος των χωρων, see Callimach. Hymn to Apollo, 88, 89.

Quære, says Rennell, whether these Cabales are not the Kabyles of Shaw?

* *Tauchira.*]—Called by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, Teuchira; afterwards it was known by the name of Arsinoë, and lastly by Antony it was named Cleopatris, in honour of Cleopatra: in modern times it has been called Teukera (d'Anville); Trochare (de la Croix); Trochara (Hardouin); Tochara (Simlenus); Trochata (Dapper).

165 *Locusts.*]—The circumstance of locusts being dried and kept for provision, I have before mentioned: the fol-

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having dried in the sun, they reduce them to a powder, and eat mixed with milk. Each person is allowed to have several wives, with whom they cohabit in the manner of the Massagetæ, first fixing a staff in the earth before their tent. When the Nasamones marry*, the bride on the first night permits every one of the guests to enjoy her person, each of whom makes her a present brought with him for the purpose. Their mode of divination and of taking an oath is this: they place their hands on the tombs [166] of those who have

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lowing apposite passage having since occurred to me from Niebuhr, I think proper to insert it:

On vendit dans tous les marchés des sauterelles à vil prix: car elles etoient si prodigieusement repandues dans la plaine près de Jerim, qu'on pouvoit les prendre à pleines mains. Nous vimes un paysan qui en avoit rempli un sac, et qui alloit les secher pour sa provision d'hyver.

The people of the coast do exactly the same thing at this day. I have before mentioned that Hornemann during his travels eat of dried locusts, which he particularly describes.

* This resemblance of manners in nations so remote from each other as the Massagetæ, the Nasamones, and the Tyrrhenians, ought, says Larcher, to make us cautious of imputing the same origin to nations, merely from their having some customs in common.

[166] *On the Tombs.*]—The following remark from Niebuhr seems particularly applicable in this place:—it is singular as being said by a Catholic, who was in the habit of doing the same thing every day:

Un marchand de la Mecque me fit sur ses saints une réflection, qui me surprit dans la bouche d'une Mahométan. "Il faut toujours à la populace," me dit-il, "un objet visible qu'elle puisse honorer et craindre. C'est ainsi qu'al a

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been most eminent for their integrity and virtue, and swear by their names. When they exercise divination, they approach the monuments of their ancestors, and there, having said their prayers, compose themselves to sleep. They regulate their subsequent conduct by such visions as they may then have *. When they pledge their word, they drink alternately from each other's hands[167]. If no liquid is near, they take some dust from the ground, and lick it with their tongue.

Mecque tous les sermens se sont au nom de Mahomet, au lieu qu'on devroit s'adresser à Dieu. A Molcha je ne me fierois pas à un homme qui affirmeroit une chose en prenant Dieu à temoin; mais je pourrois compter plutôt sur la foi de celui qui jureroit par le nom de Schaedeli, dont la mosquée et le tombeau sont sous ses yeux."

* This reminds us of the following passage in Virgil:

Huc dona sacerdos
Cum tulit, et cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit;
Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
Colloquio, atque imis Acheronta affatur avernis.
Æn. 7. v. 86.

See also Tertullian, De Anima:

Nasamenas propria oracula apud parentum sepulcra mansitando usitare ut Heraclides scribit, vel Nymphodorus, vel Herodotus. Et Celtas apud virorum fortium busta eâdem de causâ abnoctare, ut Lisander affirmat.

[167] *Each other's hands.*]—The ancient ceremony of the Nasamones to drink from each other's hands, in pledging their faith, is at the present period the only ceremony observed in the marriages of the Algerines.—*Shaw.*

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CLXXIII. Next to the Nasamones are the Psylli [168], who formerly perished by the following

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168 *The Psylli.*]—A measure like this would have been preposterous in the extreme. Herodotus therefore does not credit it: "I only relate," says he, "what the Africans inform me," which are the terms always used by our historian when he communicates any dubious matter. It seems very probable that the Nasamones destroyed the Psylli to possess their country, and that they circulated this fable amongst their neighbours.—See *Pliny*, book vii. chapter 2. —*Larcher.*

Herodotus makes no mention of the quality which these people possessed, and which in subsequent times rendered them so celebrated, that of managing serpents with such wonderful dexterity.—See Lucan, book ix. Rowe's excellent version, line 1523.

Of all who scorching Afric's sun endure,
None like the swarthy Psyllians are secure.
Skill'd in the lore of powerful herbs and charms,
Them, nor the serpent's tooth nor poison harms;
Nor do they thus in arts alone excel,
But nature too their blood has temper'd well,
And taught with vital force the venom to repel.
With healing gifts and privileges grac'd,
Well in the land of serpents were they plac'd:
Truce with the dreadful tyrant, Death, they have,
And border safely on his realm, the grave.

See also Savary, vol. i. p. 63.

"You are acquainted with the Psylli, these celebrated serpent-eaters of antiquity, who sported with the bite of vipers, and the credulity of the people. Many of them inhabited Cyrene, a city west of Alexandria, and formerly dependent on Ægypt. You know the pitiful vanity of Octa-

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accident: A south wind had dried up all their reservoirs, and the whole country, as far as the Syrtes, was destitute of water. They resolved accordingly, after a public consultation, to make a hostile expedition against this south wind; the consequence was (I only relate what the Africans inform me) that on their arrival in the deserts, the south wind overwhelmed them beneath the sands. The Psylli being thus destroyed, the Nasamones took possession of their lands*.

CLXXIV. Beyond these to the south, in a country infested by savage beasts, dwell the Garamantes [169], who avoid every kind of communi-

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vius, who wished the captive Cleopatra should grace his triumphal car; and, chagrined to see that proud woman escape by death, commanded one of the Psylli to suck the wound the aspic had made. Fruitless were his efforts; the poison had perverted the whole mass of blood, nor could the art of the Psylli restore her to life." See also Rennell, p. 614-15.

* Pliny says, and with greater probability, that the Psylli perished by the hands of the Nasamones.

169 *Garamantes.*]—These people are said to have been so named from Garamas, a son of Apollo.—See Virgil, vi. 794.

Supra Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium. *T.*

The Garamantes are now well understood to mean the ancient inhabitants of Fezzan, which by Pliny is called Phazania. The ruins of Garama, their capital, are still shewn.

Mentioned by Mela, book viii. and by him called Gamphasantes.

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cation with men, are ignorant of the use of all military weapons, and totally unable to defend themselves.

CLXXV. These people live beyond the Nasamones; but towards the sea-coast westward are the Macæ[170]. It is the custom of this people to leave a tuft of hair in the centre of the head, carefully shaving the rest. When they make war, their only coverings are the skins of ostriches. The river Cinyps rises among them in a hill, said to be sacred to the Graces, whence it continues its course to the sea. This hill of the Graces is well covered with trees; whereas the rest of Africa, as I have before observed, is very barren of wood. The distance from this hill to the sea, is two hundred stadia.

CLXXVI. The Gindanes * are next to the

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170 *Macæ.*]—These people are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:

Tum primum castris Phœnicum tendere ritu
Cinyphiis didicere Macæ, squallentia barbâ
Ora viris, humerosque tegunt velamina capri. *T.*

Pliny confirms this position of the Macæ or Masæ.

Amongst these people was the fountain of Cinyps, called by Strabo and Ptolemy Κινυφος, by Pliny Cinyps; its modern name, according to d'Anville, is Wadi-Quaham.

* *Gindanes.*]—This region, by geographical position, must be Gadamis, the Cydamus of the Romans.

This people, according to Stephanus, lived on the lotus, as well as the Lotophagi.

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Macæ. Of the wives of this people it is said that they wear as many bandages round their ancles as they have known men. The more of these each possesses, the more she is esteemed, as having been beloved by the greater number of the other sex.

CLXXVII. The neck of land which stretches from the country of the Gindanes towards the sea, is possessed by the Lotophagi, who live entirely upon the fruit of the lotos. The lotos is of the size of the mastick, and sweet like the date; and the Lotophagi* make of it a kind of wine.

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* If, says Rennell, we take the whole extent of the tract thus assigned to the Lotophagi and Machlyes, it may comprehend 200 miles of coast.

But the allotment of this confined space alone, to the eaters of lotos, was owing to the want of a more extended knowledge of the countries that bordered on the Desert; for it will be found that the tribes who inhabit them, and whose habits are in any degree known to us, eat universally of this fruit, in a greater or less degree, according to circumstances, and most of them apparently as much as they can obtain of it. The tree or shrub that bears the lotos fruit, is disseminated over the edge of the Great Desert, from the coast of Cyrene, round by Tripoly and Africa Proper, to the borders of the Atlantic, to Senegal, and the Niger.

What Rennell says farther on the subject of the lotos at p. 626, & seq. is very curious, and well deserves attention.

The following is from Park, p. 99:

The lotos is very common in all the kingdoms which I visited, but is found in the greatest plenty on the sandy soil

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CLXXVIII. Towards the sea, the Machlyes* border on the Lotophagi. They also feed on the lotos; though not so entirely as their neighbours. They extend as far as a great stream called the Triton, which enters into an extensive lake named Tritonis, in which is the island of Phla. An

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of Kaarta, Ludamor, and the northern parts of Bombarra, where it is one of the most common shrubs of the country. I had observed the same species at Gambia, and had an opportunity to make a drawing of a branch in flower.

As this shrub is found in Tunis, and also in the negro kingdoms, and as it furnishes the natives of the latter with a food resembling bread, and also with a sweet liquor, which is much relished by them, there can be little doubt of its being the lotos mentioned by Pliny, as the food of the Libyan Lotophagi. An army may very well have been fed with the bread I have tasted, made of the meal of the fruit, as is said by Pliny to have been done in Libya; and as the taste of the bread is sweet and agreeable, it is not likely that the soldiers would complain of it.

Whether from the same lotos the Lotophagi obtained both meat and wine, is laboriously disputed by Vossius and Scyll. 114. and Stapel. ad Theophrast. l. iv. c. 4. p. 327. A delineation of the lotos may be seen in Shaw and De la Croix: it is what the Arabs of the present day call seedra, and is plentiful in Barbary, and the deserts of Barbary.

* *Machlyes.*]—There were a people of this name also in Scythia; the name, however, is written different ways. See Wesseling ad Herod. 178.

The river Triton is the same with that now called Gabs.—See Shaw.

Stephanus Byzantinus confounds the Phla of Herodotus with the island of Phila, which was in Æthiopia, not far from Ægypt.—See also Shaw on this island, 129, 4to edit.

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oracular declaration, they say, had foretold that some Lacedæmonians should settle themselves here.

CLXXIX. The particulars are these: when Jason had constructed the Argo at the foot of Mount Pelion, he carried on board a hecatomb for sacrifice, with a brazen tripod: he sailed round the Peleponnese, with the intention to visit Delphi. As he approached Malea, a north wind drove him to the African coast[171], and before he could discover land, he got amongst the shallows of the lake of Tritonis: not being able to extricate himself from this situation, a Triton[172] is said to have appeared to him, and

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[171] *To the African coast.*]—"Some references to the Argonautic expedition," says Mr. Bryant, "are interspersed in most of the writings of the ancients; but there is scarce a circumstance concerning it in which they are agreed. In respect to the first setting out of the Argo, most make it pass northward to Lemnos and the Hellespont; but Herodotus says that Jason first sailed towards Delphi, and was carried to the Syrtic sea of Libya, and then pursued his voyage to the Euxine. Neither can the æra of the expedition be settled without running into many difficulties."—See the *Analysis*, vol. ii. 491.

[172] *A Triton.*]—From various passages in the works of Lucian, Pliny, and other authors of equal authority, it should seem that the ancients had a firm belief of the existence of Tritons, Nereids, &c. The god Triton was a distinct personage, and reputed to be the son of Neptune and the nymph of Salacia; he was probably considered as su-

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to have promised him a secure and easy passage, provided he would give him the tripod. To this Jason assented, and the Triton having fulfilled his engagement, he placed the tripod in his temple, from whence he communicated to Jason and his companions what was afterwards to happen. Among other things, he said, that whenever a descendant of these Argonauts should take away this tripod, there would be infallibly an hundred Grecian cities near the lake of Tritonis [173]. The Africans, hearing this prediction, are said to have concealed the tripod.

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preme of the Tritons, and seems always to have beem employed by Neptune for the purpose of calming the ocean.

> Mulcet aquas rector Pelagi, supraque profundum
> Exstantem atque humeros innato murice tectum
> Cæruleum Tritona vocat, cunctæque sonaci
> Inspirare jubet fluctusque et flumina signo
> Jam revocare dato, &c.—*Metamorph.* l. 334. *T.*

173 *Lake Tritonis.*]—From this lake, as we are told in some very beautiful lines of Lucan, Minerva took her name of Tritonia.—See book ix. 589; Rowe's version:

> And reach in safety the Tritonian lake.
> These waters to the tuneful god are dear,
> Whose vocal shell the sea-green Nereids hear.
> These Pallas loves, so tells reporting fame;
> Here first from heaven to earth the goddess came,
> Here her first footsteps on the brink she staid,
> Here, in the watery glass, her form survey'd,
> And call'd herself, from hence, the chaste Tritonian maid. *T.*

The lake of Tritonis is now evidently filled up. See Ren-

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CLXXX. Next to the Machlyes live the Ausenses*. The above two nations inhabit the opposite sides of lake Tritonis. The Machlyes suffer their hair to grow behind the head, the Ausenses before. They have an annual festival in honour of Minerva, in which the young women, dividing themselves into two separate bands, engage each other with stones and clubs. These rites, they say, were instituted by their forefathers, in veneration of her, whom we call Minerva; and if any one die in consequence of wounds received in this contest, they say that she was no virgin. Before the conclusion of the fight, they observe this custom: she who by common consent fought the best, has a Corinthian helmet placed upon her head, is clothed in Grecian armour, and carried in a chariot round the

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nell's observations on this subject. The gulph of the sea with which it communicated, is the lesser Syrtes of Strabo; the Gulph of Kabes or Gabbs of the present time.

* Of the name Ausenses, says Rennell, we find no traces in modern geography. Of the Machlyes and Maxyes we meet with several names that have some similarity. The Machryes of Ptolemy occupy the space between Gephes, perhaps the Gaffsa of Shaw and Jovis Mons; *i.e.* a mountain to the N.N.E of the lake Tritonis. His Machyni are placed towards the Gulph of Adrumentum. These may possibly be meant for the Machlyes and Maxyes of Herodotus. The Machres of Leo, and Makaress of Dr. Shaw, certainly agree to the supposed position of a part of the Maxyes.—*Rennell*, p. 637.

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lake. How the virgins were decorated in this solemnity, before they had any knowledge of the Greeks, I am not able to say; probably they might use Ægyptian arms. We may venture to affirm, that the Greeks borrowed from Ægypt the shield and the helmet. It is pretended that Minerva was the daughter of Neptune, and the divinity of the lake Tritonis; and that from some trifling disagreement with her father, she put herself under the protection of Jupiter, who afterwards adopted her as his daughter. The connection of this people with their women is promiscuous, not confining themselves to one, but living with the sex in brutal licentiousness. Every three months[174] the men hold a public assembly, before which, each woman who has had a strong healthy boy, produces him, and the man whom he most resembles is considered as his father.

CLXXXI. The Libyans who inhabit the sea-coast, are called Nomades. The more inland parts of Libya, beyond these, abound with wild

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174 *Every three months.*]—This preposterous custom brings to mind one, described by Lobo, in his voyage to Abyssinia, practised by a people whom he calls the Galles, a wandering nation of Africans. If engaged in any warlike expedition, they take their wives with them, but put to death all the children who may happen to be born during the excursion. If they settle quietly at home, they bring up their children with proper care.—*T.*

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beasts; remoter still, is one vast sandy desert, from the Ægyptian Thebes to the columns of Hercules[175]. Penetrating this desert to the space of a ten days journey, vast pillars of salt are discovered, from the summits of which, flows a stream of water equally cool and sweet. This district is possessed by the last of those, who inhabit the deserts beyond the centre and ruder parts of Libya. The Ammonians*, who possess

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175 *Columns of Hercules.*]—In a former note upon the columns of Hercules, I omitted to mention that more anciently, according to Ælian, these were called the columns of Briareus. This is also mentioned by Aristotle. But when Hercules had, by the destruction of various monsters, rendered essential service to mankind, they were, out of honour to his memory, named the columns of Hercules.—*T.*

* On the subject of the Ammonians, the reader will do well to consult Rennell, Browne's Travels in Africa, and Hornemann. It appears singular that Herodotus should not mention the distance of the temple from Thebes or Memphis; but I think there can be no doubt of its precise situation having been ascertained by Browne.

Bochart derives the name of Ammonians from Cham, the son of Noah, who was long reverenced in the more barren parts of Africa, under the title of Ham or Hammon, one of the names of Jupiter.

That the name of Ammon was very well known in Arabia, and throughout Africa, we may learn from the river Ammon, the Ammonian promontory, the Ammonians, the city Ammon, &c.—See Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, &c.

Some remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon are still to be seen, if the travellers to Mecca may be believed; the place is called Hesach-bir (or mole lapidum).

In

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the temple of the Theban Jupiter, are the people nearest from this place to Thebes, from which they are distant a ten days journey. There is an image of Jupiter at Thebes, as I have before remarked, with the head of a goat.—The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm, as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point, they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines, its coldness diminishes; at sun-set, it is again warm, and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the fountain of the sun [176].

In the same chapter Herodotus mentions ἡ κρηνη Ηλιου, the fountain of the sun, concerning which see Diodorus, xvii. 528. —See also Arrian, l. iii. c. 4.—Curtius, l. iv. c. 7.—Mela, l. i. c. 8.

176 *Fountain of the Sun.*]—Diodorus Siculus describes this fountain nearly in the same terms with Herodotus. It is thus described by Silius Italicus:

Stat fano vicina, novum et memorabile, lympha
Quæ nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,
Quæque riget medium cum Sol accendit Olympum
Atque eadem rursus nocturnis fervet in umbris.

Herodotus does not tell us that the Ammonians venerated this fountain; but as they called it the fountain of the Sun, it is probable that they did. In remoter times, men almost universally worshipped streams and fountains, if distin-

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CLXXXII. Passing onward beyond the Ammonians, into the desert for ten days more, another hill of salt [177] occurs; it resembles that which is found amongst the Ammonians, and has a spring of water; the place is inhabited, and called Augila*, and here the Nasamones come to gather their dates.

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guished by any peculiar properties; all fountains were originally dedicated to the sun, as to the first principle of motion.—*T.*

[177] *Hill of salt.*]—I find the following description of the plain of salt, in Abyssinia, in Lobo's Voyage: "These plains are surrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds, which the sun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into salt. Nothing can be more curious, than to see the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, so exact, and of such admirable contrivance, that they seem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyssinia are continually resorting, to carry salt into all parts of the empire, which they set a great value upon, and which in their country is of the same use as money."

See what Rennell observes on these hills of salt, p. 641; and also Dr. Shaw's Travels, p. 228.

It appears that scarcely any country whatsoever contains so much salt on its surface as that region of Africa which borders on the Mediterranean.

What Herodotus affirms on the saline quality of the soil of Africa, is confirmed also by Pliny and Strabo.

* *Augilæ.*]—Herodotus says that this country abounded in dates; and the Africans of the present day go there to gather them.—See *Marmot*, vol. iii. p. 53.

Concerning the situation of the Augilæ, see Pliny, lib. v. c. 4; and Dapper, p. 323.

Amongst

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CLXXXIII. At another ten days distance from the Augilæ, there is a second hill of salt with water, as well as a great number of palms, which, like those before described, are exceedingly productive: this place is inhabited by the numerous nation of the Garamantes; they cover the beds of salt with earth, and then plant it. From them to the Lotophagi is a very short distance; but from these latter, it is a journey of thirty days to that nation among whom is a species of oxen*, which walk backwards whilst they are feeding; their horns[178] are so formed that they cannot do otherwise, they are so long before, and curved in such a manner, that if they

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Amongst all the countries of Libya, mentioned by the ancient Greek writers, Augilæ is the only one which to this day retains its primitive name without the smallest variation.

* Of the cattle, which whilst they grazed walked backwards, Mela speaks, lib. i. c. 8.—Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 45.—Aristotle, History of Animals, lib. vii. c. 21.—See also Vossius ad Melæ loc. p. 41.

178 *Their horns.*]—In the British Museum is a pair of horns six feet six inches and a half long, it weighs twenty-one pounds, and the hollow will contain five quarts; Lobo mentions some in Abyssinia which would hold ten; Dallon saw some in India ten feet long: they are sometimes wrinkled, but often smooth.—*Pennant.*

Pliny, book xi. chap. 38, has a long dissertation upon the horns of different animals; he tells us that the cattle of the Troglodytæ, hereafter mentioned, had their horns curved in so particular a manner, that when they fed they were obliged to turn their necks on one side.—*T.*

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did not recede as they fed, they would stick in the ground; in other respects they do not differ from other animals of the same genus, unless we except the thickness of their skins. These Garamantes, sitting in carriages drawn by four horses, give chace to the Æthiopian Troglodytæ [179], who, of all the people in the world of whom we have ever heard, are far the swiftest of foot: their food is lizards, serpents, and other reptiles; their language bears no resemblance to that of any other nation, for it is like the screaming of bats.

CLXXXIV. From the Garamantes, it is another ten days journey to the Atlantes, where also is a hill of salt with water. Of all mankind of whom we have any knowledge, the Atlantes [180]

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[179] *Troglodytæ.*] — These people have their names from τρωγλη, a cave, and δυω, to enter; Pliny says they were swifter than horses; and Mela relates the circumstance of their feeding upon reptiles. I cannot omit here noticing a strange mistake of Pliny, who, speaking of these people, says, "Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Æthiopum secundum flumen Astapum ad septentrionem vergentem;" as if ad septentrionem vergentem could possibly be applicable to any situation in Æthiopia. I may very properly add in this place, that one of the most entertaining and ingenious fictions that was ever invented, is the account given by Montesquieu in his Persian Letters of the Troglodytes.—*T.*

[180] *Atlantes.*] — Concerning the reading of this word,

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alone have no distinction of names; the body of the people are termed Atlantes, but their individuals have no appropriate appellation: when the sun is at the highest, they heap upon it reproaches and execrations, because their country and themselves are parched by its rays. At the same distance onward, of a ten days march, another hill of salt occurs, with water and inhabitants: near this hill stands mount Atlas, which at every approach is uniformly round and steep; it is so lofty that, on account of the clouds which in summer as well as winter envelope it, its summit can never be discerned; it is called by the inhabitants a pillar of heaven. From this mountain the people take their name of Atlantes*: it

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learned men have been exceedingly divided; Valknaer, and from him also M. Larcher, is of opinion that mention is here made of two distinct nations, the Atarantes and the Atlantes; but all the peculiarities enumerated in this chapter are, by Pliny, Mela, and Solinus, ascribed to the single people of the Atlantes. There were two mountains, named Atlas Major and Atlas Minor, but these were not at a sufficient distance from each other to solve the difficulty.—*T.*

* There are doubts about the true reading of this word. Major Rennell suggests a suspicion whether it may not be the same with the Hamamentes and Amantes of Pliny and Solinus.

Herodotus has certainly misplaced these people; for, according to his own account, the Lotophagi and Machlyes ought to have lain beyond them.

Some manuscripts read Atlantes; but this cannot be the

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is said of them, that they never feed on any thing which has life, and that they know not what it is to dream.

CLXXXV. I am able to call by name all the different nations as far as the Atlantes, but beyond these I have no knowledge. There is, however, from hence, an habitable country, as far as the columns of Hercules, and even beyond it. At the regular interval of a ten days journey, there is a bed of salt, and inhabitants whose houses are formed from masses of salt[181]. In this part of Libya it never rains, for if it did, these structures of salt could not be durable; they have here two sorts of salt, white and purple[182]. Be-

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genuine reading, which also is the opinion of Salmasius, Valknaer, Wesseling, and Larcher.—See Vossius ad Melæ, locum laudatum.

The Atlantei, mentioned by Diodorus, l. iii. 187, if ever they existed, must be distinct from the Atlantes of Herodotus. Of Mount Atlas, and its extreme height, Homer speaks, Odyss. i. 52, 4.

181 *Masses of salt.*]—Gerrha, a town on the Persian Gulph, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of salt: the salt of the mountain Had-deffa, near lake Marks, in Africa, is hard and solid as a stone.—*Larcher.*

182 *Salt, white and purple.*]—Had-deffa is a mountain entirely of salt, situate at the eastern extremity of lake Marks, or lake Tritonis of the ancients; this salt is entirely different from salts in general, being hard and solid as a stone, and of a red or violet colour: the salt which the dew di-

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yond this sandy desert, southward, to the interior parts of Libya, there is a vast and horrid space without water, wood, or beasts, and totally destitute of moisture.

CLXXXVI. Thus from Ægypt, as far as lake Tritonis, the Libyans lead a pastoral life, living on flesh and milk, but, like the Ægyptians, will neither eat bulls flesh nor breed swine. The women of Cyrene also esteem it impious to touch an heifer, on account of the Ægyptian Isis, in whose honour they solemnly observe both fast-days and festivals. The women of Barce abstain not only from the flesh of heifers, but of swine.

CLXXXVII. The Libyans, to the west of lake Tritonis, are not shepherds, they are distinguished by different manners, neither do they observe the same ceremonies with respect to their children. The greater number of these Libyan shepherds follow the custom I am about to

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solves from the mountain changes its colour, and becomes white as snow; it loses also the bitterness which is the property of rock salt.—*See Shaw's Travels.*

One of the most curious phenomena in the circle of natural history, is the celebrated salt-mine of Wielitska in Poland, so well described by Coxe: the salt dug from this mine is called green salt: "I know not," says Mr. Coxe, "for what reason, for its colour is an iron-grey."—*See Travels into Poland.*

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describe, though I will not say it is the case indiscriminately with them all:—As soon as their children arrive at the age of four years, they burn the veins either of the top of the scull, or of the temples, with uncleansed wool: they are of opinion, that by this process all watery humours are prevented[183]; and to this they impute the excellent health which they enjoy. It must be acknowledged, whatever may be the cause, that the Libyans are more exempt from disease than any other men.—If the operation throws the children into convulsions, they have a remedy at hand; they sprinkle them with goats urine[184], and they recover.—I relate what the Libyans themselves affirm.

CLXXXVIII. As to their mode of sacrifice,

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183 *Watery humours are prevented.*]—According to Hippocrates, the Scythians apply fire to their shoulders, arms, and stomachs, on account of the humid and relaxed state of their bodies; this operation dries up the excess of moisture about the joints, and renders them more free and active. Wesseling remarks from Scaliger, that this custom still prevails amongst the Æthiopian Christians, Mahometans, and Heathens.—*Larcher.*

184 *Goats urine.*]—I have heard of cows urine being applied as a specific in some dangerous obstructions; and I find in Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia an account of goats urine being recommended in an asthmatic complaint; their blood was formerly esteemed of benefit in pleurisies, but this idea is now exploded.—*T.*

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having cut the ear of the victim which they intend as an offering for their first fruits, they throw it over the top of their dwelling, and afterwards break its neck: the only deities to whom they sacrifice, are the sun and moon, who are adored by all the Libyans; they who live near lake Tritonis venerate Triton, Neptune, and Minerva, but particularly the last.

CLXXXIX. From these Libyans, the Greeks borrowed the vest, and the Ægis, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva; the vests, however, of the Libyan Minervas, are made of skin, and the fringe hanging from the Ægis is not composed of serpents, but of leather; in every other respect the dress is the same: it appears by the very name, that the robe of the statues of Minerva was borrowed from Libya. The women [185] of this country wear below their garments goat-skins without the hair, fringed, and stained of a red colour; from which part of dress the

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[185] *The women.*]—Apollonius Rhodius, who was an exact observer of manners, thus describes the three Libyan heroines who appeared to Jason.—See Fawkes's version:

> Attend, my friends:—Three virgin forms, who claim
> From heaven their race, to sooth my sorrows came;
> Their shoulders round were shaggy goat-skins cast,
> Which low descending girt their slender waist.

Upon the whole, the account given by Herodotus of Africa is extremely interesting, and proves that he knew more of its north coast than we do at present.

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word Ægis[186] of the Greeks is unquestionably derived. I am also inclined to believe, that the loud cries[187] which are uttered in the temples of that goddess, have the same origin; the Libyan women do this very much, but not disagreeably. From Libya also the Greeks borrowed the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

CXC. These Libyan Nomades observe the same ceremonies with the Greeks in the interment of the dead; we must except the Nasamones, who bury their deceased in a sitting attitude, and are particularly careful, as any one approaches his end, to prevent his expiring in a reclined posture. Their dwellings are easily moveable, and are formed of the asphodel shrub, secured with rushes.—Such are the manners of these people.

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186 *Ægis.*]—From αιξ αιγος, a goat, the Greeks made αιγις αιγιδος, which signifies both the skin of a goat, and the Ægis of Minerva.

187 *Loud cries.*]—See Iliad vi. 370. Pope's version.

Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
And awful reach the high Palladian dome,
Antenor's consort, fair Theano, waits
As Pallas' priestess, and unbars the gates;
With hands uplifted, and imploring eyes,
They fill the dome with *supplicating cries.*

In imitation of which, M. Larcher remarks, Virgil uses the expression of summoque ulularunt vertice nymphæ.

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CXCI. The Ausenses, on the western part of the river Triton, border on those Libyans who cultivate the earth, and have houses, and are called Maxyes: these people suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, but not on the left; they stain their bodies with vermilion, and pretend to be descended from the Trojans. This region, and indeed all the more western parts of Libya, is much more woody, and more infested with wild beasts, than that where the Libyan Nomades reside; for the abode of these latter, advancing eastward, is low and sandy. From hence westward, where those inhabit who till the ground, it is mountainous, full of wood, and abounding with wild beasts; here are found serpents of an enormous size, lions, elephants, bears[188], asps, and asses with horns. Here also are the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali[189],

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[188] *Bears.*]—Pliny pretends that Africa does not produce bears, although he gives us the annals of Rome, testifying that in the consulship of M. Piso, and M. Messala, Domitius Ænobarbus gave during his ædileship public games, in which were an hundred Numidian bears.

Lipsius affirms, that the beasts produced in the games of Ænobarbus, were lions, which is the animal also meant by the Lybistis ursa of Virgil: "The first time," says he, "that the Romans saw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears." Virgil mentions lions by its appropriate name in an hundred places; Shaw also enumerates bears amongst the animals which he found in Africa.—*Larcher.*

[189] *Cynocephali as well as the Acephali.*]—Herodotus men-

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who, if the Libyans may be credited, have their eyes in their breasts; they have, moreover, men

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tions a nation of this name in Libya, and speaks of them as a race of men with the heads of dogs. Hard by, in the neighbourhood of this people, he places the Acephali, men with no heads at all; to whom, out of humanity, and to obviate some very natural distresses, he gives eyes in the breast; but he seems to have forgot mouth and ears, and makes no mention of a nose. Both these and the Cynocephali were denominated from their place of residence, and from their worship; the one from Cahen-Caph-El, the other from Ac-Caph-El, each of which appellations is of the same import, the right noble or sacred rock of the sun.—*Bryant.*

See also the speech of Othello in Shakespeare;

> Wherein of antres vast and desarts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heav'n,
> It was my hint to speak, such was my process;
> And of the cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi: and men whose heads
> Did grow beneath their shoulders. *T.*

The Cynocephali, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboons, remarkable for their boldness and ferocity. As to the Acephali, St. Augustin assures us, that he had seen them himself of both sexes. That holy father would have done well to have considered, that in pretending to be eye-witness of such a fable he threw a stain on the veracity of his other works. If there really be a nation in Africa which appear to be without a head, I can give no better account of the phænomenon, than by copying the ingenious author of Philosophic Researches concerning the Americans.

"There is," says he, "in Canibar, a race of savages who

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and women who are wild and savage; and many ferocious animals whose existence cannot be disputed [190].

CXCII. Of the animals above mentioned,

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have hardly any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the ears. This monstrous appearance is artificial, and to give it to their children, they put enormous weights upon their heads, so as to make the vertebræ of the neck enter (if we may so say) the channel-bone (clavicule). These barbarians, from a distance, seem to have their mouth in the breast, and might well enough, in ignorant or enthusiastic travellers, serve to revive the fable of the Acephali, or men without heads."—The above note is from Larcher; who also adds the following remark upon the preceding note, which I have given from Mr. Bryant.

Mr. Bryant, imagining that these people called themselves Acephali, decomposes the word, which is purely Greek, and makes it come from the Ægyptian Ac-Caph-El, which he interprets "the sacred rock of the sun." The same author, with as much reason, pretends that Cynocephali comes from Cahen-Caph-El, to which he assigns a similar interpretation: here, to me at least, there seems a vast deal of erudition entirely thrown away.

In the fifth century, the name of Acephali was given to a considerable faction of the Monophysites, or Eutychians, who by the submission of Mongus were deprived of their leader.—*T.*

Apollonius Rhodius calls these people ἡμικυνες, or half dogs: and it is not improbable but that the circumstance of their living entirely by the produce of the chace, might give rise to the fable of their having the heads of dogs.—*T.*

190 *Cannot be disputed.*]—The discretion of Herodotus is here very apparent. He relates what the Libyans told him, but by no means vouches for the authenticity of these tales.

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none are found amongst the Libyan Nomades; they have however pygargi[191], goats, buffaloes, and asses, not of that species which have horns, but a particular kind which never drink. They have also oryxes[192] of the size of an ox, whose

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[191] *Pygargi.*]—Aristotle classes the pygargus amongst the birds of prey; but as Herodotus in this place speaks only of quadrupeds, it is probable that this also was one. Hardouin makes it a species of goat.—Thus far Larcher. Ælian also ranks it amongst the quadrupeds, and speaks of its being a very timid animal.—See also Juvenal, Sat. xi. 138.

Sumine cum magno, lepus atque aper, atque pygargus.

See also Deuteronomy, chap. xiv. verse 5. "The hart and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois."

It is without doubt the white antelope, which is very common at the Cape.

[192] *Oryxes.*]—Pliny describes this animal as having but one horn; Oppian, who had seen it, says the contrary. Aristotle classes it with the animals having but one horn. Bochart thinks it was the aram, a species of gazelle; but Oppian describes the oryx as a very fierce animal.—The above is from *Larcher.*

The oryx is mentioned by Juvenal, Sat. xi. 140.

Et Gætulus oryx:

And upon which line the Scholiast has this remark:

Oryx animal minus quàm bubalus quem Mauri uncem vocant, cujus pellis ad citoras proficit scuta Maurorum minora.—From the line of Juvenal above mentioned, it appears that they were eaten at Rome, but they were also introduced as a ferocious animal in the amphitheatre. See Martial, xiii. 95.

Matutinarum non ultima præda ferarum
Sævus oryx, constat quot mihi mute canum.

That

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horns are used by the Phœnicians to make the sides of their citharæ. In this region likewise there are bassaria [193], hyenas, porcupines, wild boars, dictyes [194], thoes [195], panthers, boryes [196],

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That it was an animal well known and very common in Africa, is most certain; but, unless it be what Pennant describes under the name of the leucoryx, or white antelope, I confess I know not what name to give it.—*T.*

193 *Bassaria.*]—Ælian makes no mention of this animal, at least under this name. Larcher interprets it foxes, and refers the reader to the article βασσαρις, in Hesychius, which we learn was the name which the people of Cyrene gave to the fox.—*T.*

194 *Dictyes.*]—I confess myself totally unable to find out what animal is here meant.

195 *Thoes.*]—Larcher is of opinion that this is the beast which we call a jackall, which he thinks is derived from the Arabian word *chatall.* He believes that the idea of the jackall's being the lion's provider is universally credited in this country; but this is not true. The science of natural history is too well and too successfully cultivated amongst us to admit of such an error, except with the most ignorant. I subjoin what Shaw says upon this subject.

The black cat (scyah ghush) and the jackall, are generally supposed to find out provision or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider; yet it may very much be doubted, whether there is any such friendly intercourse between them. In the night, indeed, when all the beasts of the forest do move, these, as well as others, are prowling after sustenance; and when the sun ariseth, and the lion getteth himself away to his den, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing such carcasses as the lion is supposed to have fed upon the night before. This,

196 For this note see the next page.

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land crocodiles[197] three cubits long, resembling lizards, ostriches, and small serpents, having each a single horn. Besides these animals, they have such as are elsewhere found, except the stag and the boar[198], which are never seen in Africa. They have also three distinct species of mice, some of which are called dipodes[199], others are

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and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackall particularly make with the lion, are the only circumstances I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion.—*T.*

196 *Boryes.*]—Of this animal I can find no account in any writer, ancient or modern.

197 *Land crocodiles,*]—or Κροκοδειλος χερσαιος, so called in contradistinction from the river crocodile, which by way of eminence was called Κροκοδειλος only.—*T.*

198 *Boar.*]—This animal must have been carried to Africa since the time of Herodotus, for it is now found there: according to Shaw, it is the chief food and prey of the lion, against which it has sometimes been known to defend itself with so much bravery, that the victory has inclined to neither side, the carcasses of them both having been found lying the one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.—*Shaw.*

199 *Dipodes.*]—Shaw is of opinion that this is the jerboa of Barbary. "That remarkable disproportion," observes this writer, "betwixt the fore and hinder legs of the jerboa, or διπους, though I never saw them run, but only stand or rest themselves upon the latter, may induce us to take it for one of the διποδες, or two-footed rats, which Herodotus and other writers describe as the inhabitants of these countries, particularly (του Σιλφιου) of the province of Silphium." Accordingly Mr. Pennant has set down the μυς διπους of Theophrastus and Ælian among the synonyma of the jerboa.—*Hist. of An.* p. 427. No. 291.

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called zegeries, which in the African tongue has the same meaning with the Greek word for hills. The other species is called the echines. There is moreover to be seen a kind of weazel in Silphium*, very much like that of Tartessus. The above are all the animals amongst the Libyan Nomades, which my most diligent researches have enabled me to discover.

CXCIII. Next to the Maxyes are the Zauecces †, whose women guide the chariots of war.

CXCIV. The people next in order are the Zygantes, amongst whom a great abundance of honey is found, the produce of their bees; but of this they say a great deal more is made by the natives [200]. They all stain their bodies with ver-

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* See what I observed on this subject before. I cannot help thinking that the herb was named from the place, and not the place from the herb.

† There are no traces in modern geography to be found of this nation. We must suppose them, says Rennell, to have occupied the space between the lesser Syrtis and the Gulph of Adumertum, since the Zygantes or Zugantes were the next beyond them. These are unquestionably the Zengitarians of Pliny.

200 *Made by the natives.*] — "I do not see," says Reiske on this passage, "how men can possibly make honey. They may collect, clarify, and prepare it by various processes for use, but the bees must first have made it."

I confess

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milion, and feed upon monkies, with which animal their mountains abound*.

CXCV. According to the Carthaginians, we next meet with an island called Cyranis†, two hundred stadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is easy, and it abounds with olives and vines. Here is a lake, from which the young women of the island draw up gold-dust[201] with bunches of feathers besmeared with pitch. For the truth of this I will not answer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it seems the more pro-

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I confess I see no such great difficulty in the above. There were various kinds of honey, honey of bees, honey of the palm, and honey of sugar, not to mention honey of grapes; all the last of which might be made by the industry of man. —See Lucan:

Quique bibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos.—*T.*

See Shaw's Travels, p. 339.

* Here Herodotus concludes his account of the different tribes of Libyans which inhabited the sea-coast.

† *Cyranis.*]—The islands of Querkiness, or Kerkiness, the Cercina and Cercinites of the ancient geographers, must here be intended.

The same with the Cercinna of Strabo, now called Querqueni, or Chercheni; concerning this island consult Diodorus, l. v. 294; but Diodorus, we should remark, confounded Cercinna with Cerne, an island of the Atlantic.

201 *Gold dust.*]—See a minute account of this in Achilles Tatius.—*T.*

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bable, after having seen at Zacynthus[202] pitch drawn from the bottom of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largest of which is seventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two orgyiæ. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle; the pitch attaches itself to the myrtle, and is thus procured. It has a bituminous smell, but is in other respects preferable to that of Pieria[203].

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202 *Zacynthus.*]—The modern name of this place is Zante. Its tar-springs, to use the words of Chandler, are still a natural curiosity deserving notice.

The tar is produced in a small valley about two hours from the town, by the sea, and encompassed with mountains, except toward the bay, in which are a couple of rocky islets. The spring which is most distinct and apt for inspection, rises on the farther side near the foot of the hill. The well is circular, and four or five feet in diameter. A shining film, like oil mixed with scum, swims on the top: you remove this with a bough, and see the tar at the bottom, three or four feet beneath the surface, working up, it is said, out of a fissure in the rock; the bubbles swelling gradually to the size of a large cannon-ball; when they burst, and the sides leisurely sinking, new ones succeed, increase, and in turn subside. The water is limpid, and runs off with a smart current: the ground near is quaggy, and will shake beneath the feet, but is cultivated. We filled some vessels with tar, by letting it trickle into them from the boughs which we immersed, and this is the method used to gather it from time to time into pits, where it is hardened by the sun, to be barrelled when the quantity is sufficient. The odour reaches a considerable way. See Chandler's Travels.—See also Antigonus Carystus, p. 169, and Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3.

203 *That of Pieria.*]—This was highly esteemed. Didymus

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The pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpose by the side of the lake; and when a sufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in casks. Whatever falls into the lake passes under ground, and is again seen in the sea, at the distance of four stadia from the lake. Thus what is related of this island contiguous to Libya, seems both consistent and probable.

CXCVI. We have the same authority of the Carthaginians to affirm, that beyond the columns of Hercules * there is a country inhabited by a people with whom they have had commercial intercourse [204]. It is their custom, on arriving

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says that the ancients considered that as the best which came from Mount Ida; and next to this, the tar which came from Pieria. Pliny says the same.—*Larcher.*

* *Columns of Hercules.*]—The Libyan column was by ancient writers called Abyla; that on the Spanish side, Calpe. *See P. Mela*, l. ii. c. 6.

This Libyan column is by the sailors called Ape's Hill. This is mentioned by John Haickel in the 10th century, under the same name, or very nearly.

204 *Commercial intercourse.*]—It must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still continue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations bordering upon the river Niger, without seeing the persons they trade with, or without having once broken through that original charter of commerce which from time immemorial has been settled between them. The method is this: at a certain time of the year, in the winter, if I am not mistaken, they

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among them, to unload their vessels, and dispose their goods along the shore. This done, they again embark, and make a great smoke from on board. The natives, seeing this, come down immediately to the shore, and placing a quantity of gold by way of exchange for the merchandize, retire. The Carthaginians then land a second time, and if they think the gold equivalent, they take it and depart; if not, they again go on board their vessels. The inhabitants return and add more gold, till the crews are satisfied. The whole is conducted with the strictest integrity, for neither will the one touch the gold till they have left an adequate value in merchandize, nor will the other remove the goods till the Carthaginians have taken away the gold *.

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make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissors, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find in the evening several different heaps of gold-dust lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians the next morning approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets and leave the gold-dust, or else make some deduction from the latter. In this manner they transact their exchange without seeing one another, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side.—*Shaw.*

Wadstrom relates the same story.

* The following curious fact is taken from the relation of Commodore Stewart's Embassy to Mequinez in 1721:

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CXCVII. Such are the people of Libya whose names I am able to ascertain; of whom the greater part cared but little for the king of the Medes, neither do they now. Speaking with all the precision I am able, the country I have been describing is inhabited by four nations only: of these, two are natives and two strangers. The natives are the Libyans and Æthiopians; one of whom possess the northern, the other the southern parts of Africa. The strangers are the Phœnicians and the Greeks.

CXCVIII. If we except the district of Cinyps *, which bears the name of the river flowing through it, Libya in goodness of soil cannot, I think, be compared either to Asia or Europe. Cinyps is totally unlike the rest of Libya, but is equal to any country in the world for its corn.

The method of trading in some of these parts is very extraordinary, for they do not see the persons they trade with, but passing over a little river, leave their salt at the accustomed place, and retire. Then the people take the salt, and put into the same pot as much gold as they judge it worth, which if the Moors approve of, they take it away; otherwise they set the pot on edge, and retire again, and afterwards find either more gold, or their salt returned.

See also a similar account of a commercial intercourse between those who inhabit the banks of the Niger, in Winterbottom's account of Sierra Leone.

* Pliny mentions a region of the name of Cinyps. Ptolemy calls this place Neapolis. Herodotus mentions the Cinyps again in the next book, c. 42.

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It is of a black soil, abounding in springs, and never troubled with drought. It rains in this part of Africa, but the rains, though violent, are never injurious. The produce of corn is not exceeded by Babylon itself. The country also of the Euesperidæ is remarkably fertile; in one of its plentiful years it produces an hundred fold; that of Cinyps three hundred fold.

CXCIX. Of the part of Libya possessed by the Nomades, the district of Cyrene * is the

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* *Cyrene.*]—About the limits of this district the ancients were not at all agreed, they are no where defined by Herodotus: the province of Cyrene, formerly so populous, is the contrary now; the sea-coasts are ravaged by pirates, the inland parts by the Arabians; such inhabitants as there are, are rich by the sale of the Europeans, who fall into their hands, to the Æthiopians.—*See La Croix*, tom. ii. 252.

Of the abundant fertility of Cyrene, Diodorus Siculus also speaks, p. 183, c. cxxviii.—Concerning the fountain of Cyre, one of the Fontes Cyrenaicæ, see Callimachus's Ode to Apollo, 88; and Justin, lib. xiii. c. 7.

Concerning the Asbystæ, of whom Herodotus speaks, c. 170, 171, Salmasius has collected much, ad Solinum, 381; so also has Eustathius, ad Dionys. Perieg. 211.—See too Larcher, vol. vii. 43.

Of the people with whom the Carthaginians traded, beyond the columns of Hercules, without seeing them, I have spoken at length, and given from Shaw the passage introduced by Schlichthorst. The place, whose name is not mentioned by Herodotus, is, doubtless, what we now call Senegambia. All the part of Libya described by Herodotus

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most elevated. They have three seasons, which well deserve admiration: the harvest and the vintage first commence upon the sea-coast; when these are finished, those immediately contiguous, advancing up the country, are ready; this region they call Buni. When the requisite labour has been here finished, the corn and the vines in the more elevated parts are found to ripen in progression, and will then require to be cut. By the time therefore that the first produce of the earth is consumed, the last will be ready. Thus for eight months in the year the Cyreneans are employed in reaping the produce of their lands.

CC. The Persians who were sent by Aryandes to avenge the cause of Pheretime, proceeding from Ægypt to Barce, laid siege to the place, having first demanded the persons of those who had been accessary to the death of Arcesilaus. To this the inhabitants, who had all been equally concerned in destroying him, paid no attention. The Persians, after continuing nine months before the place, carried their mines to the walls, and made a very vigorous attack. Their mines were discovered by a smith, by means of a brazen shield. He made a circuit of the town; where

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is now comprehended under the general name of Barbary, and contains the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli: the maritime part of Libya, from Carthage westward, was unknown to Herodotus.

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there were no miners beneath, the shield did not reverberate, which it did wherever they were at work. The Barceans therefore dug countermines, and slew the Persians so employed. Every attempt to storm the place was vigorously defeated by the besieged.

CCI. After a long time had been thus consumed, with considerable slaughter on both sides, (as many being killed of the Persians as of their adversaries) Amasis, the leader of the infantry, employed the following stratagem:—Being convinced that the Barceans were not to be overcome by any open attacks, he sunk in the night a large and deep trench: the surface of this he covered with some slight pieces of wood, then placing earth over the whole, the ground had uniformly the same appearance. At the dawn of the morning he invited the Barceans to a conference; they willingly assented, being very desirous to come to terms. Accordingly they entered into a treaty, of which these were the conditions: it was to remain valid [205] as long as the earth upon which the agreement was made should

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[205] *It was to remain valid.*]—Memini similem fœderis formulam apud Polybium legere in fœdere Hannibalis cum Tarentinis, si bene memini.—*Reiske.*

Reiske's recollection appears in this place to have deceived him. Tarentum was betrayed to Hannibal by the treachery of some of its citizens; but in no manner resembling this here described by Herodotus.—*T.*

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retain its present appearance. The Barceans were to pay the Persian monarch a certain reasonable tribute; and the Persians engaged themselves to undertake nothing in future to the detriment of the Barceans. Relying upon these engagements, the Barceans, without hesitation, threw open the gates of their city, going out and in themselves without fear of consequences, and permitting without restraint such of the enemy as pleased to come within their walls. The Persians, withdrawing the artificial support of the earth, where they had sunk a trench, entered the city in crowds; they imagined by this artifice that they had fulfilled all they had undertaken, and were brought back to the situation in which they were mutually before. For in reality, this support of the earth being taken away, the oath they had taken became void.

CCII. The Persians seized and surrendered to the power of Pheretime such of the Barceans as had been instrumental in the death of her son. These she crucified on different parts of the walls; she cut off also the breasts of their wives, and suspended them in a similar situation. She permitted the Persians to plunder the rest of the Barceans, except the Battiadæ, and those who were not concerned in the murder. These she suffered to retain their situations and property.

CCIII. The rest of the Barceans being re-

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duced to servitude, the Persians returned home. Arriving at Cyrene, the inhabitants of that place granted them a free passage through their territories, from reverence to some oracle. Whilst they were on their passage, Bares, commander of the fleet, solicited them to plunder Cyrene; which was opposed by Amasis, leader of the infantry, who urged that their orders were only against Barce. When, passing Cyrene, they had arrived at the hill of the Lycean Jupiter[206], they expressed regret at not having plundered it. They accordingly returned, and endeavoured a second time to enter the place; but the Cyreneans would not suffer them. Although no one attempted to attack them, the Persians were seized with such a panic, that, returning in haste, they encamped at a distance of about sixty stadia from the city. Whilst they remained here, a messenger came from Aryandes, ordering them to return. Upon this, the Persians made application to the Cyreneans for a supply of provisions; which being granted, they returned to Ægypt. In their march they were incessantly harassed by the Libyans for the sake of their clothes and utensils*. In

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206 *Lycean Jupiter.*]—Lycaon erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhasia, and instituted games in his honour, which the Lyceans called Λυκαια. No one was permitted to enter this temple; he who did was stoned.—*Larcher.*

* It is hardly possible to read this passage without being reminded of Bonaparte's march from Alexandria to Rhamanie. —Exactly in this manner was he harassed by the Bedouins.

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their progress to Ægypt, whoever was surprised or left behind was instantly put to death.

CCIV. The farthest progress of this Persian army was to the country of the Euesperidæ. Their Barcean captives they carried with them from Ægypt to king Darius, who assigned them for their residence a portion of land in the Bactrian district, to which they gave the name of Barce; this has within my time contained a great number of inhabitants.

CCV. The life, however, of Pheretime had by no means a fortunate termination. Having gratified her revenge upon the Barceans, she returned from Libya to Ægypt, and there perished miserably. Whilst alive, her body was destroyed by worms[207]: thus it is that the gods punish those who have provoked their indignation; and such also was the vengeance which Pheretime, the wife of Battus, exercised upon the Barceans.

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[207] *Destroyed by worms.*]—This passage, with the reasoning of Herodotus upon it, cannot fail to bring to the mind of the reader the miserable end of Herod, surnamed the Great.

And he went down to Cæsarea, and there abode: and upon a set day Herod arrayed in royal apparel sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost.—See Lardner's observations upon the above historical incident.—*T.*

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK V.

TERPSICHORE.

CHAP. I.

THE Persians who had been left in Europe by Darius, under the conduct of Megabyzus, commenced their hostilities on the Hellespont with the conquest of the Perinthii [1], who had refused to acknowledge the authority of Darius, and had formerly been vanquished by the Pæonians [2]. This latter people, inhabiting the banks of the Strymon, had been induced by an oracle

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[1] *Perinthii.*]—Perinthus was first called Mygdonia, afterwards Heraclea, and then Perinthus.—*T.*

[2] *Pæonians.*]—As the ancients materially differed in opinion concerning the geographical situation of this people, it is not to be expected that I should speak decisively on the subject. Herodotus here places them near the river Strymon; Dio, near mount Rhodope; and Ptolemy, where the river Haliacmon rises. Pæonia was one of the names of Minerva, given her from her supposed skill in the art of medicine.—*T.*

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to make war on the Perinthians: if the Perinthians on their meeting offered them battle, provoking them by name, they were to accept the challenge; if otherwise, they were to decline all contest. It happened accordingly, that the Perinthians marched into the country of the Pæonians *, and, encamping before their town, sent them three specific challenges, a man to encounter with a man, a horse with a horse, a dog with a dog. The Perinthians having the advantage in the two former contests, sung with exultation a song of triumph [3]; this the Pæonians conceived to be the purport of the oracle: "Now," they exclaimed, "the oracle will be fulfilled; this is

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* This country, which comprehended the northern part of Macedonia towards Dardania, must of course have bordered on or near the upper part of the river Strymon, and also near mount Rhodope, which is a continuation of mount Hæmus to the west.

3 *Song of triumph.*]—Larcher renders the passage "Sung the pæon," and subjoins this note: "Of this song there were two kinds; one was chanted before the battle, in honour of Mars; the other after the victory, in honour of Apollo; this song commenced with the words "Io Pæan." The allusion of the word Pæon to the name of the Pæonians, is obvious, to preserve which, I have rendered it "sung the Pæon."—The usage and application of the word Pæan, amongst the ancients, was various and equivocal: the composition of Pindar, in praise of all the gods, was called Pæan; and Pæan was also one of the names of Apollo. To which it may be added, that Pæan, being originally a hymn to Apollo, from his name Pæan, became afterwards extended in its use to such addresses to the other gods."

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"the time for us." They attacked, therefore, the Perinthians, whilst engaged in their imaginary triumph, and obtained so signal a victory that few of their adversaries escaped.

II. Such was the overthrow which the Perinthians received, in their conflict with the Pæonians: on the present occasion they fought valiantly, in defence of their liberties, against Megabyzus, but were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Persians. After the capture of Perinthus, Megabyzus overran Thrace with his forces, and reduced all its cities and inhabitants under the power of the king: the conquest of Thrace had been particularly enjoined him by Darius.

III. Next to India, Thrace is of all nations the most considerable[4]: if the inhabitants were

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[4] *Most considerable.*]—Thucydides ranks them after the Scythians, and Pausanias after the Celtæ.—*Larcher.*

As this country is confined on the east and south by the sea, and on the north by the Danube, and as Macedonia and Pæonia are mentioned by Herodotus as distinct countries, the extent of Thrace, even allowing it to extend into Dardania and Mœsia, must be much more circumscribed than the idea of our author allows. It has however more extended limits in his Geography than in that of succeeding authors, and perhaps might have included most of the space along the south of the Danube, between the Euxine and Istria, meeting the borders of Macedonia, Pæonia, &c. on the

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either under the government of an individual, or united among themselves, their strength would in my opinion render them invincible; but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the Getæ, the Trausi [5], and those beyond Crestona, they are marked by a general similitude of manners.

IV. Of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have before spoken. The Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except in what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the midst of a circle of his relations, who lament aloud the evils which, as a human being, he must necessarily undergo, all of which they particularly enumerate [6]; but whenever any one dies, the body is

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south; and the Sigynæ might have occupied the N. W. quarter of the modern Servia, Bosnia, and Croatia.—*Rennell*, p. 44.

[5] *Trausi.*]—These were the people whom the Greeks called Agathyrsi.—*T.*

[6] *Particularly enumerate.*]—A similar sentiment is quoted by Larcher, from a fragment of Euripides, of which the following is the version of Cicero:—

> Nam nos decebat cœtum celebrantes domus
> Lugere, ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus
> Humanæ vitæ varia reputantes mala:

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committed to the ground with clamorous joy, for the deceased, they say, delivered from his miseries, is then supremely happy.

V. Those beyond the Crestonians have these observances:—Each person has several wives; if the husband dies, a great contest commences amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them had been most beloved.

At qui labores morte finisset graves,
Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitia exsequi.

See also on this subject Gray's fine Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College:—

Alas, regardless of their doom,
The little victims play!
No sense have they of ills to come,
Nor care beyond to-day:
Yet see how all around 'em wait
The ministers of human fate,
And black Misfortune's baleful train!
Ah, shew them where in ambush stand,
To seize their prey, the murth'rous band!
Ah, tell them they are men!—
These shall the fury passions tear, &c.

Valerius Maximus, Pomponius Mela, and Solinus, have severally made mention of this custom of the Trausi.

See Spenser's Tears of the Muses:—

For all man's life me seems a tragedy,
Full of sad sights and sore catastrophe,
First coming to the world with weeping eye,
Where all his days like dolorous trophies
Are heaped with spoils of fortune and of fear,
And he at last laid forth on baleful bier.

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She to whom this honour is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation on the tomb of her husband[7], with whom she is afterwards buried: his

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7 *Tomb of her husband.*]—This custom was also observed by the Getæ: at this day, in India, women burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, which usage must have been continued there from remote antiquity. Propertius mentions it:

Et certamen habent leti quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori;
Ardent victrices et flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.

Cicero mentions also the same fact. Larcher quotes the passage from the Tusculan Questions, of which the following is a translation:

"The women in India, when their husband dies, eagerly contend to have it determined which of them he loved best, for each man has several wives. She who conquers, deems herself happy, is accompanied by her friends to the funeral pile, where her body is burned with that of her husband; they who are vanquished depart in sorrow."—The civil code of the Indians, respecting this strange sacrifice, is to this effect: "It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse, unless she be with child, or that her husband be absent, or that she cannot get his turban or his girdle, or unless she devote herself to chastity and celibacy: every woman who thus burns herself shall, according to the decrees of destiny, remain with her husband in paradise for ever."—"This practice," says Raynal, "so evidently contrary to reason, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and of a future life: the hope of being served in the other world by the same persons who obeyed us in this, has been

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other wives esteem this an affliction, and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace.

VI. The other Thracians have a custom of selling their children *, to be carried out of their country. To their young women they pay no regard, suffering them to connect themselves indiscriminately with men; but they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their parents at an immense price. To have punctures on the skin[8] is with them a mark of

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the cause of the slave being sacrificed on the tomb of his master, and the wife on the corpse of her husband; but that the Indians, who firmly believed in the transmigration of souls, should give way to this prejudice, is one of those numberless inconsistencies which in all parts of the world degrade the human mind."—*See Raynal*, vol. i. 91. The remark, in the main, is just; but the author, I fear, meant to insinuate that practices contrary to reason naturally proceed from the doctrines he mentions; a suggestion which, though very worthy of the class of writers to which he belongs, has not reason enough in it to deserve a serious reply.—*T.*

* It is sincerely to be regretted, that the Chinese have not recourse to this custom to counteract their excessive population. But, unfortunately, instead of the remedy, the horrible practice of infanticide is so far countenanced by the police, that it is understood that in the metropolis of Pekin, no less than two thousand infants annually fall a sacrifice to the avarice or poverty of their parents.

8 *Punctures on their skin.*]—If Plutarch may be credited, the Thracians in his time made these punctures on their wives, to revenge the death of Orpheus, whom they had murdered.

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nobility; to be without these, is a testimony of mean descent: the most honourable life with them is a life of indolence; the most contemptible that of an husbandman. Their supreme delight is in war and plunder.—Such are their more remarkable distinctions.

VII. The gods whom they worship are Mars, Bacchus[9], and Diana: besides these popular gods, and in preference to them, their princes worship Mercury. They swear by him alone, and call themselves his descendants.

Phanocles agrees with this opinion, in his poem upon Orpheus, of which a fragment has been preserved by Stobæus. If this be the true reason, it is remarkable that what in its origin was a punishment, became afterwards an ornament, and a mark of nobility.—*Larcher.*

Of such great antiquity does the custom of tattaowing appear to have been, with descriptions of which, the modern voyages to the South Sea abound.—*T.*

Some antiquarians are of opinion that the staining of the skin of a blue colour, as practised by our ancestors, was nothing more than tattaowing. There was no occasion for woad, which is said to have been used for this purpose, as the mere punctures appear blue through the outer skin.

9 *Bacchus.*]—That Bacchus was worshipped in Thrace, is attested by many authors, and particularly by Euripides: in the Rœsus, attributed to that poet, that prince, after being slain by Ulysses, was transported to the caverns of Thrace by the muse who bore him, and becoming a divinity, he there declared the oracles of Bacchus. In the Hecuba of the same author, Bacchus is called the deity of Thrace. Some placed the oracle of Bacchus near mount Pangæa, others near mount Hæmus.—*Larcher.*

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VIII. The funerals of their chief men are of this kind: For three days the deceased is publicly exposed; then having sacrificed animals of every description, and uttered many and loud lamentations, they celebrate a feast[10], and the body is finally either burned or buried. They afterwards raise a mound of earth[11] upon the spot, and cele-

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[10] *Celebrate a feast.*]—It appears from a passage in Jeremiah, that this mixture of mourning and feasting at funerals was very common amongst the Jews:—

"Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them.

"Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

"Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting, to sit with them to eat and to drink."— xvi. 6, 7, 8.

The same custom is still observed in the countries of the East.—*T.*

[11] *Mound of earth.*]—Over the place of burial of illustrious persons, they raised a kind of tumulus of earth. This is well expressed in the "ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus," of Virgil.—*Larcher.*

The practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased, was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans. Virgil alludes to it as usual in the times treated of in the Æneid. Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Persians. The Roman historians record that the same mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no less among the ancient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations.—See *Coxe's Travels through Poland.* &c.

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brate games[12] of various kinds, in which each particular contest has a reward assigned suitable to its nature.

IX. With respect to the more northern parts of this region, and its inhabitants, nothing has been yet decisively ascertained. What lies beyond the Ister, is a vast and almost endless space. The whole of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the Sigynæ, a people who in dress resemble the Medes; their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of five digits; they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness, for which reason carriages are here very common. The confines of this people extend almost to the Eneti[13] on the Adriatic. They call themselves a colony

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[12] *Celebrate games.*]—It is impossible to say when funeral games were first instituted. According to Pliny, they existed before the time of Theseus; and many have supposed that the famous games of Greece were in their origin funeral games. The best description of these is to be found in Homer and in Virgil. In the former, those celebrated by Achilles in honour of Patroclus; in the latter, those of Æneas in memory of his father.—*T.*

[13] *Eneti,*]—or rather Heneti, which aspirate, represented by the Æolic digamma, forms the Latin name Veneti. Their horses were anciently in great estimation. See the Hippolytus of Euripides, v. 230. Homer speaks of their mules.—*T.*

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of the Medes[14]; how this could be, I am not able to determine, though in a long series of time it may not have been impossible. The Sigynæ are called merchants[15] by the Ligurians, who lived beyond Massilia: with the Cyprians, Sigynæ is the name for spears.

Some contradiction is certainly here involved.—May it not be suspected, says Rennell, that the sentence respecting the country beyond the Danube, is misplaced altogether, and that the author intended to say, that the Sigynæ inhabited the northern part of Thrace, which lay however on the South or Grecian side of the Danube.

Signia, Major Rennell observes, is a position in ancient geography on the Adriatic, towards the ancient seats of the Veneti. Quere, has it any connexion with the Sigynæ of Herodotus?

[14] *Colony of the Medes.*]—Strabo says that this people observed in a great measure the customs of the Persians: thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes, might be considered as genuine Persians, according to his custom of confounding their names, if Diodorus Siculus had not decided the matter.

[15] *Called merchants.*]—The whole of this sentence Larcher omits, giving as his opinion, that it was inserted by some Scholiast in the margin, and had thence found its way into the text. For my part, I see no reason for this; and I think the explication given by the Abbé Bellanger, in his Essais de Critique sur les Traduct. d'Herodote, may fairly be accepted. "Herodotus means, says he, to inform his reader, that Sigynæ is not an unusual word; the Ligurians use it for merchants, the Cyprians for spears."—But if this be true, the following version by Littlebury, must appear absurd enough: "The Ligurians," says he, "who inhabit beyond Marseilles, call the Sigynes brokers; and the Cyprians give them the name of javelins."—*T.*

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X. The Thracians affirm that the places beyond the Ister are possessed wholly by bees, and that a passage beyond this is impracticable. To me this seems altogether impossible, for the bee is an insect known to be very impatient of cold [16]; the extremity of which, as I should think, is what renders the parts to the north uninhabitable. The sea-coast of this region was reduced by Megabyzus under the power of Persia.

XI. Darius having crossed the Hellespont, went immediately to Sardis, where he neither forgot the service of Histiæus, nor the advice of Coës of Mitylene. He accordingly sent for these two persons, and desired them to ask what they would. Histiæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, wished for no accession of power; he merely

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[16] *Impatient of cold.*]—This remark of Herodotus concerning bees, is in a great measure true, because all apiaries are found to succeed and thrive best, which are exposed to a degree of middle temperature: yet it would be difficult perhaps to ascertain the precise degree of cold in which bees would cease to live and multiply. Modern experiments have made it obviously appear, that in severe winters this insect has perished as frequently from famine as from cold. It is also well known that bees have lived in hollow trees in the colder parts of Russia.—*T.*

There is a Nomadic people in Russia who are called Bashkers, the particular meaning of which word in their own language is *Bees-men.* They particularly attend to the rearing of bees and making honey and wax. They live in the borders of the river Urat.

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required the Edonian[17] Myrcinus, with the view of building there a city: Coës, on the contrary, who was a private individual, wished to be made prince of Mitylene. Having obtained what they severally desired, they departed.

XII. Darius, induced by a circumstance of which he was accidentally witness, required Megabyzus to transport the Pæonians from Europe to Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were natives of Pæonia, the government of which became the object of their ambition. With these views, when Darius had passed over into Asia, they betook themselves to Sardis, carrying with them their sister, a person of great elegance and beauty. As Darius was sitting publicly in that division of the city appropriate to the Lydians, they took the opportunity of executing the following artifice: they decorated their sister in the best manner

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17 *Edonian.*]—This district is by some writers placed in Thrace, by others in Macedonia. D'Anville places Edonia and Myrcinus at the mouth of the river Strymon. In chapters 23 and 98 of this book, Myrcinus is said to be near that river. The *o* is used long by Virgil, and short by Lucan:

Ac velut Edoni Boreæ cum spiritus alto.

Æn. xii. 365.

Nam qualis vertice Pindi
Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyæo.

Luc. i. 674.—*T.*

It is also used long in Horace.

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they were able, and sent her to draw water; she had a vessel upon her head[18], she led a horse by a bridle fastened round her arm, and she was moreover spinning some thread. Darius viewed her as she passed with attentive curiosity, observing that her employments were not those of a Persian, Lydian, nor indeed of any Asiatic female. He was prompted by what he had seen to send some of his attendants, who might observe what she did with the horse. They accordingly followed her: the woman, when she came to the river, gave her horse some water, and then filled her pitcher. Having done this, she returned by the way she came; with the pitcher of water on her head, the horse fastened by a bridle to her arm, and as before employed in spinning.

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18 *Upon her head.*]—Nicolas Damascenus tells a similar story of Alyattes king of Sardis. This prince was one day sitting before the walls of the town, when he beheld a Thracian woman with an urn on her head, a distaff and spindle in her hand, and behind her a horse secured by a bridle. The king, astonished, asked her who and of what country she was? She replied, she was of Mysia, a district of Thrace. In consequence of this adventure, the king by his ambassadors desired Cotys prince of Thrace to send him a colony from that country, of men, women, and children.—*Larcher.*

In my former note on this subject, Major Rennell informs me, I was mistaken. The two names, Mysia and Mœsia, are it seems perfectly distinct and appropriate. The former is the country adjacent to the Hellespont, and the latter the region along the southern side of the Danube.

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XIII. Darius, equally surprized at what he heard from his servants and had seen himself, sent for the woman to his presence. On her appearance, the brothers, who had observed all from a convenient situation, came forwards, and declared that they were Pæonians, and the woman their sister. Upon this, Darius inquired who the Pæonians were, where their country was situated, and what had induced themselves to come to Sardis. The young men replied, "that as to "themselves, their only motive was a desire of "entering into his service; that Pæonia their "country was situated on the banks of the river "Strymon, at no great distance from the Hel-"lespont." They added, "that the Pæonians "were a Trojan colony." Darius then inquired if all the women of their country were thus accustomed to labour; they replied without hesitation in the affirmative, for this was the point they had particularly in view.

XIV. In consequence of the above, Darius sent letters to Megabyzus, whom he had left commander of his forces in Thrace, ordering him to remove all the Pæonians to Sardis, with their wives and families. The courier sent with this message instantly made his way to the Hellespont, which having passed, he presented Megabyzus with the orders of his master. Megabyzus accordingly lost no time in executing them; but taking

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with him some Thracian guides[19], led his army against Pæonia.

XV. The Pæonians being aware of the intentions of the Persians, collected their forces, and advanced towards the sea, imagining the enemy would there make their attack: thus they prepared themselves to resist the invasion of Megabyzus: but the Persian general being informed that every approach from the sea was guarded by their forces, under the direction of his guides made a circuit by the higher parts of the country, and thus eluding the Pæonians, came unexpectedly upon their towns, of which, as they were generally deserted, he took possession without difficulty. The Pæonians, informed of this event, dispersed themselves, and returning to their families submitted to the Persians. Thus the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, and they who possess the country as far as the Prasian lake, were removed from their habitations, and transported to Asia.

XVI. The people in the vicinity of mount Pangæus[20], with the Doberæ, the Agrianæ,

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19 *Thracian guides.*]—The French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, mistaking the Latin version, sumptis è Thraciâ ducibus, have rendered this passage, "commanda aux capitaines de Thrace."—*T.*

20 *Pangæus.*]—This place, as Herodotus informs us in the seventh book, possessed both gold and silver mines.—*T.*

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Odomanti, and those of the Prasian lake, Megabyzus was not able to subdue. They who lived upon the lake, in dwellings of the following construction, were the objects of his next attempt. In this lake, strong piles[21] are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. These erections were in former times made at the public expence; but a law afterwards passed, obliging a man for every wife whom he should marry (and they allow a plurality) to drive three of these piles into the ground, taken from a mountain called Orbelus. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake, they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally with fish[22], of which there is such abun-

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21 *Strong piles*, &c.]—Exemplum urbis in fluvio super tignis et tabulatis structæ in America habet Teixeira.—*Reiske.*

22 *With fish.*]—Torfæus, in his History of Norway, informs us, that in the cold and maritime parts of Europe cattle are fed with fish.—*Wesseling.*

On our arrival we dined with Mr. Saretcheff on cold roast beef, which tasted so fishy that we thought it had been basted with train-oil. In the afternoon we drank tea at the commandant's: this also tasted of fish; and when I mentioned it to our host, he recommended the next cup without cream, which was very good. He told me that the cattle had been fed for the last ten weeks entirely upon the offals of fish, and that the cows preferred dried salmon to hay.

Sauer's Expedition to the Eastern Ocean, p. 41.

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dance, that if any one lets down a basket into the water, and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish. Of these they have two particular species, called papraces and tilones.

XVII. Such of the Pæonians as were taken captive were removed into Asia. After the conquest of this people, Megabyzus sent into Macedonia seven Persians of his army, next in dignity and estimation to himself, requiring of Amyntas, in the name of Darius, earth and water. From the lake Prasis to Macedonia there is a very short passage; for upon the very brink of the lake is found the mine, which in after-times produced to Alexander a talent every day. Next to this mine is the Dysian mount; which being passed, you enter Macedonia.

XVIII. The Persians on their arrival were admitted to an immediate audience of Amyntas; when they demanded of him, in the name of Darius, earth and water. This was not only granted, but Amyntas received the messengers hospitably into his family, gave them a splendid entertainment, and treated them with particular kindness. When after their entertainment they began to drink, one of the Persians thus addressed Amyntas: "Prince of Macedonia, it is a custom with "us Persians, whenever we have a public enter-"tainment, to introduce our concubines and

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" young wives. Since therefore you have re-
" ceived us kindly, and with the rites of hos-
" pitality, and have also acknowledged the
" claims of Darius, in giving him earth and
" water, imitate the custom we have mentioned."
" Persians," replied Amyntas, " our manners
" are very different, for our women are kept
" separate from the men. But since you are
" our masters, and require it, what you solicit
" shall be granted." Amyntas therefore sent for the women, who on their coming were seated opposite to the Persians. The Persians observing them beautiful, told Amyntas that he was still defective: " For it were better," they exclaimed,
" that they had not come at all, than, on their
" appearing, not to suffer them to sit near us,
" but to place them opposite, as a kind of tor-
" ment to our eyes[23]." Amyntas, acting thus

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[23] *Torment to our eyes.*]—This passage has been the occasion of much critical controversy. Longinus censures it as frigid. Many learned men, in opposition to Longinus, have vindicated the expression. Pearce, in his Commentaries, is of opinion that those who in this instance have opposed themselves to Longinus, have not entered into the precise meaning of that critic. The historian, he observes, does not mean to say that the beauty of these females might not excite dolores oculorum, but they could not themselves properly be termed dolores oculorum. Pearce quotes a passage from Æschylus, where Helen is called *μαλθακον ομματων βελος*, the tender dart of the eyes. Alexander the Great

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under compulsion, directed the women to sit with the Persians. The women obeyed, and the Persians, warmed by their wine, began to put their hands to their bosoms, and to kiss them.

XIX. Amyntas observed this indecency with great vexation, though his awe of the Persians induced him not to notice it. But his son Alexander, who was also present, and witnessed their

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called the Persian women βολιδας ομματων, the darts of the eyes. After all, to me at least, considering it was used by natives of Persia, and making allowance for the warm and figurative language of the east, the expression seems to require neither comment nor vindication. In some classical lines written by Cowley, called The Account, I find this strong expression:

When all the stars are by thee told,
The endless sums of heavenly gold;
Or when the hairs are reckon'd all,
From sickly Autumn's head that fall:
Or when the drops that make the sea,
Whilst all her sands thy counters be,
Thou then, and then alone, may'st prove
Th' arithmetician of my love.
An hundred loves at Athens score:
At Corinth write an hundred more:
Three hundred more at Rhodes and Crete,
Three hundred 'tis, I'm sure, complete;
For arms at Crete each face does bear,
And every eye's an archer there, &c.

When we consider that the Cretan archers were celebrated beyond all others, this expression will not seem much less bold or figurative than that of Herodotus.—*T.*

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behaviour, being in the vigour of youth, and hitherto without experience of calamity, was totally unable to bear it. "Sir," said he to Amyntas, being much incensed, "your age is a sufficient "excuse for your retiring; leave me to preside "at the banquet, and to pay such attention to "our guests as shall be proper and necessary." Amyntas could not but observe that the warmth of youth prompted his son to some act of boldness; he accordingly made him this reply: "I can "plainly see your motive for soliciting my ab-"sence; you desire me to go, that you may per-"petrate somewhat to which your spirit impels "you; but I must insist upon it[24], that you do "not occasion our ruin by molesting these men; "suffer their indignities patiently.—I shall how-"ever follow your advice, and retire." With these words Amyntas left them.

XX. Upon this, Alexander thus addressed the Persians: "You are at liberty, Sirs, to repose "yourselves with any or with all of these fe-"males; I have only to require, that you will "make your choice known to me. It is now

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[24] *Insist upon it.*]—The reader will in this place, I presume, be naturally suspicious that the good old king Amyntas was well aware what his son Alexander intended to perpetrate. If he suspected what was about to be done, and had not wished its accomplishment, he would probably, notwithstanding his age, have staid and prevented it.—*T.*

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" almost time to retire, and I can perceive that " our wine has had its effect upon you. You " will please therefore to suffer these women to " go and bathe themselves, and they shall after- " wards return." The Persians approved of what he said, and the women retired to their proper apartments; but, in their room, he dressed up an equal number of smooth-faced young men, and arming each with a dagger, he introduced them to the company. " Persians," said he, on their entering, " we have given you " a magnificent entertainment, and supplied you " with every thing in our power to procure. " We have also, which with us weighs more than " all the rest, presented you with our matrons " and our sisters, that we might not appear to " you in any respect insensible of your merits; " and that you may inform the king your master " with what liberality a Greek and prince of " Macedonia has entertained you at bed and at " board." When he had thus said, Alexander commanded the Macedonians, whom he addressed as females, to sit by the side of the Persians; but on their first attempt to touch them, the Macedonians put every one of them to death.

XXI. These Persians with their retinue thus forfeited their lives; they had been attended on this expedition with a number of carriages and servants, all of which were seized and plundered.

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At no great interval of time, a strict inquisition was made by the Persians into this business; but Alexander, by his discretion, obviated its effects. To Bubaris[25], a native of Persia, and one of those[26] who had been sent to inquire concerning the death of his countrymen, he made very liberal presents, and gave his sister in marriage. By these means the assassination of the Persian officers was overlooked and forgotten.

XXII. These Greeks were descended from Perdiccas: this they themselves affirm, and indeed I myself know it, from certain circumstances which I shall hereafter relate. My opinion of this matter is also confirmed by the determination of those who preside at the Olympic

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[25] *Bubaris.*]—It appears from book the seventh, chap. 21, of our author, that this Bubaris was the son of Megabyzus. —*T.*

[26] *One of those.*]—It is contended by Valknaer, who is answered by Larcher, in a very long note, that instead of *των στρατηγων*, it should be *τῳ στρατηγῳ*, that is, in fact, whether it should be "one of those," &c. or "chief of those," &c. Which of these is the more proper reading, is not, I think, of sufficient importance to warrant any hasty suspicion, not to say alteration of the text. That Bubaris was a man of rank we know, for he was the son of Megabyzus; that he was the chief of those employed on this occasion, may be presumed, from his receiving from Alexander many liberal presents, and his own sister in marriage.—*T.*

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games[27]: for when Alexander, with an ambition of distinguishing himself, expressed a desire of entering the lists, the Greeks, who were his competitors, repelled him with scorn, asserting, that this was a contest, not of Barbarians, but of Greeks; but he proved himself to be an Argive, and was consequently allowed to be a Greek. He was then permitted to contend, and was matched with the first combatant[28].

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[27] *Preside at the Olympic games.*]—The judges who presided at the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ; their number varied at different times; they were a long time ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the Elean tribes; but it finally reverted to ten. They did not all judge promiscuously at every contest, but only such as were deputed to do so. Their decisions might be appealed from, and they might even be accused before the senate of Olympia, who sometimes set aside their determinations. They who were elected Hellanodicæ were compelled to reside ten months successively in a building appropriated to their use at Olympia, and named from them the Hellanodicæon, in order to instruct themselves, previous to their entering on their office.—*Larcher.*

[28] *With the first combatant.*]—See Lucian, Hermotimus, vol. i. p. 782-3.—Hemsterhusius.

Lycinus.—Do not, Hermotimus, tell me what anciently was done, but what you yourself have seen at no great distance of time.

Hermotimus.—A silver urn was produced sacred to the god, into which some small lots of the size of beans were thrown: two of these are inscribed with the letter A, two more with B, two others with G, and so on, according to the number of competitors, there being always two lots marked with the

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XXIII. I have related the facts which happened. Megabyzus, taking the Pæonians along with him, passed the Hellespont, and arrived at Sardis. At this period, Histiæus the Milesian was engaged in surrounding with a wall, the place which had been given him by Darius, as a reward for his preserving the bridge; it is called Myrcinus [29], and is near the river Strymon. Megabyzus, as soon as he came to Sardis, and learned what had been done with respect to Histiæus, thus addressed Darius: "Have you, "Sir, done wisely, in permitting a Greek of "known activity and abilities to erect a city "in Thrace? in a place which abounds with "every requisite for the construction and equip-"ment of ships; and where there are also mines "of silver? A number of Greeks are there, "mixed with Barbarians, who, making him their

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same letter. The combatants then advanced one by one, and calling on the name of Jupiter, put his hand into the urn, and drew out a lot. An officer stood near with a cudgel in his hand, and ready to strike if any one attempted to see what letter he had drawn. Then the Alytarch, or one of the Hellanodicæ, obliging them to stand in a circle, paired such together as had drawn the same letter. If the number of competitors was not equal, he who drew the odd letter was matched against the victor, which was no small advantage, as he had to enter the lists quite fresh against a man already fatigued.

29 *Myrcinus.*]—This place in some books of geography is written Myrcenus.—*T.*

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"leader, will be ready on every occasion to "execute his commands. Suffer him therefore to "proceed no farther, lest a civil war be the con-"sequence. Do not, however, use violent mea-"sures; but when you shall have him in your "power,. take care to prevent the possibility of "his return to Greece."

XXIV. Darius was easily induced to yield to the arguments of Megabyzus, of whose sagacity he entirely approved. He immediately therefore sent him a message to the following purport: "Histiæus, king Darius considers you as one "of the ablest supports of his throne, of which "he has already received the strongest testi-"mony. He has now in contemplation a busi-"ness of great importance, and requires your "presence and advice." Histiæus believed the messenger, and, delighted with the idea of being invited to the king's councils, hastened to Sardis, where on his arrival Darius thus addressed him: "Histiæus, my motive for soliciting your pre-"sence is this; my not seeing you at my return "from Scythia filled me with the extremest re-"gret; my desire to converse with you conti-"nually increased, being well convinced that "there is no treasure so great as a sincere and "sagacious friend, for of your truth as well as "prudence, I have received the most satisfactory "proofs. You have done well in coming to

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"me; I therefore entreat you that, forgetting "Miletus, and leaving the city you have re-"cently built in Thrace, you will accompany "me to Susa; you shall there have apartments "in my palace, and live with me, my companion "and my friend."

XXV. Darius, having thus accomplished his wishes, took Histiæus with him, and departed for Susa. Artaphernes, his brother by the father's side, was left governor of Sardis; Otanes was intrusted with the command of the sea-coast. Sisamnes, the father of the latter, had been one of the royal judges; but having been guilty of corruption in the execution of his office, was put to death by Cambyses. By order of this prince, the entire skin was taken from his body, and fixed over the tribunal[30] at which he formerly presided. Cambyses gave the office of Sisamnes to his son Otanes, commanding him to have constantly in memory on what tribunal he sat.

XXVI. Otanes having at first the above ap-

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[30] *Fixed over the tribunal.*]—This, it seems, was a common custom in Persia; and corrupt judges were sometimes flayed alive, and their skins afterwards thus disposed. Larcher quotes a passage from Diodorus Siculus, which informs us that Artaxerxes punished some unjust judges precisely in this manner.—*T.*

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pointment, succeeded afterwards to the command of Megabyzus, when he reduced Byzantium and Chalcedon. He took also Lamponium[31] and Antandros[32], which latter is in the province of Troy. With the assistance of a fleet feom Lesbos he made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi.

XXVII. The Lemnians fought with great bravery, and made a long and vigorous resistance, but were at length subdued. Over such as survived the conflict, the Persians appointed Lycaretus governor: he was the brother of Mæander, who had reigned at Samos, but he died during his government. All the abovementioned people were reduced to servitude: it was pretended that some had been deserters in the Scythian expedition, and that others had harassed Darius in his retreat. Such was the conduct of Otanes in his office, which he did not long enjoy with tranquillity.

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31 *Lamponium.*]—Pliny and, I believe, Strabo call this place Lamporea. It was an island of the Chersonese.

32 *Antandros.*]—

Classemque sub ipsâ
Antandro et Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.
Virg. Æn. iii. 5.

This place has experienced a variety of names, Assos, Apollonia, and now Dimitri. —*T.*

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XXVIII. The Ionians were soon visited by new calamities, from Miletus and from Naxos[33]. Of all the islands, Naxos was the happiest; but Miletus might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its prosperity. In the two preceding ages it had been considerably weakened by internal factions, but the tranquillity of its inhabitants was finally restored by the interposition of the Parians[34], whom the Milesians had preferred on this occasion to all the other Greeks.

XXIX. To heal the disorders which existed among them, the Parians applied the following

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[33] *Naxos.*]—This place was first called Strongyle, afterwards Dia, and then Naxos; there was a place of this name also in Sicily. The Naxos of the Ægean, is now called Naxia; it was anciently famous for its whetstones, and Naxia cos became a proverb. In classical story, this island is famous for being the place where Theseus, returning from Crete, forsook Ariadne, who afterwards became the wife of Bacchus: a very minute and satisfactory account of the ancient and modern condition of this island is to be found in Tournefort. Stephanus the geographer says, that the women of Naxos went with child but eight months, and that the island possessed a spring of pure wine.—*T.*

[34] *Parians.*]—The inhabitants of Paros have always been accounted people of good sense, and the Greeks of the neighbouring islands often make them arbitrators of their disputes.—See Tournefort; who gives an excellent account of this island.

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remedy:—Those employed in this office were of considerable distinction; and perceiving, on their arrival at Miletus, that the whole state was involved in extreme confusion, they desired to examine the condition of their territories: wherever, in their progress through this desolate country, they observed any lands well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner. In the whole district, however, they found but few estates so circumstanced. Returning to Miletus, they called an assembly of the people, and they placed the direction of affairs in the hands of those who had best cultivated their lands; for they concluded that they would be watchful of the public interest, who had taken care of their own: they enjoined all the Milesians who had before been factious, to obey these men, and they thus restored the general tranquillity.

XXX. The evils which the Ionians experienced from these cities were of this nature:—Some of the more noble inhabitants of Naxos, being driven by the common people into banishment, sought a refuge at Miletus; Miletus was then governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, the son-in-law and cousin of Histiæus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa: Histiæus was prince of Miletus, but was at Susa when the Naxians arrived in his dominions. —These exiles petitioned Aristagoras to assist

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them with supplies, to enable them to return to their country: he immediately conceived the idea that, by accomplishing their return, he might eventually become master of Naxos. He thought proper, however, to remind them of the alliance which subsisted between Histiæus and their countrymen; and he addressed them as follows: "I am not master of adequate force to restore "you to your country, if they who are in pos-"session of Naxos shall think proper to oppose "me: the Naxians, I am told, have eight "thousand men in arms, and many ships of "war; I, nevertheless, wish to effect it, and "I think it may be thus accomplished:—Arta-"phernes, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Da-"rius, is my particular friend; he has the com-"mand of all the sea-coast of Asia, and is pro-"vided with a numerous army, and a powerful "fleet; he will, I think, do all that I desire." The Naxians instantly intrusted Anaxagoras with the management of the business, intreating him to complete it as he could; they engaged to assist the expedition with forces, and to make presents to Artaphernes; and they expressed great hopes that as soon as they should appear before the place, Naxos, with the rest of the islands, would immediately submit; for hitherto none of the Cyclades were under the power of Darius.

XXXI. Aristagoras went immediately to Sar-

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dis, where meeting with Artaphernes, he painted to him in flattering terms the island of Naxos, which, though of no great extent, he represented as exceedingly fair and fertile, conveniently situated with respect to Ionia, very wealthy, and remarkably populous.—"It will be worth your "while," said he, "to make an expedition against "it, under pretence of restoring its exiles; to "facilitate this, I already possess a considerable "sum of money, besides what will be otherwise "supplied. It is proper that we who set the "expedition on foot should provide the contin-"gent expences; but you will certainly acquire "to the king our master, Naxos with its de-"pendencies, Paros and Andros, with the rest "of the islands called the Cyclades: from hence "you may easily attempt the invasion of Eu-"bœa[35], an island large and fertile, and not at "all inferior to Cyprus; this will afford you an "easy conquest, and a fleet of an hundred ships "will be sufficient to effect the whole." To this Artaphernes replied; "What you recommend "will, unquestionably, promote the interest of

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[35] *Eubœa.*]—This large island is now commonly called Negropont or Negrepont, by the Europeans; which is a corruption of its proper appellation *Egripo:* anciently it had, at different times, a great variety of names, Macris, Chalcis, Asopis, &c. At Artemisium, one of its promontories, the first battle was fought betwixt Xerxes and the Greeks.—*T.*

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" the king, and the particulars of your advice
" are reasonable and consistent; instead of one
" hundred, a fleet of two hundred vessels shall
" be ready for you in the beginning of spring; it
" will be proper, however, to have the sanction of
" the king's authority.

XXXII. Pleased with the answer he received, Aristagoras returned to Miletus. Artaphernes sent immediately to acquaint Darius with the project of Aristagoras, which met his approbation; he accordingly fitted out two hundred triremes, which he manned partly with Persians and partly with their allies. Megabates had the command of the whole; a Persian of the family of the Achæmenides, related to Darius and himself, whose daughter, if report may be credited[36], was, in succeeding times, betrothed to Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, son of Cleombrotus, who aspired to the sovereignty of Greece. These forces, under the direction of this Megabates, were sent by Artaphernes to Aristagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates embarking at Miletus,

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[36] *If report may be credited.*]—It appears by this, that when Herodotus composed this work, he had no knowledge of the letter in which Pausanias demanded of Xerxes his daughter in marriage.—It may be seen in Thucydides.—*Larcher.*

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with Aristagoras, a body of Ionians, and the Naxians, pretended to sail towards the Hellespont; but arriving at Chios, he laid-to near Caucasa[37], meaning, under the favour of a north wind, to pass from thence to Naxos. The following circumstance, however, happened, as if to prove it was ordained that the Naxians should not suffer from this expedition:—Megabates, in going his rounds, found a Myndian vessel deserted by its crew; he was so exasperated, that he commanded his guards to find Scylax, who commanded it, and to bind him in such a situation, that his head should appear outwardly from the aperture through which the oar passed, his body remaining in the vessel. Aristagoras being informed of the treatment which his friend the Myndian had received, went to Megabates to make his excuse, and obtain his liberty; but as his expostulations proved ineffectual, he went himself and released Scylax. Megabates was much incensed,

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37 *Near Caucasa.*]—This passage has been erroneously rendered, by the French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, as well as by our countryman Littlebury, "over-against mount Caucasus:" but whoever will be at the pains to attend to the geographical distances of mount Caucasus and the islands of the Ægean sea, Chios and Naxos, will easily perceive that the place here meant must be some strait in the island of Chios, or some small island in its vicinity.—See the Essais de Critique sur les Traductions d'Herodote, by the Abbé Bellanger.—*T.*

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and expressed his displeasure to Aristagoras; from whom he received this reply: "Your au-
"thority," said Aristagoras, "does not extend
"so far as you suppose; you were sent to at-
"tend me, and to sail wherever I should think
"expedient; — you are much too officious." Megabates took this censure so ill, that at the approach of night he dispatched some emissaries to Naxos, to acquaint the inhabitants with the intended invasion.

XXXIV. Of this attack, the Naxians had not the remotest expectation; but they took the advantage of the intelligence imparted to them, and provided against a siege, by removing their valuables from the fields to the town, and by laying up a store of water and provisions, and, lastly, by repairing their walls; they were thus prepared against every emergence, whilst the Persians, passing over from Chios to Naxos, found the place in a perfect state of defence. Having wasted four months in the attack, and exhausted all the pecuniary resources which themselves had brought, together with what Aristagoras supplied, they still found that much was wanting to accomplish their purpose; they erected, therefore, a fort for the Naxian exiles, and returned to the continent greatly disappointed.

XXXV. Aristagoras thus found himself un-

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able to fulfil his engagements with Artaphernes; and he was also, to his great vexation, called upon to defray the expence of the expedition: he saw, moreover, in the person of Megabates, an accuser, and he feared that their ill success should be imputed to him, and made a pretence for depriving him of his authority at Miletus; all these motives induced him to meditate a revolt. Whilst he was in this perplexity, a messenger arrived from Histiæus, at Susa, who brought with him an express command to revolt; the particulars of which were impressed in legible characters upon his scull[38]. Histiæus was

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[38] *Upon his scull.*]—Many curious contrivances are on record, of which the ancients availed themselves to convey secret intelligence. Ovid mentions an example of a letter inscribed on a person's back:

> Caveat hoc custos, pro charta, conscia tergum
> Præbeat, inque suo corpore verba ferat.

The circumstance here mentioned by Herodotus is told at greater length by Aulus Gellius, who says that Histiæus chose one of his domestics for this purpose who had sore eyes, to cure which he told him that his hair must be shaved, and his head scarified; having done which, he wrote what he intended on the man's head, and then sent him to Aristagoras, who, he told him, would effect his cure by shaving his head a second time. Josephus mentions a variety of stratagems to effect this purpose: some were sent in coffins, during the Jewish war, to convey intelligence; others crept out of places disguised like dogs; some have conveyed their intentions in various articles of food: and in bishop

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desirous to communicate his intentions to Aristagoras: but as the ways were strictly guarded, he could devise no other method; he therefore took one of the most faithful of his slaves, and inscribed what we have mentioned upon his scull, being first shaved; he detained the man till his hair was again grown, when he sent him to Miletus, desiring him to be as expeditious as possible; Aristagoras being requested to examine his scull, he discovered the characters which commanded him to commence a revolt. To this measure Histiæus was induced, by the vexation he experienced from his captivity at Susa. He flattered himself, that as soon as Aristagoras was in action, he should be able to escape to the sea-coast; but whilst every thing remained quiet at Miletus, he had no prospect of effecting his return.

XXXVI. With these views Histiæus dispatched his emissary; the message he delivered to Aristagoras was alike grateful and seasonable, who accordingly signified to his party, that his own opinions were confirmed by the commands

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Wilkin's Mercury, where a number of examples of this nature are collected, mention is made of a person, who rolled up a letter in a wax candle, bidding the messenger inform the party that was to receive it, that the candle would give him light for his business.—*T.*

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of Histiæus: his intentions to commence a revolt met with the general approbation of the assembly, Hecatæus the historian being the only one who dissented. To dissuade them from any act of hostility against the Persian monarch, Hecatæus enumerated the various nations which Darius had subdued, and the prodigious power he possessed: when he found these arguments ineffectual, he advised them to let their fleet take immediate possession of the sea, as the only means by which they might expect success. He confessed that the resources of the Milesians were few; but he suggested the idea, that if they would make a seizure of the wealth deposited by Crœsus the Lydian in the Branchidian temple[39], they might promise themselves these two advantages: they would be able to make themselves masters of the sea, and by thus using these riches themselves, would prevent their being plundered by the enemy.—That these riches were of very considerable value, I have explained in my first book. This advice, however, was as ill received, although the determination to revolt was fixed and universal: it was agreed,

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39 *Branchidian temple.*]—For an account of the temple of Branchidæ, see vol. i. p. 47. "If Aristagoras," says Larcher, "had followed the prudent counsel of Hecatæus, he would have had an increase of power against the Persian, and deprived Xerxes of the opportunity of pillaging this temple, and employing its riches against Greece."—*T.*

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that one of their party should sail to the army, which, on its return from Naxos, had disembarked at Myus[40], with the view of seizing the persons of the officers.

XXXVII. Iatragoras was the person employed in this business; who so far succeeded, that he captured Oliatus the Mylassensian, son of Ibanolis; Histiæus of Termene[41], son of Tymnis; Coës the son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mitylene; together with Aristagoras the Cymæan, son of Heraclides; with many others. Aristagoras thus commenced a regular revolt, full of indignation against Darius. To engage the Milesians to act in concert with him, he established among them a republican form of government. He adopted a similar conduct with respect to the rest of Ionia; and to

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40 *Myus.*]—This city was given to Themistocles, to furnish his table with fish, with which the bay of Myus formerly abounded: the bay, in process of time, became a fresh-water lake, and produced such swarms of gnats, that the inhabitants deserted the place, and were afterwards incorporated with the Milesians. Chandler, who visited this place, complains that the old nuisance of Myus tormented him and his companions exceedingly, and that towards the evening the inside of their tent was made quite black by the number of gnats which infested them.—*T.*

41 *Termene.*]—Larcher remarks on this word, that no such place existed in Caria as Termere, which is the common reading: it certainly ought to be Termene.—*T.*

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excite a general prejudice in his favour, he expelled the tyrants from some places, and he also sent back those who had been taken in the vessels which served against Naxos, to the cities to which they severally belonged.

XXXVIII. The inhabitants of Mitylene had no sooner got Coës into their hands, than they put him to death, by stoning him. The Cymeans sent their tyrant back again; and the generality of those who had possessed the supreme authority being driven into exile, an equal form of government was established: this being accomplished, Aristagoras the Milesian directed magistrates [42], elected by the people, to be established in the different cities; after which he himself sailed in a trireme to Lacedæmon, convinced of the necessity of procuring some powerful allies.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, son of Leontes, did not then sit upon the throne of Sparta; he was deceased, and his son Cleomenes had succeeded him, rather on account of his family than his virtues. Anaxandrides had married his niece,

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[42] *Magistrates.*]—The original is στρατηγος, which, as M. Larcher remarks, does not in this place mean the leader of an army, but a magistrate, corresponding with the archons of Athens, &c.—*T.*

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of whom he was exceedingly fond, though she produced him no children; in consequence of which the ephori thus expostulated with him: "If you do not feel for yourself, you ought for "us, and not suffer the race of Eurysthenes to "be extinguished. As the wife which you now "have is barren, repudiate her and marry "another, by which you will much gratify your "countrymen." He replied, that he could not comply with either of their requests, as he did not think them justifiable in recommending him to divorce an innocent woman, and to marry another.

XL. The ephori consulted with the senate, and made him this reply: "We observe your "excessive attachment to your wife; but if you "would avoid the resentment of your country-"men, do what we advise: we will not insist "upon your repudiating your present wife— "behave to her as you have always done; but "we wish you to marry another, by whom you "may have offspring."—To this, Anaxandrides assented, and from that time had two wives[43],

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[43] *Two wives.*]—"He was the only Lacedæmonian," says Pausanias, "who had two wives at the same time, and had two separate dwellings."—*See Pausanias, Lacon.* lib. iii. chap. 3. 211.—*T.*

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and two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country.

XLI. After no great interval of time, the woman whom he last married, produced him this Cleomenes, the presumptive heir of his dominions: about the same period his former wife, who had hitherto been barren, proved with child. Although there was not the smallest doubt of her pregnancy, the relations of the second wife, vexed at the circumstance, industriously circulated a report, that she had not conceived, but intended to impose upon them a supposititious child. Instigated by these insinuations, the ephori distrusted and narrowly observed her; she was, however, delivered first of Dorieus, afterwards of Leonidas [44], and lastly of Cleombrotus; by some it has been affirmed, that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grand-daughter of Demarmenus, had never any other child but Cleomenes.

XLII. Of Cleomenes it is reported, that he had not the proper use of his faculties, but was insane; Dorieus, on the contrary, was greatly

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[44] *Leonidas.*]—This was the Leonidas who died with so much glory at the straits of Thermopylæ.

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distinguished by his accomplishments, and trusted to find his way to the throne, by valour and by merit. On the death of Anaxandrides[45], the Lacedæmonians, agreeably to the custom of their nation, preferred Cleomenes[46], as eldest, to the sovereignty. This greatly disgusted Dorieus, who did not chuse to become the dependent of his brother; taking with him, therefore, a number of his countrymen, he left Sparta, and founded a colony: but so impetuous was his resentment, that he neglected to inquire of the Delphic oracle where he should fix his residence; nor did he observe any of the ceremonies[47] usual on such occasions. Under the conduct of some Thereans, he sailed to Libya, and settled on the banks of a river near Cinyps[48], one of the most delightful

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45 *Anaxandrides.*]—An apophthegm of this Anaxandrides is left by Plutarch: being asked why they preserved no money in the exchequer; "That the keepers of it," he replied, "might not be tempted to become knaves."—*T.*

46 *Cleomenes.*]—This Cleomenes, as is reported by Ælian, used to say that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, and Hesiod the poet of the Helots: one taught the art of war, the other of agriculture.—*T.*

47 *Of the ceremonies.*]—Amongst other ceremonies which they observed, when they went to establish a colony, they took some fire from the Prytaneum of the metropolis; and if in the colony this ever was extinguished, they returned to the metropolis to re-kindle it.—*Larcher.*

48 *Cinyps.*]—The vicinity of this river abounded in goats, and was celebrated for its fertility.—See Virgil.

Nec

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situations in that part of the world: in the third year of his residence, being expelled by the joint efforts of the Macæ*, a people of Libya, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponnese.

XLIII. Here Antichares of Elis advised him, in conformity to the oracles of Laius[49], to found Heraclea in Sicily; affirming that all the region of Eryx was the property of the Heraclidæ, as

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Nec minus interea barbas, incanaque menta
Ciniphii tondent hirci.

It may be proper to observe, that this passage, quoted from Virgil, has been the occasion of much literary controversy.—See Heyne on Georgic. lib. iii. 312.

The fertility of the places adjoining to the Cinyps, is thus mentioned by Ovid:

Ciniphiæ segetis citius numerabis aristas.

This river is in the district belonging to the modern Tripoli.

The Cinyps fell into the sea, near Leptis, in Proper Africa; Claudian has called it *Vagus*, without much appropriation of his epithet; for its course is short, and not wandering:

Quos Vagus humectat Cinyps, et proximus hortis
Hesperidum Triton, et Gir notissimus amnis,
Æthiopum, simili mentitus gurgite Nilum.
De Laud. Stil. 251.—*T.*

* There is something corrupt in this passage, and Wesseling proposes to read for the Macæ, the Machlyæ: but they are too remotely situated: I am rather inclined to agree with Larcher, who reads ὑπο Μακέων Λιβυων.

49 *Oracle of Laius.*]—The Greek is εκ των Λαιου χρησμων: —this, M. Larcher has rendered "the oracles declared to Laius," but surely he is wrong.—*T.*

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having belonged to Hercules[50]: he accordingly went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether the country where he was about to reside would prove a permanent acquisition. The reply of the Pythian being favourable, he embarked in the same vessels which had accompanied him from Libya, and sailed to Italy.

XLIV. At this period, as is reported, the Sybarites, under the conduct of Telys their king, meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of Crotona; apprehensive of which, these latter implored the assistance of Dorieus; he listened to their solicitations, and joining forces,

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[50] *Belonged to Hercules.*]—When Hercules came into the country of Eryx, Eryx, the son of Venus and Bula the king of the country, challenged Hercules to wrestle with him: both sides proposed the wager to be won and lost. Eryx laid to stake his kingdom, but Hercules his oxen: Eryx at first disdained such an unequal wager, not fit to be compared with his country; but when Hercules, on the other side, answered, that if he lost them, he should lose his immortality with them, Eryx was contented with the condition, and engaged in the contest; but he was overcome, and so was stripped of the possession of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own use, till some one of his posterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened; for many ages after, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian, sailing into Sicily, recovered his ancestor's dominion, and there built Heraclea. *Booth's Diodorus Siculus.*

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he marched with them against Sybaris[51], and took it[52]. The Sybarites say, that Dorieus and his companions did this; but the people of Crotona deny that in their contest with the Sybarites they availed themselves of the assistance of any foreigner, except Callias of Elis, a priest of the

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51 *Sybaris*]—was founded by the Achæans, betwixt the rivers Crastis and Sybaris; it soon became a place of great opulence and power; the effeminacy of the people became proverbial: see Plutarch.—"It is reported," says he, in his Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, "that the Sybarites used to invite their neighbours wives a whole twelvemonth before their entertainments, that they might have convenient time to dress and adorn themselves."—See also Athenæus, book xii. c. 3, by whom many whimsical things are recorded of the Sybarites. Their attendants at the bath had fetters, that they might not by their careless haste burn those who bathed; all noisy trades were banished from their city, that the sleep of the citizens might not be disturbed; for the same reason, also, they permitted no cocks to be kept in their city. An inhabitant of this place being once at Sparta, was invited to a public entertainment, where, with the other guests, he was seated on a wooden bench: "Till now," he remarked, "the bravery of the Spartans has excited my admiration; but I no longer wonder that men living so hard a life should be fearless of death." This place was afterwards called Thurium.—*T.*

52 *And took it.*]—The cause of the war, according to Diodorus Siculus, was this; "Telys persuaded the Sybarites to banish five hundred of their most powerful citizens, and to sell their effects by public auction; the exiles retired to Crotona. Telys sent ambassadors to demand the fugitives, or in case of refusal to denounce war; the people were disposed to give them up, but the celebrated Pythagoras per-

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family of the Iamidæ[53]. He had fled from Telys, prince of Sybaris, because on some solemn sacrifice he was not able from inspecting the entrails of the victim to promise success against Crotona.—The matter is thus differently stated by the two nations.

XLV. The proofs of what they severally assert are these:—The Sybarites show near the river Crastis, which is sometimes dry, a sacred edifice, built, as they affirm, by Dorieus after the capture of his city, and consecrated to the Crastian[54] Minerva. The death of Dorieus himself is another, and with them the strongest testimony, for he lost his life whilst acting in opposition to the express commands of the oracle. For if he had

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suaded them to engage in their defence: Milo was very active in the contest, and the event was so fatal to the Sybarites, that their town was plundered and reduced to a perfect solitude.—*Larcher.*

[53] *Iamidæ.*]—To Iamus and his descendants, who were after him called Iamidæ, Apollo gave the art of divination.—See the fifth Olympic of Pindar.

[54] *Crastian.*]—The city Crastis, or, as it is otherwise called, Crastus, was celebrated for being the birth-place of the comic poet Epicharmus, and of the courtesan Lais.

Larcher translates this, near the Torrent of Crathis, on the authority of H. Stephens, who renders ξηροποταμος a torrent. He also reads Crathis, in defiance of all the editions of Herodotus.—*T.*

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confined his exertions to what was the avowed object of his expedition, he would have obtained, and effectually secured, the possession of the region of Eryx, and thus have preserved himself and his followers. The inhabitants of Crotona are satisfied with exhibiting certain lands, given to the Elean Callias, in the district of Crotona, which even within my remembrance the descendants of Callias possess: this was not the case with Dorieus, nor any of his posterity. It must be obvious, that if this Dorieus, in the war above mentioned, had assisted the people of Crotona, they would have given more to him than to Callias. To the above different testimonies every person is at liberty to give what credit he thinks proper.

XLVI. Amongst those who accompanied Dorieus, with a view of founding a colony, were Thessalus, Paræbates, Celees, and Euryleon, all of whom, Euryleon excepted, fell in an engagement with the Phœnicians and Ægistans, on their happening to touch at Sicily: this man, collecting such as remained of his companions, took possession of Minoas, a Selinusian colony, which he delivered from the oppression of Pythagoras. Euryleon, putting the tyrant to death, assumed his situation and authority. These, however, he did not long enjoy, for the Selinusians rose in a body against him, and slew him before the altar

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of Jupiter Forensis[55], whither he had fled for refuge.

XLVII. Philip[56], a native of Crotona, and son of Butacides, was the companion of Dorieus in his travels and death: he had entered into engagements of marriage with the daughter of Telys of Sybaris, but not choosing to fulfil them, he left his country, and went to Cyrene; from hence also he departed, in search of Dorieus, in a three-oared vessel of his own, manned with a crew provided at his own expence: he had been victorious in the Olympic games, and was confessedly the handsomest man in Greece. On account of his accomplishments of person[57], the

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55 *Jupiter Forensis.*]—Perhaps in stricter conformity to the original it should have been Jupiter Agoræas—That is to say, in the public forum, where the altar of this god was erected.—*T.*

56 *Philip.*]—"There seems in this place," says Reiske, "to be something wanted: how did Philip come amongst the Ægestans; or how did he obtain their friendship; or, if he was killed with Dorieus, in Italy, how did he escape in a battle with the Ægestans?" "These," concludes Reiske, "are difficulties which I am totally unable to reconcile."

57 *Accomplishments of person.*]—For καλλος in this place, some are for reading κλεος; but Eustathius quotes the circumstance and passage at length, a strong argument for retaining the reading of καλλος:—"Designatur," says Wesseling, "quid fieri solebat Egestæ;" but that it was usual in various places to honour persons for their beauty,

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people of Ægestus* distinguished him by very unusual honours; they erected a monument over the place of his interment, where they offered sacrifices as to a divinity.

XLVIII. We have above related the fortunes and death of Dorieus. If he could have submitted to the authority of his brother Cleomenes, and had remained at Lacedæmon, he would have succeeded to the throne of Sparta. Cleomenes, after a very short reign, died, leaving an only child, a daughter, of the name of Gorgo [58].

XLIX. During the reign of Cleomenes, Aris-

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is evident from various passages in ancient authors. A beautiful passage from Lucretius, which I have before quoted in this work, sufficiently attests this.—*Καθιστων δε και πολλοι τους καλλιστους βασιλεας*: many nations assign the sovereignty to those amongst them who are the most beautiful, says Athenæus. Beauty, declares Euripides, is worthy of a kingdom—*πρωτον μεν ειδος αξιον τυραννιδος.*— See a very entertaining chapter on this subject in Athenæus, book xiii. c. 2. —*T.*

* Ægestus was a maritime town in Sicily, so called, according to Strabo, from Egestus, one of its founders, but according to others, from Acestes, whom Æneas found in Sicily.

58 *Gorgo.*]—She married Leonidas. When this prince departed for Thermopylæ, Gorgo asked him what commands he had for her; "Marry," says he, "some worthy man, and become the mother of a valiant race."—He himself expected to perish. This princess was remarkable for her virtue, and was one of the women whom Plutarch proposed as a model to Eurydice.—*Larcher.*

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tagoras, prince of Miletus, arrived at Sparta: the Lacedæmonians affirm, that desiring to have a conference with their sovereign, he appeared before him with a tablet of brass in his hand, upon which was inscribed every known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers*. He thus addressed the Spartan monarch: "When "you know my business, Cleomenes, you will "cease to wonder at my zeal in desiring to see "you. The Ionians, who ought to be free, are "in a state of servitude, which is not only dis-"graceful, but also a source of the extremest "sorrow to us, as it must also be to you, who "are so pre-eminent in Greece.—I entreat you "therefore, by the gods of Greece, to restore "the Ionians to liberty, who are connected with "you by ties of consanguinity. The accomplish-

* This is perhaps among the first geographical charts on record, at least in Greece. This must have happened 504 years before the Christian Æra, for the voyage of Aristagoras to Lacedæmon took place in the first year of the 69th Olympiad.

For the antiquity of geographical charts, Larcher refers us to Joshua, c. xviii. v. 4, et seq. Joshua sent three men from every tribe, to examine the Land of Promise, with orders to describe what they saw in a book. The children of Israel must have learned this science in Ægypt. According to Clemens of Alexandria, the Ægyptian priests possessed the works of Thoth, among which were four which formed a complete system of geography. This is going very far back indeed.

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"ment of this will not be difficult; the Barba-
"rians are by no means remarkable for their
"valour, whilst you, by your military virtue,
"have attained the summit of renown. They
"rush to the combat armed only with a bow
"and a short spear[59]; their robes are long, they
"suffer their hair to grow, and they will afford
"an easy conquest; add to this, that they who
"inhabit the continent are affluent beyond the
"rest of their neighbours. They have abun-
"dance of gold, of silver, and of brass; they enjoy
"a profusion of every article of dress, have plenty
"of cattle, and a prodigious number of slaves[60]:

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59 *Bow and a short spear.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations is given in the seventh book of Herodotus, in which place he minutely describes the various people which composed the prodigious army of Xerxes. It may not be improper to add, that the military habits of the Greeks and Romans very much resembled each other.—*T.*

60 *Number of slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless captives taken in war, who were employed for menial purposes; from being sought after for use, they finally were purchased and possessed for ostentation. A passage in Athenæus informs us, that he knew many Romans who possessed from ten to twenty thousand slaves. According to Tacitus, four hundred slaves were discovered in one great man's house at Rome, all of whom were executed for not preventing the death of their master. Some nations marked their slaves like cattle; and in Menjan's History of Algiers, the author represents a Turk saying scornfully to a Christian, "What, have you forgot the time when a Christian at Algiers was scarce worth an onion?" We learn from Sir

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"all these, if you think proper, may be yours "The nations by which they are surrounded I "shall explain: next to these Ionians are the "Lydians, who possess a fertile territory, and a "profusion of silver *." Saying this, he pointed on the tablet in his hand, to the particular district of which he spake. "Contiguous to the Lydians," continued Aristagoras, "as you advance towards "the east, are the Phrygians, a people who, be-"yond all the nations of whom I have any know-"ledge, enjoy the greatest abundance of cattle, "and of the earth's produce. The Cappadocians, "whom we call Syrians, join to the Phrygians; "then follow the Cilicians, who possess the scat-"tered islands of our sea, in the vicinity of "Cyprus: these people pay annually to the king "a tribute of five hundred talents. The Arme-"nians, who have also great plenty of cattle,

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John Chardin, that when the Tartars made an incursion into Poland, and carried away as many captives as they could, perceiving they would not be redeemed, they sold them for a crown a head. To enter into any elaborate disquisition on the subject of the rights of man, would in this place be impertinent; and the reader will perceive that I have rather thrown together some detached matters on it, perhaps not so generally known.

* Larcher, in this passage, acutely remarks, that all the offerings of Crœsus to the oracle were in pure gold; yet it is surprising that these people paid their tribute to the Great King in silver; and Aristagoras, in enumerating the riches of the country, says nothing of their gold.

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" border on the Cilicians. The Armenians have " for their neighbours the Matieni, who inhabit " the region contiguous to Cissia: in this latter " district, and not far remote from the river " Choaspes, is Susa, where the Persian monarch " occasionally resides, and where his treasures " are deposited.—Make yourselves masters of " this city, and you may vie in affluence with " Jupiter himself. Lay aside, therefore, the " contest in which you are engaged with the " Messenians, who equal you in strength, about " a tract of land not very extensive, nor re- " markably fertile. Neither are the Arcadians, " nor the Argives, proper objects of your am- " bition, who are destitute of those precious " metals[61], which induce men to brave dangers

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61 *Precious metals.*]—I have always been much delighted with the following passage in Lucretius, wherein he informs his readers that formerly brass was sought after and valued, and gold held in no estimation, because useless.

Nam fuit in pretio magis æs, aurumque jacebat
Propter inutilitatem, hebeti mucrone retusum.
Nunc jacet æs, aurum in summum successit honorem.
Sic volvenda ætas commutat tempora rerum,
Quod fuit in pretio, fit nullo denique honore:
Porro aliud succedit, et e contemptibus exit,
Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum
Laudibus, et miro 'st mortaleis inter honore.

Again,

Tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis
Exercent hominum vitam belloque fatigant. *T.*

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"and death: but can any thing be more desir-
"able, than the opportunity now afforded you, of
"making the entire conquest of Asia?" Aristagoras here finished. "Milesian friend," replied Cleomenes, "in the space of three days you shall
"have our answer."

L. On the day, and at the place appointed, Cleomenes inquired of Aristagoras how many days journey it was from the Ionian sea to the dominions of the Persian king. Aristagoras, though very sagacious, and thus far successful in his views, was here guilty of an oversight. As his object was to induce the Spartans to make an incursion into Asia, it was his interest to have concealed the truth, but he inconsiderately replied, that it was a journey of about three months. As he proceeded to explain himself, Cleomenes interrupted him; "Stranger of Miletus," said he, "depart from Sparta before sun-set: what
"you say cannot be agreeable to the Lacedæ-
"monians, desiring to lead us a march of three
"months from the sea." Having said this, Cleomenes withdrew.

LI. Aristagoras taking a branch of olive[62] in

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[62] *Branch of olive.*]—It would by no means be an easy task to enumerate the various uses to which the olive was

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his hand, presented himself before the house of Cleomenes, entering which as a suppliant*, he

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anciently applied, and the different qualities of mind of which it was the symbol. It rewarded the victors at the Olympic games; it was sacred to Minerva, and suspended round her temples; it was the emblem of peace; it indicated pity, supplication, liberty, hope, &c. &c. The invention of it was imputed to Minerva.

Oleæque Minerva
Inventrix.

Statius calls it supplicis arbor olivæ.—Directions for the mode of planting them had place amongst the institutes of Solon: he who pulled up for his own private use more than two olives in the year, paid a fine of one hundred drachmæ. They were not known till a very late period at Rome; but when introduced, their fruit became an indispensable article of luxury, and was eaten before and after meals. See Martial:

Inchoat atque eadem finit oliva dapes.

It should seem from a passage in Virgil, that the suppliant carried a wreath of olive in his hands:

Præferimus manibus vittas et verba precantum.

Of its introduction into the western world, Mr. Gibbon speaks thus: "The olive followed the progress of peace, of which it was considered as the symbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome, both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant: it was naturalized in those countries, and at length carried into the heart of Spain, and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, in supposing that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish in the neighbourhood of the sea, were insensibly exploded by industry and experience."—*T.*

* Larcher says, went straight to the hearth, which those who entered any mansion as suppliants, constantly did.

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requested an audience, at the same time desiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that Gorgo, the only child of Cleomenes, was present, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that the presence of the child might be no obstruction to what he had to say. Aristagoras then promised to give him ten talents if he would accede to his request. As Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras rose in his offers to fifty talents; upon which the child exclaimed, "Father, unless you withdraw, this "stranger will corrupt you." The prince was delighted with the wise saying of his daughter, and instantly retired. Aristagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in disgust.

LII. In that space of country about which Cleomenes had inquired, the Persian king has various stathmi, or mansions, with excellent inns[63]; these are all splendid and beautiful, the

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63 *Excellent inns.*]—There can be little doubt, but that these are the same with what are now called caravanseras, and which abound in all oriental countries; these are large square buildings, in the centre of which is a spacious court. The traveller must not expect to meet with much accommodation in these places, except that he may depend upon finding water: they are esteemed sacred, and a stranger's goods, whilst he remains in one of them, are secure from pillage.

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whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and secure. In the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, twenty of the above stathmi occur within the space of ninety parasangs and a half. Leaving Phrygia, you meet with the river Halys, where there are gates which are strongly defended, but which must be necessarily passed. Advancing through Cappadocia, to the confines of Cilicia, in the space of one hundred and four parasangs, there are eight-and-twenty stathmi. At the entrance of Cilicia are two necks of land, both well defended; passing beyond which through the country, are three stathmi in the space of fifteen parasangs and a half: Cilicia, as well as Armenia, are terminated by the Euphrates, which is only passable in vessels. In Armenia, and within the space of fifty-six parasangs and a half, there are fifteen stathmi, in which also are

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Such exactly are also the *choultries* of Indostan, many of which are buildings of great magnificence, and very curious workmanship. What the traveller has there to expect is little more than mere shelter.

According to Chardin, Olearius, Le Brun, and other travellers, the caravanseras of modern Persia are very magnificent, spacious, and commodious. Rennell observes that they might probably have been intended to receive the monarch and his retinue, whilst on military expeditions. They had certainly a reference to war, as well as to civil purposes; for the space between them was precisely the day's march of an army, whilst it was too short for the journeys of ordinary travellers.—*T.*

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guards: through this country flow the waters of four rivers, the passage of which is indispensable, but can only be effected in boats. Of these the first is the Tigris; by the same name also the second and the third are distinguished, though they are by no means the same, nor proceeding from the same source: of these latter the one rises in Armenia, the other among the Matieni. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels. From Armenia to the country of the Matieni, are four stathmi: from hence, through Cissia, as far as the river Choaspes, there are eleven stathmi, and a space of forty-two parasangs and a half. The Choaspes is also to be passed in boats, and beyond this Susa is situated. Thus it appears, that from Sardis to Susa are one hundred and eleven[64] stations, or stathmi.

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[64] *One hundred and eleven.*]—According to the account given by Herodotus in this chapter:

	Stathmi.	Parasangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia are	20	94½
In Cappadocia	28	104
In Cilicia	3	15½
In Armenia	15	56½
In the country of the Matieni	4	
In Cissia	11	42½

So that here must evidently be some mistake, as instead of 111 stathmi, we have only 81, instead of 450 parasangs, only 309. Wesseling remarks on the passage, that if the

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LIII. If this measurement of the royal road by parasangs, be accurate, and a parasang be supposed equal to thirty stadia, which it really is, from Sardis to the royal residence of Memnon are thirteen thousand five hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty parasangs: allowing, therefore, one hundred and fifty stadia to each day, the whole distance will be a journey of ninety entire days.

LIV. Aristagoras was, therefore, correct in telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was a three months march to the residence of the Persian monarch. For the benefit of those who wish to have more satisfactory information on the subject, it may not be amiss to add the particulars of the distance betwixt Sardis and Ephesus. From the Greek sea to Susa, the name by which the city of Memnon[65] is generally known,

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numbers were accurate, much advantage might be derived from knowing the exact proportion of distance between a stathmus and a parasang. The same defect is observable in the Anabasis of Xenophon, which Hutchinson tries in vain to explain.—*T.*

[65] *Of Memnon.*]—Strabo says that Susa was built by Titron, the father of Memnon; Herodotus also, in another place, calls Susa the city of Memnon.

The walls of Susa, about sixteen miles in circumference, were built by the father of Memnon; the citadel was called Memnonium, and the town Memnonia; the palace is represented by Ælian as amazingly sumptuous; and Strabo com-

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is fourteen thousand and forty stadia: from Ephesus to Sardis is five hundred and forty stadia; thus three days must be added to the computation of the three months.

LV. From Sparta Aristagoras went to Athens, which at this period had recovered its liberty: Aristogiton and Harmodius[66], who were Ge-

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pares its ancient walls, citadel, temples, and palace, to those of Babylon; a noble high road through the country was attributed to Memnon; one tomb near Troy was supposed to be his, and another in Syria. The Æthiopians, according to Diodorus of Sicily, claimed Memnon as their countryman; and a nation in Æthiopia were called Memnones. On the borders of that country, and of Ægypt, stood many old places called Memnonian; part of Thebes had the name of Memnonium, and an astonishing building at Abydos was denominated Memnon's palace. Strabo says, that many supposed Ismandes to have been the same with Memnon, and consequently they must have thought the labyrinth a Memnonian structure. Asiatic Researches, vol. vi. p. 616. 8vo edition.

66 *Aristogiton and Harmodius.*]—To the reader of the most common classical taste, the story of these Athenians must be too familiar to require any repetition in this place. An extract from a poem of Sir William Jones, in which the incident is happily introduced, being less common, may not perhaps be unacceptable. It is entitled,

Julii Melesigoni ad Libertatem
Carmen.

Virtus renascens quem jubet ad sonos
Spartanam avitos ducere tibiam?
Quis fortium cœtus in auras
Athenias juvenum ciebit;

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phyreans by descent, had put to death Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias the tyrant. We are informed that Hipparchus had received intimation in a vision[67] of the disaster which afterward befel

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Quos Marti amicos, aut hyacinthinis
Flava in palæstra conspicuos comis
Aut alma libertas in undis
Egelidis agiles videbat,

Plausitque visos? Quis modulabitur
Excelsa plectro carmina Lesbio,
Quæ dirus Alcæo sonante
Audiit, et tremuit dynastes?

Quis myrteâ ensem fronde reconditum
Cantabit? Illum civibus Harmodi
Dilecte servatis, nec ullo
Interiture die tenebas:

Vix se refrænat fulmineus chalybs,
Mox igne cœlesti emicat, exilit
Et cor reluctantis tyranni
Perforat ictibus haud remissis.

O ter placentem Palladi victimam, &c.

The reader will perceive that Julii Melesigoni is an anagram of Gulielmi Jonesii.

A more particular account of these deliverers of their country may be found in Thucydides, book vi. c. 12. Pausanias, book i. and in Suidas.—*T.*

[67] *In a vision.*]—The ancients imagined that a distinct dream was a certain declaration of the future, or that the event was not to be averted, but by certain expiatory ceremonies. See the Electra of Sophocles, and other places.—*Larcher.*

One method which the ancients had of averting the effects of disagreeable visions, was to relate them to the Sun, who

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him; though for four years after his death, the people of Athens suffered greater oppression than before.

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they believed had the power of turning aside any evils which the night might have menaced.—*T.*

From Larcher's elaborate note on the subject of Aristogiton and Harmodius, I extract such particulars as I think will be most interesting to an English reader.

Harmodius is reported to have inspired the tyrant Hipparchus with an unnatural passion, who loving and being beloved by Aristogiton, communicated the secret to him, and joined with him in his resolution to destroy their persecutor. This is sufficiently contradicted, with respect to the attachment betwixt Harmodius and Aristogiton, which appears to have been the true emotions of friendship only.

The courtezan Leæna, who was beloved by Harmodius, was tortured by Hippias, to make her discover the accomplices in the assassination of Hipparchus. Distrusting her own fortitude, she bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in honour of her memory, erected in the vestibule of the citadel a statue in bronze of a lioness without a tongue.

Thucydides seems willing to impute the action which caused the death of Hipparchus to a less noble motive than the love of liberty; but the contemporaries of the conspirators, and posterity, have rendered Harmodius and Aristogiton the merit which was their due.

Popular songs were made in their honour, one of which is preserved in Athenæus, book xv. chap. 15. It is also to be seen in the Analecta of Brunck, i. 155. This song has been imputed to Alcæus, but falsely, for that poet died before Hipparchus.

The descendants of the conspirators who destroyed the tyrant were maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence.

One of the posterity of Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproached Iphicrates with the meanness of his family: "My nobility," answered Iphicrates, "commences with

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LVI. The particulars of the vision which Hipparchus saw are thus related: in the night preceding the festival of the Panathenæa[68], Hipparchus beheld a tall and comely personage, who addressed him in these ambiguous terms:

Brave lion, thy unconquer'd soul compose
To meet unmov'd intolerable woes:
In vain th' oppressor would elude his fate,
The vengeance of the gods is sure, though late.

As soon as the morning appeared, he disclosed what he had seen to the interpreters of dreams. He, however, slighted the vision, and was killed in the celebration of some public festival.

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me, yours terminates in you." In the very time of the decline of Athens, the love of liberty was there so hereditary and indelible, that they erected statues to the assassins of Cæsar.

Much of this note of Larcher seems very exceptionable; to talk of the love of liberty prevailing at Athens in its declining state is little better than nonsense. After all, the fact is that Hipparchus was no tyrant, and Harmodius and Aristogiton, notwithstanding all the fine things said of them, were mere assassins.

[68] *Panathenæa.*]—On this subject I give, from different writers, the more interesting particulars.

The festival was in honour of Minerva. There were the greater and lesser Panathenæa. The lesser originated with Theseus; these were celebrated every year in the month Hecatombeon: the greater were celebrated every five years. In the procession on this occasion, old men, selected for their good persons, carried branches of olive. There were also races with torches both on horse and foot; there was also a musical contention. The conqueror in any of these games

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LVII. The Gephyreans, of which nation were the assassins of Hipparchus, came, as themselves affirm, originally from Eretria. But the result of my inquiries enables me to say that they were Phœnicians, and of those who accompanied Cadmus into the region now called Bœotia, where they settled, having the district of Tanagria assigned them by lot. The Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives; the Bœotians afterwards drove out the Gephyreans, who took refuge at Athens. The Athenians inrolled them among their citizens, under certain restrictions of trifling importance.

LVIII. The Phœnicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyreans were a part, introduced during their residence in Greece the knowledge of various articles of science, and among other things letters[69], with which, as I

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was rewarded with a vessel of oil. There was also a dance by boys in armour. The vest of Minerva was carried in a sacred procession of persons of all ages, &c. &c.—*T.*

Plutarch makes mention of another vision which appeared to Hipparchus. According to him, Hipparchus, a short time before his death, saw the goddess Venus, who out of a certain phial threw some blood in his face.—Plutarch de sera numeris vindicta.

[69] *Among other things letters.*]—Upon the subject of the invention of letters, it is necessary to say something; but so much has been written by others, that the task of selection, though all that is necessary, becomes sufficiently difficult.

The first introduction of letters into Greece has been generally assigned to Cadmus; but this has often been contro-

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conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were at first such as the Phœnicians themselves indiscriminately use; in process of time,

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verted, no arguments on either side have been adduced sufficiently strong to be admitted as decisive. It is probable that they were in use in Greece before Cadmus, which Diodorus Siculus confidently affirms. But Lucan, in a very enlightened period of the Roman empire, without any more intimation of doubt, than is implied in the words famæ si creditur, wrote thus:

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris;
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
Noverat, et saxis tantum, volucresque feræque
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

Phœnicians first, if ancient fame be true,
The sacred mystery of letters knew;
They first by sound, in various lines design'd,
Exprest the meaning of the thinking mind;
The power of words by figures rude convey'd,
And useful science everlasting made.
Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,
Engrav'd her precepts and her arts in stone;
While animals, in various order plac'd,
The learned hieroglyphic column grac'd. *Rowe.*

To this opinion, concerning the use of hieroglyphics, bishop Warburton accedes, in his Divine Legation of Moses, who thinks that they were the production of an unimproved state of society, as yet unacquainted with alphabetical writing. With respect to this opinion of Herodotus, many learned men thought it worthy of credit, from the resemblance betwixt the old eastern and earliest Greek characters, which is certainly an argument of some weight.

No European nation ever pretended to the honour of this discovery; the Romans confessed they had it from the Greeks, the Greeks from the Phœnicians.

Pliny

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however, they were changed both in sound and form [70]. At that time the Greeks most contiguous to this people were the Ionians, who learned these letters of the Phœnicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phœnicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required,

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Pliny says the use of letters was eternal; and many have made no scruple of ascribing them to a divine revelation. Our countryman Mr. Astle, who has written perhaps the best on this complicated subject, has this expression, with which I shall conclude the subject:

"The vanity of each nation induces them to pretend to the most early civilization; but such is the uncertainty of ancient history, that it is difficult to determine to whom the honour is due. It should seem, however, that the contest may be confined to the Ægyptians, Phœnicians, and Cadmeans."—*T.*

70 *In sound and form.*]—The remark of Dr. Gillies on this passage seems worthy of attention:

"The eastern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much disputed whether the ancient orientals used any characters to express them: their languages therefore had an inflexible thickness of sound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumstance denotes in the Greeks organs of perception more acute, elegant, and discerning. They felt such faint variations of liquid sounds as escaped the dulness of Asiatic ears, and invented marks to express them. They distinguished in this manner not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their musical intonation."—Yet much of this is perhaps disputable, and I question whether the Chinese language would not baffle the finest Greek ear that ever existed.

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Phœnician letters. By a very ancient custom, the Ionians call their books *diphteræ* * or skins, because at a time when the plant of the biblos was scarce[71], they used instead of it the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the barbarians have used these skins for this purpose within my recollection.

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* The Persians, says Major Rennell, name a record or writing *dufter*. Is it not probable that the Ionians borrowed the term from the Persians, together with the use of the skin itself, the name of which may perhaps be rendered parchment?

Diodorus Siculus says, that the old Persians inscribed their records on skins.—According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, there was a treaty between the Romans and Gabii written on the hide of an ox; and if we may credit Zonaras and Cedrenus, which is not absolutely required, a copy of Homer's Iliad was preserved in the library at Constantinople, written in characters of gold, upon the intestine of a dragon 120 feet in length. See Hole, on the Arabian Nights, 192.

[71] *Biblos was scarce.*]—Je ne parlerai point ici de toutes les matières sur lesquelles on a tracé l'écriture. Les peaux de chèvre et de mouton, les differens espèces de toile furent successivement employées; on a fait depuis usage du papier tissu des couches interieures de la tige d'une plante qui croit dans les marais de l'Egypte, ou au milieu des eaux dormantes que le Nil laisse après son inondation. On en fait des rouleaux, à l'extremité desquels est suspendu une etiquette contenant le titre du livre. L'écriture n'est tracée que sur une des faces de chaque rouleau; et pour en faciliter la lecture, elle s'y trouve divisée en plusieurs compartimens ou pages, &c.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

Every thing necessary to be known on the subject of paper, its first invention, and progressive improvement, is satisfactorily discussed in the edition of Chambers's Dictionary by Rees.—*T.*

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LIX. I myself have seen, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, these Cadmean letters inscribed upon some tripods, and having a near resemblance to those used by the Ionians. One of the tripods has this inscription[72]:—

Amphitryon's present from Teleboan spoils.

This must have been about the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, whose father was Polydore, the son of Cadmus.

LX. Upon the second tripod, are these hexameter verses:—

Scæus, victorious pugilist, bestow'd
Me, a fair offering, on the Delphic god.

This Scæus was the son of Hippocoon, if indeed it was he who dedicated the tripod, and not another person of the same name, cotemporary with Œdipus the son of Laius.

LXI. The third tripod bears this inscription in hexameters:—

Royal Laodamas to Phœbus' shrine
This tripod gave, of workmanship divine.

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72 *This inscription.*]—Some curious inscriptions upon the shields of the warriors who were engaged in the siege of the capital of Eteocles, are preserved in the "Seven against Thebes of Æschylus," to which the reader is referred.

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Under this Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, who had the supreme power, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and fled to the Encheleans[73]. The Gephyreans were compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens[74]. Here they built temples for their own particular use, resembling in no respect those of the Athenians, as may be seen in the edifice and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. Thus have I related the vision of Hipparchus, and the origin of the Gephyreans, from whom the conspirators against Hipparchus were descended: but it will be proper to explain more at length, the particular means by which the Athenians recovered their liberty, which I was beginning to do before. Hippias had succeeded to the supreme authority, and, as appeared by his conduct, greatly resented the death of Hipparchus. The Alcmæonidæ, who were of Athenian origin, had been driven from their country by the Pisis-

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73 *Encheleans.*]—The Cadmeans and Encheleans of Herodotus are the Thebans and Illyrians of Pausanias.

74 *To Athens.*]—They were permitted to settle on the borders of the Cephissus, which separates Attica from Eleusis: there they built a bridge, in order to have a free communication on both sides. I am of opinion that bridges, γεφυραι, took their name from these people. The author of the Etymologicum Magnum pretends that the people were called Gephyreans from this bridge; but it is very certain that they bore this name before they settled in Attica.—*Larcher.*

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tratidæ: they had, in conjunction with some other exiles, made an effort to recover their former situations, and to deliver their country from its oppressors, but were defeated with considerable loss. They retired to Lipsydrium beyond Pæonia, which they fortified, still meditating vengeance against the Pisistratidæ. Whilst they were thus circumstanced, the Amphictyons[75] engaged them upon certain terms to construct that which is now the temple of Delphi[76], but which did not exist before. They were not deficient in point of

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[75] *Amphictyons.*]—The Amphictyons were an assembly composed of deputies from the different states of Greece. Each state sent two deputies, one to examine into what related to the ceremonies of religion, the other to decide disputes betwixt individuals. Their general residence was at Delphi, and they determined disputes betwixt the different states of Greece. Before they proceeded to business, they sacrificed an ox cut into small pieces; their decisions were sacred, and without appeal. They met twice in the year, in spring and in autumn: in spring at Delphi, in autumn at Thermopylæ.

This council represented but a certain number of the states of Greece; but these were the principal and most powerful. Demosthenes makes mention of a decree where the Amphictyonic council is called *το κοινον των Ἑλληνων συνεδριον*; and Cicero also calls them commune Græciæ concilium.—*T.*

Concerning the present state of Delphi, the reader will do well to consult Chandler's Travels in Greece, pp. 266, 268.

[76] *Temple of Delphi.*]—The temple of Delphi was in its origin no more than a chapel made of the branches of laurel growing near the temple. One Pteras of Delphi afterwards built it of more solid materials: it was then constructed of brass; the fourth time it was erected of stone.—*Larcher.*

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wealth; and, warmed with the generous spirit of their race, they erected a temple far exceeding the model which had been given, in splendour and in beauty. Their agreement only obliged them to construct it of the stone of Porus[77], but they built the vestibule of Parian marble.

LXIII. These men, as the Athenians relate, during their continuance at Delphi, bribed the Pythian to propose to every Spartan who should consult her, in a private or public capacity, the deliverance of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, hearing incessantly the same thing repeated to them, sent an army under the conduct of Anchimolius, son of Aster, a man of a very popular character, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. They in this respect violated some very ancient ties of hospitality; but they thought it better became them to listen to the commands of Heaven, than to any human consideration. These forces were dispatched by sea, and being driven to Phalerus, were there disembarked by Anchimolius. The

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[77] *Stone of Porus.*]—This stone resembled the Parian marble in whiteness and hardness; but, according to Pliny and Theophrastus, it was less ponderous. Of the marble of Paros I have spoken elsewhere. Larcher remarks that Phidias, Praxiteles, and the more eminent sculptors of antiquity, always preferred it for their works. Tournefort without hesitation prefers the marbles of Italy to those of Greece.

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Pisistratidæ being aware of this, applied for assistance to the Thessalians, with whom they were in alliance. The people of Thessaly obeyed the summons, and sent them a thousand horse[78], commanded by Cineas their king, a native of Coniæus: on the arrival of their allies, the Pisistratidæ levelled all the country about Phalerus, and thus enabling the cavalry to act, they sent them against the Spartans. They accordingly attacked the enemy, and killed several, among whom was Anchimolius. Those who escaped were driven to their vessels. Thus succeeded the first attempt of the Lacedæmonians: the tomb of Anchimolius is still to be seen near the temple of

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[78] *Thousand horse.*]—The cavalry of Thessaly were very famous.—See *Theocritus, Id.* xviii. 30.

> Η καπῳ κυπαρισσος, η αρματι Θεσσαλος ιππος,
> Ωδε και ῥοδοκρως Ἑλενα Λακεδαιμονι κοσμος.

As the cypress is an ornament to a garden, as a Thessalian horse to a chariot, so is the lovely Helen the glory of Lacedæmon.—*Larcher.*

Among other solemnities of mourning which Admetus prince of Thessaly orders to be observed in honour of his deceased wife, he bids his subjects cut the manes of all the chariot horses.

> Τεθριππα τε ζευγνυσθε και μοναμπυκας
> Πωλους σιδηρῳ τεμνετ' αυχενων φοβην.

From which incident it may perhaps be inferred, that the Thessalians held their horses in no small estimation: the speech of Admetus being as much as to say, "All that belongs to me, all that have any share of my regard, shall aid me in deploring my domestic loss."—See vol. i. 215.—*T.*

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Hercules, in Cynosarges[79], in the district of Alopece[80], in Attica.

LXIV. The Lacedæmonians afterwards sent a greater body of forces against Athens, not by sea but by land, under the direction of their king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides. These, on their first entrance into Attica, were attacked by the Thessalian horse, who were presently

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79 *Cynosarges.*]—This place gave name to the sect of the Cynics. It was a gymnasium, or place for public exercises, annexed to a temple, and near one of the gates of Athens. The origin of its appellation *Cynosarges* is thus related: an Athenian named Didymus was performing a sacrifice in his house, but was interrupted by a large white dog, which coming in unexpectedly, seized the victim, carried it off, and left it in another place. Much disturbed by an accident so inauspicious, Didymus consulted the oracle in what manner he might avert the omen; he was told to build a temple to Hercules in the place where the dog had deposited the victim: he did so, and called it *Cynosarges*, *απο του κυνος αργου*, from the *white dog*, which that name expresses. When Antisthenes founded his sect, he hired this place as conveniently situated for his lectures; and from the name of the place, added to the consideration of the snarling doggish nature of those philosophers, was derived the appellation *Cynic*, which means *doggish*. Antisthenes himself was sometimes called *απλοκυων*, *mere* or *genuine dog*. The expression ad Cynosarges was proverbial. See this explained at length in the Adagia of Erasmus; it signified the same as abi ad corvos, ad malam rem, &c.—*T.*

80 *Alopece.*]—This place was appropriated to the tribe of Antiochis, and according to Diogenes Laertius, was celebrated for being the birth-place of Socrates.—*T.*

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routed [31], with the loss of forty of their men: the remainder retired without any further efforts into Thessaly. Cleomenes advancing to the city, was joined by those Athenians who desired to be free; in conjunction with whom he besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian citadel.

LXV. The Lacedæmonians would have found themselves finally inadequate to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, for they were totally unprepared for a siege, whilst their adversaries were well provided with necessaries. After therefore continuing the blockade for a few days, they were about to return to Sparta, when an accident happened, as fatal to one party as favourable to the other. The children of the Pisistratidæ in their attempts privately to escape, were taken prisoners: this incident reduced them to extreme perplexity, so that finally, to recover their children, they submitted to such terms as the Athenians imposed, and engaged to leave Attica within five days. Thus, after enjoying the supreme authority for thirty-six years, they retired to Sigeum beyond the Scamander. They were in their descent Pylians, of the family of Peleus; they were by

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31 *Presently routed.*]—Frontinus, in his Stratagemata, relates that Cleomenes obstructed the passage of the Thessalian horse, by throwing branches of trees over the plain. This delivery of the Athenians by Cleomenes, is alluded to by Aristophanes, in his play called Lysistratus.—*Larcher.*

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birth related to Codrus and Melanthus, who had also obtained the supreme power at Athens, though strangers like themselves. In memory of which, Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, had named his son from the son of Nestor. The Athenians were thus delivered from oppression; and it will now be my business to commemorate such prosperous or calamitous events as they experienced after they had thus recovered their liberties, before Ionia had revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras the Milesian had arrived at Athens to supplicate assistance.

LXVI. Athens was considerable before, but, its liberty being restored, it became greater than ever. Of its citizens, two enjoyed more than common reputation: Clisthenes, of the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who according to the voice of fame had corrupted the Pythian; and Isagoras, son of Tisander, who was certainly of an illustrious origin, but whose particular descent I am not able to specify. The individuals of this family sacrifice to the Carian Jupiter[82]: these

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[82] *Carian Jupiter.*]—The Carians were exceedingly contemned, and they were regarded as slaves, because they were the first who let out troops for hire; for which reason they were exposed to the most perilous enterprizes. This people had a temple common to themselves, with the Lydians and Mysians; this was called the temple of the Carian Jupiter. They

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two men, in their contention for superiority, divided the state into factions: Clisthenes, who was worsted by his rival, found means to conciliate the favour of the people. The four tribes[83], which were before named from the sons of Ion,

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They who sacrificed to the Carian Jupiter acknowledged themselves to have been originally from Caria. Plutarch does not omit this opportunity of reproaching Herodotus; and indeed this is among the very few instances of his having justice on his side. As early as in the time of Homer, the following proverb was current:

——— τιω δε μιν εν Καρος αιση,
I value him no more than a Carian. *Larcher.*

This interpretation has, however, been justly considered as doubtful. See Dr. Clarke's excellent note on that passage. *Il.* ix. 378.—*T.*

[83] *The four Tribes.*]—The names of the four ancient tribes of Athens varied at different times: they were afterwards, as in this place represented, multiplied into ten: two others were then added. Each of these ten tribes, like so many different republics, had their presidents, officers of police, tribunals, assemblies, and different interests. Fifty senators were elected as representatives of each tribe, which of course made the aggregate representation of the state of Athens amount to five hundred. The motive of Clisthenes in dividing the Athenians into ten tribes, was a remarkable instance of political sagacity; till then any one tribe uniting with a second, must have rendered any contest equal. The names here inserted have been the subject of much learned controversy. See the Ion of Euripides, ver. 1576, and the commentators upon it. An inscription published by Count Caylus has at length removed many of the difficulties.—*T.*

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Geleon *, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, he divided into ten, naming them according to his fancy, from the heroes of his country. One however he called after Ajax[84], who had been the neighbour and ally to his nation.

LXVII. In this particular, Clisthenes seems to me to have imitated his grandfather of the same name by his mother's side, who was prince of Sicyon: this Clisthenes having been engaged in hostilities with the Argives, abolished at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists[85], which

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* This name is sometimes written Teleon.—In all the editions of Herodotus before that of Gronovius, it was Geleon; he altered it to Teleon from so finding it in Plutarch, and in Stephen of Byzantium. The marble of Cynicus is decisive in favour of Geleon.—See Larcher farther on this subject.

84 *Ajax*,]—Ajax, son of Telamon, had been prince of Ægina, an island in the neighbourhood of Attica.—*Larcher*. This is a most remarkable mistake in Larcher: Ajax was of Salamis, not of Ægina. See the well-known line in Homer:

Αιας δ' εκ Σαλαμινος αγεν δυοκαιδεκα νηας.

85 *Rhapsodists*.]—This word is compounded either of ῥαπτω, to sew, or ῥαβδος, a rod or branch, and ῳδη, a song or poem. According to the first derivation it signifies a poet, author of various songs or poems which are connected together, making one poem, of which the different parts may be detached and separately recited. According to the second, it signifies a singer, who holding in his hand a branch of laurel, recites either his own compositions or those of some celebrated poet.

Hesiod

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he was induced to do, because in the verses of Homer, which were there generally selected for

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Hesiod inclines to the former etymology. Homer, Hesiod, &c. were rhapsodists in this sense; they composed their poems in different books and parts, which uniting together made one perfect composition. The ancient poets went from country to country, and from town to town, to instruct and amuse the people by the recital of their verses, who in return treated them with great honours and much liberality. The most ancient rhapsodist on record is Phemius, whom Homer, after being his disciple, immortalizes in his Odyssey. The most probable opinion is, that in singing the verses which they themselves composed, they carried in their hand a branch of laurel. The rhapsodists of the second kind were invited to feasts and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and in particular of Homer. These were satisfied with reciting the compositions of others, and certainly carried a branch of laurel, which has been disputed with respect to the first.

They were also called Homerides or Homerists, because they generally recited verses from Homer.

They sung sitting on a raised chair, accompanying their verses with a cithara or some other instrument, and in return a crown of gold was given them. In process of time the words rhapsodist and rhapsody became terms of contempt, from the abuse which the rhapsodists made of their profession; and at the present day the term rhapsody is applied to a number of vile pieces ill put together.—*Larcher.*

The note above given from Larcher will necessarily bring to the mind of the English reader the character and office of our ancient bards, whom the rhapsodists of old in many respects resembled. Of the two, the bards were perhaps the more honourable, as they confined themselves to the recital of the valorous actions of heroes, and of such sentiments as

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this purpose, Argos and its inhabitants were such frequent objects of praise. From the same motive he was solicitous to expel the relics of Adrastus, an Argive, the son of Talaus, which were deposited in the forum of Sicyon[86]; he went therefore to inquire of the Delphic oracle, whether he might expel Adrastus. The Pythian said in reply, that Adrastus was a prince of Sicyon, whilst he (Clisthenes) was a robber. Meeting with this repulse from the oracle, he on his return concerted other means to rid himself of Adrastus. Thinking he had accomplished this, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia to bring back Melanippus[87], a native of Sicyon, and son of Astacus. By the consent of the Thebans, his request was granted; he then erected to his honour a shrine in the Prytaneum, and deposited his remains in a place strongly fortified. His motive for thus bringing back Melanippus, which ought not to be omitted, was

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inspired bravery and virtue. In our language also, rhapsody is now always used in a bad sense; but it was not so with our more ancient writers, and our poets in particular.—*T.*

[86] *Forum of Sicyon.*]—Dieutychidas relates that Adrastus was buried at Megara, and that at Sicyon there was only a cenotaph of this hero. See Scholiast to Pindar. ad Nem. 30.—*Larcher.*

[87] *Melanippus.*]—When the Argives attacked Thebes, this warrior slew Tydeus, and Mecistes, the brother of Adrastus, whilst he himself perished by the hands of Amphiaraus.—They shew, says Pausanias, on the great road, the tomb of Melanippus, the most illustrious of the Theban warriors.

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the great enmity which subsisted betwixt him and Adrastus, and farther, because Melanippus had been accessary to the deaths of Mecistes the brother, and Tydeus the son-in-law of Adrastus. When the shrine was completed, Clisthenes assigned to Melanippus the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus, and were solemnized by the Sicyonians with the greatest pomp and magnificence. This district had formerly been under the sovereignty of Polybus, who dying without children, had left his dominions to Adrastus, his grandson by a daughter. Among other marks of honour which the Sicyonians paid the memory of Adrastus, they commemorated in tragic choruses[88] his personal misfortunes, to the

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88 *Tragic choruses.*]—It may be inferred, says Larcher, from this passage, that Thespis was not the inventor of tragedy; and he quotes Themistius as saying, "The Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, but the Athenians brought it to perfection." Suidas also, at the word Θεσπις, says, that Epigenes of Sicyon was the first tragedian, and Thespis only the sixteenth. M. Larcher is of a contrary opinion, but avoids any discussion of the argument, as beyond the proposed limits of his plan.

To exhibit a chorus, was to purchase a dramatic piece of an author, and defray the expense of its representation. This at Athens was the office of the archon, at Rome of the ædiles. The following passage from Lysias may serve to explain the ancient chorus with regard to its variety and expense.

"When Theopompus was archon, I was furnisher to a

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neglect even of Bacchus. But Clisthenes appropriated the choruses to Bacchus, and the other solemnities to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He changed also the names of the Doric tribes, that those of the Sicyonians might be altogether different from those of the Argives, by which means he made the Sicyonians extremely ridiculous. He distinguished the other tribes by the words Hys and Onos[89], superadding only their respective terminations: to his own tribe he prefixed the word Arche, expressive of authority;

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tragic chorus, and I laid out 30 minæ—Afterwards I got the victory with the chorus of men, and it cost me 20 minæ. When Glaucippus was archon, I laid out eight minæ upon pyrrichists; when Diocles was archon, I laid out upon the cyclian chorus three minæ; afterwards, when Alexias was archon, I furnished a chorus of boys, and it cost me fifteen minæ; and when Euclides was archon, I was at the charge of sixteen minæ on the comedians, and of seven upon the young pyrrichists."

From which it appears that the tragic was the most expensive chorus, and its splendour in after-times became so extravagant, that Horace complains the spectators minded more what they saw than what they heard.

> Dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane: quid placet ergo?
> Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

The business of the chorus at its first institution was to sing dithyrambic verses in honour of Bacchus. How it afterwards became improved and extended, has been too often and too well discussed to require any elaborate discussion in this place.—*T.*

[89] *Hys and Onos.*]—Literally, a swine and an ass.

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those of his own tribe were therefore termed Archeleans; of the others, some were called Hyatæ, some Oneatæ, others Chæræatæ. The Sicyonians were known by these appellations during the time of Clisthenes, and for sixty years afterwards. After this period, in consequence of a consultation held among themselves, they changed these names to Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanatæ. To these they added a fourth tribe, which in honour of Ægialeus, son of Adrastus, they called Ægialeans.

LXIX. Such was the conduct of Clisthenes of Sicyon. The Clisthenes of Athens, grandson of the former by a daughter, and named after him, was, as it appears to me, desirous of imitating him from whom he was called. To shew his contempt of the Ionians, he would not suffer the tribes of Athens to bear any resemblance to those of Ionia. Having conciliated his countrymen, who had before been averse to him, he changed the names of the tribes, and increased their number. Instead of four phylarchi he made ten, into which number of tribes he also divided the people; by which means he so conciliated their favour, that he obtained a decided superiority over his opponents[90].

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90 *Over his opponents.*]—Clisthenes and Isagoras had no intention of becoming tyrants, and were united to expel the

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LXX. Isagoras, though overcome, endeavoured to recover his importance; he accordingly applied to Cleomenes the Spartan, with whom he had formed the tie of hospitality whilst he was besieging the Pisistratidæ, and who has been suspected of an improper connection with Isagoras's wife. The Lacedæmonian prince, sending a herald before him, pronounced sentence of expulsion against Clisthenes, and many other Athenians, on pretence of their being polluted by sacrilegious murder. Isagoras prevailed upon him to make this his excuse, because the Alcmæonidæ, with those of their party, had been guilty of a murder, in which neither Isagoras nor any of his followers were concerned.

LXXI. The reason why these Athenians were called polluted[91], was this: Cylon *, a native of

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Pisistratidæ from Athens: but they were not at all the more harmonious on this account. The first desired to establish a democracy, and to accomplish it he gave the people more authority than they ever possessed before, by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, making them by these means less easy to be gained. Isagoras, on the contrary, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as he could not possibly succeed in his views, unless by force, he therefore invited the Lacedæmonians to assist him.—*Larcher.*

91 *Polluted.*]—Literally *Enagees*, that is, polluted by their crime, and therefore devoted to the curse of the goddess whom they had offended: the term implies a sacrilegious offence.—*T.*

* This Cylon was of one of the most illustrious and opulent

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Athens, who had obtained the prize in the Olympic games, had been convicted of designs upon the government, for, having procured a number of young men of the same age with himself, he endeavoured to seize the citadel; disappointed in his hopes, he with his companions placed themselves before the shrine of Minerva, as suppliants. The Prytanes of the Naucrari[92], who then go-

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families of Athens. He married a daughter of Theagenes prince of Megara. He was deluded by an ambiguous oracle, and attempted to seize the citadel of Athens, assisted by some troops which his father-in-law sent him. Strange as it may seem, there was a statue of brass erected to him within the citadel. It is mentioned by Pausanias with expressions of surprise, who conjectures that he received this distinction in consequence of his being one of the handsomest men of his nation, and because he had obtained a prize at the Olympic games. But perhaps it was intended as some atonement for his being traiterously put to death.

[92] *The Prytanes of the Naucrari.*]—I shall endeavour, as concisely as possible, to make this intelligible to the English reader.

The magistrates of Athens were composed of the Archons, the Areopagites, and the senate of five hundred. When the people of Athens consisted only of four tribes, one hundred were elected by lot from each tribe: when afterwards they were divided into ten, fifty were chosen from each tribe; these were the Prytanes, and they governed the city by turns. Each body of fifty, according to Solon's establishment, ruled for the space of thirty-five days, not all at once, but in regular divisions of their body for a certain limited time. To expatiate on the subject of the Prytanes, the particulars of their duty, and their various subdivisions into other responsible magistracies, would require a long dissertation.

Of

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verned Athens, persuaded them to leave this sanctuary, under a promise that their lives should not be forfeited. Their being soon afterwards put to death[93] was generally imputed to the Alcmæonidæ.—These events happened before the time of Pisistratus.

LXXII. Cleomenes having thus ordered the expulsion of Clisthenes, and the other polluted persons, though Clisthenes had privately retired[94],

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Of the Naucrari, or, as it is sometimes written, Naucleri, what follows may perhaps be sufficient.

To the ten tribes of Clisthenes, two more were afterwards added; these twelve were divided into Δῆμοι, or boroughs, who anciently were named Naucrariæ: of these the magistrates were called Naucrari; each Naucraria furnished for the public service two horsemen and one vessel. Each Athenian borough had anciently its own little senate; thus the Prytanes of the Naucrari were a select number, presiding in each of these senates. With respect to the passage before us, "Many," says Larcher, "are of opinion that Herodotus uses the expression of Prytanes of the Naucrari in a particular sense, meaning by Naucrari the Athenians in general; and by Prytanes, the Archons."—*T.*

93 *Put to death.*]—The particulars of this strange business are related at length by Thucydides; much also concerning it may be found in the Sera numinis vindicta of Plutarch, and in the Life of Solon. The detail in this place would not be interesting; the event happened 612 years before the Christian æra.—*T.*

94 *Privately retired.*]—We are told by Ælian, that Clisthenes, having introduced the law of the ostracism, was the first who was punished by it. Few English readers will

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came soon afterwards to Athens with a small number of attendants. His first step was, to send into exile as polluted seven hundred Athenian families[95], which Isagoras pointed out to him. He next proceeded to dissolve the senate, and to intrust the offices of government with three hundred of the faction of Isagoras. The senate exerted themselves, and positively refused to acquiesce in his projects; upon which Cleomenes, with Isagoras and his party, seized the citadel; they were here, for the space of two days, besieged by the Athenians in a body, who took the part of the senate. Upon the third day certain terms were offered, and accepted, and the Spartans all of them departed from Athens: thus an omen which happened to Cleomenes was accomplished. For when he was employed in the seizure of the citadel, he desired to enter the

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require to be informed, that the ostracism was the Athenian sentence of banishment, determined by the people writing the name of the person to be banished on an oyster-shell.

The punishment itself was not always deemed dishonourable, for the victim, during the term of his banishment, which was ten years, enjoyed his estate. A person could not be banished by the ostracism, unless an assembly of six thousand were present.—*T.*

95 *Athenian families.*]—This expression is not so unimportant as it may appear to a careless reader. There were at Athens many domesticated strangers, who enjoyed all the rights of citizens, except that they could not be advanced to a station of any authority in the state.—*Larcher.*

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sanctuary and consult the goddess; the priestess, as he was about to open the doors, rose from her seat, and forbade him in these terms: "Lace-"dæmonian, return, presume not to enter here, "where no admittance is permitted to a Dorian." "I," returned Cleomenes, "am not a Dorian, "but an Achean." This omen, however, had no influence upon his conduct; he persevered in what he had undertaken, and with his Lacedæmonians was a second time[96] foiled. The Athenians who had joined themselves to him were put in irons, and condemned to die; amongst these was Timesitheus of Delphi, concerning whose gallantry and spirit I am able to produce many testimonies.—These Athenians were put to death in prison.

LXXIII. The Athenians having recalled Clisthenes, and the seven hundred families expelled by Cleomenes, sent ambassadors to Sardis, to form an alliance with the Persians; for they were well convinced that they should have to support a war against Cleomenes and Sparta. On their arrival at Sardis, and explaining the nature of

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96 *Second time.*]—See chapter lxiv. and lxv.—See also the Lysistratus of Aristophanes, verse 273.

"Non memini," says Reiske, "de primo Cleomenis irrito conatu Athenas occupandi in superioribus legere. Nam quod, p. 308, narravit non Cleomeni, sed Anchimolio id evenit."

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their commission, Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and chief magistrate of Sardis, inquired of them who they were, and where they lived, who desired to become the allies of Persia. Being satisfied in this particular, he made them this abrupt proposition: if the Athenians would send to Darius earth and water, he would form an alliance with them, if not, they were immediately to depart. After deliberating on the subject, they acceded to the terms proposed, for which, on their return to Athens, they were severely reprehended.

LXXIV. Cleomenes knowing that he was reproached, and feeling that he was injured by the Athenians, levied forces in the different parts of the Peloponnese, without giving any intimation of the object he had in view. He proposed, however, to take vengeance on Athens, and to place the government in the hands of Isagoras, who with him had been driven from the citadel: with a great body of forces he himself took possession of Eleusis, whilst the Bœotians, as had been agreed upon, seized Oenoë and Hysias[95], towns in the extremity of Attica: on another side the Chalcidians laid waste the Athenian territories. The Athenians, however, perplexed by these

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95 *Hysias.*]—Larcher thinks that Hysias never constituted a part of Attica, and therefore, with Wesseling, wishes to read Phyle.—See Wesseling's note.

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different attacks, deferred thesr revenge on the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and marched with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis.

LXXV. Whilst the two armies were prepared to engage, the Corinthians first of all, as if conscious of their having acted an unjustifiable part, turned their backs and retired. Their example was followed by Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also a king of Sparta, had conducted a body of forces from Lacedæmon, and till now had seconded Cleomenes in all his measures. On account of this dissension between their princes, the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time. They determined also, that one of the Tyndaridæ[98] should remain with the prince who was left at home, both of whom, till now, had accompanied them on foreign expeditions. The rest of the confederates at Eleusis, perceiving this disunion of the princes, and the secession of the Corinthians, returned to their respective homes.

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98 *One of the Tyndaridæ.*]—It may perhaps be inferred from this passage, that the symbol or image representing Castor and Pollux, which before was one piece of wood, was separated into two distinct emblems. See Abbé Winckelman:—"Chez les Lacedæmoniens Castor et Pollux avoient la forme de deux morceaux de bois parallèles, joints par deux baguettes de traverse: et cette ancienne figure s'est conservée jusqu'à nous par le signe Π, qui denote ces frères gemeaux du zodiaque.—*T.*

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LXXVI. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had entered Attica, twice as enemies, and twice with pacific and friendly views. Their first expedition was to establish a colony at Megara, which was when Codrus[99] reigned at Athens. They came from Sparta the second and third time to expel the Pisistratidæ. The fourth time was when Cleomenes and the Peloponnesians attacked Eleusis.

LXXVII. The Athenians, observing the adversary's army thus ignominiously diminish, gave place to the desire of revenge, and determined first to attack the Chalcidians, to assist whom the Bœotians advanced as far as the Euripus[100]. On

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[99] *Codrus.*]—Of this Codrus the following story is related: —The Dorians of the Peloponnese, as here mentioned, marched against the Athenians, and were promised success from the oracle of Delphi, provided they did not kill Codrus the Athenian prince. Cleomantis of Delphi gave intimation of this to the Athenians; upon which Codrus left his camp, in the habit of a beggar, mingled with the enemy's troops, and provoked some amongst them to kill him; when the Athenians sent to demand the body of their prince, the Peloponnesians, on hearing the incident, retreated.—*T.*

[100] *Euripus.*]—This was the name of the very narrow streight between Bœotia and Eubœa, where the sea was said by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times a day. It was rendered more memorable, because Aristotle was reported here to have destroyed himself from mortification, being unable to explain the cause of this phænomenon. It afterward became an appellation for any streight of the sea.

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sight of them the Athenians resolved to attack them before the Chalcidians; they accordingly gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they passed into Eubœa, and fought the Chalcidians: over these also they were victorious, and they left a colony to the number of four thousand on the lands of the Hippobotæ[101], by which name the most opulent* of the Chalcidians were distinguished. Such of these as they took prisoners, as well as their Bœotian captives, they at first put in irons, and kept in close confinement: they afterwards suffered them to be ransomed at two minæ † a man, suspending their chains from the

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The circumstance of the ebb and flow of the sea in this place happening seven times a day, is thus mentioned in the Hercules of Seneca:

Euripus undas flectit instabilis vagas,
Septemque cursus volvit et totidem refert,
Dum lassa Titan mergat oceano juga. *T.*

101 *Hippobotæ*]—literally means keepers of horses, from ιππος, a horse, and βοσκω, to feed.

* The soil of Eubœa not being well calculated to maintain horses, only the rich and powerful could keep any. Good pasturage was still less common in Attica, the keeping of horses was consequently ruinous. Strepsiades, reflecting on the debt he had contracted by giving twelve minæ for a horse for his son, says, I had better have had one of my eyes knocked out with a stone.—*Larcher.*

† This certainly seems an extravagant sum, as the Greeks

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citadel. These were to be seen even within my memory, hanging from the walls which were burnt by the Medes, near the temple facing the west. The tenth part of the money produced from the ransom of their prisoners was consecrated; with it they purchased a chariot of brass[102] for four horses: it was placed at the left-hand side of the entrance of the citadel, with this inscription:

Her arms when Chalcis and Bœotia tried,
Athens in chains and darkness quell'd their pride;
Their ransom paid, the tenths are here bestow'd,
A votive gift to fav'ring Pallas ow'd.

LXXVIII. The Athenians continued to increase in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various instances, it may be made appear that an equal form * of go-

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were then not very rich. Nevertheless it appears from book vi. c. 79, that this was the fixed sum in the Peloponnese for the ransom of prisoners of war.—Two minæ were equal to about 6l. 10s. of our money.

[102] *Chariot of brass.*]—From the tenth of the spoils of thr Bœotians, and of the people of Chalcis, they made a chariot of brass. *See Pausanias, Attic.* chap. xxviii.

* *Equal from.*]—On this subject Larcher thus expresses himself:

It is not equality of rank, of riches, or of honours, which is here intended, but of men's rights; equality in the distribution of justice, and in the dispensation of rewards and honours.

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vernment is the best. Whilst the Athenians were in subjection to tyrants, they were superior in war to none of their neighbours, but when delivered from their oppressors, they far surpassed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilst under the restraint of a master, they were incapable of any spirited exertions, but as soon as they obtained their liberty, each man zealously exercised his talents on his own account.

LXXIX. The Thebans after this, desirous of obtaining revenge, sent to consult the oracle. In reply, the Pythian assured them, that of themselves they would be unable to accomplish this. She recommended them to consult their popular assembly, and to apply to their nearest neighbours[103] for assistance. Those employed in this business called, on their return, an assembly of their countrymen, to whom they communicated the reply of the oracle. Hearing that they were required to ask assistance of their neighbours, they deliberated among themselves. "What!" said some of them, "do not the Tanagræi[104], the

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What must Larcher's feelings now be, on seeing Bonaparte elevated to the dignity of Emperor?

[103] *Nearest neighbours.*]—The term των αγχιστα is ambiguous, and may be understood either of neighbours or relations.

[104] *Tanagræi.*]—The country of Tanagra, according to Pliny and others, was very celebrated for a breed of fighting

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" Coronæi [105], and the Thespians [106], who are our
" neighbours, constantly act in concert with us;
" do they not always assist us, in war, with the
" most friendly and spirited exertions? To these
" there can be no occasion to apply; the oracle
" must therefore have some other meaning."

LXXX. Whilst they were thus debating, some one among them exclaimed, "I think that I am
" able to penetrate the meaning of the oracle;
" Asopus[107] is reported to have had two daughters,

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cocks.—Jam ex his quidam (galli) ad bella tantum et prælia assidua nascuntur, quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodum ac Tanagram.—*Pliny*, x. 21.

Its modern name is Anatoria.—*T.*

105 *Coronæi.*]—Of Coronea a very singular circumstance is related, that whereas all the rest of Bœotia abounded with moles, not one was ever seen in Coronea.—*T.*

106 *Thespians.*]—Thespia was one of those cities considered by the ancients as sacred to the Muses, whence one of their names, Thespiades.—*T.*

107 *Asopus.*]—Oceanus and Tethys, as the story goes, amongst other sons after whom rivers were named, had also Peneus and Asopus; Peneus remained in the country now called Thessaly, and gave his name to the river which waters it. Asopus residing at Phlyus, married Merope, the daughter of Laden; by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus, and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, Cencyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespia, Asopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina was carried away by Jupiter to the island which was called after her.

Asopus, informed of this by Sisyphus, pursued her; but Jupiter struck him with his thunder.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

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" Thebe and Ægina; as these were sisters, I am " inclined to believe that the deity would have us " apply to the Æginetæ to assist us in obtaining " revenge." The Thebans, not being able to devise any more plausible interpretation, thought that they acted in conformity to the will of the oracle, by sending to the Æginetæ for assistance, as to their nearest neighbours, who, in return, engaged to send the Æacidæ[103] to their aid.

LXXXI. The Thebans, relying on the assistance of the Æacidæ, commenced hostilities with the Athenians, but they met with so ill a reception, that they determined to send back the Æacidæ, and to require the aid of some troops. The application was favourably received, and the Æginetæ, confident in their riches, and mindful of their ancient enmity with the Athenians, began hostilities against them, without any formal declaration of war. Whilst the forces of Athens were solely employed against the Bœotians, they passed over with a fleet into Attica, and not only

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[103] *Æacidæ.*]—M. Larcher, comparing this with a paragraph in the following chapter, is of opinion that Herodotus here speaks not of any persons, but of images representing the Æacidæ, which the Æginetæ lent the Thebans.—But to this it may be objected, that the Æginetæ were not in possession of these images at the period when the Thebans solicited their assistance.—See c. 89.

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plundered Phaleros[109], but almost all the inhabitants of the coast; by which the Athenians sustained considerable injury.

LXXXII. The first occasion of the enmity between the Æginetæ and the Athenians was this: —The Epidaurians, being afflicted by a severe and continued famine, consulted the Delphic oracle; the Pythian enjoined them to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia[110], promising that their situation would then be amended. The Epidaurians next inquired, whether they should construct these statues of brass or of stone. The priestess replied, of neither, but of the wood of the garden-olive. The Epidaurians, in consequence, applied to the Athenians for permission to take one of their olives, believing these of all others the most sacred; indeed it is said, that at this period olives were no where else to be

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109 *Phaleros.*]—This place is now called Porto Leone.—*T.*

110 *Damia and Auxesia.*]—These were the same as Ceres and Proserpine: these goddesses procured fertility, and had a temple in Tegea, where they were called Carpophoræ. Pausanias relates the same fact as Herodotus, except that he calls the two goddesses Auxesia and Lamia.

They were also worshipped at Trœzene, but for different reasons: Damia was the Bona Dea of the Romans; she was also, according to Valenaer, the same as the Roman Maia. —*Larcher.*

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found[111]. The Athenians granted their request, on condition that they should every year furnish a sacrifice to Minerva Polias[112], and to Erectheus[113]. The Epidaurians acceding to these terms, constructed of the Athenian olive the figures which had been enjoined; and, as their lands immediately became fruitful, they punctually fulfilled their engagements with the Athenians.

LXXXIII. At and before this period, the Æginetæ were so far in subjection to the Epidaurians, that all subjects of litigation betwixt themselves and the people of Epidaurus were determined among the latter. In process of time, they built themselves a fleet, and revolted from their allegiance: becoming still more powerful,

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111 *To be found.*]—This assertion was by no means true, and, as Larcher remarks, Herodotus knew it, but not choosing to hurt the pride of the Athenians, he admits the report, qualifying it with "it is said."

The olive, which loves a warm climate, was probably a native of the East, and was carried from thence to Greece.

112 *Minerva Polias.*]—Patroness of the city; for the same reason she was called Poliouchos.

113 *Erectheus*]—Was the sixth king of Athens, in whose reign Ceres came to Athens, and planted corn; not only he, but his daughters were received into the number of the gods.

Nostri quidem publicani, cum essent in Bœotiâ, deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria, negabant immortales esse ullos qui aliquando homines fuissent.—Sed si sunt hi dii, est certe Erectheus, cujus Athenis et delubrum vidimus et sacerdotem.—*Cic. de Nat. Deor.* iii. 19.

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they made themselves masters of the sea, and plundered their former masters, carrying away the images of Damia and Auxesia. These they deposited in the centre of their own territories, in a place called Œa, about twenty stadia from their city: having done this, they instituted sacrifices in their honour, with ludicrous choruses of women[114], assigning to each of these goddesses ten men, who were to preside over the choruses. These choruses did not insult any male, but the females of the country. The Epidaurians had dances similar to these, with other ceremonies which were mysterious.

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[114] *Ludicrous choruses of women.*]—If Herodotus, where he says that the Epidaurians honoured the goddesses Damia and Auxesia χοροισι γυναικηϊοισι κερτομοισι, with choruses of women, that used to abuse and burlesque the women of the country, had called them χοροισι κωμικοισι, comical choruses, he had said nothing unworthy of a great historian; because those choruses of women were much of the same sort that were afterwards called comical.—*Bentley on Phalaris.*

Many of the sacred rites among the ancients were distinguished by rude and licentious festivity.—For example, the rites of Apollo at Delos, as described by Callimachus; the rites of Apollo Ægletas, as exhibited in Achaia; for an account of which consult Pausanias; in which men and women indulged in scoffing and mutual ribaldry. Such also distinguished the Thesmophoria in honour of Ceres, and the Saturnalia among the Romans. See also Apollonius Rhodius, b. 4. where Apollo is represented as soothed by the jocular festivity of the nymphs who accompanied Medea, and who mocked and scoffed at the companions of Jason.

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LXXXIV. From the time of their losing these images, the Epidaurians ceased to observe their engagements with the Athenians, who sent to remonstrate with them on the occasion. They made reply, that in this respect they were guilty of no injustice, for as long as they possessed the images, they had fulfilled all that was expected from them; having lost these, their obligation became void, devolving from them to the Ægineta. On receiving this answer, the Athenians sent to Ægina to demand the images, but the Æginetæ denied that the Athenians had any business with them.

LXXXV. The Athenians relate, that after this refusal of their demand, they sent the persons before employed in this business in a vessel to Ægina. As these images were made of the wood of Athens, they were commissioned to carry them away from the place where they stood; but their attempt to do this not succeeding, they endeavoured to remove them with ropes: in the midst of their efforts they were alarmed by an earthquake, with loud claps of thunder; those employed were seized with a madness, which caused them to kill one another; one only survived, who immediately fled to Phaleros.

LXXXVI. The above is the Athenian account. The Æginetæ affirm, that this expedition

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was not made in a single vessel, for they could easily have repelled the attacks of one, or even of many vessels, even if they had possessed no ships of their own; but they say that the Athenians invaded them with a powerful fleet; in consequence of which they retired, not choosing to hazard a naval engagement. It is, however, by no means evident, whether they declined a sea-fight from a want of confidence in their own power, or whether they retired voluntarily and from design. It is certain that the Athenians, meeting with no resistance, advanced to the place where the images stood, and not able to separate them from their bases, they dragged them along with ropes; during which, both the figures did what seems incredible to me, whatever it may to others[115]. They assert, that they both fell upon their knees, in which attitude they have ever since remained. Such were the proceedings of the Athenians. The people of Ægina, according to their own account, hearing of the hostile intentions of the Athenians, took care that the

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115 *Whatever it may to others.*]—This is one of the numerous examples in Herodotus, which concur to prove, that the character of credulity, so universally imputed to our historian, ought to be somewhat qualified. For my own part, I am able to recollect very few passages indeed, where, relating any thing marvellous, or exceeding credibility, he does not at the same time intimate, in some form or other, his own suspicions of the fact.—*T.*

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Argives should be ready to assist them. As soon, therefore, as the Athenians landed at Ægina, the Argives were at hand, and, unperceived by the enemy, passed over from Epidaurus to the island, whence intercepting their retreat to their ships, they fell upon the Athenians; at which moment of time an earthquake happened, accompanied with thunder.

LXXXVII. In their relation of the above circumstances, the Æginetæ and the Argives concur. The Athenians acknowledge, that one only of their countrymen returned to Attica; but this man, the Argives say, was the sole survivor of a defeat, which they gave the Athenians: whilst these affirm, that he escaped from the vengeance of the divinity, which, however, he did not long elude, for he afterwards perished in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and related at large the destruction of his countrymen, the wives of those who had been engaged in the expedition against Ægina were extremely exasperated that he alone should survive; they accordingly surrounded the man, and each of them asking for her husband, they wounded him with the clasps [116]

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116 *With the clasps.*]—The Greeks called the clasp or buckle with which they fastened their garments, περονη, and sometimes πορπη: the Latins for the same thing used the word *fibula*. Various specimens of ancient clasps or buckles may be seen

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of their garments, till he died. This behaviour of their women was more afflicting to the Athenians than the misfortune which preceded it; all however they could do was to make them afterwards assume the Ionian dress. Before this incident, the women of Athens wore the Doric vest, which much resembles the Corinthian; that they might have no occasion for clasps, they obliged them to wear linen tunics.

LXXXVIII. It seems reasonable to believe,

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in Montfaucon, the generality of which resemble a bow that is strung. Montfaucon rejects the opinion of those who affirm, that the buckles of which various ancient specimens were preserved, were only styli, or instruments to write with. —"The styli," he adds, "were long pins, and much stronger than the pins with which they fastened the buckles anciently." When Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he defended himself with his stylus, and thrust it through the arm of Casca. When the learned Frenchman says, that the ancient clasps or buckles could not possibly serve for offensive weapons, he probably was not acquainted with the fact here mentioned by Herodotus. An elegant use is made by Homer, of the probability of a wound's being inflicted by a clasp: when Venus, having been wounded by Diomed, retires from the field, Minerva says sarcastically to Jupiter,

Permit thy daughter, gracious Jove, to tell
How this mischance the Cyprian queen befell;
As late she tried with passion to inflame
The tender bosom of a Grecian dame,
Allur'd the fair with moving thoughts of joy,
To quit her country for some youth of Troy;
The clasping zone, with golden buckles bound,
Rased her soft hand with this lamented wound. *T.*

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that this vest was not originally Ionian, but Carian: formerly the dress of the Grecian females was universally the same with what we now call Dorian. It is reported, that the Argives and the Æginetæ, in opposition to the above ordinance of the Athenians, directed their women to wear clasps, almost twice as large as usual, and ordained these to be the particular votive offering made by the women in the temples of the above divinities. They were suffered to offer there nothing which was Attic; even the common earthen vessels were prohibited, of which they were allowed to use none but what were made in their own country. Such, even to my time, has been the contradictory spirit of the women of Argos and Ægina, with respect to those of Athens, that the former have persevered in wearing their clasps larger than before.

LXXXIX. This which I have related, was the origin of the animosity between the people of Athens and Ægina. The latter, still having in mind the old grievance of the statues, readily yielded to the solicitations of the Thebans, and assisted the Bœotians, by ravaging the coasts of Attica. Whilst the Athenians were preparing to revenge the injury, they were warned by a communication from the Delphic oracle, to refrain from all hostilities with the people of Ægina for the space of thirty years: at the termination of

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this period they were to erect a fane to Æacus, and might then commence offensive operations against the Æginetæ with success; but if they immediately began hostilities, although they would do the enemy essential injury, and finally subdue them, they would in the interval suffer much themselves. On receiving this communication from the oracle, the Athenians erected a sacred edifice to Æacus[117], which may now be seen in their forum; but notwithstanding the menace impending over them, they were unable to defer the prosecution of their revenge for the long period of thirty years.

XC. Whilst they were thus preparing for revenge, their designs were impeded by what happened at Lacedæmon. The Spartans having discovered the intrigues between the Alcmæonidæ and the Pythian, and what this last had done

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117 *Æacus.*]—The genealogy of Æacus is related in Ovid, book xiii. The circumstance of Jupiter, at the request of Æacus, turning ants into men, who were called from thence Myrmidons, may be found in Ovid. book vii.—

> Myrmidonasque voco, nec origine nomina fraudo;
> Corpora vidisti; mores, quos ante gerebant,
> Nunc quoque habent; parcum genus est, patiensque laborum,
> Quæsitique tenax, et qui quæsita reservent.

The word Myrmidons has been anglicised, and is used to express any bold hardy ruffians, by no less authority than Swift.—*T.*

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against the Pisistratidæ and themselves, perceived that they were involved in a double disappointment. Without at all conciliating the Athenians, they had expelled from thence their own friends and allies. They were also seriously impressed by certain oracles, which taught them to expect from the Athenians many and great calamities. Of these they were entirely ignorant, till they were made known by Cleomenes at Sparta. Cleomenes had discovered and seized them* in the citadel of Athens, where they had been originally deposited by the Pisistratidæ, who, on being expelled, had left them in the temple.

XCI. On hearing from Cleomenes the above oracular declarations, the Lacedæmonians observed that the Athenians increased in power, and were but little inclined to remain subject to them; they farther reflected, that though when oppressed by tyrants, the people of Athens were weak and submissive, the possession of liberty would not fail to make them formidable rivals. In consequence of these deliberations, they sent for Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidæ had taken

* That is to say, the Oracular declarations which were every where carefully preserved and implicitly believed, notwithstanding the frequent discovery of deceit, fraud, and falsehood, in the persons who delivered them.

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refuge. On his arrival, they assembled also the representatives of their other allies, and thus expressed themselves: "We confess to you, friends " and allies, that under the impression of oracles, " which deceived us, we have greatly erred. The " men who had claims upon our kindness, and " who would have rendered Athens obedient to " our will, we have banished from their country, " and have delivered that city into the power of " an ungrateful faction. Not remembering that " to us they are indebted for their liberty, they are " become insolent, and have expelled disgracefully " from among them, us and our king. They are " endeavouring, we hear, to make themselves " more and more formidable: this their neigh- " bours the Bœotians and Chalcidians have " already experienced, as will others also who " may happen to offend them. To atone for our " past errors and neglect, we now profess our- " selves ready to assist you in chastising them: " for this reason, we have sent for Hippias, and " assembled you; intending, by the joint opera- " tions of one united army, to restore him to " Athens, and to that dignity of which we for- " merly deprived him."

XCII. These sentiments of the Spartans were approved by very few of the confederates. After a long interval of silence, Sosicles of Corinth made this reply: "We may henceforth certainly

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" expect to see the heavens take the place of the
" earth[118], the earth that of the heavens; to see
" mankind exsiting in the waters, and the scaly
" tribe on earth, since you, O Lacedæmonians,
" meditate the subversion of free and equal go-
" vernments, and the establishment of arbitrary
" power; than which surely nothing can be more
" unjust in itself, or more destructive in its effects.
" If you consider tyranny with so favourable an
" eye, before you think of introducing it else-
" where, show us the example, and submit first
" to a tyrant yourselves: at present, you are
" not only without a tyrant, but it should seem,
" that in Sparta, nothing can be guarded against
" with more vigilant anxiety; why then wish to
" involve your confederates in what to you ap-
" pears so great a calamity; a calamity which
" like us if you had known, experience would
" doubtless have prompted a more sagacious coun-
" sel? The government of Corinth was formerly

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118 *Take the place of the earth.*]—With a sentiment similar to this, Ovid commences one of his most beautiful elegies:

In caput alta suum labentur ab æquore retro
Flumina, conversis solque recurret equis;
Terra feret stellas, cœlum findetur aratro,
Unda dabit flammas, et dabit ignis aquas;
Omnia naturæ præpostera legibus ibunt,
Parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter.
Omnia jam fient fieri quæ posse negabam,
Et nihil est de quo non sit habenda fides. *T.*

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" in the hands of a few; they who were called
" the Bacchiadæ [119] had the administration of
" affairs. To cement and confirm their authority,
" they were careful to contract no marriages but
" among themselves. One of these, whose name
" was Amphion, had a daughter called Labda [120],
" who was lame. As none of the Bacchiadæ were
" willing to marry her, they united her to Eetion,
" son of Echecrates, who, though of the low
" tribe of Petra, was in his origin one of the

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119 *Bacchiadæ.*]—Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus are a little at variance with this author in their accounts of the Bacchiadæ. The matter however seems from them all to be this: Bacchis was one of the Heraclidæ, and prince of Corinth; on account of his splendid character and virtues, his descendants took the name of Bacchiadæ, which, with the sovereignty of Corinth, they retained till they were expelled by Cypselus.—*T.*

120 *Labda.*]—This, says M. Larcher, was not her real name, but was given her on account of the resemblance which her lameness made her bear to the letter L, or Lambda. Anciently the letter Lambda was called Labda. It was a common custom amongst the ancients to give as nicknames the letters of the alphabet. Æsop was called Theta, by his master Iadmus, from his superior acuteness. Thetes being also a name for slaves. Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius, was called Beta, because he loved Beet (poirée). Orpyllis, a courtesan of Cyzicum, was named Gamma; Anthenor, who wrote the history of Crete, was called Delta; Apollonius, who lived in the time of Philopater, was named Epsilon, &c.—*Larcher.*

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" Lapithæ[121], descended from Cæneus[122]. As
" he had no children by this or by any other wife,
" he sent to Delphi to consult the oracle on this
" subject. At the moment of his entering the
" temple, he was thus addressed by the Pythian :

" Eetion, honour'd far below thy worth ;
" Know, Labda shall produce a monstrous birth,
" A stone, which, rolling with enormous weight,
" Shall crush usurpers, and reform the state.

" This prediction to Eetion came by accident to
" the ears of the Bacchiadæ. An oracle had be-
" fore spoken concerning Corinth, which, though
" dark and obscure, was evidently of the same
" tendency with that declared to Eetion : it was
" this :—

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121 *Lapithæ.*]—The Lapithæ were celebrated in antiquity as being the first people who used bridles and harness for horses.

Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ gyrosque dedere
Impositi dorso. *Virgil.*

122 *Cæneus.*]—The story of Cæneus is this : Cænis was a virgin, and was ravished by Neptune, who afterwards, at her request, turned her into a man, and caused her to be invulnerable. After this change of sex his name also was changed to Cæneus ; he then fought with the Lapithæ against the Centaurs, who not able otherwise to destroy him, overwhelmed him beneath a pile of wood. Ovid says he was then turned into a bird ; Virgil, on the contrary, asserts, that he resumed his former sex.—*T.*

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" Amidst the rocks an eagle [123] shall produce
" An eagle, who shall many knees unloose,
" Bloody and strong: guard then your measures
" well,
" Ye who in Corinth and Pirene[124] dwell!

" When this oracle was first delivered to the Bac-
" chiadæ, they had no conception of its meaning;
" but as soon as they learned the particulars
" of that given to Eetion, they understood the
" first from the last. The result was, that they
" confined the secret to themselves, determining
" to destroy the future child of Eetion. As soon
" as the woman was delivered, they commissioned
" ten of their number to go to the place where
" Eetion lived, and make away with the infant.
" As soon as they came to where the tribe of
" Petra resided, they went to Eetion's house,
" and asked for the child: Labda, ignorant of
" their intentions, and imputing this visit to their
" friendship for her husband, produced her in-
" fant, and gave it into the arms of one of them.
" It had been concerted, that whoever should
" first have the child in his hands, was to dash
" it on the ground: it happened, as if by divine

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[123] *An Eagle.*]—Eetion is derived from the Greek word αετος, an eagle.

[124] *Pirene.*]—This fountain was sacred to the Muses, and remarkable for the sweetness of its waters.

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" interposition, that the infant smiled in the
" face[125] of the man to whom the mother had
" intrusted it. He was seized with an emotion
" of pity, and found himself unable to destroy it;
" with these feelings, he gave the child to the per-
" son next him, who gave it to a third, till thus
" it passed through the hands of all the ten; no
" one of them was able to murder it, and it was re-
" turned to the mother. On leaving the house,
" they stopped at the gate, and began to reproach
" and accuse each other, but particularly him
" who first receiving the child, had failed in his
" engagements. After a short interval, they
" agreed to enter the house again, and jointly
" destroy the child: but fate had determined that
" the offspring of Eetion should ultimately prove
" the destruction of Corinth. Labda, standing
" near the gate, had overheard their discourse,

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[125] *Smiled in the face.*]—The effects of an infant smiling in the face of rude untutored men, is delightfully expressed in part of an ode on the use and abuse of poetry, preserved by Warton, in his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

Father of peace and arts—he first the city built;
No more the neighbour's blood was by his neighbour spilt;
He taught to till and separate the lands;
He fix'd the roving youths in Hymen's myrtle bands,
Whence dear domestic life began,
And all the charities that soften'd man:
The babes that in their fathers' faces smil'd,
With lisping blandishments their rage beguil'd,
And tender thoughts inspired.

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" and fearing that as their sentiments were
" changed, they would infallibly, if they had
" opportunity, murder her infant, she carried it
" away, and hid it in a place little obvious to
" suspicion, namely, in a corn measure[126]. She
" was satisfied, that on their return they would
" make a strict search after the child, which ac-
" cordingly happened: finding however all their
" diligence ineffectual, they thought it only re-
" mained for them to return and acquaint their
" employers, that they had executed their com-
" mission. When the son of Ection grew up, he
" was called Cypselus, in memory of the danger
" he had escaped in the 'corn measure,' the
" meaning of the word Cypsela. On his arrival
" at manhood, he consulted the Delphic oracle;
" the answer he received was ambiguous; but
" confident of its favourable meaning, he attacked
" and made himself master of Corinth. The
" oracle was this:—

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126 *In a corn measure.*]—The description of this chest, which was preserved in the temple of Juno at Olympia, employs several chapters in the fifth book of Pausanias. He tells us that the chest was made of cedar, and that its outside was enriched with animals, and a variety of historical representations in cedar, ivory, and gold. "It is not likely," says M. Larcher, "that the chest described by Pausanias was the real chest in which Cypselus was preserved, but one made on purpose to commemorate the incident."—*T.*

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" Behold a man whom fortune makes her care,
" Corinthian Cypselus, Eetion's heir;
" Himself shall reign, his children too prevail,
" But there the glories of his race must fail.

" When Cypselus had obtained possession of the
" government, he persecuted the inhabitants of
" Corinth, depriving many of their wealth, and
" more of their lives. After an undisturbed
" reign of thirty years, he was succeeded by his
" son Periander, who at first adopted a milder
" and more moderate conduct; but having by his
" emissaries formed an intimate connexion with
" Thrasybulus, sovereign of Miletus, he even
" exceeded his father in cruelty. The object of
" one of his embassies was to inquire of Thrasy-
" bulus what mode of government would render
" his authority most secure and most honourable.
" Thrasybulus conducted the messenger to a corn-
" field without the town, where, as he walked up
" and down, he asked some questions of the man
" relative to his departure from Corinth; in the
" mean while, wherever he discerned a head of
" corn taller than the rest[127], he cut it off, till

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[127] *Taller than the rest.*]—A similar story is told of Tarquin the Proud, and his son Sextus, who striking off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden, thus intimated his desire that his son should destroy the most eminent characters of

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" all the highest and the richest were levelled with
" the ground. Having gone over the whole field
" in this manner, he retired, without speaking a
" word to the person who attended him. On the
" return of his emissary to Corinth, Periander
" was extremely anxious to learn the result of his
" journey, but he was informed, that Thrasybulus
" had never said a word in reply; that he even
" appeared to be a man deprived of his reason,
" and bent on the destruction of his own pro-
" perty. The messenger then proceeded to in-
" form his master of what Thrasybulus had done.
" Periander immediately conceived the meaning
" of Thrasybulus to be, that he should destroy
" the most illustrious of his citizens. He in con-
" sequence exercised every species of cruelty, till
" he completed what his father Cypselus had
" begun, killing some, and driving others into
" exile. On account of his wife Melissa, he one
" day stripped all the women of Corinth of their
" clothes. He had sent into Thesprotia, near
" the river Acheron, to consult the oracle of the
" dead *, concerning something of value which

Gabii, of which he was endeavouring by stratagem to make himself master.—See *Livy*, b. i. ch. 54. It is remarkable that Aristotle in his Politics twice mentions this enigmatical advice as given by Periander to Thrasybulus.—*T.*

* *The oracle of the dead.*]—Νεκρομαντηΐον, a place where divination was carried on by calling up the dead with magical

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" had been left by a stranger. Melissa appear-
" ing, declared that she would by no means tell
" where the thing required was deposited, for she
" was cold and naked; for the garments in which
" she was interred were of no service to her, not
" having been burned. In proof of which, she
" asserted, that Periander had 'put bread into a
" cold oven;' Periander, on hearing this, was
" satisfied of the truth of what she said, for he
" had embraced Melissa after her decease. On
" the return therefore of his messengers, he com-
" manded all the women of Corinth to assemble
" at the temple of Juno. On this occasion the
" women came as to some public festival, adorned
" with the greatest splendour. The king, hav-
" ing placed his guards for the purpose, caused
" them all to be stripped, free women and
" slaves, without distinction. Their clothes were
" afterwards disposed in a large trench, and
" burned in honour of Melissa, who was solemnly
" invoked on the occasion. When this was done,
" a second messenger was dispatched to Melissa,
" who now vouchsafed to say where the thing
" required might be found.—Such, O men of
" Sparta, is a tyrannical government, and such

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rites. Pausanias places this oracle at Aornos in Thesprotia. The superstitions of Italy seem to have been borrowed from that country; hence Cicero mentions an oracle of the same kind at the lake Avernus in Italy.—*Tusc.* i. 16.

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"its effects. Much therefore were we Corin-
"thians astonished, when we learned that you
"had sent for Hippias; but the declaration of
"your sentiments surprises us still more. We
"adjure you, therefore, in the names of the di-
"vinities of Greece, not to establish tyranny in
"our cities. But if you are determined in your
"purpose, and are resolved, in opposition to what
"is just, to restore Hippias, be assured that the
"Corinthians will not second you.* "

XCIII. Sosicles, the deputy of the Corinthians, having delivered his sentiments, was answered by Hippias. He having adjured the same divinities, declared, that the Corinthians would most of all have occasion to regret the Pisistratidæ, when the destined hour should arrive, and they should groan under the oppression of the Athenians. Hippias spoke with the greater confidence, because he was best acquainted with the declarations of the oracles. The rest of the confederates, who had hitherto been silent, hearing the generous sentiments of Sosicles, declared themselves the friends of freedom, and favourers of the opinions of the Corinthians. They then conjured the La-

* The Corinthians, says Larcher, did not always retain this generosity of sentiment. When Athens was captured by the Lacedæmonians at the end of the Peloponnesian war, the Corinthians advised that it should be utterly destroyed.

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cedæmonians to introduce no innovations which might affect the liberties of a Grecian city.

XCIV. When Hippias departed from Sparta, Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered him for a residence, Anthemos, as did the Thessalians, Iolcos [128]; but he would accept of neither, and returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken by force from the people of Mitylene. He had appointed Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos, governor of the place, who did not retain his situation without much and violent contest. The people of Mitylene and of Athens issuing, the one from the city of Achillea [129], the other from Sigeum, were long engaged in hostilities. They of Mitylene insisted on the restoration of what had been violently taken from them; but it was answered, that the Æolians had no stronger claims upon the territories of Troy, than the Athenians themselves, and the rest of the Greeks, who had assisted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen.

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[128] *Iolcos.*]—This place is now called Iaco; we learn from Horace, that it was formerly famous for producing poisonous plants:

> Herbasque quas Iolcos atque Iberia
> Mittit venenorum ferax.

[129] *Achillea.*]—In the fourth book, Herodotus calls this place the Course of Achilles. Its modern name is Fiodonisi. —*T.*

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XCV. Among their various encounters it happened, that in a severe engagement, in which the Athenians had the advantage, the poet Alcæus [130]

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[130] *Alcæus*]—Was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos; he was cotemporary with Sappho, and generally is considered as the inventor of lyric poetry. Archilochus, Alcæus, and Horace, were all unsuccessful in their attempts to distinguish themselves as soldiers; and all of them ingenuously acknowledged their inferiority in this respect. Bayle doubts whether Horace would have confessed his disgrace, if he had not been sanctioned by the great examples above mentioned. However that may be, he writes thus of himself:

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relicta non bene parmula
Quum fracta virtus et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

Of Alcæus we have very few remains; but it is understood that Horace in many of his odes minutely imitated him. The principal subjects of his muse seem to have been the praise of liberty and hatred of tyrants. The ancient poets abound with passages in his honour, and his memory receives no disgrace from the following apostrophe by Akenside, in his ode on lyric poetry:

Broke from the fetters of his native land,
Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
With louder impulse and a threatening hand
The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords.
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
Ye curs'd of gods and free-born men,
Ye murderers of the laws,
Tho' now ye glory in your lust,
Tho' now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause.

After

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fled from the field. The Athenians obtained his arms, and suspended them at Sigeum, in the temple of Minerva. Alcæus recorded the event in a poem which he sent to Mitylene, explaining to a friend named Melanippus, the particulars of his misfortune. Periander, the son of Cypselus, at length re-united the contending nations: he being chosen arbiter, determined that each party should retain what they possessed. Sigeum thus devolved to the Athenians.

XCVI. Hippias, when he left Sparta, went to

After all, Alcæus does not appear to have been one of the fairest characters of antiquity, and has probably received more commendation than he deserved. His house, we learn from Athenæus, was filled with military weapons; his great desire was to attain military glory; but in his first engagement with an enemy, he ignominiously fled. The theme of his songs was liberty, but he was strongly suspected of being a secret friend to some who meditated the ruin of their country. I say nothing of his supposed licentious overture to Sappho, thinking with Bayle, that the verses cited by Aristotle have been too hardly construed. Of these verses the following is an imperfect translation:

ALCÆUS.

I wish to speak, but still thro' shame conceal
The thoughts my tongue most gladly would reveal.

SAPPHO.

Were your request, O Bard, on virtue built,
Your cheeks would wear no marks of secret guilt;
But in prompt words the ready thought had flown,
And your heart's honest meaning quickly shown.

I give them, with some slight alteration, from Bayle.—*T.*

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Asia, where he used every effort to render the Athenians odious to Artaphernes, and to prevail on him to make them subject to him and to Darius. As soon as the intrigues of Hippias were known at Athens, the Athenians dispatched emissaries to Sardis, entreating the Persians to place no confidence in men whom they had driven into exile. Artaphernes informed them in reply, that if they wished for peace, they must recal Hippias. Rather than accede to these conditions, the Athenians chose to be considered as the enemies of Persia.

XCVII. Whilst they were resolving on these measures, in consequence of the impression which had been made to their prejudice in Persia, Aristagoras the Milesian, being driven by Cleomenes from Sparta, arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond the rest of its neighbours. When Aristagoras appeared in the public assembly, he enumerated, as he had done in Sparta, the riches which Asia possessed, and recommended a Persian war, in which they would be easily successful against a people using neither spear nor shield[131]. In addition to this, he re-

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[131] *Spear nor shield.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations may be found in the seventh book of Herodotus, where he speaks of the nations which composed the prodigious armament of Xerxes.—*T.*

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marked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that consequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power they possessed, in favour of the Milesians. He proceeded to make use of the most earnest entreaties and lavish promises, till they finally acceded to his views. He thought, and as it appeared with justice, that it was far easier to delude a great multitude than a single individual; he was unable to prevail upon Cleomenes, but he won to his purpose no less than thirty thousand[132] Athenians. The people of Athens accordingly agreed to send to the assistance of the Ionians, twenty vessels of war, of which Melanthius, a very amiable and popular character, was to have the command. This fleet was the source of the calamities[133] which afterwards ensued to the Greeks and Barbarians.

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[132] *Thirty thousand.*]—Herodotus is the only ancient author who makes the aggregate of the Athenians amount to more than twenty-one thousand individuals. Is this, inquires M. Larcher, a fault of the copyists, or were the Athenians more populous before the Persian and Peloponnesian wars? "The narrow policy," observes Mr. Gibbon, "of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune, and hastened the ruin of Athens and Sparta. The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for her own, wheresoever they were found, among slaves or strangers, enemies or barbarians."

[133] *Source of the calamities.*]—This is another of the examples which Plutarch adduces in proof of the malice of

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XCVIII. Before their departure, Aristagoras returned to Miletus, where he contrived a measure from which no advantage could possibly result to the Ionians. Indeed, his principal motive was to distress Darius. He dispatched a messenger into Phrygia, to those Pæonians who from the banks of the Strymon had been led away captive by Megabyzus, and who inhabited a district appropriated to them. His emissaries thus addressed them: "Men of Pæonia, I am commis-
" sioned by Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, to
" say, that if you will follow his counsel, you
" may be free. The whole of Ionia has revolted
" from Persia, and it becomes you to seize this
" opportunity of returning to your native country.
" You have only to appear on the banks of the
" ocean; we will provide for the rest." The Pæonians received this information with great satisfaction, and with their wives and children fled towards the sea. Some, however, yielding to their fears, remained behind. From the sea-coast they passed over to Chios: here they had

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Herodotus. "He has the audacity," says Plutarch, "to affirm, that the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians, who had revolted from the Persians, were the cause of the evils which afterwards ensued, merely because they endeavoured to deliver so many, and such illustrious Grecian cities from servitude." In point of argument, a weaker tract than this of Plutarch was never written; and this assertion in particular is too absurd to require any formal refutation.—*T.*

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scarcely disembarked, before a large body of Persian cavalry, sent in pursuit of them, appeared on the opposite shore. Unable to overtake them, they sent over to them at Chios, soliciting their return. This, however, had no effect: from Chios they were transported to Lesbos, from Lesbos to Doriscus[134], and from hence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

XCIX. At this juncture, Aristagoras was joined by the Athenians in twenty vessels, who were also accompanied by five triremes of Eretrians. These latter did not engage in the contest from any regard for the Athenians, but to discharge a similar debt of friendship to the Milesians. The Milesians had formerly assisted the Eretrians against the Chalcidians, when the Samians had united with them against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these and the rest of his confederates were assembled, Aristagoras commenced an expedition against Sardis: he himself continued at Miletus, whilst his brother Charopinus commanded the Milesians, and Hermophantus had the conduct of the allies.

C. The Ionians arriving with their fleet at Ephesus, disembarked at Coressus, a place in its

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134 *Doriscus.*]—Doriscus is memorable for being the place where Xerxes numbered his army.—*T.*

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vicinity. Taking some Ephesians for their guides, they advanced with a formidable force, directing their march towards the Cayster[135]. Passing over mount Tmolus, they arrived at Sardis, where meeting no resistance they made themselves masters of the whole of the city, except the citadel. This was defended by Artaphernes himself, with a large body of troops.

CI. The following incident preserved the city from plunder: the houses of Sardis[136] were in general constructed, of reeds; the few which were of brick had reed coverings. One of these being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house, till the whole city was consumed. In the midst of the conflagration, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, seeing themselves surrounded by the flames, and without the possibility of escape, rushed in crowds to the

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135 *Cayster.*]—This river was very famous in classic story It anciently abounded with swans, and from its serpentine course has sometimes been confounded with the Mæander: but the Mæander was the appropriate river of the Milesians, as the Cayster was of the Ephesians.—The Turks call the Cayster the Little (Kutchuck) Meinder, Mæander, and the proper Mæander the Great or Bujack Meinder.

136 *Sardis.*]—The reader will recollect that Sardis was the capital of Crœsus, which is here represented as consisting only of a number of thatched houses, a proof that architecture had as yet made no progress.—*T.*

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forum, through the centre of which, flows the Pactolus. This river brings, in its descent from mount Tmolus, a quantity of gold dust[137]; passing, as we have described, through Sardis, it mixes with the Hermus, till both are finally lost in the sea. The Persians and Lydians, thus reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to act on the defensive. The Ionians seeing some of the enemy prepared to defend themselves, others advancing to attack them, were seized with a panic, and retired to mount Tmolus[138], from whence, under favour of the night, they retreated to their ships.

CII. In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally destroyed, which was afterwards made a pretence by the Persians, for burning the temples of the Greeks. When the Persians, who dwell on

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137 *Gold dust.*]—It had ceased to do this in the time of Strabo, that is to say, in the age of Augustus.—*Larcher.*

138 *Tmolus.*]—Strabo enumerates mount Tmolus among the places which produced the most excellent vines. It was celebrated for its saffron.—See Virgil.

Nonne vides croceos ut Tmolus odores, &c.

It was also called Timolus. See Ovid.

Deseruere sui nymphæ vineta Timoli.

The Turks call Mount Tmolus, Boaz Dag, that is, the Icy or Snowy Mountains.

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this side the Halys, were acquainted with the above invasion, they determined to assist the Lydians. Following the Ionians regularly from Sardis, they came up with them at Ephesus. A general engagement ensued, in which the Ionians were defeated with great slaughter. Among others of distinction who fell, was Eualcis, chief of the Eretrians: he had frequently been victorious in many contests, of which a garland was the reward, and had been particularly celebrated by Simonides of Ceos[139]. They who escaped from this battle, took refuge in the different cities.

CIII. After the event of the above expedition, the Athenians withdrew themselves entirely from

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139 *Simonides of Ceos.*]—There were several poets of this name; the celebrated satire against women was written by another and more modern Simonides. The great excellence of this Simonides of Ceos was elegiac composition, in which Dionysius Halicarnassus does not scruple to prefer him to Pindar. The invention of local memory was ascribed to him, and it is not a little remarkable, that at the age of eighty, he contended for and won a poetical prize. His most memorable saying was concerning God. Hiero asked him what God was? After many and reiterated delays, his answer was, "The longer I meditate upon it, the more obscure the subject appears to me." He is reproached for having been the first who prostituted his muse for mercenary purposes. Bayle seems to have collected every thing of moment relative to this Simonides, to whom for more minute particulars, I refer the reader.—*T.*

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the Ionians, and refused all the solicitations of Aristagoras by his ambassadors, to repeat their assistance. The Ionians, though deprived of this resource, continued with no less alacrity to persevere in the hostilities they had commenced against Darius. They sailed to the Hellespont, and reduced Byzantium, with the neighbouring cities: quitting that part again, and advancing to Caria, the greater part of the inhabitants joined them in their offensive operations. The city of Caunus, which at first had refused their alliance, after the burning of Sardis, added itself to their forces.

CIV. The confederacy was also farther strengthened by the voluntary accession of all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians[140]. The following was the occasion of the revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes: Gorgus prince of Salamis, son of Chersis, grandson of Siromus, great grandson of Euelthon, had a younger brother, whose name was Onesilus; this man had repeatedly solicited Gorgus to revolt from the Persians; and on hearing of the secession of the

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140 *Amathusians.*]—From Amathus, which was sacred to Venus, the whole island of Cyprus was sometimes called Amathusia.—According to Ovid, it produced abundance of metals.

Gravidamque Amathunta metallis. *T.*

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Ionians, he urged him with still greater importunity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, assisted by his party, he took an opportunity of his brother's making his excursion from Salamis, to shut the gates against him: Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, took refuge among the Medes. Onesilus usurped his station, and persuaded the Cyprians to rebel. The Amathusians, who alone opposed him, he closely besieged.

CV. At this period, Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras of Miletus was the principal instigator of the confederacy against him. On first receiving the intelligence, he is said to have treated the revolt of the Ionians with extreme contempt, as if certain that it was impossible for them to escape his indignation; but he desired to know who the Athenians were? On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed:—"Suffer "me, O Jupiter, to be revenged on these Athe-"nians." He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Sir, remember the "Athenians."

CVI. After giving these orders, Darius summoned to his presence Histiæus of Miletus, whom he had long detained at his court. He addressed

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him thus: "I am informed, Histiæus, that the "man to whom you intrusted the government of "Miletus, has excited a rebellion against me; "he has procured forces from the opposite con- "tinent, and seduced the Ionians, whom I shall "unquestionably chastise, from their duty. "With their united assistance, he has destroyed "my city of Sardis. Can such a conduct pos- "sibly meet with your approbation? or, unad- "vised by you, could he have done what he has? "Be careful not to involve yourself in a second "offence against my authority." "Can you, "Sir, believe," said Histiæus in reply, "that I "would be concerned in any thing which might "occasion the smallest perplexity to you? What "should I, who have nothing to wish for, gain "by such conduct? Do I not participate all "that you yourself enjoy; and have I not the "honour of being your counsellor and your "friend? If my representative has acted as you "allege, it is entirely his own deed; but I can- "not easily be persuaded that either he, or the "Milesians, would engage in any thing to your "prejudice. If, nevertheless, what you intimate "be really true, by withdrawing me from my "own proper station, you have only to blame "yourself for the event. I suppose that the "Ionians have taken the opportunity of my ab- "sence, to accomplish what they have for a long

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" time meditated. Had I been present in Ionia, " I will venture to affirm, that not a city would " have revolted from your power: you have only " therefore to send me instantly to Ionia, that " things may resume their former situation, and " that I may give into your power the present " governor of Miletus, who has occasioned all " this mischief. Having first effected this, I " swear by the deities of Heaven, that I will not " change the garb in which I shall set foot in " Ionia, without rendering the great island of " Sardinia[141] tributary to your power."

CVII. Histiæus made these protestations to delude Darius. The king was influenced by what he said, only requiring his return to Susa, as soon as he should have fulfilled his engagements.

CVIII. In this interval, when the messenger from Sardis had informed Darius of the fate of that city, and the king had shot an arrow in the manner I have described; and when, after con-

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[141] *Sardinia.*]—It has been doubted by many, whether on account of the vast distance of Sardinia from the Asiatic continent, the text of Herodotus has not here been altered. Rollin in particular is very incredulous on the subject; but as it appears by the preceding passages of this author, that the Ionians had penetrated to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and were not unacquainted with Corsica, all appearance of improbability in this narration ceases.—*T.*

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ferring with Histiæus, he had dismissed him to Ionia, the following incident occurred: Onesilus of Salamis being engaged in the siege of Amathus, word was brought him that Artybius, a Persian officer, was on his way to Cyprus with a large fleet, and a formidable body of Persians. On hearing this, Onesilus sent messengers to different parts of Ionia, expressing his want and desire of assistance. The Ionians, without hesitation, hastened to join him with a numerous fleet. Whilst they were already at Cyprus, the Persians had passed over from Cilicia, and were proceeding by land to Salamis. The Phœnicians in the mean time had passed the promontory which is called the Key of Cyprus.

CIX. Whilst things were in this situation, the princes of Cyprus assembled the Ionian chiefs, and thus addressed them:—"Men of Ionia, we "submit to your determination, whether you "will engage the Phœnicians or the Persians. "If you rather choose to fight on land, and with "the Persians, it is time for you to disembark, "that we may go on board your vessels, and at-"tack the Phœnicians.—If you think it more "advisable to encounter the Phœnicians, it "becomes you to do so immediately.—Decide "which way you please, that as far as our efforts "can prevail, Ionia and Cyprus may be free." "We have been commissioned," answered the

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Ionians, "by our country, to guard the ocean, "not to deliver up our vessels unto you, nor to en- "gage the Persians by land.—We will endeavour "to discharge our duty in the station appointed "us: it is for you to distinguish yourselves as "valiant men, remembering the oppressions you "have endured from the Medes."

CX. When the Persians were drawn up before Salamis, the Cyprian commanders placed the forces of Cyprus against the auxiliaries of the enemy, selecting the flower of Salamis and Soli to oppose the Persians: Onesilus voluntarily stationed himself against Artybius the Persian general.

CXI. Artybius was mounted on a charger, which had been taught to face a man in complete armour: Onesilus hearing this, called to him his shield-bearer, who was a Carian of great military experience, and of undaunted courage:—"I hear," "says he, "that the horse of Artybius, by his "feet and teeth, materially assists his master "against an adversary; deliberate on this, and "tell me which you will encounter, the man or "the horse." "Sir," said the attendant, I am "ready to engage with either, or both, or indeed "to do whatever you command me; I should "rather think it will be more consistent for you, "being a prince and a general, to contend with

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"one who is a prince and general also.—If "you should fortunately kill a person of this de- "scription, you will acquire great glory, or if you "should fall by his hand, which heaven avert, the "calamity is somewhat softened by the rank of "the conqueror: it is for us of inferior rank to "oppose men like ourselves. As to the horse, do "not concern yourself about what he has been "taught; I will venture to say, that he shall "never again be troublesome to any one."

CXII. In a short time afterwards, the hostile forces engaged both by sea and land; the Ionians, after a severe contest, obtained a victory over the Phœnicians, in which the bravery of the Samians was remarkably conspicuous. Whilst the armies were engaged by land, the following incident happened to the two generals:—Artybius, mounted on his horse, rushed against Onesilus, who, as he had concerted with his servant, aimed a blow at him as he approached: and whilst the horse reared up his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian cut them off with an axe.—The horse, with his master, fell instantly to the ground.

CXIII. In the midst of the battle, Stesenor, prince of Curium, with a considerable body of forces, went over to the enemy (it is said that the Curians are an Argive colony); their example was

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followed by the men of Salamis, in their chariots of war[142]; from which events the Persians obtained a decisive victory. The Cyprians fled. Among the number of the slain was Onesilus, son of Chersis, and the principal instigator of the revolt; the Solian prince Aristocyprus also fell, son of that Philocyprus[143], whom Solon of Athens, when at Cyprus, celebrated in verse among other sovereign princes.

CXIV. In revenge for his besieging them, the Amathusians took the head of Onesilus, and carrying it back in triumph, fixed it over their gates: some time afterwards, when the inside of the head was decayed, a swarm of bees settling

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142 *Chariots of war.*]—Of these chariots, frequent mention is made in Homer: they carried two men, one of whom guided the reins, the other fought.—Various specimens of ancient chariots may be seen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

143 *Philocyprus.*]—Philocyprus was prince of Soli, when Solon arrived at Cyprus; Solis was then called Æpeia, and the approaches to it were steep and difficult, and its neighbourhood unfruitful. Solon advised the prince to rebuild it on the plain which it overlooked, and undertook the labour of furnishing it with inhabitants. In this he succeeded, and Philocyprus, from gratitude, gave his city the name of the Athenian philosopher. Solon mentions this incident in some verses addressed to Philocyprus, preserved in Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

Herodotus makes frequent mention of Solon.—See chapters 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33, of the first book, and chapter 177 of the second book.—His life is written at considerable length by Plutarch.

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within it, filled it with honey. The people of Amathus consulted the oracle on the occasion, and were directed to bury the head, and every year to sacrifice to Onesilus as to an hero. Their obedience involved a promise of future prosperity; and even within my remembrance they have performed what was required of them.

CXV. The Ionians, although successful in the naval engagement off Cyprus, as soon as they heard of the defeat and death of Onesilus, and that all the cities of Cyprus were closely blockaded, except Salamis, which the citizens had restored to Gorgus, their former sovereign, returned with all possible expedition to Ionia. Of all the towns in Cyprus, Soli made the longest and most vigorous defence; but of this, by undermining the place, the Persians obtained possession after a five months siege.

CXVI. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberties for the space of a year, were a second time reduced to servitude. All the Ionians who had been engaged in the expedition against Sardis, were afterwards vigorously attacked by Daurises, Hymees, Otanes, and other Persian generals, each of whom had married a daughter of Darius: they first drove them to their ships, then took and plundered their towns, which they divided among themselves.

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CXVII. Daurises afterwards turned his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, and in as many successive days made himself master of Abydos, Percotes, Lampsacus and Pæson. From this latter place he proceeded to Parion, but learning on his march, that the Carians, taking part with the Ionians, had revolted from Persia, he turned aside from the Hellespont, and led his forces against Caria[144].

CXVIII. The Carians had early information of this motion of Daurises, in consequence of which they assembled at a place called the White Columns, not far from the river Marsyas, which, passing through the district of Hidryas, flows into the Mæander. Various sentiments were on this occasion delivered; but the most sagacious in my estimation was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus; he was a native of Cindys, and had married the daughter of Syennesis, prince of Cilicia. He advised, that passing the Mæander, they should attack the enemy, with the river in their rear; that thus deprived of all possibility of retreat, they should from compulsion stand their ground, and make the greater exertions of valour. This

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[144] *Caria.*]—No map of Caria yet published, gives any satisfactory idea of the geography of Hidryas, and the course of the Marsyas.—D'Anville's is very imperfect, and his Ionia no less so, at least in many particulars.

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advice was not accepted; they chose rather that the Persians should have the Mæander behind them, that if they vanquished the enemy in the field, they might afterwards drive them into the river.

CXIX. The Persians advanced, and passed the Mæander; the Carians met them on the banks of the Marsyas, when a severe and well-fought contest ensued. The Persians had so greatly the advantage in point of number, that they were finally victorious; two thousand Persians, and ten thousand Carians fell in the battle; they who escaped from the field fled to Labranda, and took refuge in a sacred wood of planes, surrounding a temple of Jupiter Stratius [145]. The Carians are

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[145] *Jupiter Stratius—(or Jupiter the Warrior.)*—The Carians were the only people, in the time of Herodotus, who worshipped Jupiter under this title. He was particularly honoured at Labranda, and therefore Strabo calls him the Labrandinian Jupiter. He held a hatchet in his hand, and Plutarch (in his Greek Questions) relates the reason; he was afterwards worshipped in other places under the same appellation. Among the marbles at Oxford, there is a stone which seems to have served for an altar, having an axe, and this inscription; ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΒΡΑΥΝΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ—Of the Labraindian Jupiter, and of the very Great Jupiter. It was found in a Turkish cemetery, between Aphrodisias and Hieropolis, and consequently in Caria, though at a great distance from Labranda.—*Larcher.*

I wish here to refer the reader to Chandler's Ionian Antiquities, as well as to Choiseul's Picturesque Voyage in Asia

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the only people, as far as I am able to learn, who sacrifice to this Jupiter. Driven to the above extremity, they deliberated among themselves, whether it would be better to surrender themselves to the Persians, or finally to relinquish Asia.

CXX. In the midst of their consultation, the Milesians with their allies arrived to reinforce them; the Carians resumed their courage, and again prepared for hostilities; they a second time advanced to meet the Persians, and after an engagement more obstinate than the former, sustained a second defeat, in which a prodigious number, chiefly of Milesians, were slain.

CXXI. The Carians soon recruited their forces, and in a subsequent action, somewhat repaired their former losses. Receiving intelligence that the Persians were on their march to attack their towns, they placed themselves in ambuscade, in the road to Pidasus. The Persians by night fell into the snare, and a vast number were slain, with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisimaces; Myrses, the son of Gyges, was also of the number.

CXXII. The conduct of this ambuscade was

Minor. Both of them viewed the ruins of the temple, and Chandler gives a drawing of it, which is very interesting.

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intrusted to Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian.—The event has been related. Hymees, who was engaged among others in the pursuit of the Ionians, after the affair of Sardis *, turning towards the Propontis, took Cios, a Mysian city. Receiving intelligence that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, to march against Caria, he left the Propontis, and proceeded to the Hellespont, where he effectually reduced all the Æolians of the Trojan district; he vanquished also the Gergithæ, a remnant of the ancient Teueri. Hymees himself, after all these successes, died at Troas.

CXXIII. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, the third in command, received orders to lead their forces to Ionia and Æolia, which is contiguous to it; they made themselves masters of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and of Cyma, an Æolian city.

CXXIV. After the capture of these places, Aristagoras of Miletus, though the author of all the confusion in which Ionia had been involved, betrayed a total want of intrepidity; these losses confirmed him in the belief that all attempts to overcome Darius would be ineffectual; he accordingly determined to seek his safety in flight.

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* This place is now called Ghio, and also Kemblick; it is situated at the head of the Gulph of Cius.

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He assembled his party, and submitted to them whether it would not be advisable to have some place of retreat, in case they should be driven from Miletus. He left it to them to determine, whether they should establish a colony in Sardinia, or whether they should retire to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians, which had been fortified by Histiæus, to whom Darius had presented it.

CXXV. Hecatæus the historian, who was the son of Hegasander, was not for establishing a colony at either of these places; he affirmed, that if they should be expelled from Miletus, it would be more expedient for them to construct a fort in the island of Leros, and there remain till a favourable opportunity should enable them to return to Miletus.

CXXVI. Aristagoras himself was more inclined to retire to Myrcinus; he confided therefore the administration of Miletus to Pythagoras, a man exceedingly popular, and taking with him all those who thought proper to accompany him, he embarked for Thrace, where he took possession of the district which he had in view. Leaving this place, he proceeded to the attack of some other, where both he and his army fell by the hands of the Thracians, who had previously

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entered into terms to resign their city into his power[146].

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146 I cannot dismiss this book of Herodotus without remarking, that it contains a great deal of curious history, and abounds with many admirable examples of private life. The speech of Sosicles of Corinth, in favour of liberty, is excellent in its kind; and the many sagacious, and indeed moral sentiments, which are scattered throughout the book, cannot fail of producing both entertainment and instruction. —*T.*

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK VI.

ERATO.

CHAP. I.

UCH was the fate of Aristagoras, the instigator of the Ionian revolt.—Histiæus of Miletus, as soon as Darius had acquiesced in his departure from Susa, proceeded to Sardis. On his arrival, Artaphernes the governor asked him what he thought could possibly have induced the Ionians to revolt? He expressed himself ignorant of the cause, and astonished at the event. Artaphernes, however, who had been informed of his preceding artifice, and was sensible of his present dissimulation, observed to him, that the matter might be thus explained: "You," says he, "made the shoe[1] which Aristagoras has "worn."

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1 *Made the shoe.*]—I have given a literal translation from the Greek; but M. Larcher, thinking perhaps the expression somewhat inclining to vulgarity, has rendered it thus, "You,

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II. Histiæus, perceiving himself suspected, fled the very first night towards the sea; and instead of fulfilling his engagements with Darius, to whose power he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, assumed the command of the Ionian forces against him. Passing over into Chios, he was seized and thrown into chains by the inhabitants, who accused him of coming from the king with some design against their state. When they had heard the truth, and were convinced that he was really an enemy to Darius, they released him.

III. Histiæus was afterwards interrogated by

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contrived the plot which he has executed." Not very unlike this phrase used by the Persian to Aristagoras, is our English one, of standing in another person's shoes; which perhaps may be traced to times more remote than may at first be imagined. Aristophanes in his Equites has this expression:

> Ουκ, αλλ' ὁπερ πινων ανηρ πεπονθ' ὁταν χεσειῃ
> Τοισι τροποις τοις σοισιν ὡσπερ βλαυτιοισι χρωμαι.

When the Greeks reclined upon their couches at meals and entertainments, they pulled off their sandals; if any one on any occasion wanted to leave the apartment, he put them on again. Therefore, says the poet, I do that with respect to your manners, as a man does at an entertainment, who, wanting to go out of the room, uses another person's sandals. It would by no means be an uninteresting work to trace the meaning of our proverbial expressions to their remotest application; for my own part I am well convinced, that more of them might be discovered in the customs and languages of Greece and Rome, than an English antiquary would at first perhaps be willing to allow.—*T.*

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the Ionians, why he had so precipitately impelled Aristagoras to revolt, a circumstance which had occasioned the loss of so many of their countrymen. His answer was insidious, and calculated to impress the Ionians with alarm; he told them what really was not the fact, that his conduct had been prompted by the avowed intentions of Darius to remove the Phœnicians[2] to Ionia, and the Ionians to Phœnicia.

IV. His next measure was to send letters to certain Persians at Sardis, with whom he had previously communicated on the subject of a revolt; these he intrusted to Hermippus, a native of Atarnis, who abused the confidence reposed in him, by delivering the letters into the hands of Artaphernes. The governor, after acquainting himself with their contents, desired Hermippus to deliver them according to their first directions, and then to give to him the answers intended for

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2 *To remove the Phœnicians, &c.*]—It was the easier to make the Ionians credit this assertion, because such kind of transmigrations were frequent among the Assyrians and Persians. It is well known that the Jews were removed to Babylon and Media, and Hyrcanians were to be found in Asia Minor: it would indeed be endless to enumerate all the transmigrations which were made by the command of those people.—*Larcher.*

We have already seen a great part of the Pæonians of Thrace removed into Asia by order of Darius. See book v. ch. 15.—*T.*

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Histiæus. In consequence of the intelligence which he by these means obtained, Artaphernes put a great number of Persians to death.

V. A tumult was thus excited at Sardis; but Histiæus failing in this project, prevailed on the Chians to carry him back to Miletus. The Milesians, delighted with the removal of Aristagoras, had already tasted the sweets of liberty, and were little inclined to give admission to a second master. Histiæus, attempting to effect a landing at Miletus in the night, was by some unknown hand wounded in the thigh: rejected by his country, he again set sail for Chios, whence, as the inhabitants refused to intrust him with their fleet, he passed over to Mitylene. Having obtained from the Lesbians the command of eight triremes properly equipped, he proceeded to Byzantium. Here he took his station, and intercepted all the vessels coming from the Euxine, except those which consented to obey him.

VI. Whilst Histiæus, with the aid of the people of Mitylene, was acting thus, Miletus itself was threatened with a most formidable attack both by sea and land. The Persian generals had collected all their forces into one body, and making but little account of the other cities, advanced towards Miletus. Of those who assisted them by sea, the Phœnicians were the most alert.

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The Cyprians, who had been recently subdued, served with these, as well as the Cilicians and Ægyptians.

VII. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates to the Panionium[3]. The result of their deliberations was, that they should by no means meet the Persians by land; that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; and that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness, they should meet at Lade[4], and risk

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3 *Panionium.*]—See chap. 148 of book the first.—In my note upon this word, I omitted to mention, that the Panionium probably suggested to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium :—

> Meanwhile the winged heralds by command
> Of sov'reign power, with awful ceremony
> And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
> A solemn council forthwith to be held
> At PANDEMONIUM, the high capital
> Of Satan and his peers. *T.*

4 *Lade.*]—Pausanias informs us that this island was divided into two, one of which parts was called Asterius, from Asterius the son of Anactes.—See book i. chap. 25.—*T.*

At the present period, by the alluvions of the Mæander, it is not only joined to the main land, but is a full mile within the margin of the sea. So that the Latmicus Sinus is become an inland lake, seven or eight miles distant from the sea.—*T.*

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a battle in favour of Miletus. Lade is a small island immediately opposite to Miletus.

VIII. The Ionians completed their fleet, and assembled at the place appointed; they were reinforced by the collective power of the Æolians of Lesbos, and prepared for an engagement in the following order. The Milesians furnished eighty vessels, which occupied the east wing; next to these were the Prienians, with twelve, and the Myusians with three ships; contiguous were the Chians in one hundred vessels, and the Teians in seventeen: beyond these were the Erythreans and Phocæans, the former with eight, the latter with three ships. The Lesbians in seventy ships were next to the Phocæans; in the extremity of the line, to the west, the Samians were posted in sixty ships: the whole fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

IX. The Barbarians were possessed of six hundred vessels: as soon as they came before Miletus, and their land forces also were arrived, the Persian commanders were greatly alarmed by the intelligence they received of their adversaries force; they began to apprehend that their inferiority by sea, might at the same time prevent their capture of Miletus, and expose them to the resentment of Darius. With these sentiments, they called together those Ionian princes who,

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being deposed by Aristagoras, had taken refuge among the Medes, and were present on this expedition.—They addressed them to this effect: "Men of Ionia, let each of you now show his "zeal in the royal cause, by endeavouring to "detach from this confederacy his own country-"men: allure them by the promise that no punish-"ment shall be the consequence of their revolt; "that neither their temples nor other edifices "shall be burned; that their treatment shall not "in any respect be more severe than before. If "they persevere in trusting to the event of a "battle, tell them that the contrary of all these "will assuredly happen;—themselves shall be "hurried into servitude, their youths castrated[5],

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[5] *Youths castrated.*]—We learn that castration was in a very early period of society inflicted as a punishment for various crimes. Diodorus Siculus, book i. chap. 78, speaking of the Ægyptians, has this passage:

"The laws with respect to women were remarkably severe; if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he had his private parts cut off: they were of opinion, that this one crime included three others of a heinous nature—injustice, defilement (*και των τεκνων συγχυσιν*) and confusion with respect to children."

Castration in many countries was the punishment of adultery; and by an edict of Justinian it was inflicted also on sodomites. Hume, in his History of England, gives the following extraordinary act of cruelty from Fitzstephen, which was perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry the Second:

"When

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"their daughters carried to Bactra[6], and their "country given to others."

X. Under cover of the night the Ionian princes were dispatched with the above resolutions to their respective countrymen. The Ionians, who were thus addressed, refused to betray the common cause, believing these propositions made to themselves alone.—Such were the incidents which happened on the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

XI. The Ionians assembled at Lade, as had

"When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop: upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter."

Mr. Gibbon, relating this anecdote, subjoins, with his usual sarcastic sneer, "Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure."—*T.*

6 *Bactra.*]—This place, though mentioned by Strabo and other ancient writers, as of great importance, and the capital of a province remarkable for its fertility, is now either entirely unknown, or a very insignificant place. Some are of opinion that its modern name is Termend; d'Anville thinks it is the city Balck, and Major Rennell is entirely of this opinion.—Bactra is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Sed neque Medorum sylvæ, ditissima terra,
Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,
Laudibus Italiæ certent; non Bactra, neque Indi,
Totaque thuriferis Panchaïa pinguis arena. *T.*

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been appointed, and among the various opinions which were delivered in council, Dionysius the Phocæan leader expressed himself as follows.—
" Our affairs are come to that delicate point[7],
" O Ionians, that we must either be free men or
" slaves, and even fugitive slaves. If you will-
" ingly submit to the trouble, your situation will

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[7] *Delicate point.*]—Literally, " are upon the point of a razor." This passage is quoted by Longinus, sect. 22, as a happy example of the hyperbaton, which he explains to be a transposition of words or sentiments out of the natural order of discourse, and implying extreme violence of passion.

The word *hyperbaton* is derived from ὑπερ beyond, and βαινω to go: and Pearce, in his notes upon Longinus, gives two examples of the use of this figure from Virgil:

Moriamur—et in media arma ruamus. *Æn.* ii. 348.

Me, me: adsum qui feci; in me convertite ferrum.
Æn. ix. 427.

Livy also has an expression similar to this of Herodotus: " Jam enim sub ictu teli erant et undique instabant hostes."

Erasmus, in his Adagia, gives us three examples of this proverbial expression, from Homer, Sophocles, and Theocritus. That of Homer is in the tenth book of the Iliad, Nestor says:

Νυν γαρ δε παντεσσιν επι ζυρȣ ἱσταται ακμης
Η μαλα λυγρος ολεθρος Αχαιοις ἠε βιωναι.

Which Pope has rendered thus, diffusely indeed, but with peculiar force and beauty, except in the second line, which is rather flat:

But now the last despair surrounds our host,
No hour must pass, no moment must be lost;
Each single Greek in this conclusive strife
Stands on *the sharpest edge* of death or life. *T.*

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" at first be painful, but having vanquished your
" enemies, you will then enjoy your liberties; if
" you suffer your vigour to relax, or disorder to
" take place among you, I see no means of your
" evading the indignation with which the Persian
" king will punish your revolt. Submit yourself
" to my direction, and I will engage, if the gods
" be but impartial, that either the enemy shall
" not attack you at all, or, if they do, it shall be
" greatly to their own detriment."

XII. In consequence of this speech, the Ionians resigned themselves to the will of Dionysius. Every day, he drew out the whole fleet in order of battle, leaving a proper interval for the use of the oars; he then taught them to manœuvre[8] their ships, keeping the men at their arms: the rest of the day the ships lay at their anchors[9].

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[8] *To manœuvre.*—Διεκπλοον ποιευμενος.]—This passage Larcher renders thus: "He made them pass betwixt the ranks, and quickly retreat." Ernesti understands the expression differently; it is certainly a nautical term; I have therefore preferred the interpretation which I think the words will admit, and which will certainly be more intelligible and satisfactory to the English reader.—*T.*

[9] *At their anchors.*]—The Greeks used to draw up their vessels along shore whilst they themselves were on land. When the sentinels perceived the enemy's fleet, they made signals, and their troops immediately came on board. The Ionians, whom their leader would not suffer to come on shore, found the service very laborious; and as they were

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Without being suffered to receive any relaxation from this discipline, the Ionians till the seventh day punctually obeyed his commands; on the eighth, unused to such fatigue, impatient of its continuance, and oppressed by the heat, they began to murmur:—"We must surely," they exclaimed one to another, "have offended some deity, "to be exposed to these hardships; or we must "be both absurd and pusillanimous, to suffer this "insolent Phocæan, master of but three vessels, "to treat us as he pleases. Having us in his

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not accustomed to military discipline, it is not surprising that they considered this as a species of servitude, which they were impatient to break.—*Larcher.*

The first anchors were probably nothing more than large stones, and we know that they sometimes used for this purpose bags of sand, which might answer well enough for vessels of small burden in a light and sandy bottom. Travellers to the East make mention of wooden anchors; and there belonged to the large ship made for king Hiero eight anchors of iron and four of wood. The Phœnicians used lead for some part of their anchors; for in a voyage which they made to Sicily, Diodorus Siculus says, they found silver in such great abundance, that they took the lead out of their anchors, and put silver in its place.

More anciently, the anchor had only one fluke or arm; the addition of a second has been ascribed to Anacharsis the Scythian.

Our vessels carry their anchors at the prow: but it should seem, from Acts xxvii. ver. 29, that the ancients carried theirs at the stern.

"Then fearing lest they should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day."—*T.*

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"power, he has afflicted us with various evils. "Many of us are already weakened by sickness, "and more of us likely to become so. Better "were it for us to endure any calamities than "these, and submit to servitude, if it must be "so, than bear our present oppressions. Let us "obey him no longer." The discontent spread, and all subordination ceased; they disembarked, fixed their tents in Lade, and keeping themselves under the shade[10], would neither go on board, nor repeat their military exercises.

XIII. The Samian leaders, observing what

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10 *Under the shade.*]—This expression may seem to border a little on the ridiculous, till it is remembered that in all oriental climates both travellers and natives place their greatest delight in sleeping and taking their repasts under shade.

From this circumstance the author of Observations on Passages of Scripture, has taken occasion to explain an expression in Homer, which has greatly perplexed the commentators. It is in the soliloquy of Hector, who deliberating whether he shall meet his adversary unarmed, says among other things:

> Ου μεν πως νυν εστιν απο δρυος ουδ' απο πετρης
> Τῳ οαριζεμεναι. *Il.* xxii. 126.

Pope omits the word πετρης altogether, and renders it thus:

> We greet not here, as man conversing man
> *Met at an oak,* or journeying o'er a plain.

That is, if the above interpretation be admissible, "We do not meet here like men, who to take their repast, or shun the heat, accidentally and peaceably meet under the shade of an oak." To many this may appear far-fetched and forced; but the explanation of Eustathius is perhaps not less so.—*T.*

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passed among the Ionians, were more inclined to listen to the solicitations of the Persians to withdraw from the confederacy: these solicitations were communicated to them by Æaces, the son of Syloson; and the increasing disorder which so obviously prevailed among the Ionians, added to their weight. They moreover reflected that there was little probability of finally defeating the power of the Persian monarch, sensible that if the present naval armament of Darius were dispersed, a second, five times as formidable, would soon be at hand. Availing themselves therefore of the first refusal of the Ionians to perform their customary duty, they thought this no improper opportunity of securing their private and sacred buildings. Æaces, to whose remonstrance the Samians listened, was son of Syloson, and grandson of Æaces: he had formerly enjoyed the supreme authority of Samos, but with the other Ionian princes had been driven from his station by Aristagoras.

XIV. Not long afterward the Phœnicians advanced, and were met by the Ionians, with their fleet drawn up with a contracted front. A battle ensued, but who among the Ionians on this occasion disgraced themselves by their cowardice, or signalized themselves by their valour, I am unable to ascertain; for they reciprocally reproach each other. It is said that the Samians, as they had previously concerted with Æaces, left their place

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in the line, and set sail for Samos. We must except eleven vessels, whose officers, refusing to obey their superiors in command, remained and fought. To commemorate this act of valour, the general council of the Samians ordained that the names of these men, and of their ancestors, should be inscribed on a public column [11], which is still to be seen in their forum. The Lesbians, seeing what was done by the Samians, next to whom they were stationed, followed their example, as did also the greater number of the Ionians.

XV. Of those who remained, the Chians suffered the most, as well from the efforts which they made, as from their wish not to act dishonourably. They had strengthened the confederacy, as I have before observed, by a fleet of an hundred vessels, each manned with four

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[11] *Public column.*]—Various were the uses for which pillars or columns were erected in the earlier ages of antiquity. In the second book of Herodotus, we read that Sesostris erected pillars as military trophies in the countries which he conquered. In the book of Pausanias de Eliacis we find them inscribed with the particulars of the public treaties and alliances. There were some placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth, upon which the names of various diseases were written, with their several remedies. They were also frequently used as monuments for the dead.—Bonaparte has adopted the plan here mentioned at the Hotel des Invalides at Paris, where the names of those soldiers who have distinguished themselves in battle are inscribed in characters of gold.—*T.*

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hundred chosen warriors. They observed the treachery of many of the allies, but disdained to imitate their example. With the few of their friends which remained, they repeatedly broke the enemy's line; till, after taking a great number of vessels, and losing many of their own, they retired to their own island.

XVI. Their disabled ships being pursued, they retreated to Mycale. The crews here ran their vessels on shore, and leaving them, marched on foot over the continent. Entering the Ephesian territories, they approached the city in the evening, when the women were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres[12]. The Ephesians had heard

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[12] *Mysteries of Ceres.*]—Cicero says, Aditus ad sacrarium non est viris; sacra per mulieres et virgines confici solent. See also Ovid:

Festa piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matres.

The women were carried to Eleusis in covered waggons, which were dragged along very slowly, by way of imitating the carrying of corn in harvest. Some writers have confounded the Eleusinian mysteries with the Thesmophoria, but they were very different. The middle days of the Thesmophoria were observed with peculiar solemnity. They sate all day upon the ground near a statue of Ceres, keeping fast, and lamenting.—The fast continued for four days, in which the women did not admit the company of their husbands. The whole sacred ceremonies lasted eight days.

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nothing concerning them, and seeing a number of armed men in their territories, they suspected them to be robbers, who had violent designs upon their women. They assembled therefore to repel the supposed invaders, and killed them all on the spot. Such was the end of these Chians.

XVII. Dionysius the Phocæan, perceiving the Ionian power effectually broken, retreated, after taking three of the enemy's ships. He did not however go to Phocæa, which he well knew must share the common fate of Ionia, but he directed his course immediately to Phœnicia. He here made himself master of many vessels richly laden, and a considerable quantity of silver, with which he sailed to Sicily: here he exercised a piratical

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The same jealousy which prevailed in Greece with respect to the intrusion of men at the celebration of the Thesmophoria, was afterwards maintained at Rome in the rites of the Bona Dea. Witness the abhorrence in which the criminality of Clodius in this instance was held by the more respectable part of his countrymen, and the very strong language applied to him by Cicero. This peculiarity is introduced with much humour and effect by Lucian, where speaking of two men, one remarkable for his attachment to boys, and the other to women; "the house of the one," says he, "was crowded with beardless youths; of the other, with dancing and singing women;" indeed (ὡς εν Θεσμοφορίοις) as in the Thesmophoria there was not a male to be seen, except perhaps an infant, or an old cook too far advanced in years to excite jealousy.—See the edition of Hemsterhusius, vol. ii. 407.—*T.*

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life, committing many depredations on the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not molesting the Greeks.

XVIII. The Persians, having thus routed the Ionians, laid close siege to Miletus, both by sea and land. They not only undermined the walls, but applied every species of military machines against it. In the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras, they took and plundered the place. By this calamity, the former prediction of the oracle was finally accomplished.

XIX. The Argives, having consulted the oracle of Delphi relative to the future fate of their city, received an answer which referred to themselves in part, but which also involved the fortune of the Milesians. Of what concerned the Argives, I shall make mention when I come to speak of that people; what related to the absent Milesians was conceived in these terms:—

> Thou then, Miletus, vers'd in ill too long,
> Shalt be the prey and plunder of the strong;
> Your wives shall stoop to wash a long-hair'd[13] train,
> And others guard our Didymæan fane.

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[13] *Long-hair'd.*]—From hence we may infer that it was not peculiar to the Greeks to use female attendants for the

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Thus, as we have described, was the prediction accomplished. The greater part of the Milesians were slain by the Persians, who wear their hair long; their wives and children were carried into slavery; the temple at Didymus[14], and the shrine

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offices of the bath. The passages in Homer which describe the particulars of a custom so contradictory to modern delicacy and refinement, are too numerous to be specified, and indeed too familiar to be repeated here. I find the following passage in Athenæus, which being less notorious, I insert for the gratification of the English reader.

"Homer also makes virgins and women wash strangers, which they did without exciting desire, or being exposed to intemperate passion, being well regulated themselves, and touching those who were virtuous also: such was the custom of antiquity, according to which the daughters of Cocalus washed Minos, who had passed over into Sicily."—See *Athenæus*, i. 8.—*T.*

[14] *Didymus.*]—This place was in the territories of Miletus, and celebrated for the temple of the Didymean Apollo. Why Apollo was so named, is thus explained by Macrobius:

"*Απολλωνα Διδυμαιον* vocant, quod geminam speciem sui numinis præfert ipse illuminando, formandoque lunam. Etenim ex uno fonte lucis gemino sidere spatia diei et noctis illustrat, unde et Romani solem sub nomine et specie Jani, Didymæi Apollinis appellatione venerantur."

This temple was more anciently denominated the temple of Branchidæ, the oracle of which I have before described.

As this title was given Apollo from the circumstance of the sun and moon enlightening the world alternately by day and night, it may not be improper to insert in this place an ænigma on the day and night:

Εισι κασιγνηται δυο των ἡ μια τικτει
Την ετεραν· αυτη δε τεκουσα πυλιν γ' υπο ταυτης
Τεκνεται.

These

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near the oracle was destroyed by fire. Of the riches of this temple I have elsewhere and frequently spoken.

XX. The Milesians who survived the slaughter were carried to Susa. Darius treated them with great humanity, and no farther punished them than by removing them to Ampe[15], a city near that part of the Erythrean sea where it receives the waters of the Tigris. The low country surrounding the town of Miletus, the Persians reserved for themselves; but they gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasus[16].

XXI. The Milesians, on suffering these calamities from the Persians, did not meet with that return from the people of Sybaris, who had been driven from Laon and Scidron, which they might justly have expected. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniati, the Milesians had shaved their

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These lines are preserved in Athenæus, from a tragedy of Œdipus, their literal interpretation is this:

"There are two sisters, one of which produces the other, and that which produces is in its turn produced by the other. —*T.*

15 *Ampe.*]—See what Bryant says on the terms Ampelus or Ampe, vol. i. 275-6.—*T.*

16 *Pedasus.*]—This was also the name of one of the horses of Achilles.—See *Homer, Il.* xvi.—*T.*

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heads[17], and discovered every testimony of sorrow; for betwixt these two cities a most strict and uncommon hospitality[18] prevailed. The Athe-

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[17] *Shaved their heads.*]—Consult Deuteronomy, chap. xxi. ver. 12, 13, from whence it seems that to shave the head was one instance of exhibiting sorrow among the ancient Jews. —*T.*

[18] *Hospitality.*]—As there is nothing in the manners of modern times which at all resembles the ancient customs respecting *hospitality*, it may be pleasing to many readers to find the most remarkable particulars of them collected in this place.

The barbarous disposition, to consider all strangers as enemies, gave way to the very first efforts towards civilization; and, as early as the time of Homer, provision was made for the reception of travellers into those families with which they were connected by the ties of hospitality. This connection was esteemed sacred, and was under the particular sanction of the hospitable Jupiter, *Zeus Xenius.* The same word *Xenos* which had originally denoted a barbarian and an enemy (*Herodotus*, ix. ch. 11.) then became the term to express either an host, or his guest. When persons were united by the tie of hospitality, each was *Xenos* to the other, though, when they were together, he who received the other was properly distinguished as the *Xenodocus* (Ξενοδόκος). In the Alcestis of Euripides, l. 546, and in Plato, we find mention of a *Xenon* (Ξενων), or an apartment appropriated to the reception of such visitors. The bond of hospitality might subsist, 1, between private individuals; 2, between private persons and states; 3, between different states. Private hospitality was called *Xenia;* public, *Proxenia.* Persons who, like Glaucus and Diomede, ratified their hospitality in war, were called *Doryxeni* (Δορυξενοι). See *Hom. Il.* vi. 215, &c.—This connection was in all cases hereditary, and was confirmed by gifts mutually interchanged, which at first were

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nians acted very differently. The destruction of Miletus affected them with the liveliest uneasiness,

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called symbols (Eurip. Medea, 613); afterwards, when reduced to a kind of tickets, instead of presents, *αστραγαλοι* or tesseræ. *Plaut. Pœn.* act. v. sc. 2.—Every thing gave way to this connection: Admetus could not bear the thought of turning away his *Xenos*, Hercules, even when his wife was just dead; and is highly praised for it. *Eurip. Alcest.*—Hospitality might however be renounced by a solemn form of abjuration, and yet after that might be renewed by a descendant. Thus, between the city of Sparta and the family of Alcibiades, a public hospitality had subsisted; his grandfather had solemnly renounced it, but he by acts of kindness revived it again. See *Thucyd.* v. 43; vi. 89.—This circumstance of renunciation has not been noticed, so far as I have seen, by any modern writers. See *Feithius, Antiq. Homericæ*, iii. 13. *Potter*, iv. 21.—Some of the ancient *tesseræ* have been dug up at Rome and elsewhere. See *Thomasinus de Tesseris Hospitalitatis.*—The rights of suppliants were similar to, and nearly connected with, those of hospitality.

So Homer,

> *Ου μοι θεμις εστ', ουδ' ει κακιων σεθεν ελθοι,*
> *Ξεινον ατιμησαι· προς γαρ Διος εισιν ἁπαντες*
> *Ξεινοι τε πτωχοι τε.*
>
> *Odyss.* xiv. 56.

> The swain reply'd, it never was our guise
> To slight the poor, or aught humane despise;
> For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,
> 'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor. *Pope.*
> —*T.*

See also Russel's History of Aleppo; from which I copy the following passage:—

"Hospitality has always been enumerated among the Eastern virtues. It still subsists in Syria, but prevails most

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which was apparent from various circumstances, and from the following in particular:—On seeing the capture of * Miletus represented in a dramatic piece by Phrynichus [19], the whole audience burst

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in villages and small towns among the Bedouin Arabs, and the inhabitants of the Castrovan mountains. In the cities where places are provided for the accommodation of travellers, claims on hospitality are less frequent; but many of the Turkish strangers are entertained at private houses, to which they have recommendation; and these accidental connections often give rise to friendships which descend in succession to the children of the respective families."

* The Sybarites, says Timæus, in Athenæus, had their vests made of the wool of Miletus, and this was the cause of the friendship which prevailed between these two places.

The wool of Miletus is frequently celebrated.—See Horace.—

> Alter Mileti textum cane pejus et angui
> Vitabit chlamydem.

Virgil.—Cum circum Milesia vellere nymphæ
Carpebant hyali saturo fucata colore.

Ovid.—Huc quoque Mileto missi venere coloni,
Inque Getas Graias constituêre domum.

19 *Phrynichus.*]—There were three dramatic authors of this name, not far distant from each other in time. The first, a tragic poet, the son of Polyphradmon; the second, a writer of comedy; the third, a tragic poet, the son of Melanthus. Suidas, who mentions all these particulars, yet ascribes the tragedy of the taking of Miletus neither to the first nor to the third. But in all probability it was the first and not the third, whom Herodotus, and the numerous historians who copy him, mean to point out. The time in which he flourished (for Suidas informs us that he gained his

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into tears. The poet, for thus reminding them of a domestic calamity, was fined a thousand drachmæ*, and the piece was forbidden to be repeated.

XXII. Thus was Miletus stripped of its ancient † inhabitants. The Samians, to whom any part of their property remained, were far from satisfied with the conduct of their leaders in the contest with the Medes. After the event of the above naval fight, and previous to the return of Æaces, they determined to migrate, and found a colony, not choosing to expose themselves to the complicated tyranny of the Medes and of Æaces.

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first victory in the sixty-seventh Olympiad) makes this supposition the nearer to truth. Among the different plays attributed to our author, is one called either Πλώρων, or Πλευρωνία, or Πλευρώνιαι. Fabricius and D'Orville are in great perplexity upon this weighty point, which might easily have been decided, if they had seen (as they ought to have seen) that instead of ἐν δραματι ἔδειξε Πλευρῶνι. Ἐς κρυερὸν, &c. it ought to be read, Πλευρωνίαις· Κρυερὸν, &c. which emendation every reader who consults the passage will find to be necessary both for the sense and syntax.—*T.*

* Strabo relates the same fact from Callisthenes.

† Among other famous men for which the "Proud Miletus" was remarkable, were Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, great mathematicians and astronomers. Anaxagoras—Hecatæus, the father of history—Cadmus, Dionysius, Aspasius, and Timotheus.—Hippodamus, the architect, was also of Miletus. Its remains, with those of the temple, are described by Wood, Chandler, Tournefort, Savary, and Dallaway.

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About this period the Zancleans of Sicily sent a deputation to invite the Ionians to Calacte[20], wishing to found there an Ionian city. This coast belongs to the Sicilians, but is in that part of Sicily which inclines towards Tyrrhenia. The Samians were the only Ionians who accepted the invitation, accompanied by those Milesians who had escaped.

XXIII. When they were on their way to Sicily, and had arrived off the Epizephyrian Locri[21], the Zancleans[22], under the conduct of

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[20] *Calacte.*]—Καλη ακτη, the beautiful coast.—See *D'Orville's Sicula*, xxii. 3.

"Postero die *amœnissimum littus*, et nullis scopulis impeditum è tam propinquo legimus, ut lapidis jactu id attingere possemus. Hinc ora hæc à Græcis fuit Καλη ακτη dicta, et in his partibus urbs excitata fuit ab Ducetis Siculorum duce, et ab pulchro hoc litore Καλακτη coalito vocabulo nominata."

The learned author proceeds to prove, which he does incontestably, that they who would read Calata, are certainly mistaken; nam oppida quibus Calata nomen Saracenæ et proinde recentioris originis, &c. Silius Italicus calls this place Piscosa Calacte, which term is applied by Homer to the Hellespont, Ιχθυοεντα.—*T.*

[21] *Epizephyrian Locri.*]—The Epizephyrian Locri were a colony from the Locri of Proper Greece, who, migrating to Magna Græcia, took their distinctive name from the Zephyrian promontory, near which they settled. In Proper Greece there were the Locri Ozolæ, situated betwixt the Æolians and Phocæans, and so called, as Hoffman says, à gravitate

[22] This note will be found in the next page.

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Scythes their king, laid close siege to a Sicilian city. Intelligence of this was communicated to

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odoris; the Locri Epi-Cnemidii, who resided in the vicinity of mount Cnemis; and the Locri Opuntii, who took their name from the city Opus.

In Plutarch's Greek Questions, I find this account of the Locri Ozolæ:

"Some affirm that these Locrians were called the Locri Ozolæ, from Nessus; others say they were so named from the serpent Python, which being cast on shore by the foam of the sea there putrefied. Others assert, that these Locri wore for garments the skins of he-goats, and lived constantly among the herds of goats, and from this became strong scented; whilst there are others who report of this country, that it brought forth many flowers, and that the people were called Ozolæ, from the grateful perfume which they diffused. Architas is one of those who asserts this last opinion. Athenæus in his first book, chap. xix. reckons the Epizephyrians amongst those who had a particular kind of dance appropriate to their nation.

"There were certain nations," says he, "who had dances peculiar to themselves, as the Lacedæmonians, the Trezerians, the *Epizephyrians*, the Cretans, the Ionians, and the Mantineans. Aristoxenus preferred the dances of the Mantineans to all the rest, on account of the quickness with which they moved their hands."

[22] *Zancleans.*]—Of all the cities of Sicily, this was the most ancient; it was afterwards named Messana, and now Messina.—See what Peter Burman says on this city, in his Commentaries on the "Urbium Siculæ numismata."—*D'Orville*, 290. The reader may there find a very ancient coin, in which Zancle is represented by a dolphin in a semicircular position.

Consult also Bentley's Dissertation upon Phalaris, page 107.

The Greeks called it Zancle, or the Sickle, from the sup-

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Anaxilaus[23], prince of Rhegium[24]; he, being hostile to the Zancleans, went to the Samians,

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position that the sickle of Saturn fell here, and occasioned its semicircular form. The Latins called it Messana or Messina, from Messis, a harvest. Modern travellers describe the approach to this place from the sea as remarkably beautiful, and the harbour, which the promontory forms in the shape of a reaping-hook, as one of the finest in the world. Near the entrance of this harbour is the famous gulph of Charybdis, described by so many ancient writers; compare Homer, Odyss. xii. with Virgil, Æn. iii.—*T.*

[23] *Anaxilaus.*]—This personage constituted one of the subjects of controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, who disputed whether the Anaxilaus mentioned by Pausanias is the Anaxilaus of Herodotus and Thucydides. Bentley, I think, proves beyond the possibility of dispute, that the three writers above mentioned spoke of the same person, and that the only difference was with respect to the time in which he was supposed to live.—*T.*

[24] *Rhegium,*]—now called Reggio. Its particular situation is thus described by Ovid:

> Oppositumque potens contra Zancleïa saxa
> Ingreditur Rhegium.

Its name was taken *απο τȣ ρηγῦναι*, because in this place, by some convulsive operation of nature, Sicily was anciently supposed to have been torn from Italy. This incident is mentioned by almost all the Latin poets and philosophers. The best description in verse of this phænomenon, is that of Virgil:

> Hæc loca, vi quondam vastâ convulsa ruina
> (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
> Dissiluisse ferunt, &c. *Æn.* iii. 414.

Pliny, Strabo, and others affirm, that the strata in the corresponding and opposite sides of the strait are minutely

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persuading them that it would be better for them to turn aside from Calacte, whither they were bound, and possess themselves of Zancle, now deserted by its inhabitants. The Samians followed his advice; upon which, anxious to recover their city, the Zancleans called to their assistance Hippocrates their ally, prince of Gela[25]. He came with an army as desired, but he put

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similar. The same thing, it is almost unnecessary to add, is reported of England and France, and the opposite rocks of Dover and Boulogne. The curious reader will find some interesting particulars relating to Rhegium in D'Orville's Sicula, page 560, where is also engraved an ancient marble found at Rhegium. We learn from Strabo, that the deities principally worshipped here, were Apollo and Diana, and that the inhabitants were eminent for works in marble.—*T.*

[25] *Gela.*]—I inform the reader once for all, that my intelligence concerning the Sicilian cities is derived principally from the interesting work of D'Orville.

Gela was anciently a considerable city, and situated near the river of the same name; of the qualities of which, Ovid thus speaks:

> Præterit et Cyanen et fontem lenis Anapi,
> Et te vorticibus non adeunde Gela.

Virgil calls it immanis:

> Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.

It was built by the inhabitants of Rhodes and Crete in conjunction; but whether the epithet *immanis* is applied by Virgil as descriptive of its greatness, may fairly be disputed: D'Orville considers it as synonymous with *crudelis*, *effera*, &c. or else, as he afterwards adds, from its situation ad amnem vorticosum et immanem. The symbol of this city on the Sicilian coins was a minotaur. Its modern name is Terra Nova.—*T.*

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in irons Scythes the Zanclean prince, already deprived of his city, together with his brother Pythogenis, and sent them to Inycus[26]. The rest of the Zancleans he betrayed to the Samians, upon terms agreed upon between them at a previous interview. These terms were, that Hippocrates should have half of the booty, and the slaves found in the place, with every thing which was without the city. He put in chains the greater part of the Zancleans, and treated them as slaves, selecting three hundred of the more distinguished, to be put to death by the Samians, who nevertheless spared their lives.

XXIV. Scythes, the Zanclean prince, escaped from Inycus to Himera[27], from thence he crossed over to Asia, and presented himself before Darius. Of all who had yet come to him from

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26 *Inycus.*]—I find no mention of Inycus in D'Orville: but Hesychius has the expression Ἰνυκινος οινος: who adds that Inycus was anciently famous for its wine.—*T.*

27 *Himera.*]—Himera was a Grecian city, built, according to Strabo, by the Zancleans. It was anciently famous for its baths. It flourished for a long time, till it was taken and plundered by the Carthaginians. There are two rivers of this name; which has occasioned some perplexity to the geographers in ascertaining the precise situation of the city here mentioned. Its modern name is Termini. I should not omit mentioning that it was the birth-place of the lyric poet Stesichorus.—*T.*

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Greece, Darius thought this man the most just; for having obtained the king's permission to go to Sicily, he again returned to the Persian court, where he happily passed the remainder of a very long life*.

XXV. The Samians, delivered from the power of the Medes, thus possessed themselves, without any trouble, of the beautiful city of Zancle. After the sea-fight, of which Miletus was the object, the Phœnicians were ordered by the Persians to replace Æaces in Samos, as a mark of their regard, and as a reward of his services. Of this city alone, of all those which had revolted from the Persians, the temples and public buildings were not burned, as a compensation for its desertion of the allies. After the capture of Miletus, the Persians made themselves masters of Caria, some of its cities being taken by force, whilst others surrendered.

XXVI. Histiæus the Milesian, from his station at Byzantium, was intercepting the Ionian vessels of burden in their way from the Euxine, when word was brought him of the fate of Miletus; he immediately confided to Bisaltes, son

* Darius was doubtless aware, says Larcher, that he had no other alternative. He made a virtue of necessity. But with submission to Larcher, this is not certain, and the opinion contradicts Herodotus.

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of Apolophanes of Abydos, the affairs of the Hellespont, and departed with some Lesbians for Chios. The detachment to whom the defence of Chios was assigned, refused to admit him; in consequence of which he gave them battle, at a place in the territories of Chios, called Cœlœ*, and killed a great number. The residue of the Chians, not yet recovered from the shock they had sustained in the former naval combat, he easily subdued, advancing for this purpose with his Lesbians from Polichna[28], of which he had obtained possession.

XXVII. It generally happens that when a calamity is impending over any city or nation, it is preceded by some prodigies[29]. Before this

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* Εν Κοιλοισι.

28 *Polichna.*]—The Latin versions render the Greek word πολιχνης, a small town; but Wesseling and Larcher are both of opinion, that it is the proper name of a town in the island of Chios.

29 *Prodigies.*]—On the subject of prodigies, see Virgil's beautiful episode, where he introduces the prodigies preceding the assassination of Cæsar:

Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat? Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
Sæpe monet, fraudemque et operta tumescere bella:
Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
Quum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,
Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem; &c.

Georg. i. 464.

Consult also the whole history of ancient superstition, as it appeared in the belief of prodigies, admirably discussed

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misfortune of the Chians, some extraordinary incidents had occurred:—Of a band of one hun-

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by Warburton, in his Critical and Philosophical Enquiry into the causes of Prodigies and Miracles.

Julius Obsequens collected the prodigies supposed to have appeared within the Roman empire, from its first foundation to the year 742.

Our Shakspeare has made an admirable use of human superstition, with regard to prodigies, in many of his plays, but particularly in Macbeth:

> Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
> Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 'tis day,
> And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp:
> Is it night's predominance, or the day's shame,
> That darkness does the face of earth intomb,
> When living light should kiss it?——

However a moralist and divine may be inclined to reprobate the spirit of Mr. Gibbon, with which he generally seems influenced when speaking of religion, and of Christianity in particular, what he says on the subject of prodigies, from its great good sense, and application to the subject in question, I may introduce without apology.

"The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane and even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the Deity, and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape, colour, language, and motion to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air."

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dred youths[30] whom they sent to Delphi, ninety-eight perished by some infectious disorder; two alone returned. Not long also before the great sea-fight, the roof of a building fell in upon some boys at school, so that of one hundred and twenty children, one only escaped: these warnings were sent them by the deity, for soon after happened the fight at sea, which brought their city to so low a condition. At this period Histiæus appeared with the Lesbians, and easily vanquished a people already exhausted.

XXVIII. Histiæus proceeded from hence on an expedition against Thasus[31], followed by a numerous body of Ionians and Æolians. Whilst he was before this place he learned that the Phœnicians, leaving Miletus, were advancing against the rest of Ionia. He without delay raised the siege of Thasus, and with his whole army passed over to Lesbos; from hence, alarmed by the

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The quicquid Græcia mendax, audet in historia, applied by the Roman satirist to the Greek historians, partakes more of insolence than justice; perhaps it is not very extravagant to affirm, that there are more prodigies in Livy than in all the Greek historians together.—*T.*

30 *One hundred youths.*]—See Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol ii. 443.

31 *Thasus.*]—This was a little island in the Ægean, on the Thracian coast, so called from Thasos, son of Agenor; it was anciently famous for its wine.—See Virgil Georg. ii. 91.

Sunt Thasiæ vites, &c. *T.*

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want of necessaries, he crossed to the opposite continent, intending to possess himself of the corn which grew in Atarneum [32], and in the province of Ceaius, belonging to the Mysians. Harpagus, a Persian, was accidentally on this station, at the head of a powerful army: a battle ensued by land, in which Histiæus himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his forces slain.

XXIX. The capture of Histiæus was thus effected: the engagement took place at Malena, in the district of Atarnis, and the Greeks made an obstinate stand against the Persians, till the cavalry pouring in among them, they were unable to resist the impression. Histiæus had conceived the idea that the king would pardon his revolt; and the desire of life so far prevailed, that during the pursuit, when a Persian soldier overtook and had raised his sword to kill him, he exclaimed aloud in the Persian tongue, that he was Histiæus the Milesian.

XXX. I am inclined to believe [33] that if he

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[32] *Atarneum*]—was very fertile in corn, and peopled from the isle of Chios, near which it was.

[33] *I am inclined to believe.*]—Valcnaer remarks on this passage, that humanity was one of the most conspicuous qualities of Darius. The instances of his forgiving various individuals and nations, against whom he had the justest

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had been carried alive to the presence of Darius, his life would have been spared, and his fault forgiven. To prevent this, as well as all possibility of his obtaining a second time any influence over the king, Artaphernes the governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had taken him, crucified[34] their prisoner on their return to Sardis. The head they put in salt, and sent to Darius at Susa: Darius on hearing this rebuked them for what they had done, and for not conducting their prisoner alive to his presence. He directed the head to be washed, and honourably interred, as belonging to a man who had de-

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reason to be incensed, are almost without number. In the case of Histiæus, it should however be remembered, that his interposition in preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube, preserved the person and army of Darius. But, perhaps, a perfectly absolute monarch is never implicitly to be trusted, but, like a wild beast, is liable, however tamed and tractable in general, to sudden fits of destructive fury. Of this nature is the detestable fact related of Darius himself, in the 84th chap. of book the 4th; a piece of cruelty aggravated by a cool and deep dissimulation beforehand, which raised false hopes, and renders the comparison still more closely applicable.—*T.*

34 *Crucified.*]—The moderns are by no means agreed about the particular manner in which the punishment of the cross was inflicted. With respect to our Saviour the Gospels inform us, that he was nailed to the cross through the hands and feet.—This mode of punishment was certainly abolished by Constantine, but prevailed to his time among the Assyrians, Ægyptians, Persians, and Greeks.—*T.*

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served well of him and of Persia.—Such was the fate of Histiæus.

XXXI. The Persian forces wintered near Miletus, with the view of renewing hostilities early in the spring; they accordingly, and without difficulty, took Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, contiguous to the continent. At each of these islands, as they fell into their hands, they in this manner inclosed the inhabitants, as it were in a net:—taking each other by the hand, they advanced from the sea on the north, and thus chasing the inhabitants, swept the whole island to the south. They also made themselves masters of the Ionian cities on the continent, but they did not sweep them in the same manner, which indeed was not practicable.

XXXII. The threats of the Persian generals, when first opposed to the Ionians, were fully put in execution: as soon as they possessed their cities, they made eunuchs of their most beautiful youths, who were selected for this purpose. The loveliest of their maidens they sent to the king, and they burned the cities with their temples. The Ionians were thus a third time reduced to servitude, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Persians.

XXXIII. From Ionia the fleet advanced, and

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regularly subdued all the places to the left of the Hellespont; those on the right had already been reduced by the Persian forces on the continent. The European side of the Hellespont contains the Chersonese, in which are a number of cities, Perinthus, many Thracian forts, Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantians and the Chalcedonians, on the remote parts of the coast, did not wait for the coming of the Phœnician fleet, but forsaking their country, retired to the interior parts of the Euxine, where they built the city Mesambria. The cities thus forsaken were burnt by the Phœnicians, who afterwards advanced against Prœconnesus and Artace; to these also they set fire, and returned to the Chersonese, to destroy those places from which in their former progress they had turned aside. They left Cyzicus unmolested, the inhabitants of which, previous to the arrival of the Phœnician fleet, had submitted to the king, through the mediation of Œbarus, governor of Dascylium, and son of Megabyzus; but, except Cardia, the Phœnicians reduced all the other parts of the Chersonese.

XXXIV. Before this period, all these places were in subjection to Miltiades, son of Cimon, and grandson of Stesagoras. This sovereignty had originated with Miltiades the son of Cypselus, in this manner:—This part of the Chersonese

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was possessed by the Thracian Dolonci[35], who being involved in a troublesome contest with the Absinthians, sent their leaders to Delphi, to inquire concerning the event of the war. The Pythian in her answer recommended them to encourage that man to found a colony among them, who on their leaving the temple should first of all offer them the rites of hospitality. The Dolonci returning by the Sacred Way[36], passed through Phocis and Bœotia; not being invited by either of these people, they turned aside to Athens.

XXXV. At this period the supreme authority of Athens was in the hands of Pisistratus[37];

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[35] *Dolonci.*]—So called from Doloncus, a son of Saturn.

[36] *Sacred Way.*]—There was a very celebrated "Sacred Way" which led from Athens to Eleusis, but this could not be the one intended in this place; it was probably that by which the Athenians accompanied the sacred pomp to Delphi.—*Wesseling.*

The deputations which were repeatedly sent from the different states and cities of Greece to the oracle at Delphi, bore in many instances a strong resemblance to the modern pilgrimages of the Mahometans, to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, except that these last go to worship, the former went to inquire into futurity.

There was a "Via Sacra" leading from Rome, which had its name from the solemn union which with the attendant ceremonies of sacrifices here took place betwixt Romulus and Tatius, prince of the Sabines.—*T.*

[37] *Pisistratus.*]—I have made several remarks on Pisis-

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but an important influence was also possessed by Miltiades. He was of a family which maintained four horses[38] for the Olympic games, and was descended from Æacus and Ægina. In more modern times it became Athenian, being first established at Athens by Philæus the son of Ajax. This Miltiades, as he sat before the door

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tratus, in the first volume of this work; but I neglected to mention that Athenæus ranks him among those ancients who were famous for collecting valuable libraries. "Larensius," says Athenæus, "had more books than any of those ancients who were celebrated for their libraries; such as Polycrates of Samos, Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens, Euclid the Athenian, Necocrates of Cyprus, the kings of Pergamus, Euripides the poet, Aristotle the philosopher, Theophrastus, Neleus, who possessed the libraries of the two last-named, and whose descendants sold them to Ptolemy Philadelphus."

The curious intelligence which this citation communicates, affords an excellent specimen of the amusement and information to be gained by the perusal of Athenæus.—*T.*

38 *Four horses.*]—The first person, according to Virgil, who drove with four horses, was Ericthonius:

> Primus Ericthoneus currus et quatuor ausus
> Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.
>
> *Georg.* iii.

Of the passage "He maintained four horses," M. Larcher remarks, "that it is as much as to say he was very rich, for Attica being a barren soil, and little adapted to pasturage, the keeping of horses was necessarily expensive."

In this kind of chariot-race the four horses were ranged a breast; the two in the middle were harnessed to the yoke, the two side horses were fastened by their traces to

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of his house[39], perceived the Dolonci passing by; and as by their dress and spears they appeared to be foreigners, he called to them: on their approach he offered them the use of his house, and the rites of hospitality. They accepted his kindness, and being hospitably treated by him, they revealed to him all the will of the oracle, with which they entreated his compliance. Miltiades was much disposed to listen to them, being weary of the tyranny of Pisistratus, and desirous to change his situation: he immediately went to Delphi, to consult the oracle whether he should do what the Dolonci required.

XXXVI. Thus, having received the sanction of the oracle, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who had formerly at the Olympic games been vic-

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the yoke, or to some other part of the chariot.—*See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games.—T.*

See Palæphatus Tollii, p. 163.

[39] *Before the door of his house.*]—Abraham and Lot were sitting before the doors of their houses, when they were accosted by the angels of God. Modern travellers to the East remark, that all the better houses have porches or gateways, where the master of the family receives visits, and sits to transact business. There is a passage to the present purpose in Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor;—"At ten minutes after ten in the morning we had in view several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans *sitting by the doors*, under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees, &c."—*T*

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torious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, accompanied the Dolonci: he took such of the Athenians as were willing to go with him, and arriving on the spot, was by those who had invited him, elected their prince. His first care was to fortify the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city Cardia[40] as far as Pactya, to prevent any hostile incursions on the part of the Absinthians. At this point the length of the isthmus is thirty-six furlongs; the extreme length of the Chersonese, including the isthmus, is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

XXXVII. Miltiades blockading the entrance of the Chersonese, and thus keeping out the Absinthians, commenced hostilities with the people of Lampsacum; but they by an ambuscade made him their prisoner. Intelligence of this event being communicated to Crœsus the Lydian, who held Miltiades in great esteem, he sent to the Lampsacenes, requiring them to set him at liberty; threatening on their refusal to destroy them like pines[41]. They deliberated among

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[40] *Cardia.*]—This place was so named from its resemblance to a heart.—*T.*

[41] *Like pines.*]—From the time of Herodotus this expression passed into a proverb, denoting a final destruction, without any possibility of flourishing again.

In nothing was the acuteness and learning of our Bentley

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themselves concerning the meaning of this menace from Crœsus, which greatly perplexed them: at length one of their elders explained it, by informing them that of all the trees, the pine was the only one which, once being cut down, put forth no more off-sets, but totally perished. Intimidated by this threat of Crœsus, the Lampsacenes dismissed Miltiades.

XXXVIII. Miltiades thus escaped through the interposition of Crœsus; but dying afterwards without issue, he left his authority and wealth to Stesagoras, son of Cimon, his uterine brother. Upon his death he was honoured by the inhabitants of the Chersonese with the marks of esteem usually paid to the founder of a place; equestrian and gymnastic exercises were periodically observed in his honour, in which

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more apparent, than in his argument against the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, drawn from this expression of Herodotus.—See his Dissertation, last edit. 122. "A strange piece of stupidity in our letter-monger (I cite Bentley's words) or else contempt of his readers, to pretend to assume the garb and person of Phalaris, and yet knowingly to put words in his mouth, not heard of till a whole century after him. What is here individually ascribed to the pine-tree, is applicable to other trees; such as the fir, the palm, the cedar, the cypress, &c. which all perish by lopping." —*T.*

See on this subject my translation of Aulus Gellius, book viii. c. 4.

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none of the Lampsacenes are permitted to contend. It afterwards happened, that during a war with the people of Lampsacum, Stesagoras also died, and without children: he was wounded in the head, whilst in the Prytaneum, with a blow from an axe. The person who inflicted the wound pretended to be a deserter, but proved in effect a most determined enemy[42].

XXXIX. After the death of Stesagoras, as

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[42] *Determined enemy.*]—I cannot better introduce, than in the midst of a digression like the present, the opinion which Swift entertained of Herodotus. It may justly be regarded as a great curiosity, it proves that Swift had perused the Greek historian with particular attention, it exhibits no mean example of his critical sagacity, and is perhaps the only specimen in being of his skill in Latinity.—It is preserved in Winchester college, in the first leaf of Stevens's edition of Herodotus: and to add to its value, is in Swift's own hand-writing.

Judicium de Herodoto post longum tempus relecto.

"Ctesias mendacissimus Herodotum mendaciorum arguit; exceptis paucissimis (ut mea fert sententia) omni modo excusandum; cæterum diverticulis abundans hic pater historicorum filum narrationis ad tædium abrumpit, unde oritur, ut par est legentibus, confusio et exinde oblivio.—Quin et forsan ipsæ narrationes circumstantiis nimium pro re scatent.—Quod ad cætera hunc scriptorem inter apprimè laudandos censeo neque Græcis neque Barbaris plus æquo faventem aut iniquum—in orationibus fere brevem, simplicem, nec nimis frequentem.—Neque absunt dogmata e quibus eruditus lector prudentiam tam moralem quam civilem haurire potuerit."—*T.*

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above described, the Pisistratidæ dispatched in a trireme Miltiades, another son of Cimon, and brother of the deceased Stesagoras, to take the government of the Chersonese. Whilst he was at Athens they had treated him with much kindness, as if ignorant of the death of his father Cimon; the particulars of which I shall relate in another place. Miltiades, as soon as he landed in the Chersonese, kept himself at home, as if in sorrow[43] for his brother: which being known, all the principal persons of the Chersonese assembled from the different cities, and coming in one common public procession, as if to condole with him, he put them in chains; after which he secured the possession of the Chersonese, maintaining a body of five hundred guards.—He then married Hegesipyla, daughter of Olorus king of Thrace*.

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[43] *As if in sorrow.*]—This passage has greatly perplexed all the commentators. It is certain that the word *επιτιμεῶν*, as it now stands in the text, is wrong, but it is by no means clear what it ought to be; Valcnaer wishes to read *ετι πενθεων*, which seems very satisfactory in itself, and best agrees with the context, where it is said the great men went to condole with him (*συλλυπηθησομενοι.*) Wesseling is inclined to read *επιτυμβιον*, as if to bury him: Larcher, differing from all these readings, renders it "under pretence of doing honour to his memory;" which seems of all others the most difficult to justify, and to rest only on the far-fetched idea, that during the time of mourning people confined themselves to their apartments.—*T.*

* This princess, after the death of Miltiades, married an

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XL. The son of Cimon had not been long in the Chersonese, before he was involved in difficulties far heavier than he had yet experienced; for in the third year of his authority he was compelled to fly from the power of the Scythians. The Scythian Nomades being incensed against Darius, assembled their forces, and advanced to the Chersonese. Miltiades, not venturing to make a stand against them, fled at their approach: when they retired, the Dolonci, after an interval of three years, restored him.

XLI. The same Miltiades, on being informed that the Phœnicians were arrived off Tenedos, loaded five triremes with his property, and sailed for Athens. He went on board at Cardia, crossed the gulph of Melas, and passing the Chersonese, he himself, with four of his vessels, eluded the Phœnician fleet, and escaped to Imbros[44]; the fifth was pursued and taken by the

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Athenian of rank. A son, whom she had by this man, she called Olorus, the name of her father. Thucydides was the son of this Olorus; consequently his great grandfather was king of Thrace. These alliances of the Athenians with the most illustrious families of Thrace, induced them to tell Seuthes that he knew the Athenians were their relations. None can be ignorant, that Sadocus, son of Sitalces, king of Odrysus, and the most powerful prince of that country, became a citizen of Athens.—*Larcher.*

[44] *Imbros.*]—This was an island of the Ægean, betwixt

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enemy, it was commanded by Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus, but by some other female. The Phœnicians, on learning that he was the son of Miltiades, conducted him to the king, expecting some considerable mark of favour; for his father Miltiades had formerly endeavoured to prevail on the Ionians to accede to the advice of the Scythians, who wished them to break down their bridge of boats and return home. Darius, however, so far from treating Metiochus with severity, shewed him the greatest kindness; he gave him a house, with some property, and married him to a woman of Persia: their offspring are considered as Persians.

XLII. Miltiades leaving Imbros, proceeded to Athens: the Persians executed this year no further hostilities against the Ionians, but contrived for them many useful regulations. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, assembled the deputies of the different cities, requiring them to enter into treaty for the mutual observance of justice with respect to each other, and for the prevention of reciprocal depredation and violence. His next step was to divide all the Ionian districts into

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Lemnos and the Thracian Chersonese: it was anciently famous for producing a prodigious number of hares.—Its modern name is Imbro.—*T.*

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parasangs* (the Persian name for a measure of thirty furlongs) by which he ascertained the tributes they were severally to pay. This distribution of Artaphernes has continued, with very little variation, to the present period, and was certainly an ordinance which tended to establish the general tranquillity.

XLIII. At the commencement of the spring, the king sent Mardonius to supersede the other commanders: he was the son of Gobryas, a very young man, and had recently married Artozostra, a daughter of Darius. He accordingly appeared on the coast ready to embark, with a considerable

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* *Parasangs.*]—The parasang of Herodotus, by a reference to the ground itself, and an allowance for the inflection of the road, appears to have been about 3,1 geographical miles, or 3,62 of our statute miles. The modern farsang, called also farsook, deduced from the reports of travellers, and compared also with the ground, is at a mean, or an extent of 600 farsangs, about 3,43 statute miles. Colonel Malcolm, who noted the number of farsangs, during his late embassy to Persia, from the Persian Gulph to Rey and Tahera, and thence round by Hamadan to Bagdad, on an extent of about 348 farsangs, allows 6166 yards each, or 3,5 statute miles, which is exactly a mean between the two others, and differing little from either. But 30 farsangs, if we take Strabo's scale of 700 farsangs to a degree, give 2,97 only, and the mean of all the different accounts collected by Major Rennell (see his work on Herodotus, p. 31) is only 2,86. The parasang of Xenophon is formed also of 30 stadia, but is only equal to 3 Roman miles.—*T.*

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body of land and sea-forces; arriving at Cilicia, he went himself on board, taking under his command the rest of the fleet: the land army he sent forward to the Hellespont, under the direction of their different officers. Mardonius passed by Asia, and came to Ionia, where an incident happened which will hardly obtain credit with those Greeks who are unwilling to believe that Otanes, in the assembly of the seven conspirators, gave it as his opinion that a popular government would be most for the advantage of Persia:—for Mardonius*, removing the Ionian princes from their station, every where established a democracy. He then proceeded toward the Hellespont, where collecting a numerous fleet and a powerful army, he passed them over the strait in ships, and proceeded through Europe, towards Eretria and Athens.

XLIV. These two cities were the avowed object of his expedition, but he really intended to reduce as many of the Greek cities as he possibly could. By sea, he subdued the Thasians, who attempted no resistance; by land his army re-

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* Diodorus Siculus informs us that Mardonius was cousin to Xerxes; he was consequently related to Darius.

Gobryas, his father, was one of the seven conspirators against Smerdis the Magus.

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duced all those Macedonians who were more remote: the Macedonians on this side had been reduced before. Leaving Thasos, he coasted by the opposite continent as far as Acanthus; from Acanthus passing onward, he endeavoured to double Mount Athos; but at this juncture a tempestuous wind arose from the north, which pressing hard upon the fleet, drove a great number of ships against mount Athos. He is said on this occasion to have lost three hundred vessels, and more than twenty thousand men: of these, numbers were destroyed by the sea-monsters, which abound off the coast near Athos, others were dashed on the rocks, some lost their lives from their inability to swim, and many perished by the cold.

XLV. Whilst Mardonius with his land-forces was encamped in Macedonia, he was attacked in the night by the Brygi[45] of Thrace, who killed many of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself. They did not, however, finally elude the power of the Persians, for Mardonius would not leave that region till he had effectually reduced them under his power. After this event he led back his army, which had suffered much from the

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45 *Brygi.*]—See book vii. chap. 73, by which it appears that these Brygi were the Phrygians.—See also Valcnaer's note on this word.—*T.*

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Brygi, but still more by the tempest off Athos[46]; his return, therefore, to Asia was far from being glorious.

XLVI. In the following year Darius, having

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46 *Athos.*]—"We embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it is the ancient Mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks Haion Horos, the Holy Mountain, by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historians say that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable, nor did I see any sign of such a work. The bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancients Strymonicus, to the south of the bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day Amouliane, from an island of that name at the bottom of it, between which and the gulph of Salonica is the bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæus. The northern cape of this promontory is called Cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Acrathos: over the former is the highest summit of Mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though hilly, being low in comparison of it: it is a very steep rocky height, covered with pine-trees.—If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, though I think it cannot be so much, it may be easily computed if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which they say is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above twenty leagues."—*Pococke*, vol. ii. 145.

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received intelligence from their neighbours, that the Thasians meditated a revolt, sent them orders to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera. The Thasians had formerly been besieged by Histiæus of Miletus; as therefore they were possessed of considerable wealth, they applied it to the purpose of building vessels of war, and of constructing a stronger wall: their wealth was collected partly from the continent, and partly from their mines. From their gold mines at Scaptesyla[47] they obtained upon an average eighty talents; Thasus* itself did not produce so much, but they were on the whole so affluent, that being generally exempt from taxes, the whole of their annual revenue was two hundred, and in the times of greatest abundance, three hundred talents.

XLVII. These mines I have myself seen; the most valuable are those discovered by the Phœnicians, who, under the conduct of Thasus, first made a settlement in this island, and named it

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[47] *Scaptesyla.*]—In the Greek it is in two words, Σκαπτῆ ὕλῃ, the wood of Scaptæ. Thus in a former chapter, the beautiful coast, Καλη ακτη, or Calacte.—See also Virgil, Æneid vii. 208.

Threiciamque Samon quæ nunc Samothracia fertur. *T.*

* The Thasians had some valuable mines and territories on the coast of Thrace.—See Thucydides, l. 1.

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from their leader. The mines so discovered are betwixt a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra. Opposite to Samothracia was a large mountain, which, by the search after mines, has been effectually levelled.

XLVIII. The Thasians, in obedience to the will of Darius, destroyed their walls, and sent their ships to Abdera. To make experiment of the real intentions of the Greeks, and to ascertain whether they were inclined to submit to, or resist his power, Darius sent emissaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water [48]. He ordered the cities on the coast who paid him tribute, to construct vessels of war, and transports for cavalry.

XLIX. At the time these latter were preparing, the king's envoys arrived in Greece: most of the people on the continent complied with what was required of them, as did all the islanders whom the messengers visited, and among others the Æginetæ. This conduct gave great offence to the Athenians, who concluded that the Æginetæ had hostile intentions toward

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[48] *Earth and water.*]—See in what manner the people of Athens and Lacedæmon treated these messengers, in book the seventh.

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them, which in conjunction with the Persians they were resolved to execute. They eagerly therefore embraced this pretext, and accused them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece.

L. Instigated by their report, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and prince of Sparta, went over to Ægina, determining fully to investigate the matter. He endeavoured to seize the persons of the accused, but was opposed by many of the Æginetæ, and in particular by Crius son of Polycritus, who threatened to make him repent any violent attempts upon his countrymen. He told him that his conduct was the consequence, not of the joint deliberations of the Spartans, but of his being corrupted by the Athenians, otherwise the other king* also would have accompanied and assisted him. He said this in consequence of a letter received from Demaratus. Cleomenes, thus repulsed from Ægina, asked Crius his name; upon being told, "Well then," returned Cleomenes, "you had better tip your "horns with brass,[49] and prepare to resist some "great calamity.

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* The English reader must not forget that there were two sovereign princes at Sparta.

[49] *Your horns with brass.*]—In allusion to his name Κριος, which signifies a ram.—See a remarkable verse in the first book of Kings, chap. xxii. ver. 11.

"And

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LI. Demaratus, who circulated this report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, was the son of Ariston, and himself also a prince of Sparta, though of an inferior branch; both had the same origin, but the family of Eurysthenes, as being the eldest, was most esteemed.

LII. The Lacedæmonians, in opposition to what is asserted by all the poets, affirm that they were first introduced into the region which they now inhabit, not by the sons of Aristodemus, but by Aristodemus himself. He at that time reigned, and was son of Aristomachus, grandson of Cleodæus, and great-grandson of Hyllus. His wife Argia * was daughter of Autesion, grand-daughter of Tisamenus, great-grand-daughter of Thersander, and in the fourth descent from Polynices. Her husband, to whom she brought twins, died by some disease almost as soon as he had seen them. The Lacedæmonians of that day, after consulting together, elected for their prince the eldest of these children, as their laws required.

"And Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, made him *horns of iron:* and he said, Thus saith the Lord, With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them."

Horns were always considered as the emblems of strength and power.—*T.*

* Argia was descended in a right line from Cadmus, king of Thebes. She married Aristodemus the father of Eurysthenes and Procles, who were the first kings of Lacedæmon.

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They were still at a loss, as the infants so much resembled each other[50]. In this perplexity, they applied to the mother, she also professed herself unable to decide: her ignorance however was only pretended, and arose from her wish to make both her children kings. The difficulty thus remaining, they sent to Delphi for advice. The Pythian commanded them to acknowledge both the children as their kings, but to honour the first-born the most. Receiving this answer from the Pythian, the Lacedæmonians were still unable to discover the first-born child, till a Messenian, whose name was Panites, advised them to take notice which child the mother washed and fed

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[50] *Resembled each other.*]—Upon the perplexities arising from this resemblance of twins to each other, the whole plot of the Menæchmi of Plautus, and the Comedy of Errors of Shakspeare, are made to depend:

> Mercator quidam fuit Syracusis senex,
> Ei sunt nati filii gemini duo,
> Ita forma simili pueri, uti mater sua
> Non internosse posset quæ mammam dabat, &c.
>
> *Prologus ad Menæch.*

> There she had not been long, but she became
> A joyful mother of two goodly sons;
> And, which was strange, the one so like the other
> As could not be distinguish'd, &c.
>
> *Comedy of Errors.*

It seems unnecessary to add, that this latter play is a very minute copy of the former, of which in Shakspeare's time translations in the different languages of Europe were easily to be obtained.—*T.*

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first: if she was constant in making a distinction, they might reasonably conclude they had discovered what they wished; if she made no regular preference in this respect of one child to the other, her ignorance of the matter in question was probably unaffected, and they must have recourse to other measures. The Spartans followed the advice of the Messenian, and carefully watched the mother of the children of Aristodemus. Perceiving her, who was totally unconscious of their design, regularly preferring her first-born, both in washing and feeding it, they respected this silent testimony of the mother. The child thus preferred by its parent, they treated as the eldest, and educated at the public expense, calling him Eurysthenes, and his brother Procles. The brothers, when they grew up, were through life at variance with each other, and their enmity was perpetuated by their posterity.

LIII. The above is related on the authority of the Lacedæmonians alone; but I shall now give the matter as it is generally received in Greece.—The Greeks enumerate these Dorian princes in regular succession to Perseus, the son of Danae, passing over the story of the deity; from which account it plainly appears that they were Greeks, and were always so esteemed. These Dorian princes, as I have observed, go no higher than

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Perseus, for Perseus had no mortal father from whom his surname could be derived, being circumstanced as Hercules was with respect to Amphitryon. I am therefore justified in stopping at Perseus. If we ascend from Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, we shall find that the ancestors of the Dorian princes were of Ægyptian origin[51].—Such is the Grecian account of their descent.

LIV. The Persians affirm that Perseus was an Assyrian by birth, becoming afterward a Greek, although none of his ancestors were of that nation. The ancestors of Acrisius claim no consanguinity with Perseus[52], being Ægyptians; which account is confirmed by the Greeks.

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51 *Ægyptian origin.*]—According to Herodotus, all the principal persons of the Dorian family upward, were in a direct line from Ægypt. The same author says, that Perseus was originally from Assyria, according to the traditions of the Persians. The like is said, and with great truth, of the Heraclidæ, who are represented by Plato as of the same race as the Achæmenidæ of Persia. The Persians therefore, and the Grecians, were in great measure of the same family, being equally Cuthites from Chaldea; but the latter came last from Ægypt. *Bryant*, vol. iii. 388.

52 *No consanguinity with Perseus.*]—Herodotus more truly represents Perseus as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian, and agreeably to this he is said to have married Asterie, the daughter of Belus, the same as Astaroth and Astarte of Canaan, by whom he had a daughter, Hecate. This, though taken from an idle system of theology, yet plainly shews that the history of Perseus had been greatly

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LV. In what manner, being Ægyptians, they became princes of the Dorians, having been mentioned by others, I need not relate: but I shall explain what they have omitted.

LVI. The Spartans distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges. The priesthoods of the Lacedæmonian[53] and of the celes-

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misapplied and lowered by being inserted among the fables of Greece, &c.—*Bryant*, vol. ii. 64.

The following note is from Bellanger and Wesseling, as quoted by Larcher:

Persee, according to a remark by Le Clerc on Hesiod Theog. v. 280, is a Phœnician word, and signifies a knight. Thus it is both an epithet and a proper name. This name suits Perseus with regard to his horse Pegasus. One thing prevents me, says Bellanger, from adopting this Phœnician etymology, which is, that Persee had a son named Perses, from whom the Persians were called. See Herod. book vii. c. 61. Persee, or Perses, are nearly the same names.

If, says Wesseling, the tradition related by Herodotus in this place, and in book vii. c. 61, is really true; that is, if Persee was the son of Danae and Jupiter, and that he had a son called Perses by Andromeda, who gave his name to the Persian nation, the Greeks and Persians are agreed as to his father and mother; but if the latter people will not allow Acrisius to be the grandfather of Persee, nor at all related to him, then Danae must have been an Assyrian.

53 *Lacedæmonian.*]—Larcher remarks on this expression, that Herodotus is the only writer who distinguishes Jupiter by this appellation. I have before observed, that the office of priesthood and king were anciently united in the same person.—He was probably the same with Jupiter (tonans); Λακειν is sonare.

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tial Jupiter[54] were appropriated to them: they had the power also of making hostile expeditions wherever they pleased, nor might any Spartan obstruct them without incurring the curses of their religion. In the field of battle their post is in the front; when they retire, in the rear. They have a hundred chosen men[55] as a guard for their person: when upon their march, they may take for their use as many sheep as they think proper, and they have the back[56] and the

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54 *Celestial Jupiter.*]—This epithet was, I suppose, given to Jupiter, because the sky was considered as his particular department.—See the answer of Neptune to Iris, in the fifteenth book of the Iliad:

> Three brother deities from Saturn came,
> And ancient Rhea, Earth's immortal dame:
> Assign'd by lot, our triple rule we know;
> Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
> O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
> Ethereal Jove extends his wide domain;
> My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
> And hush the roarings of the sacred deep. *T.*

55 *A hundred chosen men.*]—In times of peace, the Lacedæmonian princes were not attended by guards; Thucydides says, that in war they had three hundred.—*T.*

The words of Thucydides are, "falling behind with the rest of the army, and particularly with the troops of the centre, where king Agis was with his guard of three hundred men, whom they call knights."

56 *The back.*]—By the back we must understand the chine; and we learn as well from Homer, as other ancient writers, that it was always considered as the honourable portion.

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skin[57] of all that are sacrificed. Such are their privileges in war.

LVII. In peace also they have many distinctions. In the solemnity of any public sacrifice the first place is always reserved for the kings, to whom not only the choicest things are presented, but twice as much as to any other person[58]. They have moreover the first of every

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See Odyssey, book iv, where Telemachus visits Menelaus at Sparta.

> Ceasing benevolent, he straight assigns
> The royal portion of the choicest *chines*
> To each accepted friend.

See also the Iliad, book vii.

> The king himself, an honorary sign,
> Before great Ajax plac'd the mighty *chine*. *T.*

57 *The skin.*]—These skins, we find, were allotted to the princes during the time of actual service, when, as their residence was in tents, they must have been of the greatest service both as seats and as beds.—See Leviticus, vii. 8, where it appears that the priest had the skin.

" And the priest that offereth any man's burnt offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-offering which he hath offered."

They were serviceable also in another respect, as they were made into bottles to preserve wine, and to carry liquids of different kinds. Of skins also the first clothes were made. —*T.*

58 *Twice as much as to any other person.*]—Instances of this mode of shewing reverence and distinction occur repeatedly in Homer. Diomed, as a mark of honour, had more meat

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libation[59], and the skins of the sacrificed victims. On the first and seventh of every month they give to each of them a perfect animal, which is sacrificed in the temple of Apollo. To this is added a medimnus of meal, and a Lacedæmonian

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and wine than any other person. Agamemnon also, and Idomeneus, have more wine than the rest. Benjamin's mess was five times as large as that of his brethren. Xenophon observes, that Lycurgus did not assign a double portion to the kings, because they were to eat twice as much as any body else, but that they might give it to whom they pleased. We find from Homer, that this also was a common practice during the repast, to give of their own portion to some friend or favourite. Accordingly in the Odyssey, we find in some very beautiful lines, that Ulysses gave a portion of the chine reserved for himself to Demodocus, "The Bard of Fame."

> The bard an herald guides: the gazing throng
> Pay low obeisance as he moves along:
> Beneath a sculptur'd arch he sits enthron'd,
> The peers encircling, form an awful round:
> Then from the chine Ulysses carves with art,
> Delicious food, an honorary part.
> "This let the master of the lyre receive,
> "A pledge of love, 'tis all a wretch can give:
> "Lives there a man beneath the spacious skies
> "Who sacred honours to the bard denies?" &c. *T.*

59 *Libation.*]—The ceremony of offering a libation was this: When, previous to sacrifice, the sacred meal mixed with salt was placed upon the head of the victim, the priest took the vessel which held the wine, and just tasting it himself, gave it to those near him to taste also: it was then poured upon the head of the beast betwixt the horns. The burnt-offerings enjoined by the Mosaic law were in like manner accompanied by libations.—See Exodus, xxix. 40. —*T.*

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quart of wine[60]. In the public games, they sit in the most distinguished place[61]; they appoint whomsoever they please to the dignity of Proxeni[62], and each of them chooses two Pythii. The Pythii are those who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained at the public expense as well as the kings. If the kings do not think proper to take their repast in public, two chœnices of meal with a cotyla of wine are sent to their respective houses; but if they are present, they receive a double portion. If any private person invite them to an entertainment, a similar respect is shewn them. The oracular

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60 *Medimnus of meal—quart of wine.*]—

" Then shall he that offereth an offering unto the Lord bring a meat-offering of a tenth-deal of flour, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil.

" And the fourth part of an hin of wine for a drink-offering shalt thou prepare, with the burnt-offering, or sacrifice."—Numbers, xv. 4, 5.

61 *Most distinguished place.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that wherever the kings appeared every body rose, out of reverence to their persons, except the Ephori. Of these magistrates Larcher remarks, that they were in some respect superior in dignity to the kings, to limit whose authority they were first instituted.—*T.*

62 *Proxeni.*]—It was the business of the Proxeni to entertain the embassadors from foreign states, and introduce them at the public assemblies.

Xenos is the individual who exercises private hospitality. Proxenos is he who is appointed by the Pythii for this purpose.

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declarations are preserved by them, though the Pythii also must know them. The kings alone have the power of deciding in the following matters, and they decide these only: They choose an husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her: they have the care of the public ways; whoever chooses to adopt a child[63], must do it in the presence of the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senate, which is composed of twenty-eight persons. In case of their not appearing, those senators who are the nearest relations to the kings, take their place and privilege, having two voices independent of their own *.

LVIII. Such are the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes whilst alive; they have others after their decease. Messengers are sent

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63 *Adopt a child.*]—The custom of adoption among the Romans was much more frequent than among the Greeks, though borrowed of the latter by the former. In Greece, an eunuch could not adopt a child; and it was necessary that the person adopted should be eighteen years younger than the person who adopted him. In Rome, the ceremony of adoption was performed before the prætor, or before an assembly of the people. In the times of the emperors, the permission of the prince was sufficient.—*T.*

* Thucydides contradicts this assertion; but the Scholiast, on this matter, reconciles the seeming difference, by saying, that the Lacedæmonian kings gave but one vote each, but each vote told for two.

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to every part of Sparta to relate the event, whilst the women beat on a caldron[64] through the city. At this signal, one free-born person of each sex in every family is compelled under very heavy penalties to disfigure themselves. The same ceremonies which the Lacedæmonians observe on the death of their kings, are practised also by the Barbarians of Asia; the greater part of whom on a similar occasion, use these rites. When a king of Lacedæmon dies, a certain number of Lacedæmonians, independent of the Spartans, are obliged, from all parts of Lacedæmon, to attend his funeral. When these, together with the Helots[65] and Spartans, to the amount of several

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64 *The women beat on a caldron.*]—A very curious incident relative to this circumstance is given us by Ælian, in his Various History. The Lacedæmonians having subdued the Messenians, took to themselves the half of all their property, and compelled their free-born women, *εις τα πενθη βαδιζειν*, to walk in the funeral processions, and to lament at the deaths of those with whom they were not at all connected.

Women who were free-born never appeared at funerals, except at those of their relations, much less did they lament like the women hired for this purpose, which we find from the above passage the Lacedæmonians compelled the Messenian women to do. It is to be observed, that the women were much more rigorously secluded in Greece than in Rome.—*T.*

65 *Helots.*]—The Helots were a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, and rendered so by the right of conquest.

 They

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thousands, are assembled in one place, they begin, men and women, to beat their breasts, to make loud and dismal lamentations[66], always exclaiming of their last prince, that he was of all preceding ones the best. If one of their kings die in battle, they make a representation of his person, and carry it to the place of interment upon a bier richly adorned. When it is buried, there is an interval of ten days from all business

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They took their name from Helos, a Lacedæmonian town; their slavery was rigorous in the extreme, but they might on certain terms obtain their freedom. Upon them the business of agriculture and commerce entirely depended, whilst their haughty masters were employed in gymnastic exercises or in feasting. For a more particular account of them, consult Cragius de Republica Lacedæmon, and Archbishop Potter.—*T.*

66 *Lamentations.*]—This custom still prevails in Ægypt, and in various parts of the East. "When the corpse," says Dr. Russel, "is carried out, a number of sheiks with their tattered banners walk first, next come the male friends, and after them the corpse, carried with the head foremost upon men's shoulders. The nearest male relations immediately follow, and the women close the procession with dreadful shrieks."

See also what Mascrier tells us from M. Maillet, that not only the relations and female friends in Ægypt surround the corpse while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries, scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue. Those of the lower kind also are apt to call in certain women who *play on tabors*, &c. The reader will find many similar examples collected in "Observations on Scripture," vol. iii. 408, 9. Leviticus, chap. xix. v. 28.—*T.*

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and amusement, with every public testimony of sorrow.

LIX. They have also another custom in common with the Persians. When a prince dies, his successor remits every debt due either to the prince or the public. In Persia also, he who is chosen king remits to every city whatever tributes happen to be due.

LX. In one instance, the Lacedæmonians observe the usage of Ægypt. Their heralds, musicians, and cooks, follow the profession of their fathers. The son of a herald is of course a herald, and the same of the other two professions. If any man has a louder voice than the son of a herald, it signifies nothing.

LXI. Whilst Cleomenes was at Ægina, consulting for the common interest of Greece, he was persecuted by Demaratus, who was influenced not by any desire of serving the people of Ægina, but by jealousy and malice. Cleomenes on his return endeavoured to degrade his rival from his station, for which he had the following pretence:—Ariston succeeding to the throne of Sparta, married two wives, but had children by neither; not willing to believe that any defect existed on his part, he married a third time. He had a friend, a native of Sparta, to whom on all

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occasions he shewed a particular preference. This friend had a wife, who from being remarkable for her ugliness[67], became exceedingly beautiful. When an infant her features were very plain and disagreeable, which was a source of much affliction to her parents, who were people of great affluence[68]. Her nurse seeing this, recommended that she should every day be carried to the temple of Helen, situate in a place called Therapne near the temple of Apollo. Here the nurse regularly presented herself with the child, and standing near the shrine implored the goddess to remove the girl's deformity. As she was one day departing from the temple, a woman is said to have appeared to her, inquiring what she carried in her arms: the nurse replied it was a child. She desired to see it; this the nurse, having had orders to that effect from the parents, at first refused, but seeing that the woman persevered in her wish, she at length complied. The stranger, taking the infant in her arms, stroked it on the face, saying, that hereafter she should

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67 *Remarkable for her ugliness.*]—Pausanias says, that from being remarkable for her ugliness, she became the most beautiful woman in Greece, ὑπο Ἑλενης, next to Helen.—*T.*

68 *Great affluence.*]—How was it possible, asks M. Larcher in this place, to have great riches in Sparta? All the lands of Lacedæmon were divided in equal portions among the citizens, and gold and silver were prohibited under penalty of death.

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become the loveliest woman of Sparta; and from that hour her features began to improve. On her arriving at a proper age, Agetus son of Alcides, and the friend of Ariston, made her his wife.

LXII. Ariston, inflamed with a passion for this woman, took the following means to obtain his wishes: he engaged to make her husband a present of whatever he would select from his effects, on condition of receiving a similar favour in return. Agetus having no suspicion with respect to his wife, as Ariston also was married, agreed to the proposal, and it was confirmed by an oath. Ariston accordingly gave his friend whatever it was that he chose, whilst he in return, having previously determined the matter, demanded the wife of Agetus. Agetus said, that he certainly did not mean to comprehend her in the agreement; but, influenced by his oath, the artifice of the other finally prevailed, and he resigned her to him.

LXIII. In this manner Ariston, having repudiated his second wife, married a third, who in a very short time, and within a less period than ten months [69], brought him this Demaratus.

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[69] *Within a less period than ten months.*]—This, it seems,

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Whilst the father was sitting at his tribunal, attended by the Ephori, he was informed by one of his domestics of the delivery of his wife: re-

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was thought sufficient cause to suspect the legitimacy of a child. It is remarkable, that ten months is the period of gestation generally spoken of by the ancients.—See Plut. in the Life of Alcibiades; and Virgil, Ecl. iv.

Matri longa *decem* tulerunt fastidia *menses.*

A. Gellius, who gives a curious dissertation on the subject, l. iii. cap. 16, seems to pronounce very positively, that it was ten months fully completed; decem menses non inceptos sed exactos; but we should take the whole sentence together—eumque esse hominem gignendi *summum finem*, decem menses non inceptos sed exactos. This I understand as if he had written, "but that the *utmost* period (not the *usual*) is when the tenth month is not only begun, but completed;" namely, when the child is born in the beginning of the eleventh month. To this effect he mentions afterwards a decision of the decemviri under Hadrian, that infants were born regularly in *ten months*, not in the eleventh; this however the emperor set aside, as not being an infallible rule. It appears then, that the ancients, when they spoke of ten months, meant that the tenth month was the time for the birth; and if they express themselves so as to make it appear that they meant ten months complete, it is because they usually reckoned inclusively. The difference between solar and lunar months, to which some have had recourse, does not remove any of the difficulty. Hippocrates speaks variously of the period of gestation, but seems to reckon the longest 280 days, or nine months and ten days. We are told that the ancient Persians, in the time of Zoroaster, counted into the age of a man the *nine* months of his conception.—*Sadder*, cited by M. de Pastoret, in a Treatise on Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet.—*T*

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flecting on the interval of time which had elapsed since his marriage, he reckoned the number of months upon his fingers *, and said with an oath, "This child is not mine." The Ephori, who heard him, did not at the moment esteem what he said of any importance [70]: afterwards, when the child grew up, Ariston changed his sentiments concerning the legitimacy of his son, and repented of the words which had escaped him. Demaratus owed his name † to the following circumstance: Before he was born the people had unanimously made a public supplication that Ariston, the best of their kings, might have a son.

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* *Fingers.*]—This was certainly the first mode of reckoning. The ancients counted to a hundred by the fingers on the right hand, and began the second hundred on their left. This idea explains the following lines in Juvenal:

> Felix nimirum qui tot per sæcula mortem
> Distulit, atque suos jam dextra computat annos.
> Sat. x. v. 248. See Gifford's Translation.

Holyday has a very long but tedious note on this subject.

70 *Of any importance.*]—The inattention or indifference of the Ephori in this instance must appear not a little remarkable, when it is considered that it was one part of their appropriate duty to watch over the conduct of their queens, in order to prevent the possibility of any children succeeding to the throne who were not of the family of Hercules.—*T.*

† *Owed his name;*]—which means prayed for by the people, being compounded of *Demos*, the people, and *aretos*, prayed for.—*T.*

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LXIV. Ariston died, and Demaratus succeeded to his authority. But it seemed destined that the above expression should cost him his crown. He was in a particular manner odious to Cleomenes, both when he withdrew his army from Eleusis, and when Cleomenes passed over to Ægina, on account of the favour which the people of that place showed to the Medes.

LXV. Cleomenes being determined to execute vengeance on his rival, formed a connection with Leotychides, who was of the family of Demaratus, being the son of Menaris, and grandson of Agis: the conditions were, that Leotychides should succeed to the dignity of Demaratus, and should in return assist Cleomenes in his designs upon Ægina. Leotychides entertained an implacable animosity against Demaratus. He had been engaged to marry Percalos, the daughter of Chilon *, grand-daughter of Demarmenes, but Demaratus insidiously prevented him, and by a mixture of violence and artifice married Per-

* This Chilon was mentioned, book i. c. 59, and his name again occurs in book vii. c. 235. This is not he who was esteemed one of the seven wise men; nevertheless, in this latter passage, he is denominated one of the wisest of the Spartans. He was, however, the son of Damagetes; and Chilon, one of the seven sages, was the son of Demarmenes.

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calos himself. He was therefore not at all reluctant to accede to the proposals of Cleomenes, and to assist him against Demaratus. He asserted, therefore, that Demaratus did not lawfully possess the throne of Sparta, not being the son of Ariston. He was, consequently, careful to remember and repeat the expression which had fallen from Ariston, when his servant first brought him intelligence of the birth of a son; for, after computing the time, he had positively denied that he was his. Upon this incident Leotychides strongly insisted, and made no scruple of declaring openly, that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston, and that his authority was illegal[71]; to confirm this he adduced the testimony of those Ephori who were present when Ariston so expressed himself.

LXVI. As the matter began to be a subject of general dispute, the Spartans thought proper to consult the oracle of Delphi, whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston or not. Cleomenes was not at all suspected of taking any care to

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[71] *Was illegal.*]—This story is related with equal minuteness by Pausanias, book iii. c. 4; from whence we may conclude, that when there was even any suspicion of the infidelity of the queens, their children were incapacitated from succeeding to the throne. It should, however, be remembered that this queen really was not unfaithful.—See Pausanias also on a similar subject, book iii. chap. 8.—*T.*

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influence the Pythian; but it is certain that he induced Cobon, son of Aristophantes, a man of very great authority at Delphi, to prevail on the priestess to say what Cleomenes desired[72]. The

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[72] *To say what Cleomenes desired.*]—It is impossible sufficiently to lament the ignorance and delusion of those times, when an insidious expression, corruptly obtained from the Pythian, was sufficient to involve a whole kingdom in misery and blood: of this the fate of Crœsus, as recorded in the first book of Herodotus, is a memorable instance; but I have before me an exampl , in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, where this artifice and seduction of the Pythian had a contrary effect. It was by bribing the priestess of Delphi that Lycurgus obtained from the Lacedæmonians an obedience, which rendered their nation great and powerful, and their legislator immortal. Demosthenes also, in one of his orations against Philip, accuses that monarch of seducing, by bribes, the oracle to his purpose. However the truth of this may be established from many well-authenticated facts, the following picture from Lucan, of the priestess of Delphi under the supposed influence of the god, can never fail of claiming our applause and admiration, though we pity the credulity which regarded, and the spirit which prompted, such impostures:

Tandem conterrita virgo
Confugit ad tripodas, vastisque abducta cavernis
Hæsit, et insueto concepit pectore numen,
Quod non exhaustæ per tot jam sæcula rupis
Spiritus ingessit vati: tandemque potitus
Pectore Cirrhæo, non unquam plenior artus
Phœbados irrupit Pæan: mentemque priorem
Expulit, atque hominem toto sibi cedere jussit
Pectore. Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum

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name of this woman was Perialla, who assured those sent on this occasion, that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston. This collusion being afterwards discovered, Cobon was compelled to fly from Delphi, and Perialla was degraded from her office.

LXVII. Such were the measures taken to deprive Demaratus of his dignity: an affront which was afterwards shown him, induced him to take refuge among the Medes. After the loss of his throne he was elected to preside in some inferior office, and happened to be present at the Gymnopædia[73]. Leotychides, who had been

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Colla ferens, vittasque dei, Phœbeaque serta
Erectis discussa comis, per inania templi
Ancipiti cervice rotat, spargitque vaganti
Obstantes tripodas, magnoque exæstuat igne. *T.*

[73] *Gymnopædia.*]—This word is derived from γυμνος, naked, and παις, a child; at this feast naked children sung hymns in honour of Apollo, and of the three hundred who died at Thermopylæ. Athenæus describes it as a kind of Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men accompanied the motion of their feet with certain corresponding and graceful ones of their arms; the whole represented the real exercise of wrestling.—*T.*

This festival was celebrated in the month Hecatombion, which answers to our July. In these and other solemnities, it is not to be understood, when it is said that the performers or characters were naked, that they were entirely so; a vesture of some kind or other was invariably worn round the middle.

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elected king in the room of Demaratus, meaning to ridicule and insult him, sent a servant to ask him what he thought of his present, compared with his former office. Demaratus, incensed by the question, replied, that he himself had experienced both, which the person who asked him had not; he added, that this question should prove the commencement of much calamity or happiness to Sparta. Saying this, with his head veiled, he retired from the theatre to his own house; where, having sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, he sent for his mother.

LXVIII. On her appearance, he placed in her hands the entrails of the victim, and solemnly addressed her in these words: "I call upon you, "mother, in the name of all the gods, and in "particular by Jupiter Hercæus[74], in whose "immediate presence we are, to tell me, without "disguise, who my father was. Leotychides, in "the spirit of hatred and jealousy, has objected "to me, that when you married Ariston you

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74 *Jupiter Hercæus.*]—Jupiter was worshipped under this title, as the Deus Penetralis, the protector of the innermost recesses of the house: he was so called from Ερκος, which signifies the interior part of a house. Larcher quotes at this passage the following words, from Servius on Virgil:

"Dictus autem Jupiter Hercæus quia ara ejus erat intra aulam, et septum parietem, edificata, quod Græce Ἕρκος dicitur."—*T.*

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" were with child by your former husband: " others more insolently have asserted, that one " of your slaves, an ass-driver, enjoyed your " familiarity, and that I am his son; I entreat " you, therefore, by every thing sacred, to dis- " close the truth. If you have really done what " is related of you, your conduct is not without " example, and there are many in Sparta who " believe that Ariston had not the power of " becoming a father; otherwise, they say, he " must have had children by his former wives."

LXIX. His mother thus replied: "My son, " as you have thus implored me to declare the " truth, I will not deceive you. When Ariston " had conducted me to his house, on the third " night of our marriage, a personage appeared[75]

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75 *A personage appeared.*]—This story in many respects bears a resemblance to what is related in Grecian history of the birth of Alexander the Great. The chastity of his mother Olympia being in a similar manner questioned, the fiction of his being the son of Jupiter, who conversed familiarly with his mother in the form of a serpent, at first found advocates with the ignorant and superstitious, and was afterwards confirmed and established by his career of conquest and glory. Of this fable no happier use has ever been made, than by Dryden, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:

> The song began from Jove,
> Who left his blissful seats above;
> Such is the power of mighty Love:

A dragon's

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" to me perfectly resembling Ariston, who after
" enjoying my person, crowned me with a gar-
" land[76] he had in his hand, and retired. Soon
" afterwards Ariston came to me, and seeing me
" with a garland, inquired who gave it me; I
" said that he had, but this he seriously denied:

A dragon's fiery form belied the god;
Sublime on radiant spires he trod,
When he to fair Olympia press'd;
And while he sought her snowy breast,
Then round her slender waist he curl'd,
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, informs us that a dragon was once seen to lie close to Olympia, whilst she slept; after which her husband Philip, either suspecting her to be an enchantress, or imagining some god to be his rival, could never be induced to regard her with affection. —*T.*

It is to be feared, that in the times of ancient superstition, profligate men and licentious priests availed themselves of such abominable artifices to ruin the chastity of women. A memorable story is related of the priests of Isis, at Rome, who were bribed by a rich senator to promote his designs on a beautiful Roman lady, whom he enjoyed under the fictitious character of Osiris. I have published the story at length in my third volume of Miscellanies. The Emperor discovered the fraud, and the priests were put to death.

76 *Crowned me with a garland.*]—We learn from a passage in Ovid, not only that it was customary to wear garlands in convivial meetings, which other authors tell us in a thousand places, but that in the festive gaiety of the moment, it was not unusual for one friend to give them to another:

Huic si forte bibes, sortem concede priorem,
Huic detur capiti dempta corona tuo. *T.*

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" I protested, however, that he had; and, I
" added, it was not kind in him to deny it, who,
" after enjoying my person, placed the garland
" on my head. Ariston, seeing that I persevered
" in my story, was satisfied that there had been
" some divine interposition[77]; and this opinion
" was afterwards confirmed, from its appearing
" that this garland had been taken from the
" shrine of the hero Astrobacus, which stands
" near the entrance of our house; and indeed a
" soothsayer declared, that the personage I speak
" of was that hero himself.—I have now, my son,
" told you all that you wished to know; you are
" either the son of Astrobacus, or of Ariston,
" for that very night I conceived. Your enemies
" particularly object to you, that Ariston, when

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[77] *Divine interposition.*]—Innumerable instances occur in ancient history, from which we may conclude, that the passions of intemperate but artful men did not fail to avail themselves of the ignorance and superstitious credulity, with which the heathen world was overspread, to accomplish their dishonest purposes. It were endless to specify examples in all respects resembling this before us; but it may seem wonderful, that their occurring so very often did not tend to awaken suspicion, and interrupt their success. Some licentious minister of the divine personage in question might easily crown himself with a consecrated garland, avail himself of an imputed resemblance to the husband of the woman who had excited his passion, and with no greater difficulty prevail on a brother priest to make a declaration, which at the same time softened the crime of the woman, and gratified her vanity.—*T.*

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" he first heard of your birth, declared in the
" presence of many that you could not possibly
" be his son, as the time of ten months was not
" yet completed; but he said this from his ig-
" norance of such matters. Some women are
" delivered at nine, others at seven months; all
" do not go ten. I was delivered of you at
" seven; and Ariston himself afterwards con-
" fessed that he had uttered those words fool-
" ishly.—With regard to all other calumnies,
" you may safely despise them, and rely upon
" what I have said. As to the story of the ass-
" driver, may the wives of Leotychides, and of
" those who say such things, produce their hus-
" bands children from ass-drivers."

LXX. Demaratus having heard all that he wished, took some provisions, and departed for Elis; he pretended, however, that he was gone to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Lacedæmonians suspected, and pursued him. Demaratus had already crossed from Elis to Zacynthus, where the Lacedæmonians still following him, seized his person and his servants; these they carried away, but the Zacynthians refusing to let them take Demaratus, he passed over to Asia, where he was honourably received by Darius, and presented with many lands and cities. —Such was the fortune of Demaratus, a man distinguished among his countrymen by many

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memorable deeds and sayings; and who alone, of all the kings of Sparta[78], obtained the prize in the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horses.

LXXI. Leutychides the son of Menaris, who succeeded Demaratus after he had been deposed, had a son named Zeuxidamus, called by some of the Spartans, Cyniscus, or the whelp. He never enjoyed the throne of Sparta, but dying before his father, left a son named Archidamus. Leutychides, on the loss of his son, took for his second wife Eurydame, sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactoris; by her he had a daughter called Lampito, but no male offspring: she, by the consent of Leutychides, was married to Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus.

LXXII. The latter days of Leutychides were not spent in Sparta; but the cause of Demaratus was avenged in this manner:—Leutychides commanded an army of his countrymen, in an expedition against Thessaly, and might have reduced the whole country; but suffering himself to be

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78 *Alone, of all the kings of Sparta.*]—At this passage Valcnaer remarks, that these Spartan princes were probably of the opinion of Agesilaus, who, as is recorded in Plutarch, said, that the victories at these games were obtained rather by riches than by merit.—*T.*

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bribed by a large sum of money, he was detected in his own camp, sitting on a sack of money[79]. Being brought to a public trial, he was driven from Sparta, and his house razed[80]. He fled to

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[79] *Sack of money.*]—"In the more ancient manuscripts," says Wesseling, "these two words were probably joined together, in this manner, χειριδιπλεη: whence the copyists made these two χειρι διπλεη, or διπλῃ, when it ought to have been χειριδι πλεῃ."

Various errors of a similar kind have crept into modern editions of ancient books. I give one remarkable instance from Buchanan.

In the last chorus of the Alcestis, it was formerly read,

Και τον εν χαλυβοισι
Δαμαζεις ου βια σιδαρον:

Which Buchanan accordingly rendered,

Tu ferrum sine vi domas
Montes quod Chalybum creant.

Whereas the reading ought to be,

Και τον εν χαλυβεσσι
Δαμαζει σον βια σιδαρον.

Ferrum vis tua perdomat
Montes, quod, &c.—See *Barnes.* *T.*

[80] *His house razed.*]—This still continues part of the punishment annexed to the crime of high treason in France, and to great state crimes in many places. In the moment of popular fury, when violent resentment will not wait the slow determinations of the law to be appeased, it may admit of some extenuation; but that in a civilized people it should be a part of any legal decision, seems preposterous and unmeaning.—*T.*

Since

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Tegea, where he died; but the above events happened some time afterward.

LXXIII. Cleomenes, having succeeded in his designs upon Demaratus, took with him Leutychides, and proceeded against Ægina, with which he was exceedingly exasperated, on account of the insult he had received. The people of Ægina, on seeing themselves assailed by the two kings, did not meditate a long resistance; ten of the most illustrious and affluent were selected as hostages: among these were Crios, son of Polycritus, and Casambris, son of Aristocrates, men of considerable authority. Being carried to Attica, they there remained among their most inveterate enemies.

LXXIV. Cleomenes afterwards fled to Thessaly; for his treachery against Demaratus becoming manifest, he feared the resentment of the Spartans: from thence he went to Arcadia, where he endeavoured to raise a commotion, by

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Since the above was written, every thing in France has been so totally subverted, that it is difficult to say either what is the actual punishment of high treason, or what is necessary to constitute the crime. Any person who is more particularly obnoxious to the reigning power, is made to disappear; they who are in a slighter degree offensive, are sent to Cayenne. The house of the culprit is no longer razed.

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stirring up the Arcadians against Sparta. Among other oaths, he exacted of them an engagement, to follow him wherever he should think proper to conduct them. He particularly wished to carry the principal men to the city of Nonacris, there to make them swear by the waters of Styx[81].

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[81] *Waters of Styx.*]—It appears by this passage that the Greeks assembled at Nonacris to swear by the waters of Styx; when their oaths were to be considered as inviolable: the gods also swore by Styx, and it was the greatest oath they could use. "This water," observes Pausanias, "is mortal to men and animals;" it was, doubtless, for this reason that it was said to be a fountain of the infernal regions. This water could not be preserved, but in a vessel made of the horn of a mule's hoof. See Pliny, N. H. l. xxx. c. 16.—"Ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ." Pausanias gives the same efficacy to the horn of a horse's hoof; and Plutarch to that of an ass.—*Larcher.*

A few particulars on this subject, omitted by Larcher, and less familiar perhaps to an English reader, I shall add to the above. Pliny says, it was remarkable for producing a fish, the taste of which was fatal. The solemnity with which the gods regarded the swearing by Styx, is mentioned by Virgil:

> Stygiamque paludem
> Dii cujus jurare timent et fallere numen.
>
> The sacred streams which heaven's imperial state
> Attests in oaths, and fears to violate.

The circumstance of this oath being regarded by the gods as inviolable, is mentioned by Homer, Hesiod, and all the more ancient writers: Homer calls it, δεινοτατον μακαρεσσι. The punishment supposed to be annexed to the

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These are said to be found in this part of Arcadia: there is but little water, and it falls drop by drop from a rock into a valley, which is inclosed by a circular wall.—Nonacris is an Arcadian city, near Phereos.

LXXV. When the Lacedæmonians heard what Cleomenes was doing, through fear of the consequences, they invited him back to Sparta, offering him his former dignity and station. Immediately on his return he was seized with madness, of which he had before discovered very strong symptoms: for whatever citizen he happened to meet, he scrupled not to strike him on the face with his sceptre[82]. This extravagant

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perjury of gods in this instance, was that of being tortured 9,000 years in Tartarus.—See Servius on the 6th book of the Æneid.—*T.*

[82] *With his sceptre.*]—That princes and individuals of high rank carried their sceptres, or insignia of their dignity, frequently in their hands, may be concluded from various passages of ancient writers: many examples of this occur in Homer. When Thersites clamorously endeavoured to excite the Greeks to murmurs and sedition, Ulysses is described as striking him with the sceptre he had in his hand:

> He said, and cowering as the dastard bends,
> The weighty sceptre on his back descends:
> On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;
> The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes.

The most ancient sceptre was probably a staff to rest upon, for Ovid describes Jupiter as resting upon his; it was a

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behaviour induced his friends to confine him in a pair of stocks; seeing himself, on some occasion, left with only one person to guard him, he demanded a sword; the man at first refused to obey him, but finding him persist in his request, he at length, being an Helot, and afraid of what he threatened, gave him one. Cleomenes, as soon as he received the sword, began to cut the flesh off his legs[83]; from his legs he ascended to his thighs, from his thighs to his loins, till at length, making gashes in his belly, he died. The Greeks in general consider his death as occasioned by his having bribed the Pythian[84] to give an

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more ancient emblem of royalty than the crown: the first Roman who assumed the sceptre was Tarquin the Proud. —*T.*

[83] *Cut the flesh off his legs.*]—Longinus instances this and a similar passage in Herodotus, to shew how a mean action may be expressed in bold and lofty words; see section xxxi. —the word here used by Herodotus is *καταχορδεύων*. The other passage of Herodotus, alluded to by Longinus, is in book vii. c. 181, where three Grecian ships are described as resisting ten Persian vessels: speaking of Pythes, who commanded one of the former, he says, "that after his ship was taken, he persevered in fighting," *ες ὁ κατεκρεουργήθη απας*, or, as we should say in English, "till he was quite cut in pieces."—*T.*

[84] *Having bribed the Pythian.*]—The disease of madness was frequently considered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts of impiety and wickedness.—Orestes was struck with madness for killing his mother; Œdipus, for a similar crime; Ajax Oileus for violating the sanctity of a temple, &c.—*T.*

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answer against Demaratus. The Athenians alone assert, that he was thus punished for having plundered the temple of the goddesses at Eleusis[85]. The Argives say, that it was because he had forced many of their countrymen from the refuge they had taken in a temple of Argos[86], and had

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[85] *Goddesses of Eleusis.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

"We turned to the south, into the plain Eleusis, which extends about a league every way; it is probably the plain called Rarion, where they say the first corn was sowed; there is a long hill, which divides the plain, extending to the east within a mile of the sea, and on the south side is not half a mile from it: at the east end of this hill the ancient Eleusis was situated. About a mile before we came to it, I saw the ruins of a small temple to the east, which might be that which was built at the threshing-floor of Triptolemus.

"In the plain, near the north foot of the hill, are many pieces of stones and pillars, which probably are the remains of the temple of Diana Propylæa, which was before the gates of the city; and at the north foot of the hill, on an advanced ground, there are many imperfect ruins, pieces of pillars, and entablatures, and doubtless it is the spot of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine," &c.—*Pococke*, ii. 170.

[86] *Temple of Argos.*]—This Argos was the son of Jupiter and Niobe daughter of Phoronea; he had given his name to Argos, and the territory he possessed. He had no temple, and perhaps not even a chapel; Pausanias speaks only of his monument, which doubtless stood in the wood consecrated to him.

This Argos was very different from him surnamed Panoptes, who had eyes in every part of his body; this was the son of Agenor, and great-grandson of him of whom we speak. —*Larcher.*

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not only put them to the sword, but had impiously set fire to the sacred wood.

LXXVI. Cleomenes, upon consulting the Delphic oracle, had been told that he should certainly become master of Argos: he accordingly led a body of Spartans to the river Erasinus[87], which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake. This lake is believed to shew itself a second time in the territories of Argos, after disappearing for some time in an immense gulph; it is then called by the Argives, Erasinus. Arriving at this river, Cleomenes offered sacrifices to it; the entrails of the victim gave him no encouragement to pass the stream[88], from which incident he affected to praise the river god for his attachment to his countrymen; but, nevertheless, vowed that the Argives should have no occasion to rejoice. From hence he advanced to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the ocean[89]; and embarking his forces, proceeded to Tirynthia, and Nauplia.

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87 *Erasinus.*]—According to Strabo there was another river of this name; the one here mentioned is now called Rasino, and was called by Ovid "ingens Erasinus."

Redditur Argolicis ingens Erasinus in agris. *T.*

88 *No encouragement to pass the stream.*]—In Lucan, when Cæsar arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, the genius of his country is represented as appearing to him, in order to dissuade him from his purpose.—The whole description is admirably beautiful.

89 *A bull to the ocean.*]—A bull was the usual victim to the

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LXXVII. The Argives, hearing of this, advanced to the sea to repel him: as soon as they came to Tirynthe[90], at a place called Sipia, they encamped in the Lacedæmonian territory, at no great distance from the enemy. They were not so much afraid of meeting their adversaries openly in the field, as of falling into an ambuscade: of this indeed they had been forewarned by the Pythian, in the declaration made jointly to the Milesians and themselves:

When[91] female hands the strength of man shall tame,
And among Argives gain a glorious name,

Dii Magni. Horace represents one as sacrificed to Pluto; Virgil to Neptune and Apollo; Homer to the sea, and to rivers. Bacchus was sometimes worshipped with the head of a bull; and I have before observed, that the bull sacrificed to the Ægyptian Typhon gave occasion to the golden calf of the Israelites.—*T.*

90 *Tirynthe.*]—From this place Hercules was sometimes called Tirynthius. It is written by Hesychius, Tiryntha, and by Hoffman, Tyrinths.

91 *When.*]—The first part of this oracle is explained by what Pausanias and Plutarch, with little variation from each other, relate. The Argive women, taking arms under the conduct of Teterilla, repelled the attempts of Cleomenes on their city, with the loss of numbers of his men.—Plutarch, after relating the above, adds some circumstances so very whimsical, that I may well be excused for inserting them. "Some assert," says Plutarch, "that the above feat of the women was performed on the fourth of the month called Hermæus, when to this day they celebrate the feast called Hybristica, when the women are clothed in the coats and breeches of

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Women of Argos shall much grief display,
And thus shall one in future ages say:
"A serpent huge, which wreath'd its body round,
"From a keen sword receiv'd a mortal wound."

These incidents filled the Argives with the greatest terror; they accordingly resolved to regulate their motions by the herald of the adverse army: as often, therefore, as this officer communicated any public order to the Lacedæmonians, they did the same.

LXXVIII. Cleomenes taking notice that the Argives observed what the herald of his army announced, directed that when the signal should be given for his soldiers to dine, they should immediately take their arms and attack the Argives*. The Lacedæmonians upon this gave the signal for dinner, the Argives did the same; but whilst they were engaged in eating, the enemy rushed

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men, and the men in the veils and petticoats of women." He proceeds to say, that the women, to repair the want of men, having many of them lost their husbands, did not marry their servants, but first admitted the best of their neighbours to the rights of citizens, and afterwards married them. But on their reproaching and insulting these husbands, a law passed that new-married women, when they lay for the first time with their husbands, should wear beards.—*T.*

* See this stratagem related more at length by Polyænus, b. i. c. 14.

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upon them, slew a prodigious number, and surrounded many others, who, escaping from the field, took refuge in the grove of Argos.

LXXIX. Whilst they remained here, Cleomenes determined on the following measure:—By means of some deserters, he learned the names of all those Argives who had escaped to this grove; these he called out one by one, telling them that he had received their ransom: this, in the Peloponnese, is a fixed sum, and is settled at two minæ for each captive. The number of the Argives was fifty, whom, as they respectively came out, when called, Cleomenes put to death. This incident was unknown to those who remained in the asylum, the thickness of the wood not allowing them to see what passed. Till at length one climbing a tree, saw the transaction, after which no one appeared when called.

LXXX. Cleomenes then ordered his Helots to encompass the wood with materials for the purpose; and they obeying him, it was set on fire[92].

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92 *Set on fire.*]—Mr. Mason, in his admirable tragedy of Caractacus, has made an excellent use of the supposed sanctity of the groves at Mona. The circumstance of Cleomenes setting fire to the sacred grove of Argos, bears in many instances a resemblance to the burning of the groves of the Druids, by Aulus Didius, the Roman leader.

Caractacus.

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Whilst it was burning, Cleomenes desired to know of one of the fugitives, to what divinity that grove was sacred. He replied, to Argos. At this the Lacedæmonian in great agitation exclaimed—
" O Apollo, thy prediction has misled me, pro-
" mising that I should become master of Argos.
" Thy oracle has, I fear, no other termination."

LXXXI. Cleomenes afterwards permitted the greater part of his forces to return to Sparta; and reserving only a select body of a thousand men, he went to offer sacrifice at the temple of Juno. Wishing to perform the ceremonies himself on the altar, the priest forbade him, saying, it was a privilege granted to no foreigner. Upon this, he ordered the Helots to drag the priest from the altar[93], and beat him. He then sacrificed, and afterwards returned to Sparta.

Caractacus.—Smile, my lov'd child, and imitate the sun
That rises ruddy from behind yon oaks,
To hail your brother victor.

Chorus. That the sun!
Oh horrour, horrour! Sacrilegious fires
Devour our groves: they blaze, they blaze—Oh, sound
The trump again, &c. *T.*

93 *Drag the priest from the altar.*]—A similar act of violence is recorded by Plutarch of Alexander the Great. Wishing to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the success of his designs against Persia, he happened to go there at a time which was deemed inauspicious, and the Pythian re-

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LXXXII. On his return, he was accused before the Ephori[94] of bribery, and of neglecting the opportunity he had of taking Argos. Whether the reply which Cleomenes made was true or false, I am not able to determine: he observed, that having taken possession of the temple of Argos, the prediction of the oracle seemed to him finally completed. He concluded therefore, that he ought not to make any further attempts upon the city, till he should first be satisfied from his sacrifices, whether the deity would assist or oppose him. When he was performing the sacred rites auspiciously in the temple of Juno, a flame of fire[95] burst from the bosom of the sacred

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fused to do her office. Alexander on this went to her himself, and by personal violence dragged her to the temple: fatigued with her exertions against him, she at length exclaimed, "My son, you are invincible." The Macedonian prince expressed himself perfectly satisfied with her answer, and assured his soldiers that it was unnecessary to consult the deity any more.—*T.*

94 *Ephori.*]—The reader will remember that it was the particular office of the Ephori to watch the conduct of the Spartan kings.—*T.*

95 *Flame of fire.*]—The appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed amongst the ancients an auspicious omen; but, like all other prodigies and modes of divination, they varied their conclusions concerning it according to the different circumstances and places in which it appeared. According to Pliny, Amphiaraus was the first inventor of divination by fire.

Aruspicium Delphus invenit, ignispicia Amphiaraus, aus-

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image, which entirely convinced him that he should not take Argos. If this flame had issued from the head, he should have taken the place by storm, but its coming from the breast, decisively declared that all the purposes of the deity were accomplished. His defence appeared plausible and satisfactory to his countrymen, and he was acquitted by a great majority.

LXXXIII. Argos however was deprived of so many of its citizens, that the slaves usurped the management of affairs, and executed the offices of government: but when the sons of those who had been slain, grew up, they obtained possession of the city, and after some contest expelled the slaves, who retired to Tirynthe, which they seized. They for a time forbore to molest each other, till Cleander, a soothsayer and an Arcadian, of the district of Phigasis, coming among them, he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. A tedious war followed, in which the Argives were finally, though with difficulty, victorious.

LXXXIV. The Argives affirm, that on ac-

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picia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum Amphictyon.

Delphus was the inventor of divination by the entrails of beasts, Amphiaraus of that by fire, Tiresias the Theban of that of birds, and Amphictyon of the interpretation of prodigies and dreams.—*T.*

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count of the things above mentioned, Cleomenes lost his reason, and came to a miserable end. The Spartans, on the contrary, will not allow his madness to have been occasioned by any divine interposition; they say, that by communicating with the Scythians[96], he became a drinker

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96 *Communicating with the Scythians.*]—See this story referred to in Athenæus, book x. c. 7; from whence we learn that *επισκυθισαι*, or to imitate the Scythians, became proverbial for intemperate drinking. A curious fragment is there also preserved from Achæus.

> Μων αχελωος ην κεκραμενος πολυς,
> Αλλ ουδε ληξαι τουδε τῳ γενει θεμις
> Καλως μεν ουν αγειν σκυθιστι πιειν.

See also the Adagia of Erasmus, upon the word Episcythizare. Hard drinking was in like manner characteristic of the Thracians.—See Horace:

> Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis
> Pugnare, Thracum est: tollite barbarum
> Morem; verecundumque Bacchum
> Sanguineis prohibete rixis. *L.* i. 27.

Again, the same author,

> Non ego sanius
> Bacchabor Edonis. *L.* ii. 7.

Upon the word Scyphis, in the first quotation, it may not be improper to remark, that Athenæus doubts whether the word *σκυφος*, scyphus, a bowl, quasi *σκυθος*, scythus, be not derived à Scythis.—The effect of intemperate drinking is well described in the Solomon of Prior;

> I drank, I lik'd it not—'twas rage, 'twas noise,
> An airy scene of transitory joys:

In

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of wine, and that this made him mad. The Scythian Nomades, after the invasion of their country by Darius, determined on revenge: with this view they sent ambassadors to form an alliance with the Spartans. It was accordingly agreed, that the Scythians should invade the country of the Medes, by the side of the Phasis: the Spartans, advancing[97] from Ephesus, were to do the same, till the two armies formed a junction. With the Scythians sent on this business, Cleomenes is said to have formed too great an intimacy, and thence to have contracted a habit of drinking, which injured the faculties of his mind. From which incident, whoever are

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In vain I trusted that the flowing bowl
Would banish sorrow, and enlarge the soul.
To the late revel and protracted feast
Wild dreams succeeded, and disorder'd rest.
* * * * *
Add yet unnumber'd ills, that lie unseen
In the pernicious draught; the word obscene
Or harsh, which, once elanc'd, must ever fly
Irrevocable; the too prompt reply,
Seed of severe distrust, and fierce debate,
What we should shun, and what we ought to hate.—*T.*

97 *Advancing.*]—The word in Greek is *αναβαινειν*; and Larcher remarks, that this word is used in almost all the historians, for to advance from the sea, and that therefore the retreat of the ten thousand was called by Xenophon the *Αναβασις*. The illustration is, however, rather unfortunate, as the return of Xenophon was not from the sea, but from Cunaxa, an inland place on the Euphrates, *to* the sea at Trapezus, &c.—*T.*

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desirous to drink intemperately, are said to exclaim Episcythison, "Let us drink like Scythians." —Such is the Spartan account of Cleomenes. To me, however, he seems to have been an object of the divine vengeance on account of Demaratus.

LXXXV. The people of Ægina no sooner received intelligence of his death, than they dispatched emissaries to Sparta, to complain of Leutychides, for detaining their hostages at Athens. The Lacedæmonians, after a public consultation, were of opinion that Leutychides had greatly injured the inhabitants of Ægina; and they determined that he should be given up to them, and be carried to Ægina, instead of such of their countrymen as were detained at Athens. They were about to lead him away, when Theasides, son of Leopropis, a Spartan of approved worth, thus addressed them: "Men of Ægina, "what would you do? would you take away a "Spartan prince, whom his countrymen have "given up? Although the Spartans have in "anger come to this resolution, do ye not fear "that they will one day, if you persist in your "purpose, utterly destroy your country?" This expostulation induced the Æginetæ to change their first intentions: they nevertheless insisted that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and set their countrymen at liberty.

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LXXXVI. When Leutychides arrived at Athens, and claimed the hostages, the Athenians, who were unwilling to give them up, demurred.—They said, that as the two kings had jointly confided these men to their care, it would be unfair to give them up to one of them. Upon their final refusal to surrender them, Leutychides thus addressed them: "In this business, Athe-
"nians, you will do what you please; if you
"give up these men, you will act justly, if you
"do not, you will be dishonest. I am desirous
"however to relate to you what once happened
"in Sparta upon a similar occasion. We have
"a tradition among us, that about three ages
"ago there lived in Lacedæmon a man named
"Glaucus, the son of Epicydes; he was famous
"among his countrymen for many excellent qua-
"lities, and in particular for his integrity. We
"are told, that in process of time a Milesian
"came to Sparta, purposely to solicit this man's
"advice. 'I am come,' said he, addressing
"him, 'from Miletus, to be benefited by your
"justice, the reputation of which, circulating
"through Greece, has arrived at Ionia. I have
"compared the insecure condition of Ionia with
"the undisturbed tranquillity of the Peloponnese; and observing that the wealth of my
"countrymen is constantly fluctuating, I have
"been induced to adopt this measure: I have
"converted half of my property into money,

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"which, from the confidence of its being per-
"fectly secure, I propose to deposit in your
"hands; take it therefore, and with it these
"private marks; you will return it to the per-
"son who shall convince you that he knows
"them.' The Milesian here finished, and Glau-
"cus accepted his money upon these conditions.
"After a long interval of time, the sons of the
"above Milesian came to Sparta, and present-
"ing themselves before Glaucus produced the
"test agreed upon, and claimed the money.
"He however rejected the application with an-
"ger, and assured them that he remembered
"nothing of the matter. 'If,' says he, 'I
"should hereafter be able to recollect the cir-
"cumstance you mention, I will certainly do
"you justice, and restore that which you say
"I have received. If, on the contrary, your
"claim has no foundation, I shall avail myself
"of the laws of Greece against you; I there-
"fore invite you to return to me again, after
"a period of four months.' The Milesians
"accordingly departed in sorrow, considering
"themselves as cheated of their money: Glau-
"cus, on the other hand, went to consult the
"oracle at Delphi. On his enquiring whether
"he might absolve himself from returning the
"money by an oath, the priestess made him this
"reply:

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" Glaucus[98], thus much by swearing you may gain,
" Thro' life the gold you safely may retain:

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[98] *Glaucus, son of Epicydes.*]—The words of this oracle, as has been observed by many writers, and in particular by Grotius, may well be compared to a passage in Zechariah, ch. v. ver. 1—4.

" I looked, and behold a flying roll.—Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth forth over the face of the whole earth: and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof."

The story of Glaucus is also well introduced by Juvenal, Sat. xiii.

Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
Depositum retinere et fraudem jure tuere
Jurando. Quærebat enim quæ numinis esset
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.
Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus, et tamen omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo, veramque probavit
Exstinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
Et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis
Has petitur pœnas peccandi sola voluntas.

See also Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Religion.

" Josephus says, that Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was dying, confessed that he suffered for the injuries which he had done to the Jews. Then he adds, I wonder how Polybius could say that Antiochus perished because he had purposed to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia; *for to intend the thing only, and not perform it, is not worthy of punishment.*—Το γαρ μην ποιησαι το εργον βουλευσαμενον ουκ εστι τιμωριας αξιον.' How

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" Swear then—rememb'ring that the awful grave
" Confounds alike the honest man and knave;
" But still an oath a nameless offspring bears,
" Which tho' no feet it has, no arm uprears,
" Swiftly the perjur'd villain will o'ertake,
" And of his race entire destruction make;
" Whilst their descendants, who their oath regard,
" Fortune ne'er fails to favour and reward.

How contrary to this sentiment of Josephus is the positive declaration of Jesus Christ!

"But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

I cannot properly omit relating in this place a story from Stobæus, somewhat of a similar nature with this before us.—Larcher has done the same.

Archetimus of Erythræa, in Ionia, deposited at Tenedos, in the hands of his friend Cydias, a considerable sum of money. Having demanded it to be returned, the other denied that he had it; and as the dispute grew warm, it was agreed that in three days he should purge himself by an oath. This time was employed by Cydias in making a hollow cane, in which he placed the gold of Archetimus; and, the better to conceal his fraud, he covered the handle of it with a thick bandage of linen. On the appointed day he left his house, resting on this cane, as if indisposed; and arriving at the temple, he placed the cane in the hands of Archetimus, whilst he elevated his own, and swore that he had returned to him the deposit confided to him. Archetimus in anger dashed the cane on the ground: it broke in pieces, the gold fell out, and exposed to the eyes of the spectators the perfidy of Cydias, who died prematurely.—*T.*

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"On this reply, Glaucus entreated the deity to "forgive him; but he was told by the priestess, "that the intention and the action were alike "criminal. Glaucus then sent for the Milesians, "and restored the money.—My motive, O Athe-"nians, for making you this relation, remains to "be told. At the present day no descendant "of Glaucus, nor any traces of his family, "are to be found; they are utterly extirpated "from Sparta. Wherever therefore a trust has "been reposed, it is an act of wisdom to restore "it when demanded."—Leutychides, finding that what he said made no impression upon the Athenians, left the place.

LXXXVII. Before the Æginetæ had suffered for the insults formerly offered to the Athenians, with the intention of gratifying the Thebans, they had perpetrated the following act of violence:—Exasperated against the Athenians for some imagined injury, they prepared to revenge themselves. The Athenians had a quinquireme stationed at Sunium; of this vessel, which was the Theoris[99], and full of the most illustrious Athe-

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[99] *The Theoris.*]—This was a vessel which was every year sent to Delos to offer a sacrifice to Apollo, in consequence of a vow which Theseus had made at his departure for Crete. As soon as the festival celebrated on this occasion was begun, they purified the place, and it was an inviolable law to put no person to death till this vessel should be returned;

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nians, they by some artifice obtained possession, and put all whom they found in her in irons. The Athenians instantly meditated the severest vengeance.

LXXXVIII. There was at Ægina a man greatly esteemed, the son of Cnœthus, his name Nicodromus. From some disgust against his countrymen, he had some time before left the island: hearing that the Athenians were determined on the ruin of Ægina, he agreed with them on certain conditions to deliver it into their hands. He appointed a particular day for the execution of his measures, when they also were to be ready to assist him. He proceeded in his

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and it was sometimes a great while on its passage, particularly when the wind was contrary. The festival called Theoria commences when the priest of Apollo has crowned the prow of the vessel. Theoros was the name of the person sent to offer sacrifice to some god, or consult an oracle; it was given to distinguish such persons from those charged with commissions on civil affairs, who were called Πρεσβεις. —*Larcher.*

See a very poetical description of the arrival of a Theoris at Delos, in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vi. 417, 418.

"On appercevoit dans l'eloignement la Theorie des Atheniens. Telles que les filles de Nerée, lorsqu'elles suivent sur les flots le char de la souveraine des mers, une foule de batimens legers se jouoient autour de la galere sacrée. Leurs voiles, plus eclatantes que la neige, brilloient comme les cygnes qui agitent leurs ailes sur les eaux du Caistre et du Meandre," &c.

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purpose, and made himself master of what is called the Old City.

LXXXIX. The Athenians were not punctual to their engagement; they were not prepared with a fleet able to contend with that of Ægina: and in the interval of their applying to the Corinthians for a reinforcement of ships, the favourable opportunity was lost. The Corinthians, being at that time on very friendly terms with the Athenians, furnished them, at their request, with twenty ships[100]: as their laws forbade them to give these ships, they sold them to their allies for five drachmæ each. With these, which in addition to their own, made a fleet of seventy ships, the Athenians sailed to Ægina, where however they did not arrive till a day after the time appointed.

XC. The Athenians not appearing as had been stipulated, Nicodromus, accompanied by many of the Æginetæ, fled in a vessel from Ægina. The Athenians assigned Sunium for their residence, from whence they occasionally issued to harass and plunder the people of Ægina; but these things happened afterwards.

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100 *With twenty ships.*]—The Corinthians reproached the Athenians with this act of kindness, when they afterward discovered an inclination to assist the Corcyreans.—See *Thucydides*, l. i. c. 41.—*Larcher.*

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XCI. The principal citizens of Ægina having overpowered such of the common people as had taken the part of Nicodromus against them, they proceeded to put their prisoners to death. On this occasion they committed an act of impiety, to atone for which all their earnest endeavours were unavailing; and before they could conciliate the goddess, they were driven from the island. As they were conducting to execution seven hundred of the common people, whom they had taken alive, one of them escaping from his chains, fled to the vestibule of the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros, and seizing the hinges of the door, held them fast: unable to make him quit his hold, they cut off his hands [101], and dragged him away. His hands remained adhering to the valves of the door.

XCII. After the Æginetæ had thus punished their domestic enemies, the seventy vessels of the Athenians appeared, whom they engaged, and were conquered. In consequence of their defeat they applied a second time to the Argives for assistance, which was refused, and for this reason: they complained that the ships of the Æginetæ which Cleomenes had violently seized, had, in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, made a descent upon their coast; to which act of violence

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[101] *Cut off his hands.*]—See *Hume's Essays*, vol. ii. 462.

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some Sicyonian vessels had also contributed. For this the Argives had demanded, by way of compensation, a thousand talents, of which each nation was to pay five hundred. The Sicyonians apologized for their misconduct, and paying one hundred talents were excused the rest. The Æginetæ were too proud to make any concessions. The Argives therefore refused any public countenance to their application for assistance, but a body of about a thousand volunteers went over to them, under the conduct of Eurybates, a man very skilful in the contests of the Pentathlon. The greater part of these returned no more, but were slain by the Athenians at Ægina. Eurybates their leader, victorious in three different single combats, was killed in the fourth, by Sophanes, a Decelian.

XCIII. The Æginetæ, taking advantage of some confusion on the part of the Athenians, attacked their fleet, and obtained a victory, taking four of their ships, with all their crews.

XCIV. Whilst these two nations were thus engaged in hostilities, the domestic of the Persian monarch continued regularly to bid him "Re-"member the Athenians[102]," which incident was

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102 *Remember the Athenians.*]—This incident will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader what is related of the

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farther enforced by the unremitting endeavours of the Pisistratidæ to criminate that people. The king himself was very glad of this pretext, effectually to reduce such of the Grecian states as had refused him "earth and water." He accordingly removed Mardonius from his command, who had been unsuccessful in his naval undertakings; he appointed two other officers to commence an expedition against Eretria and Athens; these were Datis[103], a native of Media, and Artaphernes his nephew, who were commanded totally to subdue both the above places, and to bring the inhabitants captive before him.

XCV. These commanders, as soon as they

Macedonian Philip; who to prevent pride and insolence taking too entire a possession of his heart, from his victories and great prosperity, enjoined a domestic every morning to exclaim to him, "Remember, Philip, thou art a man." The word "Remember" was the last word pronounced by Charles the First to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold. Dr. Juxon gave a plausible answer to the ministers of Cromwell, who interrogated him on the subject; but many are still of opinion, that it involved some mystery never known but by the individuals to whom it immediately related.—*T.*

[103] *Datis.*]—This officer, in the exultation which attended his first successes, exclaimed, ὡς ἡδομαι, και τερπομαι, και χαιρομαι. Χαιρομαι is a barbarism, for the Greeks always say χαιρω. This kind of barbarisms were afterward called Datisms. See the Peace of Aristophanes, verse 290; and the observation of the Scholiast on 288.—*Larcher.*

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had received their appointment advanced to Aleium * in Cilicia, with a large and well-provided body of infantry. Here, as soon as they encamped, they were joined by a numerous reinforcement of marines, agreeably to the orders which had been given. Not long afterward, those vessels arrived to take the cavalry on board, which in the preceding year Darius had commanded his tributaries to supply. The horse and foot immediately embarked, and proceeded to Ionia, in a fleet of six hundred triremes. They did not, keeping along the coast, advance in a right line to Thrace and the Hellespont, but loosing from Samos, they passed through the midst of the islands and the Icarian sea [104], fearing, as I should suppose, to double the promontory of Athos, by which they had in a former year severely suffered. They were farther induced to this course by the island of Naxos †, which before they had omitted to take.

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* Aleium, or Aleian, a plain in Cilicia.—This was at the mouth of the river Pyramus, and near the port of Mallos, at which port probably the army embarked.

[104] *Icarian sea.*]—The story of Dædalus and Icarus, and that the Icarian sea was so named from its being the supposed grave of Icarus, must be sufficiently notorious:

Icarus Icariis nomina fecit aquis.—*Ovid.* *T.*

† It would have been more direct to have proceeded immediately to Naxos, but probably, says Larcher, they intended to repose themselves at Samos, after the fatigues of so long a voyage.

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XCVI. Proceeding therefore from the Icarian sea to this island, which was the first object of their enterprize, they met with no resistance. The Naxians, remembering their former calamities, fled in alarm to the mountains. Those taken captive were made slaves, the sacred buildings and the city were burned. This done, the Persians sailed to the other islands.

XCVII. At this juncture the inhabitants of Delos deserted their island and fled to Tenos. The Persian fleet was directing its course to Delos, when Datis, hastening to the van, obliged them to station themselves at Rhenea, which lies beyond it. As soon as he learned to what place the Delians had retired, he sent a herald to them with this message:—"Why, oh sacred people, "do you fly, thinking so injuriously of me? If "I had not received particular directions from "the king my master to this effect, I, of my own "accord, would never have molested you, nor "offered violence[105] to a place in which two

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[105] *Offered violence.*]—On this subject, from the joint authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Callimachus, the Abbé Barthelemy expresses himself thus:—

"Les fureurs des barbares, les haines des nations, les inimitiés particulières tombent à l'aspect de cette terre sacrée. —Les coursiers de Mars ne la foulent jamais de leurs pieds ensanglantes.—Tout ce que présente l'image de la guerre en

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" deities[106] were born. Return, therefore, and " inhabit your island as before." Having sent this message, he offered upon one of their altars incense to the amount of three hundred talents.

XCVIII. After this measure, Datis led his whole army against Eretria, taking with him the Ionians and Æolians. The Delians say, that at the moment of his departure the island of Delos was affected by a tremulous motion[107], a circumstance which, as the Delians affirm, never happened before or since. The deity, as it should seem by this prodigy, forewarned mankind[108] of

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est sevèrement banni : on n'y souffre pas même l'animal le plus fidèle à l'homme, parce qu'il y détruiroit des animaux plus foibles et plus timides ; enfin la paix a choisi Delos pour son séjour," &c.—Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. According to Strabo, it was not permitted to have dogs at Delos, because they destroyed hares and rabbits.

106 *Two deities.*]—Apollo and Diana.

107 *Tremulous motion.*]—Thucydides relates that this island was affected by an earthquake at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, but that in the memory of man this had never happened before. Larcher is of opinion that Herodotus and Thucydides may speak of the same fact. Wesseling thinks the same.—*T.*

108 *Forewarned mankind.*]—See the beautiful use which Virgil in his first Georgic has made of the credulity of mankind with respect to prognostics ; and in particular his episode on those supposed to precede the death of Julius Cæsar :

Sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat, &c. 464, &c.

See

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the evils which were about to happen. Greece certainly suffered more and greater calamities during the reigns of Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes son of Darius, and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, than in all the preceding twenty generations; these calamities arose partly from the Persians, and partly from the contentions for power among its own great men. It was not therefore without reason that Delos, immoveable before, should then be shaken, which event indeed had been predicted by the oracle:

> "Although Delos be immoveable, I will shake it."

It is also worth observation, that, translated into the Greek tongue *, Darius signifies one who compels, Xerxes a warrior, Artaxerxes a great warrior; and thus they would call them if they used the corresponding terms.

See also the prodigies described by Lucan, as preceding the battle of Pharsalia.

> Tum ne qua futuri
> Spes saltem trepidas mentes levet, addita fati
> Pejoris manifesta fides, superique minaces
> Prodigiis terras implerunt, æthera, pontum, &c. *T.*

* *Into the Greek tongue.*]—The original says, "these names in the *Greek* tongue mean," &c. which seems to imply that the words are themselves significant in Greek, which is not the case; it should surely be "in the Persian tongue," κατα Περσιδα γλωσσαν, otherwise the expression is incorrect, and the remainder of the sentence tautological, and indeed nonsensical.—Hyde, Bochart, and others, have treated of these terms of the old Persic.

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XCIX. The barbarians, sailing from Delos to the other islands, took on board reinforcements from them all, together with children of the inhabitants, as hostages. Cruising round the different islands, they arrived off Carystos[109]; but the people of this place positively refused either to give hostages, or to serve against their neighbours, Athens and Eretria. They were consequently besieged, and their lands wasted; and they were finally compelled to surrender themselves to the Persians.

C. The Eretrians, on the approach of the Persian army, applied to the Athenians for assistance; this the Athenians did not think proper to withhold, they accordingly sent them the four thousand men to whom those lands had been assigned which formerly belonged to the Chalcidian cavalry; but the Eretrians, notwithstanding their application to the Athenians, were far from being firm and determined. They were so divided in their resolutions, that whilst some of them advised the city to be deserted, and a retreat made to the rocks of Eubœa[110], others, expect-

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[109] *Carystos.*]—This place is now called Caristo, and is one of the Cyclades. It was anciently famous for its variegated marble.—*T.*

[110] *Rocks of Eubœa.*]—These are what Virgil calls

Euboicæ cautes ultorque Caphareus

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ing a reward from the Persians, prepared to betray their country[111]. Æschines, the son of Nothon,

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Heyne's observation on this passage of Virgil is sufficiently explicit and satisfactory.—" Promontorium Eubœæ versus orientem O Καφηρευς propter latentia sub undâ saxa et vortices marisque æstum, imprimis naufragia Græcorum a Troja redeuntium infame."

His explanation of the word *ultor* is not so. *Ultor*, says he, is only added as an ornament, to denote that the rock was destructive, tanquam calamitosum saxum. Servius explains it by the story of Nauplius, who, incensed at the Greeks for the loss of his son Palamedes (who was put to death by the stratagems of Ulysses) made this rock the instrument of his vengeance. He placed a light upon it, which in the evening deluding their fleet, caused the shipwreck of numbers of their vessels.—See Propertius :

Nauplius *ultores* sub noctem porrigit ignes
Et natat exuviis Græcia pressa suis.

This, however, is not quite right, for the context plainly shows that the revenge of Minerva against Ajax Oileus was present to the poet's mind when he wrote the epithet *ultor ;* the remark of Heyne is therefore absurd. The following passage from Ovid is as complete a comment on this of Virgil, as if it had been written on purpose :

—— Postquam alta cremata est
Ilion ; et Danaas paverunt Pergama flammas ;
Naryciusque Heros, a virgine, virgine raptâ,
Quam meruit solus pœnam digessit in omnes ;
Spargimur, et ventis inimica per æquora rapti
Fulmina, noctem, imbres, iram cœlique marisque
Perpetimur Danai, *cumulumque Capharea cladis.*

Met. xiv. 466.

If the inhabitants of Caristus had retired, says Larcher, to this place, they would have had little to apprehend from the Persians, whose fleet durst not have attacked them amongst rocks so very dangerous.—*T.*

[111] *Betray their country.*]—Gorgylus, the only Eretrian who

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an Eretrian of the highest rank, observing these different sentiments, informed the Athenians of the state of affairs, advising them to return home, lest they should be involved in the common ruin. The Athenians attended to this advice of Æschines, and by passing over to Oropus, escaped the impending danger.

CI. The Persians arriving at Eretria, came near Temenos[112], Chæreas, and Ægilia; making themselves masters of these places, they disembarked the horse, and prepared to attack the enemy. The Eretrians did not think proper to advance and engage them; the opinion for defending the city had prevailed, and their whole attention was occupied in preparing for a siege. The Persians endeavoured to storm the place, and a contest of six days was attended with very considerable loss on both sides. On the seventh, the city was betrayed to the enemy by two of the more eminent citizens, Euphorbus son of Alcimachus, and Phi-

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had taken part with the Persians, as Xenophon affirms, had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgion and Gorgylus, his descendants, were in possession of them in the 95th Olympiad, when Thymbron, a Lacedæmonian general, passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

[112] *Near Temenos.*]—The Greek is κατα τεμενος; if this had signified a temple, it would have been κατα το τεμενος. See the notes of Wesseling and Valcnaer.—*T.*

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lagrus son of Cyneas. As soon as the Persians got possession of the place, they pillaged and burned the temples to avenge the burning of their own temples at Sardis. The people, according to the orders of Darius, were made slaves[113].

CII. After this victory at Eretria, the Persians staid a few days, and then sailed to Attica, driving all before them, and thinking to treat the Athenians as they had done the Eretrians. There was a place in Attica called Marathon, not far from Eretria, well adapted for the motions of cavalry: to this place therefore they were conducted by Hippias, son of Pisistratus.

CIII. As soon as the Athenians heard this, they advanced to the same spot, under the conduct of ten leaders, with the view of repelling force by force. The last of these was Miltiades. His father Cimon, son of Stesagoras, had been

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[113] *Were made slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless those made captive in war. By the injunction of Darius, so often repeated in Herodotus, and, as we perceive, so strictly enforced, we may understand that the Greeks here taken captive were obliged, in menial occupations, to wait on the persons of their conquerors. Darius in general treated his captives with extraordinary lenity; it was only against the Greeks, who had in a particular manner provoked his indignation, that we find him thus particular in his severity to those taken prisoners.—*T.*

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formerly driven from Athens by the influence of Pisistratus[114], son of Hippocrates. During his exile, he had obtained the prize at the Olympic games, in the chariot-race of four horses. This honour, however, he transferred[115] to Miltiades his uterine brother. At the Olympic games which next followed, he was again victorious, and with the same mares. This honour he suffered to be assigned to Pisistratus, on condition of his being recalled; a reconciliation ensued, and he was permitted to return. Being victo-

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[114] *Pisistratus.*]—I have in different places related many anecdotes of this Pisistratus; I have one now before me in Ælian, which ought not to be omitted. If he met any person who seemed to be idle, he asked him why he was unemployed: If, he would say, your oxen are dead, take mine, and go to your usual business in the field; if you want seed, take some of mine. This he did, says Ælian, lest the idleness of these people should prompt them to raise seditious plots against him.—*T.*

[115] *He transferred.*]—This thing we find it was a frequent practice to do. From Pausanias we learn a singular fact; that they who obtained the prize at wrestling, being unable to substitute any person in their room, were accustomed to take bribes to declare themselves natives of places to which they did not belong. The same author informs us, that Dionysius the tyrant frequently sent agents to Olympia, to bribe the conquerors to declare themselves natives of Syracuse. It is proper to add, that they who were mean enough thus to sacrifice the glory of their country to their avarice, or perhaps, as it might occasionally happen, their pride, were subject to the punishment of exile from those cities to which they did really belong.—*T.*

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rious a third time, on the same occasion, and with the same mares, he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus, Pisistratus himself being then dead. He was assassinated in the night, near Prytaneum, by some villains sent for the purpose: he was buried in the approach to the city, near the hollow way; and in the same spot were interred the mares[116] which had three times obtained the prize at the Olympic games. If we except the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, no other ever obtained a similar honour. At this period, Stesagoras, the eldest son of Cimon, resided in the Chersonese with his uncle Miltiades; the youngest was brought up at Athens under Cimon himself, and named Miltiades, from the founder of the Chersonese.

CIV. This Miltiades, the Athenian leader, in advancing from the Chersonese, escaped from two incidents which alike threatened his life: he was pursued as far as Imbros by the Phœnicians, who were exceedingly desirous to take him alive, and present him to the king; on his return home, where he thought himself secure, his enemies accused, and brought him to a public trial, under

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116 *Interred the mares.*]—See this fact mentioned by Ælian in his History of Animals, l. xii. c. 40.: Where we are also told, that Evagoras, mentioned in the subsequent paragraph, in like manner buried his victorious horses.—*T.*

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pretence of his aiming at the sovereignty of the Chersonese; from this also he escaped, and was afterward chosen a general of the Athenians by the suffrages of the people.

CV. The Athenian leaders, before they left the city, dispatched Phidippides[117] to Sparta: he was an Athenian by birth, and his daily employment was that of a courier*. To this Phidippides, as he himself affirmed, and related to the Athenians, the god Pan appeared on mount Parthenius[118], which is beyond Tegea. The deity called him by his name, and commanded him to ask the Athenians why they so entirely neglected him[119], who not only wished them well, but who had frequently rendered them service, and would

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117 *Phidippides.*]—This name is differently written, Phidippides and Philippides.

* Larcher translates this literally from the Greek, and calls Philippides "un Hemerodrome."

118 *Mount Parthenius.*]—This place was so named, quasi Virgineus, from the virgins who there offered sacrifice to Venus, or enjoyed the exercise of hunting. Pausanias, in his eighth book, speaks of a temple here erected to Pan, "in the very place," says he, "where the god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him some important advice."—*T.*

119 *Neglected him.*]—The note of Larcher on this passage seems a little remarkable: I therefore give it at length.

"Clemens of Alexandria says, that the Athenians did not even know Pan before Phidippides told them of his existence. With the respect due to a father of the church,

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do so again. All this the Athenians believed, and as soon as the state of their affairs permitted, they erected a temple to Pan[120] near the citadel: ever since the above period, they venerate the god by annual sacrifices, and the race of torches[121].

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this reasoning does not to me seem just; because the Athenians had not yet instituted festivals in honour of Pan, it by no means follows that they knew nothing of him. The majority of feasts instituted in catholic countries, in honour of saints, are greatly posterior to the period of their deaths, and take their date, like those of Pan, among the Athenians, from the time when their protection and its effects were for the first time experienced."

If this be not a sneer at the Romish saints, it is certainly very like one.—*T.*

It is but justice to Larcher to add, that in his second edition he has left out the latter part of the above note.

[120] *To Pan.*]—This sacred building to Pan is mentioned by Pausanias, l. i. c. 28. After the battle of Marathon, they sung in honour of this deity a hymn, which is given by Athenæus, Deipnosoph. l. xv. c. 14, but more correctly by Brunck, in his Analecta. Brunck, however, and Wyttenbach, are both of opinion that this hymn alluded to a victory obtained by some poet at the Panathenæa.—See the remainder of Larcher's note on this passage.

[121] *Race of torches.*]—The manner of this race was as follows:—A man with a torch in his hand ran from the altar of the god, in whose honour the race was celebrated, to some certain spot, without extinguishing his torch; if the torch went out he gave it to a second, and he to a third, if he met with the same accident; if the third was also unfortunate, the victory was adjudged to no one.

This feast was celebrated in honour of various deities, as

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CVI. Phidippides, who was sent by the Athenian generals, and who related his having met with Pan, arrived at Sparta on the second day[122]

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of Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Æsculapius, &c. In the Panathenæa, or feasts of Minerva, the Lampadophori ran from the Piræum; from the Ceramicus or academy, in those of Vulcan or Prometheus. There was in the academy a statue of Cupid, consecrated by Pisistratus, where they lighted the sacred torches in the courses instituted in honour of these gods. The same honour was rendered to Pan, as we learn from this passage in Herodotus, and in the manuscript lexicon of Photius.

To this custom various authors allude, and amongst others Lucretius:

> Augescunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur,
> Inque brevi spatio mutantur sæcla animantum,
> Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.

I am of opinion that there is an allusion to this custom also in an epigram of Alcæus of Messina, preserved in Brunck:

> Beauty having a torch in his hand runs swiftly.
> Ἡ δε ὥρη λαμπαδ' εχεσα τρεχει. *Larcher.*

[122] *On the second day.*]—Larcher, in his observation on this passage, corrects a mistake of Pliny the naturalist. "It was thought," says Pliny, "a great thing that Phidippides ran in two days 1140 stadia, that is to say, the distance betwixt Athens and Lacedæmon, till Lanisis (Larcher says, I know not on what authority, Anistis) and Philonides, who was a courier of Alexander the Great, ran in one day 1200 stadia, or the distance betwixt Sicyon and Elis." "Allowing," says Larcher, "for the windings of the road betwixt Sicyon and Elis, the distance is no more than 600 stadia of those which are eight to a mile, of which stadia there are 1140 betwixt Athens and Sparta. If Pliny in this

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of his departure from Athens. He went immediately to the magistrates, and thus addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians supplicate your assistance, and entreat you not "to suffer the most ancient city of Greece to "fall into the hands of the Barbarians: Eretria "is already subdued, and Greece weakened by "the loss of that illustrious place." After the above speech of Phidippides, the Lacedæmonians resolved to assist the Athenians; but they were prevented from doing this immediately by the prejudice of an inveterate custom. This was the ninth day of the month, and it was a practice with them to undertake no enterprize before the moon was at the full[123]; for this, therefore, they waited.

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place meant to speak of the smaller stadium, he ought to have said so, because just above he spoke of the greater stadium, as the passage itself proves."

I may be allowed in this place to correct an error of Larcher, who misquotes the above passage from Pliny; he calls Anistis and Philonides *couriers d'Alexandre*, whereas the words of Pliny are, "donec Anistis cursor Lacedæmonius, & Philonides Alexandri Magni," that is, till Anistis a Lacedæmonian courier, and Philonides a courier of Alexander, &c. Pliny, it may be added, in the same chapter (book vii. c. 20.) speaks of people who in the circus could run 160 miles a day, and of a boy who betwixt noon and evening ran 75 miles.

[123] *Moon was at the full.*]—I will first give the reader what Plutarch, in his Essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, remarks on this passage, and afterward the observation of

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CVII. In the night before Hippias conducted the Barbarians to the plains of Marathon, he

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Larcher, which seems to me at least a sufficient and satisfactory answer to the censure of Plutarch.

"Herodotus is also evidently convicted of reporting falsely of the Lacedæmonians, saying that waiting for the full moon they did not assist the Athenians at Marathon; but they not only made numberless military excursions at the beginning of the month, and without waiting for the full moon, but they wanted so very little of being present at this battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month Boedromion, that on their arrival they found the dead still lying in the field. Yet Herodotus has thus written concerning the full moon." Plutarch then adds the passage before us, after which he says, "Thou, O Herodotus, transferrest the full moon to the beginning of the month, when she is but yet in her first quarter, and at the same time confoundest the heavens, days, and all things."

"The Lacedæmonians," says Larcher, "did not commence a march before the full moon. This is confirmed by the evidence of Pausanias, b. i. c. 28. of Lucian, in his Tract on Astrology, c. 25, who imputes this regulation to Lycurgus, and of the author of the Tract on Rivers, printed amongst the works of Plutarch; of Hermogenes also, and others. In defiance of these authorities, Plutarch, not satisfied with denying the fact, asserts, that the battle of Marathon took place on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that the Lacedæmonians, having arrived a short time after the battle, must consequently have begun their march before the full moon. But is it possible to believe that Plutarch, who lived six ages after that battle, should be better informed concerning its date than Herodotus, who often communicated with those who were there in person? Plutarch, who always represents Herodotus as a malignant wretch, still allows him the praise of ingenuity; but if he had been dull as any Bœotian, I much doubt whether

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saw this vision: he thought that he lay with his mother[124]. The inference which he drew from this was, that he should again return to Athens, be restored to his authority, and die in his own house of old age: he was then executing the office of a general. The prisoners taken in Eretria he removed to Ægilea, an island belonging to the Styreans; the vessels which arrived at Marathon, he stationed in the port, and drew up the Barbarians in order as they disembarked. Whilst he was thus employed, he was seized with a fit of sneezing[125], attended with a very unusual

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he could have dared to advance a falsehood like this, concerning a matter so very recent, and of which there were still so many evidences, when he recited his history at the Olympic games."

[124] *Lay with his mother.*]—This was considered as a fortunate dream, for in a case like this a man's mother intimated his country. Cæsar had a similar dream, at which, although, as Larcher observes, he affected to disbelieve the immortality of the soul, he was rendered uneasy; but the interpreters of dreams, easily as we may suppose, revived his spirits, by assuring him that he should one day become the master of the world.

[125] *Sneezing.*]—The act of sneezing was considered as an auspicious omen, at least we find Penelope in the Odyssey welcoming it as such from Telemachus:

> She spoke—Telemachus then sneez'd aloud;
> Constrain'd, his nostrils echoed through the crowd;
> The smiling queen the happy omen bless'd;
> So may these impious fall by fate oppress'd.

Pliny says, that sneezing in the morning was unlucky, sneezing at noon fortunate; to sneeze to the right was lucky,

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cough. The agitation into which he was thrown, being an old man, was so violent, that as his teeth were loose, one of them dropped out of his mouth upon the sand. Much pains were taken to find it, but in vain; upon which Hippias remarked with a sigh to those around him, "This coun-
"try is not ours, nor shall we ever become
"masters of it—my lost tooth possesses all that
"belongs to me."

CVIII. Hippias conceived that he saw in the above incident, the accomplishment of his vision. In the mean time the Athenians, drawing themselves up in military order near the temple of Hercules, were joined by the whole force of the Plateans. The Athenians had formerly sub-

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to the left, and near a place of burial, the reverse. The Latins, when any one sneezed, "salvere jusserunt," or as we should say, cried, "save you;" which custom remains to the present period, but for which antiquarians account very differently; but it is generally believed to have arisen from some disease, with which those who were infected inevitably died. Aristotle's account seems as satisfactory as any other why it should be deemed auspicious: "It is," says he, "a motion of the brain, which through the nostrils expels what is offensive, and in some degree demonstrates internal strength." He adds, "that medical people, if they were able to provoke the act of sneezing from their patients, who might be thought dangerously indisposed, conceived hopes of their recovery."—*T.*

It is a pity that the ancients did not know the use o snuff; what vast fortunes might have been made, and what victories won!

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mitted to many difficulties on account of the Plateans, who now, to return the obligation, gave themselves up to their direction. The occasion was this: the Plateans being oppressed by the Thebans, solicited the protection of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides, and of such Lacedæmonians as were at hand; they disclaimed, however, any interference, for which they assigned this reason: "From us," said they, "situated at so great a distance, you can "expect but little assistance; for before we can "even receive intelligence of your danger, you "may be effectually reduced to servitude; we "would rather recommend you to apply to the "Athenians, who are not only near, but able to "protect you." The Lacedæmonians, in saying this, did not so much consider[126] the interest of the Plateans, as they were desirous of seeing the Athenians harassed by a Bœotian war. The

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[126] *Did not so much consider.*]—Plutarch, in his tract on the Malignity of Herodotus, speaks thus of this passage: "Herodotus representing this fact, adds, not as a matter of suspicion or opinion, but as a certainty well known to him, that the Lacedæmonians gave this counsel to the Plateans, not from any regard or good will to them, but from the wish to involve the Athenians in trouble, by engaging them with the Bœotians. If then Herodotus be not malignant, the Lacedæmonians must have been both fraudful and malevolent: the Athenians must also have been fools, in permitting themselves thus to be imposed on, and the Plateans were introduced not from any respect, but merely as an occasion of war."—*T.*

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advice was nevertheless accepted, and the Plateans going to Athens, first offered a solemn sacrifice to the twelve deities, and then sitting near the altar, in the attitude of supplicants, they placed themselves formally under the protection of the Athenians. Upon this the Thebans led an army against Platea, to defend which, the Atheneans appeared with a body of forces. As the two armies were about to engage, the Corinthians interfered; their endeavours to reconcile them so far prevailed, that it was agreed, on the part of both nations, to suffer such of the people of Bœotia as did not choose to be ranked as Bœotians, to follow their own inclinations. Having effected this, the Corinthians retired, and their example was followed by the Athenians; these latter were on their return attacked by the Bœotians, whom they defeated. Passing over the boundaries, which the Corinthians had marked out, they determined that Asopus and Hysias should be the future limits between the Thebans and Plateans. The Plateans having thus given themselves up to the Athenians, came to their assistance at Marathon.

CIX. The Athenian leaders were greatly divided in opinion; some thought that a battle was by no means to be hazarded, as they were so inferior to the Medes in point of number; others, among whom was Miltiades, were anxious to

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engage the enemy. Of these contradictory sentiments, the less politic appeared likely to prevail, when Miltiades addressed himself to the Polemarch[127], whose name was Callimachus of Aphidnæ. This magistrate, elected into his office by vote, has the privilege of a casting voice: and according to established custom, is equal in point of dignity and influence to the military leaders. Miltiades addressed him thus: "Upon you, O Callimachus, it alone depends, "whether Athens shall be enslaved, or whether, "in the preservation of its liberties, it shall per-"petuate your name even beyond the glory of "Harmodius and Aristogiton. Our country is "now reduced to a more delicate and dan-"gerous predicament than it has ever before "experienced; if conquered we know our fate, "and must prepare for the tyranny of Hippias; "if we overcome, our city may be made the first "in Greece. How this may be accomplished, "and in what manner it depends on you, I will

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127 *Polemarch.*]—The polemarch was the third of the nine archons; it was his business to offer sacrifice to Diana, surnamed Agrotera, and to Mars; he had the care and protection of all strangers and foreigners who resided at Athens, over whom he had the same authority as the archon had over the citizens; he regulated the funeral games celebrated in honour of those who died in war; he was also to see that the children of those who lost their lives in the public service had a sufficient maintenance from the public treasury.—*T.*

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"explain: the sentiments of our ten leaders "are divided, some are desirous of an engage- "ment, others the contrary. If we do not "engage, some seditious tumult will probably "arise, which may prompt many of our citizens "to favour the cause of the Medes; if we "come to a battle before any evil of this kind "take place, we may, if the gods be not against "us, reasonably hope for victory: all these "things are submitted to your attention, and "are suspended on your will.—If you accede "to my opinion, our country will be free, our "city the first in Greece; if you shall favour "the opinions of those who are averse to an "engagement, you may expect the contrary of "all the good I have enumerated."

CX. These arguments of Miltiades produced the desired effect upon Callimachus, from whose interposition it was determined to fight. Those leaders[128], who from the first had been solicitous to engage the enemy, resigned to Miltiades the

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[128] *Those leaders.*]—Of the ten Athenian generals, it was customary to elect one from each tribe, upon which occasion a memorable saying of Philip of Macedon is preserved by Plutarch in his apophthegms.—"I envy," says Philip, "the good fortune of the Athenians; they every year can find ten men qualified to command their troops, whilst I on my part am only able to find Parmenio, who is capable of conducting mine."—*T.*

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days of their respective command. This he accepted, but did not think proper to commence the attack till the day of his own particular command arrived in its course.

CXI. When this happened, the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the following order: Callimachus, as Polemarch, commanded the right wing, in conformity with the established custom of the Athenians; next followed the tribes, ranged in close order, according to their respective ranks; the Platæans, placed in the rear, formed the left wing. Ever since this battle, in those solemn and public sacrifices, which are celebrated every fifth year*, the herald implores happiness for the Platæans, jointly with the Athenians. Thus the Athenians produced a front equal in extent to that of the Medes. The ranks in the centre† were not very deep, which of course constituted their weakest part; but the two wings were more numerous and strong.

CXII. The preparations for the attack being

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* *Every fifth year.*]—Herodotus doubtless means to refer to the feast of the Panathenæa, which was celebrated every fifth year.

† *The centre.*]—The centre was composed of the tribes of Leontes and Antiochis, of which Themistocles commanded the former, Aristides the latter.

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thus made, and the appearance of the victims favourable, the Athenians ran toward the Barbarians. There was betwixt the two armies an interval of about eight furlongs. The Persians seeing them, approach by running, prepared to receive them and as they observed the Athenians to be few in number, destitute both of cavalry * and archers, they considered them as mad, and rushing on certain destruction; but as soon as the Greeks mingled with the enemy, they behaved with the greatest gallantry [129]. They were the first Greeks that I know of, who ran to attack an enemy [130];

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* *Cavalry.*]—The Athenians having no means themselves of rearing cavalry, retained those of Thessaly in their pay, but at this period Thessaly was in the power of the Persians: beside this, the Thessalians were attached to the family of Pisistratus.—*Larcher.*

129 *Greatest gallantry.*]—Xenophon says that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice five hundred. Ælian, with some slight variation, relates the same fact. We read in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus the polemarch vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies, and unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room.—Plutarch reproaches Herodotus for saying nothing of this vow.—*Larcher.*

130 *Ran to attack an enemy.*]—According to Pausanias, long before this period, the Messenians ran to attack the Lacedæmonians, "but this author," says Larcher, "is too modern to oppose to Herodotus." It was certainly after-

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they were the first also who beheld without dismay the dress and armour of the Medes; for hitherto in Greece the very name of a Mede excited terror.

CXIII. After a long and obstinate contest, the Barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians and the Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time the Athenians and Platæans, in the two wings, drove the Barbarians before them; then making an inclination toward each other, by contracting themselves, they formed against that part of the enemy which had penetrated and defeated the Grecian centre, and obtained a complete victory[131], killing a prodigious number, and pur-

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wards the common custom of the Greeks thus to meet the enemy. Cæsar practised this mode of attack against Pompey, and with success.

[131] *A complete victory.*]—" It is surprising," says Larcher, " that in his account of this battle, Herodotus makes no mention of Aristides; his silence is amply supplied by Plutarch. Aristides was one of those who advised an engagement, and when the day of his particular command arrived, gave up his right to Miltiades, and the other generals followed his example. Themistocles and Aristides were the two commanders, who at the head of their different tribes drove the Persians to their ships.—Aristides was left on the field to guard the prisoners and booty: the confidence placed in him by his country was not disappointed; the gold and

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suing the rest to the sea, where they set fire to their vessels *.

CXIV. Callimachus the Polemarch †, after the most signal acts of valour, lost his life in this battle. Stesileus also, the son of Thrasylus, and one of the Grecian leaders, was slain. Cynægirus [132], son of Euphorion, after seizing one of the

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silver which was scattered about, the tents and vessels which were taken full of splendid and valuable effects, he neither touched himself, nor would permit others to do so."

* The battle of Marathon took place on the 6th of the month Metageitmon, corresponding with our 17th of August, and 490 years before the Christian æra.

† Herodotus makes no mention of the manner in which Callimachus died, but the Rhetoricians have asserted that he was pierced by such a number of spears and arrows, that he expired in a standing position, being propped up by hostile weapons, and unable to fall.—See Stobæus, s. 7.

132 *Cynægirus.*]—He was the brother of Æschylus, the celebrated tragic poet; he distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon; but it does not appear that he had any separate command. A remarkable incident is related by Lucan of a man, who, seizing the beak of his enemy's ship, had his hand cut off; undismayed by which, he seized it with the other, of which also he was deprived.

He, the bold youth, as board and board they stand,
Fix'd on a Roman ship his daring hand;
Full on his arm a mighty blow descends,
And the torn limb from off his shoulder rends;
The rigid nerves are cramp'd with stiff'ning cold,
Convulsive grasp, and still retain their hold:

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vessels by the poop, had his hand cut off with an axe, and died of his wounds ; with these, many other eminent Athenians perished.

CXV. In addition to their victory, the Athenians obtained possession of seven of the enemy's vessels. The Barbarians retired with their fleet, and, taking on board the Eretrian plunder, which they had left in the island, they passed the promontory of Sunium, thinking to circumvent the Athenians, and arrive at their city before them.

Nor sunk his valour, by the pain deprest,
But nobler rage inflam'd his mangled breast :
His left remaining hand the combat tries,
And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies ;
The same hard destiny the left demands,
And now a naked helpless trunk he stands, &c.—*T.*

Larcher mentions that Phasis, a painter, not otherwise known, represented Cynægirus with both his hands.—Cornelius Longinus wrote an epigram on the subject, which is preserved in the Anthology, b. iv. c. viii. e. 32.—The following is the translation of Grotius :

Te Phasis, Cynegire, tamen non ut Cynegirum,
Instructum siquidem fecit utraque manu :
Sed sapuit Pictor, manibus qui noluit orbum
Pingere, qui manuum nomine, morte caret.

Plutarch relates that a man of the name of Tharsippus was the first who carried the news of the victory to Athens. —At the moment of victory, without quitting his arms, he flew to the Archons, and, announcing the glorious event, fell dead at their feet.

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The Athenians impute the prosecution of this measure to one of the Alcmæonidæ, who they say held up a shield[133] as a signal to the Persians, when they were under sail.

CXVI. While they were doubling the cape of Sunium, the Athenians lost no time in hastening

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133 *Held up a shield.*]—"For my part," says Reiske, "I by no means clearly understand this passage: to whom did the Alcmæonidæ show the shield, to the Persians or Athenians? Certainly not to the last, for the Athenians were then in their camp: to the Persians then;—but why to these? To hold up a shield is, according to Diodorus Siculus, ii. 444, a signal for battle; but why should the Alcmæonidæ hold up a shield to the Persians, who were on board their vessels, as a signal to engage a body of land forces?"

The above reasoning of Reiske seems far from satisfactory. If any previous agreement existed betwixt the Alcmæonidæ and the Persians, the holding up of the shield might intimate what could only be known to the persons concerned; and so far from being a signal of battle, might suggest entirely the reverse, and tell them that this was no proper time to hazard an attack. The art of signal-making is now brought to an extraordinary degree of perfection; and at sea in particular, orders of the minutest kind are communicated, and distinctly understood, by the simplest process imaginable, hoisting or lowering colours, sails, &c. The more common signal, as being the more obvious in ancient times, was by fire. In Æschylus, Agamemnon tells Clytemnestra, that he will inform her of the capture of Troy by lighting fires; this is represented as being done, and a messenger comes to inform the queen that Troy is taken, for Agamemnon's signals had been seen.—*T.*

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to the defence of their city*, and effectually prevented the designs of the enemy. Retiring from the temple of Hercules, on the plains of Marathon, they fixed their camp near another temple of the same deity, in Cynosargis. The Barbarians anchoring off Phalerum, the Athenian harbour, remained there some time, and then retired to Asia.

CXVII. The Persians lost[134] in the battle of

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* Frontinus affirms that the Persians, seeing a great number of armed troops on their arrival off Athens, believed them to be a fresh and distinct army, and therefore fled hastily to Asia.

[134] *The Persians lost.*]—Plutarch remarks on this passage, that Herodotus derogates from the honour of the victory, by misrepresenting and diminishing the number of the slain. Some have affirmed (see Suidas, at the word ποικιλη) that the Persians lost two hundred thousand men; but the account of Herodotus certainly appears the more probable.

The battle of Marathon, according to Pausanias, was represented in the portico at Athens called Pæcile, from the variety of paintings on its walls. In this picture the most celebrated Athenian and Plataean heroes were drawn from the life: in one part the Barbarians are flying into the marsh, and in the other the Greeks are slaughtering the enemy as they are entering the Phœnician vessels.

The fate of Hippias is differently mentioned. Justin says that he fell in the battle of Marathon. Suidas relates that he fled to Lemnos, where falling ill, he died. Pausanias affirms that, every night, the neighing of horses and the cries of combatants were heard on the plains of Marathon. It is not a little remarkable, which Larcher also observes, that

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Marathon six thousand four hundred men, the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two. In the heat of the engagement a most remarkable incident occurred: an Athenian, the son of Cuphagoras, whose name was Epizelus, whilst valiantly fighting, was suddenly struck with blindness. He had received no wound, nor any kind of injury, notwithstanding which he continued blind for the remainder of his life. I have been informed that Epizelus, in relating this calamity, always declared that during the battle he was opposed by a man of gigantic stature, completely armed, whose beard covered the whole of his shield: he added, that the spectre passing him, killed the man who stood next him. This, as I have heard, was the narrative of Epizelus [135].

CXVIII. Datis, on his return with the fleet

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our countryman Spon, who travelled over the country in the year 1676, was told by the inhabitants of the place, that they every night heard loud and strange noises on this spot. The Albanese, with whom Spon lodged, assured him that he frequently heard what seemed to him the voices of women complaining, which, when he approached the spot, ceased.

These good people, says Larcher, had surely never heard of the battle of Marathon; but the tradition had descended to them.

See Chandler, s. xxxv. p. 165 and 166.

135 *Narrative of Epizelus.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, says, that numbers of those who foug that the battle of Marathon believed that they saw at the head of their ranks Theseus in arms, attacking the Persians.—*T.*

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to Asia, being at Mycone, saw in the night a vision; the particulars of it are not related, but as soon as the morning appeared, he examined every vessel of the fleet; finding a golden image of Apollo, on board a Phœnician ship, he inquired from whence it had been taken: having learned to what temple it belonged, he took it himself in his own ship to Delos. The Delians being returned to their island, he first deposited the image in the temple, and then enjoined the inhabitants to remove it to the Theban Delium, which is on the sea-coast opposite to Chalcis. Having done this, Datis returned; the Delians paid no attention to his request; but in the twentieth year after the above event the Thebans removed the image to Delium, by the command of an oracle.

CXIX. Datis and Artaphernes, sailing to Asia, carried the captive Eretrians[136] to Susa. Darius, before their defeat, had expressed the severest indignation against them, as having first and unjustly commenced hostilities: but when they were conducted to his presence, effectually humbled and reduced to his power, he showed no farther resentment, but appointed them a resi-

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[136] *Captive Eretrians.*]—Larcher tells us, from Philostratus, that the Persians took 780 prisoners at Eretria, but that a great many escaped among the rocks of Eubœa, and that only 400 were carried to Susa, of whom ten were women.

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dence at a place called Ardericca*, in the district of Cissia, one of the royal stations. This is distant from Susa two hundred and ten furlongs, and forty from a well, which produced the three substances of bitumen, salt, and oil; it is drawn up with an engine, to which a kind of bucket is suspended made of half a skin; it is then poured into one cistern, and afterward removed into a second. The substances by this process separate; the bitumen and the salt form themselves into distinct masses. The Persians collect the oil, which they call rhadinace, into vessels; this last is of a dark colour, and has a strong smell. In this place Darius placed the Eretrians, and here to my memory† they have remained, preserving their ancient language.

CXX. After the moon had passed the full[137],

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* *Ardericca.*]—This is not the place spoken of in Clio, c. 185; that Ardericca was in the district of Babylon.

† If we may credit Philostratus, they remained on the same spot at the beginning of the Christian æra.

137 *Had passed the full.*]—Mankind in all ages, from observing the visible operations of the moon upon the ocean, have supposed its influence to extend not only to human affairs, but to the state of the human body. The justly celebrated Dr. Mead wrote a treatise, intitled De imperio Solis et Lunæ in Corpore Humano; but all those prejudices and this superstition are now exploded by the more satisfactory deductions of a sound philosophy. It has been reasonably urged, that as the most accurate and subtle

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a body of two thousand Lacedæmonians arrived at Athens; such was their expedition, that they reached Attica in three days from their leaving Sparta. They did not arrive till after the battle, but so great was their desire of beholding the Medes, that to gratify their curiosity they proceeded to Marathon; they then returned, after congratulating the Athenians on their prowess and victory.

CXXI. I am equally astonished at having heard, and reluctant to believe, that the Alcmæonidæ held up a shield by way of signal to the Persians, wishing to subject the Athenians to the power of the Barbarians and Hippias. No man, in his hatred against all tyrants, could possibly

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barometers are not at all affected by the various positions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body should be within the sphere of its influence.

Some travellers have remarked, that in the countries of the East it is customary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey: from this peculiarity Mr. Harmer takes occasion to comment on Proverbs, vii. 19, 20, and 1 Samuel, xx. 24, which passages he explains by referring them to some similar prejudice among the ancient Jews:

Proverbs, vii. 19, 20. The good man is not at home, he is gone a long journey: he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the *appointed time*. "The appointed time," says Mr. Harmer, "may properly be rendered the *new moon*."

1 Samuel xx. 24.—So David hid himself in the field: and when the *new moon* was come, the king sat him down to eat meat.—*T.*

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exceed, or even equal, Callias the son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus. Callias[138] was ever distinguished by his implacable animosity against Pisistratus; and when the tyrant was expelled, and his effects sold by public auction, he was the only man who dared to become a purchaser.

CXXII. The above personage deserves to be remembered, not only for what we have already mentioned, proving him a man extremely zealous for the liberties of his country, but for the honours he obtained[139] at the Olympic games. He obtained the first prize in the horse-race, the second in that of the chariots drawn by four horses: at the Pythian games he was also victorious, upon

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138 *Callias.*]—A whimsical story is told of this Callias, in Plutarch's Life of Aristides: he was a man of mean rank, but happening to be at the battle of Marathon, was taken by a Barbarian for a king, on account of his long hair, and a bandage which he wore round his forehead. The Persian fell at his feet, and discovered to him a prodigious quantity of gold in a ditch: Callias slew him, and took the money. But how does this accord with what is elsewhere written of Aristides, that he remained on the field, and prevented the plunder being taken by any private hands?—*T.*

Avarice seems to have been the prevailing passion of Callias, and to have overcome his patriotism.—This vice he inherited from his father Alcmæon.

139 *Honours he obtained.*]—The whole of this chapter is wanting, in many manuscripts: Valcnaer seems to think it has no business here; and Larcher believes it was inserted by some sophist, who wished to pay his court to Hipponicus, son of this Callias.—*T.*

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which occasion he treated the Greeks with great magnificence[140]. His liberality also to his three daughters was equally conspicuous: as soon as they were of age to marry, he assigned them a noble portion, and suffered each to choose her husband from among all the Athenians.

CXXIII. But all the Alcmæonidæ, as well as Callias, were remarkable for their enmity to tyrants; I am therefore the more astonished to hear, and unwilling to believe, the circumstance imputed to them, of holding up a shield as a signal to the Persians. While a system of tyranny prevailed in their country, they lived in voluntary exile; and it was by their contrivance that the Pisistratidæ resigned their power: for these reasons they seem to me to have more assisted the cause of freedom than either Harmodius or Aristogiton. These latter, by destroying Hipparchus, so far from repressing the ambitious designs of the other Pisistratidæ, only inflamed them the more. The Alcmæonidæ were avowedly the deliverers of Athens, if indeed it was at their suggestion that

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140 *With great magnificence.*]—I presume it was customary to do this in proportion to the rank and affluence of the victor. I find in Athenæus, book i. chap. 3, several examples to this effect.—Alcibiades, in consequence of being victorious at the Olympic games, offered a sacrifice to the Olympian Jupiter, and gave an entertainment to all the assembly of Olympia. Ion of Chios, having obtained the prize for his tragedy, gave to every Athenian a flask of Chian wine.—*T.*

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the Pythian, as I have before described, enjoined the Lacedæmonians to restore its freedom.

CXXIV. It may be asked, whether they were induced to betray their country, from any resentment against the people of Athens; but no individuals were more illustrious at Athens, or held in more general estimation. The story, therefore, of the shield, imputed to this motive, contradicts probability: that a shield was held up cannot be disputed, but by whom I can by no means farther determine.

CXXV. The Alcmæonidæ were always among the most distinguished characters of Athens; but Alcmæon himself, and Megacles, his immediate descendant, were more particularly illustrious. Alcmæon, son of Megacles, received with great kindness, and obliged by many services, those Lydians whom Crœsus sent from Sardis to consult the oracle at Delphi. On their return, they did not omit to acquaint Crœsus with his benevolence; he instantly sent for him to Sardis, and presented him with as much gold as he was able to carry. To improve the value of this gift, Alcmæon made use of the following artifice:—Providing himself with a large tunic, in which were many folds, and with the most capacious buskins he could procure, he followed his guide to the royal treasury; there rolling himself amongst the golden ingots, he first stuffed his buskins as full of gold

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as possibly he could, he then filled all the folds of his robes, his hair, and even his mouth with gold dust. This done, with extreme difficulty he staggered from the place, from his swelling mouth, and projections all around him, resembling any thing rather than a man. When Crœsus saw him, he burst into laughter, and not only suffered him to carry away all that he had got, but added other presents equally valuable. The family from this circumstance became exceedingly affluent, and Alcmæon was thus enabled to procure and maintain those horses which obtained him the victory at the Olympic games*.

CXXVI. In the age which next succeeded, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raised this family even beyond its former importance. Clisthenes, who was the son of Aristonymus, grandson of Mynon, and great-grandson of Andros, had a daughter named Agarista: his determination was to marry her to the most distinguished man in Greece. During the celebration of the Olympic games at which Clisthenes was victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, he ordered this proclamation to be made by a herald—that whoever thought himself worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Clisthenes was desired to appear

* According to Isocrates, Alcmæon was the first Athenian citizen who obtained the victory in the chariot race of two horses.

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at Sicyon within sixty days; for in the course of a year, reckoning from that period, Clisthenes intended to give his daughter in marriage. All those therefore who were either proud of their own merit, or of their country, appeared as candidates; and Clisthenes prepared for the occasion a palæstra[141], and other proper places of exercise.

CXXVII. From Italy came Smindyrides[142],

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[141] *A palæstra.*]—Not unlike to this conduct of Clisthenes were the solemnities described in books of ancient romance, and chivalry, as preceding the nuptials of a king's daughter. The knight who was victorious at tilts and tournaments generally captivated the affections of the lady, and obtained the consent of the father. Bishop Hurd, in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance, traces the origin of jousts and tournaments no farther than the feudal constitution of the middle ages; perhaps, without great impropriety, he might have found the seeds of their existence in the public games of Greece. To these we may certainly look for the contests, whether of gladiators or beasts, exhibited in the amphitheatres of ancient Rome; from which basis, through various modifications, the spirit of Gothic chivalry might possibly be derived.—*T.*

[142] *Smindyrides.*]—The effeminate softness of this man is twice mentioned by Ælian in his Various History. See book ix. c. 24. He complained, after sleeping upon roses, that he had got tumours in his body from the hardness of his bed. Senaca, in his Treatise de Ira, had evidently in his eye the above passage of Ælian; but he says that Smindyrides complained of the roses being doubled under him—foliis rosæ duplicatis. The words of Ælian are φλυκταινας εκ της

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son of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris, and a man eminent for his refined luxury: Sybaris was at that time an affluent and powerful city. On the same occasion Damas of Siris appeared; he was the son of Samyris, surnamed the Wise. Amphimnestus the Epidamnian, son of Epistrophus, came from the Ionian Gulph. Among others also was Males the Ætolian, brother of that Titormus[143] who surpassed the rest of his countrymen in bodily prowess, but who had retired from society, to the remote parts of Ætolia. Leocedes, son of Phidon, prince of the Argives, came from the Peloponnese: this man first introduced the instruments of measuring[144] in the

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ευνης εχειν: now φλυκταιναι certainly mean tumours occasioned from extreme exercise or fatigue.

The other passage in Ælian, is book xii. c. 24; from which we learn, that when he paid his addresses to the daughter of Clisthenes, he carried with him a thousand cooks, a thousand fowlers, and a thousand fishermen.—*T.*

He is also mentioned contemptuously for the same effeminate qualities by Maximus Tyrius, in his third Dissertation.

[143] *Titormus.*]—This man, as we learn from Athenæus, one day disputed with Milo of Crotona, which could soonest devour a whole ox. Of this last, incredible as it may seem, it is related that he carried a young bull of four years old upon his shoulders to some distance; after which he killed it, divided it into portions, and eat the whole of it by himself, in the space of a day.—*Larcher.*

[144] *Instruments of Measuring.*]—On this subject the following passage occurs in Pliny. Mensuras et pondera Phidon

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Peloponnese, and was the most insolent of all his cotemporaries. He removed the Agonothetæ[145] from Elis, which office he himself afterwards executed at Olympia. Amiantus the Arcadian, son of Lycurgus, came from Trapezus: there was also Laphenes the Azenian, of the city of Pæos, and son of that Euphorion who, as is reported in Arcadia, entertained at his house Castor and Pollux, and was afterwards remarkable for his universal hospitality. Onomastus of Elis, the son of Agæus, was also of the number. Among the Athenians were Megacles, son of that Alcmæon who went to Crœsus; and Hippoclides, son of Tisander, who was eminent among his countrymen, both for his affluence and his personal accomplishments. The only Eubœan was Lysanias, who came from Eretria, which was at

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Argivus invenit, vel Palamedes ut malluit Gellius.—The first introduction of weights and measures into Greece is imputed by some to Pythagoras. See Diog. Laert. in Pythag. D'Anville is of opinion that the measures here mentioned were not those of distance.—*Larcher.*

I agree with Larcher, that it is not at all probable that this Phidon was the inventor of weights and measures.—The real invention must have originated almost with the first formation of men into society.—The truth is, perhaps, that he diversified and improved them. The Ægyptians and Orientals certainly had weights and measures at a very early period.

[145] *Agonothetæ.*]—These were the judges and arbiters of the public games.

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that time in considerable repute. Of the Scopadæ * of Thessaly, was present Diactorides the Cranonian, and Alcon from among the Molossians.—These were the suitors.

CXXVIII. On their appearance at the day appointed, Clisthenes first inquired of each, his country and his family. He then detained them all for the space of a year, examining their comparative strength, sensibility, learning, and manners: for this purpose, he sometimes conversed with them individually, sometimes collectively. The youngest he often engaged in public exercises; but his great trial of them all, was at public entertainments. As long as they were with him, they were treated with the utmost magnificence and liberality; but he shewed a particular preference to the Athenians. Of these, Hippoclides, the son of Tisander, was the first in his regard, both on account of his own personal prowess, as well as because his ancestors were related to the Cypselidæ [146] of Corinth.

CXXIX. When the day arrived which was to

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* *Scopadæ.*]—The riches of his family were proverbial. Eritias, one of the thirty tyrants, expresses a wish for the wealth of the Scopadæ.

[146] *Cypselidæ.*]—See an account of the founder of this family, in the fifth book, chapter 92.

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decide the choice of Clisthenes, and the solemnization of the nuptials, an hundred oxen [147] were sacrificed, and the suitors, with all the Sicyonians, invited to the feast. After supper, the suitors engaged in a dispute about music, and in other general subjects. Whilst they were drinking [148], Hippoclides, who made himself remarkably conspicuous, directed one of the musicians to play a tune called "Emmelia [149];" his request being

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147 *Hundred Oxen.*]—The origin of hecatombs, according to Strabo, was this: there were an hundred cities in Laconia, each of which every year sacrificed an ox. The etymology of hecatomb is from ἑκατομβη, a solemn sacrifice; or rather from ἑκατος, an hundred, and βους, an ox. By a hecatomb in general, we understand the sacrifice of an hundred beasts of the same kind, upon an hundred altars, by an hundred different priests.—*T.*

148 *Whilst they were drinking.*]—In Greece, says Larcher, they did not drink till after they had done eating. This is exemplified from a passage of Xenophon, where, when somebody at the table of Seuthes desires Aristus to drink; he replies, "that he has not yet done eating, but that he might ask Xenophon to drink, who had dined."

149 *Emmelia.*]—It has been generally understood of the dance called Emmelia, that it was of a peculiar gravity and stateliness, suited to the dignity of tragedy; but I think with Larcher, from the passage before us, that there must have been different kinds of dances under this name; for it seems not at all likely that Clisthenes should quarrel with his son-in-law elect for exercising himself in a solemn and dignified dance. Of this dance also we are told that Plato approved, along with the Pyrrhic or military dances, which he certainly would not have done, if it had been of the

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obeyed, he began to dance with much satisfaction to himself, though, as it should seem, to the great disgust of Clisthenes, who attentively observed him. After a short pause, Hippoclides commanded a table to be brought; upon this he first of all danced according to the Lacedæmonian, and then in the Athenian manner: at length he stood upon his head, using his legs as if they had been his hands. The two former actions of Hippoclides, Clisthenes observed with great command of temper; he determined not to choose him as his son-in-law, being much offended with his want of delicacy and decorum; but when he saw him dancing with his feet in the air, he could contain himself no longer, but exclaimed, "Son of Tisan-"der, you have danced away your wife."—"Hip-"poclides cares not," was the abrupt reply. This afterwards became a proverb [150].

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immodest kind which is here reprobated. It may also without impropriety be observed, that the Athenians deemed those unpolite who refused to exercise themselves in dancing, when the proper opportunity occurred; and what time could be more suitable than a nuptial feast? The act of dancing would naturally seem to indicate joy, but it constituted a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients. I have somewhere read of a tribe of Indians, among whom dancing was practised as a testimony of sorrow.—*T.*

[150] *Became a proverb.*]—Lucian uses this as a proverbial expression, in his Apolog. pro Merced. Arduct. ᾗ φροντι Ἱπποκλειδῃ, Hippoclides cares not. We have one in this

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CXXX. After this Clisthenes, demanding silence, thus addressed the assembly: "Ye, who "have come hither as suitors to my daughter, "are all entitled to my praise, and if it were in "my power I would gratify you all, not distin-"guishing one in preference to the rest; but "this is impossible, for as there is only one "virgin, the wishes of you all cannot be satis-"fied: to each of you, therefore, who must "depart hence disappointed of your object, in "acknowledgment of your condescension in de-"siring to marry a daughter of mine, I present "a talent of silver; but I give my daughter "Agarista to Megacles, the son of Alcmæon, to "be his wife, according to the Athenian laws." Megacles accepted the honour, and the marriage was solemnized.

CXXXI. Such was the decision made with respect to these suitors, and in this manner the Alcmæonidæ became illustrious in Greece. The first offspring of this marriage was called Clisthenes, after his maternal grandfather, the prince of Sicyon. He it was who divided the Athenians

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country, among the common people, nearly the same—"Who cares?" The expression ολιγον μοι μελει occurs frequently in the Vespis of Aristophanes, probably in allusion to this place of Herodotus.

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into tribes*, and introduced a democracy. The name of the second son was Hippocrates, to whom afterwards was born a son named Megacles, and a daughter called Agarista, after the daughter of Clisthenes: she was married to Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron. During her pregnancy, she dreamt that she brought forth a lion, and was very soon afterwards delivered of Pericles.

CXXXII. Miltiades was always very popular at Athens; but after the signal defeat of the Persians at Marathon, his reputation still more increased. He demanded of his countrymen a fleet of seventy ships, with a supply of men and money: he did not specify to what place he intended to conduct them, but only promised that he would lead them to affluence, and to a country from whence they should bring abundance of gold. The Athenians believed and obeyed him.

CXXXIII. Receiving the reinforcement he had solicited, Miltiades sailed to Paros. His pretended object was to punish the Parians for

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* Larcher inserts the word ten, which number Herodotus undoubtedly meant, but he has not so expressed himself, and I have therefore rendered the text literally as I found it.

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taking an active part in favour of the Persians, at the battle of Marathon. This however was assumed; his resentment against the Parians arose from Lysagoras, the son of Tysias, a native of Paros, who had prejudiced Hydarnes the Persian against him. On his arrival before the place, Miltiades commenced a vigorous siege, sending at the same time a herald to the Parians, demanding an hundred talents; and declaring, that if they did not grant it, he would not leave the place till he had destroyed it. The Parians never thought for a moment of complying with his demand, but attended vigilantly to the defence of their city, strengthening those parts which were weak, and rendering, under advantage of the night, their wall twice as strong as it was before.

CXXXIV. Thus far all the Greeks correspond in their account; what ensued is thus related by the Parians: Miltiades, reduced to great perplexity[151], consulted with a female captive, a Parian by birth, whose name was Timo, a priestess of the infernal deities. On her appearing before him, she said, that if he wished to accomplish

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151 *Great perplexity.*]—The account given of Miltiades, and of this particular expedition, by Cornelius Nepos, is materially different.—*T.*

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his designs upon Paros, he must follow her advice. In consequence of what she recommended, Miltiades advanced to an eminence before the city, and, not being able to open the gates of a place consecrated to Ceres Thesmophoros, he leaped over the fence: from hence he proceeded to the temple, either to remove something which it was deemed impious to touch, or with some other intention; on approaching the entrance he was seized with a sudden horror of mind; and returning by the same way, he in leaping a second time over the wall, dislocated his thigh, though, as some say, he wounded his knee.

CXXXV. After the above accident Miltiades returned home, without bringing the Athenians the wealth he promised, or rendering himself master of Paros, before which, after laying waste the island, he remained six-and-twenty days. When the Parians knew that Timo the priestess had given advice to Miltiades, they wished to punish her. As soon therefore as the siege was raised, they sent to Delphi to inquire whether they might put the priestess to death, as having pointed out to an enemy the means of possessing their country, and who had exposed to Miltiades those sacred ceremonies, at which it was not lawful for a man to be present. The Pythian would not suffer them to hurt her, saying, that Timo

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was not culpable, for that it was decreed that Miltiades should miserably perish, and that she was only the instrument of conducting him to his destiny.

CXXXVI. On his return from Paros, Miltiades was generally censured by his countrymen, and in particular by Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, who accused him capitally to the Athenians, as a betrayer of his country. To this Miltiades could not personally reply, for his wound mortifying, he was confined to his bed; but he was very vigorously defended by his friends, who adduced in his favour, the victory of Marathon, and the taking of Lemnos, which, after chastising the Pelasgi, he had reduced under the power of Athens. By the interference of the people, his life was saved, but he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents [152]. His wound growing worse, Miltiades died, but the fine was discharged by his son Cimon *.

CXXXVII. Miltiades had obtained posses-

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[152] *Fifty talents.*]—This, according to Cornelius Nepos, was the sum which it cost the Athenians to fit out the armament which Miltiades led against Paros.—*T.*

* Plato informs us that Miltiades was actually condemned to death, but was saved by the interposition of the Prytanis. —It is to be wished, says Larcher, that Herodotus had preserved the name of the generous citizen who saved the life of Miltiades.

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sion of Lemnos by the following means: The Pelasgians had been expelled Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or otherwise, I am not able to determine: Hecatæus, the son of Hegesander, in his history, says unjustly. The Athenians, according to him, observing their territory near Hymettus, which they had given up to the Pelasgi, as a reward for building them a wall, well cultivated, whereas formerly it produced little, and was of no estimation, they expelled them from it, without any other motive than envy, and a desire of obtaining the place. The Athenian account says, that the Pelasgi were justly expelled; this people, they assert, made hostile excursions from Hymettus [153], and frequently offered violence to the young women who went from Athens to the nine fountains, for the purpose of drawing water; for at this period the Greeks had no slaves. Not satisfied with treating these with great insolence and brutality, the Pelasgi formed the bolder design of rendering themselves masters of Athens. The Athenians think their conduct on this occasion entitled to the highest

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153 *Hymettus.*]—This place, now called Hymetto, was anciently famous for producing fine marble, abundance of bees, and excellent honey. The hills of Hymettus were the scene of the celebrated story of Cephalus and Procris. See Ovid de Arte Amandi, iii. 687.

Est prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti
Fons sacer, &c. *T.*

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praise; for, having detected the Pelasgi of treachery, they might justly have exterminated them, instead of which they only expelled them the country. Thus circumstanced, they dispersed themselves, and some of them settled at Lemnos. —Such are the different accounts of Hecatæus and the Athenians.

CXXXVIII. Those Pelasgi who settled at Lemnos, were very solicitous to avenge themselves on the Athenians. Knowing therefore the times of their public festivals, they prepared two fifty-oared barks to surprise the Athenian females [154] who were engaged near Brauron, in celebrating the feast of Diana: many of these fell into their hands, and being carried to Lemnos, became their concubines. These women had a

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[154] *Athenian females.*]—In the Greek, the *wives* of the Athenians. It is proper to observe, that the Athenians, who called themselves Athenaioi, never called their women Athenaiai, because Minerva is in Homer called Athenaia. such was their superstition. They spoke of their women by a periphrasis, as in this passage, or by the word *ασται*, astai, female citizens, because Athens, by way of distinction, was called Ασυ, the city.

The feast here mentioned was called Brauronia, from the place at which it was celebrated. A goat was sacrificed, and rhapsodists sung portions of the Iliad; it was celebrated every five years. Young girls, sacred to Diana, celebrated this feast in saffron-coloured robes; they might not be more than ten years old, nor less than five.—*Larcher.*

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number of children, whom they educated in the Athenian language and manners: these accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi: and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to one another's assistance. They thought themselves worthy of being their masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated, for, said they, if these children thus unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood? They resolved therefore to put these children to death, after which they determined also to kill their mothers. This action, added to a former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands, with Thoas their king[155], induced the Grecians to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

CXXXIX. The Pelasgi, after the above

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155 *Thoas their king.*]—Later writers have made Hypsipyle preserve the life of her father Thoas. The whole of this is beautifully described by Valerius Flaccus, in his second book. The motive which was supposed to induce the Lesbian women to this sanguinary action was this:—The Lemnian women celebrated every year a festival in honour of Venus; but having neglected this custom, the goddess punished their neglect by giving them a disagreeable odour, which made their husbands avoid them. The women, thus deeming themselves despised, slew all the men.—*T.*

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murder of their children and concubines, found their earth, their cattle, and their wives alike cursed with sterility: to obtain relief from which they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythian commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they should require; they accordingly went to Athens, engaging themselves to submit to whatever should be proposed. The Athenians set in order some couches in the Prytaneum, which they adorned with the greatest magnificence, they prepared also a table covered with every delicacy; they then required the Pelasgi to surrender them Lemnos in a similar state of abundance:—"Whenever," said they, in reply, "one of your vessels shall in a single day "make its passage to our country with a northern "wind, we will comply with what you require." This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos.

CXL. After an interval of some years, when the Chersonese on the Hellespont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon, under favour of the Etesian winds, passed in a single day from Elæos in the Chersonese to Lemnos; he instantly commanded them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the Oracle[156], the completion of which they

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[156] *Oracle.*]—A speech of the kind related in the former

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little expected. With this the Hephæstians complied, but the Myrinæi not allowing the Chersonese to be Attica, sustained a siege, but were compelled to surrender. Thus, by means of Miltiades[157], the Athenians became masters of Lemnos.

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chapter, though delivered by common persons, was considered as prophetic and oracular.

[157] *Means of Miltiades.*]—Compare the account of Herodotus with that given by Cornelius Nepos.

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HERODOTUS.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

CHAP. I.

HEN the news of the battle of Marathon was communicated to Darius, he, who was before incensed against the Athenians, on account of their invasion of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and more inclined to invade Greece. He instantly therefore sent emissaries to the different cities under his power, to provide a still greater number of transports, horses, corn, and provisions. In the interval which this business employed, Asia experienced three years of confusion; her most able men being enrolled in the Greek expedition, and making preparation for it. In the fourth, the Ægyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians: but this only induced Darius to accelerate his preparations against both nations*.

* This is one of the most interesting parts of the history of Herodotus. It exhibits the most circumstantial detail of

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II. At this juncture there arose a violent dispute among the sons of Darius, concerning the succession to the throne, the Persian customs forbidding the sovereign to undertake any expedition without naming his heir. Darius had three sons before he ascended the throne, by the daughter of Gobryas; he had four afterwards by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus: Artobazanes[1] was the eldest of the former, Xerxes of the latter. Not being of the same mother, a dispute arose[2]

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the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, by a writer almost cotemporary. It is also impressed with the character of authenticity, for it was recited to a multitude of Greeks assembled at Olympia, among whom doubtless there were many who had fought both at Salamis and Platæa.

[1] *Artobazanes.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that from this personage the celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus, who for so many years resisted the Roman power, was descended. Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and other authors, trace this prince to one of the seven Persians who conspired against Smerdis Magus. This Artobazanes probably enjoyed the satrapy of Pontus, and his descendants doubtless enjoyed it also till Mithridates, surnamed Ctistes (the founder) became sovereign of the country of which he had before only been governor.

This reasoning will hardly appear satisfactory, unless it were evident that the satrapies under the crown of Persia were hereditary, which was by no means the case.—*T.*

[2] *A dispute arose.*]—The account given of this affair by Plutarch, in his Treatise of Brotherly Love, differs materially.

"When Darius died, some contended that Ariamenes

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between them; Artobazanes asserted his pretensions from being the eldest of all his father's sons, a claim which mankind in general consent to acknowledge[3]. Xerxes claimed the throne

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should succeed him, as being eldest; others recommended Xerxes, because Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, was his mother, and he was born whilst Darius was actually king. Ariamenes accordingly went to Media, not with any hostile views, but peaceably to have the matter determined. Xerxes, who was on the spot, exercised the royal functions; but as soon as his brother arrived, he laid aside his crown and kingly ornaments, and hastened to salute him. He sent him various presents, and words to this effect: 'Xerxes your brother sends you these presents, to shew how much he honours you. If the Persians shall elect me king, you shall be next to myself.' The reply of Ariamenes was, 'I accept your presents; the crown I believe to be my right: I shall honour all my brethren, and Xerxes in particular.' When the day of decision arrived, the Persians elected as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who depended on the multitude, objected to him, for which he was censured by his mother Atossa: 'Why,' she observed, 'should you refuse to have your uncle as judge, one of the worthiest men in Persia? and why dread a contest, where if inferior you will still be next to the king?' Xerxes suffered himself to be persuaded, and after hearing the arguments of both, Artabanus adjudged the crown to Xerxes. Ariamenes on this hastily arose, made obeisance to his brother, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to the throne."

[3] *Consent to acknowledge.*]—The *principle* of hereditary succession is universal, but the *order* has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example, which was

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because he was the grandson of Cyrus, to whom the Persians were indebted for their liberties.

III. Before Darius had made any decision, and in the very midst of the contention, there arrived at Susa, Demaratus[4], the son of Ariston,

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originally decided by fraud or violence.—See *Gibbon*, iv. 387.

The jurisprudence of the Romans (he continues) appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his parental power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown; the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal share of the patrimonial estate.

Amongst the patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance.

At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers.

In England the eldest son alone inherits all the land; a law, says judge Blackstone, unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers.

Upon the above I would remark, that Blackstone speaks judiciously; whilst I can consider the sentiments of Mr. Gibbon as little better than declamation. It seems evident, that property continually subdivided must be rendered useless to all; or, if this were not the case, to create a numerous class too proud to be industrious, would be to introduce a swarm of useless and inactive drones into the political hive. The wealth of elder brothers maintains the splendour and dignity of a state; the activity of the younger branches gives it life and strength.—*T.*

[4] *Demaratus.*]—Xerxes gave Demaratus the cities of

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who being deprived of the crown of Sparta, had fled from Lacedæmon. This man, hearing of the controversy, went, as is reported, to Xerxes, and recommended him to urge farther, in support of his claim, that when he was born, Darius was in actual enjoyment of the empire of Persia, but at the birth of Artobazanes, his father was only a private individual. The pretensions of Xerxes therefore could not be set aside, without the most obvious violation of equity. To strengthen this, the example of the Spartans[5] was adduced, among whom, those children born after the accession of the prince to the throne, were universally preferred to those born before. Xerxes availed himself of this counsel given by Demaratus, which so effectually impressed Darius, that he declared him his successor. For my own part, I think that Xerxes would have reigned without this advice from Demaratus, as Atossa* enjoyed an almost unlimited authority.

Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, because he attended him on his expedition to Greece. These places were enjoyed by Eurysthenes and Procles, his descendants, at the end of the first year of the 95th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

[5] *Example of the Spartans.*]—Cragius, in his useful book De Republica Lacedæmoniorum, speaks at some length on the right of succeeding to the throne of Sparta; but I do not find that he mentions the particularity which is here sanctioned by the respectable authority of Herodotus.—*T.*

* Atossa was the daughter of Cyrus, and wife to her brother Cambyses. She afterwards was married to Smerdis

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IV. Darius having declared Xerxes his heir, prepared to march; but in the year which succeeded the Ægyptian revolt, he died; having reigned thirty-six years, without being able to gratify his resentment against the Ægyptians[6] and Athenians who had opposed his power.

V. On his death, Xerxes immediately succeeded to the throne, who from the first, seemed wholly inclined to the Ægyptian rather than the Athenian war. But Mardonius, who was his cousin, being the son of Gobryas, by a sister of Darius, thus addressed him: "I should think, "Sir[7], that the Athenians, who have so griev-

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the magus, and again after his death to Darius. If Aspasius may be believed, she came to a most miserable end. In a transport of fury, her son Xerxes tore her in pieces, and afterward devoured her. *Ξερξης ὁ των Περσων βασιλευς μανεις και φαγε την εαυτου μητερα κρεουργησας.*

[6] *Ægyptians.*]—Aristotle on this subject is at variance with Herodotus; he says that Darius having taken possession of Ægypt, passed over from thence into Greece, confounding Darius with Xerxes. The authority of Herodotus, says Larcher, who was almost a contemporary, seems preferable to that of Aristotle, who lived a long time afterward.

[7] *I should think, Sir.*]—The word *Δεσποτα* I have rendered "Sir;" Larcher has expressed it by the word "Seigneur," as most significant of the reverence with which a slave addressed his lord. For my own part, I am inclined to consider it as a term of general respect, and not as having any appropriate signification, to intimate the condition of the Persians with regard to their sovereigns. Thus, amongst the

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"ously injured the Persians, ought not to escape "with impunity. I would nevertheless have you "execute what you immediately propose; but "when you shall have chastised the insolence of "Ægypt, resume the expedition against Athens. "Thus will your reputation be established, and "others in future be deterred from molesting "your dominions." What he said was farther enforced by representing the beauties of Europe, that it was exceedingly fertile, abounded with all kinds of trees[8], and deserved to be possessed by the king alone.

Jews, the word rabbi meant, as it is properly rendered in our versions, "master," that is to say, it did not imply that they to whom it was applied were the masters of those who used it; but it was a term which custom adopted, and politeness sanctified, as respectful from an inferior to a person above him. Add to this, that it was peculiar to the lofty genius of the oriental languages to adopt phrases by no means to be interpreted or understood in their strict and literal sense.—*T.*

Probably the term "Sire" would not have been improper. The speaker was the king's relation, as well as his subject. Not improbably our master, or mister, had a similar origin.

[8] *Trees.*]—Yet the mention of trees from the mouth of a Persian, when speaking of another country, was very characteristic. Persia is remarkably bare of trees. M. De Beauchamp, who had traversed it, says, on the occasion of his viewing the beautiful forests on the southern shores of the Euxine: "La Perse, ce fameux empire de Perse, n'a ni bois, ni rivieres, du moins dans la partie septentrionale que j'ai parcourrue l'espace de 300 lieuve."

Mem. sur l'Ægypte, v. ii. p. 141.

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VI. Mardonius said this, being desirous of new enterprizes, and ambitious of the government of Greece. Xerxes at length acceded to his counsel, to which he was also urged by other considerations. Some messengers came from Thessaly on the part of the Aleuadæ, imploring the king to invade Greece; to accomplish which, they used the most earnest endeavours. These Aleuadæ* were the princes of Thessaly: their solicitations were strengthened by the Pisistratidæ, who had taken refuge at Susa, and who to the arguments before adduced, added others. They had among them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a famous priest, who sold the oracles of Musæus; with him they had been reconciled previous to their arrival at Susa. This man had been formerly banished from Athens by the son of Pisistratus; for Lasus[9] of Hermione had detected him in the fact of introducing a pretended

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* It appears from Herodotus, book ix. chap. 58, that there were three of these, and their names were Thorax, Thrasydeius, and Euripylus.

9 *Lasus.*]—Lasus was a musician, poet, and, according to some, one of the seven sages of Greece. He was the inventor of the dithyrambic verse, and of the circular dances. Aristophanes, in the Aves, calls him κυκλιο διδασκαλος. He was fond of gaming: and, according to Plutarch, when Xenophanes refused once to play with him, he reproached him with cowardice: "Yes," answered Xenophanes, "in every thing which is base and dishonest, I confess myself a coward."—*T.*

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oracle, among the verses of Musæus, intimating that the islands contiguous to Lemnos should be overwhelmed in the ocean. Hipparchus for this expelled him, though he had been very intimate with him before. He accompanied the Pisistratidæ to Susa, who always spoke of him in terms highly honourable; upon which account, whenever he appeared in the royal presence, he recited certain oracular verses. He omitted whatever predicted any thing unfortunate to the Barbarians, selecting only what promised them auspiciously; among other things he said the fates decreed that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

VII. Thus was the mind of Xerxes assailed by the predictions of the priest, and the opinions of the Pisistratidæ. In the year[10] which followed the death of Darius, he determined on an expedition against Greece, but commenced hostilities with those who had revolted from the Persians. These being subdued, and the whole of Ægypt[11] more effectually reduced than it had

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[10] *In the year.*]—Herodotus was born this year, at Halicarnassus in Caria. See Aulus Gellius, book xv. c. 23.

"Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, flourished in the same time, and were nearly at the same age; Hellanicus, in the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, was sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty."—*T.*

[11] *Whole of Ægypt.*]—Xerxes having ascended the throne,

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been by Darius, he confided the government of it to Achæmenes his own brother, son of Darius. Achæmenes was afterwards slain by Inaros, a Libyan, the son of Psammetichus.

VIII. After the subjection of Ægypt, Xerxes prepared to lead an army against Athens, but first of all he called an assembly of the principal Persians, to hear their sentiments, and to deliver without reserve, his own. He addressed them to the following purport: "You will remember, O "Persians, that I am not about to execute any "new project of my own; I only pursue the "path which has been previously marked out "for me. I have learned from my ancestors, "that ever since we recovered this empire from "the Medes, after the depression of Astyages by "Cyrus, we have never been in a state of in-"activity. A deity is our guide, and auspi-"ciously conducts us to prosperity. It must be "unnecessary for me to relate the exploits of "Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, and the na-"tions they added to our empire. For my own

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employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Ægypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God at that place.—*Prideaux.*

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" part, ever since my accession to the throne, it
" has been my careful endeavour not to reflect
" any disgrace upon my forefathers, by suffering
" the Persian power to diminish. My delibe-
" rations on this matter have presented me with
" a prospect full of glory; they have pointed
" out to me a region not inferior to our own in
" extent, and far exceeding it in fertility, which
" incitements are farther promoted by the ex-
" pectation of honourable revenge; I have there-
" fore assembled you to explain what I intend;
" I have resolved, by throwing a bridge over the
" Hellespont[12], to lead my forces through Eu-
" rope into Greece, and to inflict vengeance on
" the Athenians for the injuries offered to my
" father and Persia. You well know that this
" war was intended by Darius, though death de-
" prived him of the means of vengeance. Con-

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[12] *Hellespont.*]—Bochart thinks it very probable, what other learned men have also conjectured, that the Hellespont was originally called Elis-pont, from Elisha, the eldest of Javan's sons; and it may be added, that one of the 120 provinces, as they stood in the rolls of the Persian Empire, was named Provincia *Alysionensis*, for so Herodotus informs us; and it is placed between the provinces of Ionia and Phrygia, comprehending Æolia. From the authority above cited, upon the change of language Elisha the son of Javan was called Æolus. The Jewish rabbins explain the name Elisha, *ad insulam;* and Varro, as cited by Servius, on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him Dominus insularum (lord of the islands.)—*T.*

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" sidering what is due to him and to Persia, it
" is my determination not to remit my exertions,
" till Athens shall be taken and burned[13]. The
" Athenians, unprovoked, first insulted me and
" my father: under the conduct of Aristagoras
" of Miletus, our dependant and slave, they at-
" tacked Sardis, and consumed with fire, our
" groves and temples. What they perpetrated
" against you, when, led by Datis and Arta-
" phernes, you penetrated into their country,
" you know by fatal experience. Such are my
" inducements to proceed against them: but I
" have also additional motives. If we reduce
" these and their neighbours who inhabit the
" country of Pelops the Phrygian, to our power,
" the Persian Empire will be limited by the hea-
" vens alone; the sun will illuminate no country
" contiguous to ours: I shall overrun all Eu-
" rope, and with your assistance possess unli-

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13 *Taken and burned.*]—Mr. Glover had probably this speech of Xerxes in his mind, when he wrote the following lines, which he makes Mardonius utter on entering Athens:

Is this the city whose presumption dar'd
Invade the lord of Asia? sternly said
Mardonius, entering.—Whither now are fled
Th'audacious train, whose firebrands Sardis felt?
Where'er you lurk, Athenians, if in sight,
Soon shall you view your citadel in flames;
Or, if retreated to a distant land,
No distant land of refuge shall you find
Against avenging Xerxes. *Athenaid.*

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" mited dominion. For if I am properly in-
" formed, there exists no race of men, nor can
" any city or nation be found, which if these
" be reduced, can possibly resist our arms: we
" shall thus subject, as well those who have, as
" those who have not injured us. I call there-
" fore for your assistance, which I shall thank-
" fully accept and acknowledge; I trust that
" with cheerfulness and activity you will all
" assemble at the place I shall appoint. To
" him who shall appear with the greatest number
" of well-provided troops, I will present those
" gifts which in our country are thought to con-
" fer the highest honour. That I may not ap-
" pear to dictate my own wishes in an arbitrary
" manner, I commit the matter to your reflec-
" tion, permitting every one to deliver his senti-
" ments with freedom."

IX. When Xerxes had finished, Mardonius made the following reply: " Sir, you are not
" only the most illustrious of all the Persians
" who have hitherto appeared, but you may
" securely defy the competition of posterity.
" Among other things which you have advanced,
" alike excellent and just, you are entitled to
" our particular admiration for not suffering the
" people of Ionia, contemptible as they are, to
" insult us with impunity. It would indeed be
" preposterous, if after reducing to our power

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" the Sacæ, the Indians, the Æthiopians, and
" the Assyrians, with many other great and
" illustrious nations, not in revenge of injuries
" received, but solely from the honourable de-
" sire of dominion, we should not inflict ven-
" geance on these Greeks who, without provo-
" cation, have molested us. There can be
" nothing to excite our alarm; no multitude of
" troops, no extraordinary wealth; we have tried
" their mode of fighting, and know their weak-
" ness. Their descendants, who under the names
" of Ionians, Æolians and Dorians, reside within
" our dominions, we first subdued, and now
" govern. Their prowess I myself have known,
" when at the command of your father I pro-
" secuted a war against them. I penetrated
" Macedonia, advanced almost to Athens, and
" found no enemy to encounter. Beside this,
" I am informed that in all their military under-
" takings, the Greeks betray the extremest igno-
" rance and folly. As soon as they commence
" hostilities among themselves, their first care is
" to find a large and beautiful plain [14], where

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[14] *Plain.*]—The Romans, in attacking an enemy, so disposed their army, as to be able to rally three different times. This has been thought by many as the great secret of the Roman discipline; because fortune must have foiled their efforts three different times before they could be possibly defeated. The Greeks drew up their forces in one extended line, and therefore depended upon the effect of the first charge.—*T.*

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" they appear and give battle: the consequence
" is, that even the victors suffer severe loss; of
" the vanquished I say nothing, for they are
" totally destroyed. As they use one common
" language, they ought in policy to terminate all
" disputes by the mediation of ambassadors, and
" above all things to avoid a war among them-
" selves: or, if this should prove unavoidable,
" they should mutually endeavour to find a place
" of great natural strength, and then try the
" issue of a battle. By pursuing as absurd a
" conduct as I have described, the Greeks suf-
" fered me to advance as far as Macedonia with-
" out resistance. But who, Sir, shall oppose
" you at the head of the forces and the fleet of
" Asia? The Greeks, I think, never can be so
" audacious. If however I should be deceived,
" and they shall be so mad as to engage us, they
" will soon find to their cost that in the art of
" war we are the first of mankind. Let us how-
" ever adopt various modes of proceeding, for
" perfection and success can only be the result
" of frequent experiment."—In this manner, Mardonius seconded the speech of Xerxes.

X. A total silence prevailed in the assembly, no one daring to oppose[15] what had been said;

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[15] *Daring to oppose.*]—The following is from Ælian's Various History, book xii. c. 62.

" This was one of the Persian laws: if any one thought

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till at length Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and uncle to Xerxes, deriving confidence from his relationship, thus delivered his sentiments: "Unless, O king, different sentiments be submitted "to the judgment, no alternative of choice remains, the one introduced is of necessity "adopted. The purity of gold cannot be ascertained by a single specimen; it is known and "approved by comparing it with others. It was "my advice to Darius, your father and my brother, that he should by no means undertake "an expedition against the Scythians, a people "without towns and cities. Allured by his "hopes of subduing them, he disregarded my "admonitions; and proceeding to execute his "purpose was obliged to return, having lost "numbers of his best troops. The men, O king, "whom you are preparing to attack, are far "superior to the Scythians, and alike formidable "by land and sea. I deem it therefore my duty "to forewarn you of the dangers you will have "to encounter. You say that, throwing a bridge "over the Hellespont, you will lead your forces "through Europe into Greece; but it may pos-

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proper to give advice to the king about any thing which was forbidden, or ambiguous, he did so standing on a golden tile: if his advice appeared to be salutary, the gold tile was given him as a reward: he was nevertheless beaten for presuming to contradict the king. "But in my opinion," says Ælian, "a man of an ingenuous mind would never have submitted to the disgrace for the sake of the reward."—*T.*

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" sibly happen, that either on land or by sea, or
" perhaps by both, you may sustain a defeat,
" for our enemies are reported to be valiant.
" Of this indeed we have had sufficient testi-
" mony; for if the Athenians by themselves
" routed the numerous armies of Datis and Ar-
" taphernes, it proves that we are not, either by
" land or sea, perfectly invincible. If, preparing
" their fleet, they shall be victorious by sea, and
" afterward sailing to the Hellespont, shall de-
" stroy your bridge, we may dread all that is
" bad. I do not argue in this respect from my
" own private conjecture; we can all of us
" remember how very narrowly we escaped de-
" struction, when your father, throwing bridges
" over the Thracian Bosphorus and the Ister,
" passed into Scythia. The guard of this pass
" was intrusted to the Ionians, whom the Scy-
" thians urged to break it down, by the most
" earnest importunity. If at this period His-
" tiæus of Miletus had not opposed the senti-
" ments of the rest, there would have been an
" end of the Persian name. It is painful to
" repeat, and afflicting to remember, that the
" safety of our prince and his dominions de-
" pended on a single man. Listen therefore to
" my advice, and where no necessity demands it,
" do not involve yourself in danger. For the pre-
" sent, dismiss this meeting; revolve the matter
" more seriously in your mind, and at a future

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" and seasonable time make known your deter-
" mination. For my own part, I have found
" from experience, that deliberation produces the
" happiest effects. In such a case, if the event
" does not answer our wishes, we still merit
" the praise of discretion, and fortune is alone
" to be blamed. He who is rash and inconsi-
" derate, although fortune may be kind, and
" anticipate his desires, is not the less to be
" censured for temerity. You may have ob-
" served how the thunder-bolt of Heaven chas-
" tises the insolence of the more enormous ani-
" mals, whilst it passes over without injury
" the weak and insignificant: before these wea-
" pons of the gods you must have seen how the
" proudest palaces[16] and the loftiest trees fall
" and perish. The most conspicuous things are
" those which are chiefly singled out as objects
" of the divine displeasure. From the same

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[16] *Proudest Palaces.*]

Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.
Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus: et celsæ graviore casu
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes. *Hor.* l. ii. 10.

Artabanus may here be supposed to allude to the destruction of the army of Sennacherib by mice, as related in book ii.

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" principle it is that a mighty army is some-
" times overthrown by one that is contemptible;
" for the Deity in his anger sends his terrors
" among them, and makes them perish in a
" manner unworthy of their former glory. Per-
" fect wisdom[17] is the prerogative of Heaven
" alone, and every measure undertaken with
" temerity is liable to be perplexed with error,
" and punished by misfortune. Discreet cau-
" tion, on the contrary, has many and peculiar
" advantages, which if not apparent at the mo-
" ment, reveal themselves in time. Such, O
" king, is my advice; and little does it become
" you, O son of Gobryas, to speak of the Greeks
" in a language foolish as well as false. By ca-
" lumniating Greece, you excite your sovereign
" to war, the great object of all your zeal: but
" I entreat you to forbear; calumny is a restless
" vice, where it is indulged there are always two
" who offer injury. The calumniator himself is
" injurious, because he traduces an absent per-

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[17] *Perfect wisdom.*]—The English reader may perhaps thank me for taking this opportunity of relating an anecdote of the celebrated Buffon, not generally known. That perfect wisdom is the attribute of Heaven only, no human being, we should suppose, would be inclined tn controvert; yet Buffon. during his lifetime, suffered a statue to be erected to him with this remarkable inscription, MAJESTATI NATURÆ PAR INGENIUM, which can surely be applicable to the Deity alone.—*T.*

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"son; he is also injurious who suffers himself "to be persuaded without investigating the "truth. The person traduced is doubly injured, "first by him who propagates, and secondly by "him who receives the calumny. If this war "be a measure of necessity, let it be prose-"cuted; but let the king remain at home with "his subjects. Suffer the children of us two "to remain in his power, as the test of our "different opinions; and do you, Mardonius, con-"duct the war with whatever forces you shall "think expedient. If, agreeably to your repre-"sentations, the designs of the king shall be "successful, let me and my children perish; but "if what I predict shall be accomplished, let "your children die, and yourself too, in case "you shall return. If you refuse these condi-"tions, and are still resolved to lead an army "into Greece, I do not hesitate to declare, that "all those who shall be left behind will hear "that Mardonius, after having involved the Per-"sians in some conspicuous calamity, became a "prey to dogs and ravenous birds, in the terri-"tories either of Athens or Lacedæmon, or pro-"bably during his march thither. Thus you will "know, by fatal experience, what those men are, "against whom you endeavour to persuade the "king to prosecute a war."

XI. When Artabanus had finished, Xerxes

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thus angrily replied: "Artabanus, you are my "father's brother, which alone prevents your "receiving the chastisement due to your foolish "speech. This mark of ignominy shall however "adhere to you—as you are so dastardly and "mean, you shall not accompany me to Greece, "but remain at home, the companion of our "women. Without your assistance, I shall pro-"ceed in the accomplishment of my designs; "for I should ill deserve to be esteemed the son "of Darius[18], who was the son of Hystaspes, "and reckoned among his ancestors, Arsamis, "Arinnis, Teispeus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Teispeus, "and Achæmenes, if I did not gratify my re-"venge upon the Athenians. I am well as-

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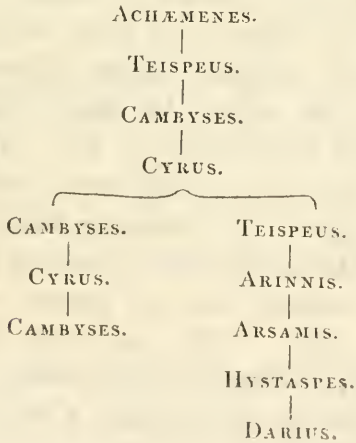
[18] *Son of Darius.*]—The following was the genealogy of this family:



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" sured that if we on our parts were tranquil, " they would not, but would invade and ravage " our country. This we may reasonably conclude " from their burning of Sardis, and their incur- " sions into Asia. Neither party can therefore " recede; we must advance to the attack of the " Greeks, or we must prepare to sustain theirs; " we must either submit to them, or they to us; " in enmities like these there can be no medium. " Injured as we have been, it becomes us to seek " for revenge; for I am determined to know what " evil is to be dreaded from those whom Pelops " the Phrygian, the slave of my ancestors, so " effectually subdued, that even to this day they, " as well as their country, are distinguished by " his name."

XII. On the approach of evening the sentiments of Artabanus gave great disquietude to Xerxes, and after more serious deliberation with himself in the night, he found himself still less inclined to the Grecian war. Having decided on the subject, he fell asleep, when, as the Persians relate, the following vision appeared to him.—He dreamed that he saw before him a man of unusual size and beauty, who thus addressed him: " Are you then determined, " O Persian, contrary to your former resolutions, " not to lead an army against Greece, although

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" you have ordered your subjects to prepare
" their forces? This change in your sentiments
" is absurd in itself, and will certainly be cen-
" sured by the world. Resume, therefore, and
" persist in what you had resolved by day."
Having said this, the vision disappeared.

XIII. The impression made by the vision vanished with the morning. Xerxes a second time convoked the former meeting, and again addressed them: " Men of Persia," said he, " you
" will forgive me, if my former sentiments are
" changed. I am not yet arrived at the full
" maturity of my judgment; and they who wish
" me to prosecute the measures which I before
" seemed to approve, do not remit their impor-
" tunities. When I first heard the opinion of
" Artabanus, I yielded to the emotions of youth,
" and expressed myself more petulantly than was
" becoming, to a man of his years. To prove that
" I see my indiscretion, I am resolved to follow
" his advice. It is not my intention to undertake
" an expedition against Greece; remain therefore
" in tranquillity."—The Persians, hearing these sentiments, prostrated themselves with joy before the king.

XIV. On the following night the same phantom appeared a second time to Xerxes in his sleep, and spake to him as follows: " Son of

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" Darius, disregarding my admonitions as of no
" weight or value, you have publicly renounced
" all thoughts of war. Hear what I say: unless
" you immediately undertake that which I recom-
" mend, the same short period of time which has
" seen you great and powerful, shall behold you
" reduced and abject."

XV. Terrified at the vision, the king leaped from his couch, and sent for Artabanus. As soon as he approached, " Artabanus," exclaimed Xerxes, " in return for your salutary counsel, I
" reproached and insulted you; but as soon as
" I became master of myself I endeavoured to
" prove my repentance, by adopting what you
" proposed. This however, whatever may be
" my wishes, I am unable to do. As soon as my
" former determinations were changed, I beheld
" in my sleep a vision, which first endeavoured
" to dissuade me, and has this moment left me
" with threats. If what I have seen proceed
" from the interference of some deity, who is
" solicitous that I should make war on Greece,
" it will doubtless appear to you, and give you a
" similar mandate. This will I think be the
" case, if you will assume my habit, and after
" sitting on my throne retire to rest in my
" apartment."

XVI. Artabanus was at first unwilling to com-

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ply, alleging that he was not worthy to sit on the throne of the king[19]. But being urged, he finally acquiesced, after thus expressing his sentiments: "I am of opinion, O king, that to think "well, and to follow what is well-advised, is "alike commendable[20]: both these qualities are "yours; but the artifice of evil counsellors mis-"leads you. Thus, the ocean is of itself most "useful to mankind, but the stormy winds ren-"der it injurious, by disturbing its natural sur-"face. Your reproaches gave me less uneasi-

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Of the king.]—To sit on the king's throne, was in Persia deemed a capital offence.

[20] *Alike commendable.*]—Larcher at this passage quotes the two following sentences, from Livy and from Cicero.

Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat.

I have often heard, my fellow-soldiers, that he was first to be esteemed who gave advice suitable to the occasion; and that he deserved the second place who followed it.—*Liv.* xxii. 29.

Sapientissimum dicunt eum cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem, proxime accedere illum, quì alterius bene inventis obtemperet.—Which passage of Cicero, pro Cluentio, may be rendered nearly the same as that from Livy. The sentiment is originally Hesiod's, and is by him beautifully expressed in his *Works and Days*, ver. 293. It has been imitated also by Sophocles, in his Antigone. The turn Cicero gives it is curious enough: "In folly," he says, "it is just the contrary, the greatest fool is he who thinks of an absurdity; the next he who adopts it." This is perfectly true.—*T.*

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" ness than to see that when two opinions were
" submitted to public deliberation, the one aim-
" ing to restrain, the other to countenance the
" pride of Persia, you preferred that which was
" full of danger to yourself and your country,
" rejecting the wiser counsel, which pointed out
" the evil tendency of ambition. Now that you
" have changed your resolution with respect to
" Greece, a phantom has appeared, and, as you
" say, by some divine interposition, has forbidden
" your present purpose of dismissing your forces.
" But, my son, I dispute the divinity of this in-
" terposition, for of the fallacy of dreams I, who
" am more experienced than yourself, can pro-
" duce sufficient testimonies. Dreams in general
" originate from those incidents which have most
" occupied the thoughts during the day [21]. Two
" days since, you will remember, that this ex-
" pedition was the object of much warm discus-
" sion: but if this vision be really sent from
" Heaven, your reasoning upon it is just, and
" it will certainly appear to me as it has done
" to you, expressing itself to a similar effect;

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21 *During the day.*]—After all that has been said and written on the subject of dreams, I shall I hope be excused, when I confess that the following words of Mr. Locke are to me quite satisfactory on the subject.

" The dreams of sleeping men are all made up of the waking man's ideas, though for the most part oddly put together.—*T.*

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" but it will not show itself to me dressed in your
" robes, and reclining on your couch, sooner
" than if I were in my own habit and my own
" apartment. No change of dress will induce
" the phantom, if it does appear, to mistake me
" for you. If it shall hold me in contempt, it
" will not appear to me, however I may be
" clothed. It unquestionably however merits
" attention; its repeated appearance I myself
" must acknowledge to be a proof of its divinity.
" If you are determined in your purpose, I am
" ready to go to rest in your apartment: but
" till I see the phantom myself I shall retain my
" former opinions."

XVII. Artabanus, expecting to find the king's dream of no importance, did as he was ordered. He accordingly put on the robe of Xerxes, seated himself on the royal throne, and afterward retired to the king's apartment. The same phantom which had disturbed Xerxes appeared to him[22], and thus addressed him: " Art thou the
" man who, pretending to watch over the con-
" duct of Xerxes, art endeavouring to restrain
" his designs against Greece? Your perverse-

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[22] *Appeared to him.*]—Larcher reasonably supposes that this was a plot of Mardonius to impose on Xerxes; and that some person, dressed and disguised for the purpose, acted the part of the ghost.

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" ness shall be punished both now and in future;
" and as for Xerxes himself, he has been fore-
" warned of the evils he will suffer, if disobedient
" to my will."

XVIII. Such were the threats which Artabanus heard from the spectre, which at the same time made an effort to burn out his eyes with a hot iron. Alarmed at his danger, Artabanus leaped from his couch, and uttering a loud cry, went instantly to Xerxes. After relating his vision, he thus spake to him: " Being a man, O
" king, of much experience, and having seen the
" undertakings of the powerful foiled by the
" efforts of the weak, I was unwilling that you
" should indulge the fervour of your age. Of
" the ill effects of inordinate ambition, I had
" seen a fatal proof, in the expedition which
" Cyrus undertook against the Massagetæ; I
" knew also what became of the army of Cam-
" byses in their attack of Æthiopia; and lastly,
" I myself witnessed the misfortunes of Darius,
" in his hostilities with the Scythians. The re-
" membrance of these incidents induced me to
" believe that if you continued a peaceful reign,
" you would beyond all men deserve the cha-
" racter of happy: but as your present incli-
" nation seems directed by some supernatural
" influence, and as the Greeks seem marked out
" by Heaven for destruction, I acknowledge that

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" my sentiments are changed; do you therefore
" make known to the Persians the extraordinary
" intimations you have received, and direct your
" dependants to hasten the preparations you had
" before commanded. Be careful, in what re-
" lates to yourself, to second the intentions of
" the gods."—The vision indeed had so powerfully impressed the minds of both, that as soon as the morning appeared, Xerxes communicated his intentions to the Persians; which Artabanus, in opposition to his former sentiments, now openly and warmly approved.

XIX. Whilst every thing was making ready for his departure, Xerxes saw a third vision. The magi to whom it was related were of opinion, that it portended to Xerxes, unlimited and universal empire. The king conceived himself to be crowned with the wreath of an olive-tree, whose branches covered all the earth, but that this wreath suddenly and totally disappeared. After the above interpretation of the magi had been made known in the national assembly of the Persians, the governors departed to their several provinces, eager to execute the commands they had received, in expectation of the promised reward.

XX. Xerxes was so anxious to complete his levies, that no part of the continent was left

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without being ransacked for this purpose. After the reduction of Ægypt, four entire years were employed in assembling the army and collecting provisions; but in the beginning of the fifth[23] he began his march, with an immense body of forces. Of all the military expeditions, the fame of which has come down to us, this was far the greatest, much exceeding that which Darius undertook against Scythia, as well as the incursion made by the Scythians, who pursuing the Cimmerians, entered Media, and made themselves entire masters of almost all the higher parts of Asia; an incursion which afforded Darius the pretence for his attack on Scythia. It surpasses also the famous expedition of the sons of Atreus against Troy, as well as that of the Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war. These nations, passing over the Bosphorus into Europe, reduced all the inhabitants of Thrace, advancing to the Ionian sea, and thence as far as the southern part of the river Peneus.

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23 *Beginning of the fifth.*]—Darius was three years in preparing for an expedition against Greece; in the fourth Ægypt revolted, and in the following year Darius died; this therefore was the fifth year after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes employed four years in making preparations for the same purpose; in the fifth he began his march, he advanced to Sardis, and there wintered; in the beginning of the following spring he entered Greece. This therefore was in the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon; which account agrees with that given by Thucydides.—*T.*

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XXI. None of the expeditions already mentioned, nor indeed any other, may at all be compared with this of Xerxes *. It would be difficult to specify any nation of Asia, which did not accompany the Persian monarch against Greece, or any waters, except great rivers, which were not exhausted by his armies. Some supplied ships, some a body of infantry, others of horse; some provided transports for the cavalry and the troops; others brought long ships to serve as bridges; many also brought vessels laden with corn, all which preparations were made for three years, to guard against a repetition of the calamities which the Persian fleet had formerly sustained in their attempts to double the promontory of Mount Athos. The place of rendezvous for the triremes was at Elæos of the Chersonese, from whence detachments from the army were sent, and by force of blows compelled to dig a passage through Mount Athos [24], with orders

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* This expedition of Xerxes against Greece, observes Larcher, was foretold by the prophet Daniel 80 years before it took place.—See Daniel, c. xi. v. 2.

" Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."

24 *Through Mount Athos.*]—This incident Mr. Richardson conceives to be utterly incredible. This promontory was, as he justly remarks, no more than 200 miles from Athens: and

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to relieve each other at certain regular intervals. The undertaking was assisted by those who inhabited the mountain, and the conduct of the work was confided to Bubaris, the son of Megabyzus, and Antachæus, son of Artæus, both of whom were Persians.

XXII. Athos is a large and noble mountain, projecting into the sea, and inhabited; where it terminates on the land side, it has the appearance of a peninsula, and forms an isthmus of about twelve stadia in breadth: the surface of this is interspersed with several small hills, reaching from the Acanthian sea to that of Torone[25], which is opposite. Where Mount Athos terminates, stands

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yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men, three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who from the time of the battle of Marathon had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation.—See Richardson farther on this subject, Dissertation, p. 312. Pococke, who visited Mount Athos, deems also the event highly improbable, and says that he could not perceive the smallest vestige of any such undertaking.—*T.*

[25] *Torone.*]—There were two places of this name, one on the coast of Epirus, the other this bay in Macedonia, where the roaring of the sea was so loud, that the expression *sævdor Toronæo ponto*, became proverbial.—*T.*

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a Grecian city, called Sana; in the interior parts, betwixt Sana and the elevation of Athos, are situated the towns of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssum, and Cleonæ, inhabited by Greeks. It was the object of the Persians to detach these from the continent.

XXIII. They proceeded to dig in this manner: the Barbarians marked out the ground in the vicinity of Sana with a rope, assigning to each nation their particular station; then sinking a deep trench, whilst they at the bottom continued digging, the nearest to them handed the earth to others standing immediately above them upon ladders; it was thus progressively elevated, till it came to the summit, where they who stood received and carried it away. The brink of the trench giving way, except in that part where the Phœnicians were employed, occasioned a double labour; and this, as the trench was no wider at top than at bottom, was unavoidable. But in this, as in other instances, the Phœnicians discovered their superior sagacity, for in the part allotted to them they commenced by making the breadth of the trench twice as large as was necessary; and thus proceeding in an inclined direction, they made their work at the bottom of the prescribed dimensions. In this part was a meadow, which was their public place for busi-

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ness and for commerce, and where a vast quantity of corn was imported from Asia.

XXIV. The motive of Xerxes in this work[26] was, as far as I am able to conjecture, the vain desire of exhibiting his power, and of leaving a monument to posterity. When with very little trouble he might have transported his vessels over the isthmus, he chose rather to unite the two seas by a canal, of sufficient diameter to admit two triremes abreast. Those employed in this business were also ordered to throw bridges over the river Strymon.

XXV. For these bridges Xerxes provided cordage made of the bark[27] of the biblos, and of

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[26] *In this work.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise de Ira cohibenda, has preserved a ridiculous letter, supposed to have been written by Xerxes to mount Athos. It was to this effect: "O thou miserable Athos, whose top now reaches to the heavens, I give thee in charge not to throw any great stones in my way, which may impede my work; if thou shalt do this, I will cut thee in pieces and cast thee into the sea."

This threat to the mountain is however at least as sensible as the chastisement inflicted upon the Hellespont; so that if one anecdotebe true, the other may also obtain credit.—*T.*

[27] *Of the bark.*]—The Indians make very strong cordage of the bark of the cocoa-tree. The English word *cordage* comes from the Greek word χορδη, chorde, a kind of gut of which cord was made.—*T.*

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white flax. The care of transporting provisions for the army, was committed jointly to the Ægyptians and Phœnicians, that the troops, as well as the beasts of burden, in this expedition to Greece, might not suffer from famine. After examining into the nature of the country, he directed stores to be deposited in every convenient situation, which were supplied by transports and vessels of burden, from the different parts of Asia. Of these, the greater number were carried to that part of Thrace which is called the "White Coast;" others to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; the remainder were severally distributed at Doriscus, at Eïon on the banks of the Strymon, and in Macedonia.

XXVI. Whilst these things were carrying on, Xerxes, at the head of all his land forces, left Critalis* in Cappadocia, and marched towards Sardis: it was at Critalis that all those troops were appointed to assemble who were to attend the king by land; who the commander was, that received from the king the promised gifts, on account of the number and goodness of his troops, I am unable to decide, nor indeed can I say whether there was any competition on the sub-

* This place is not known to us, but probably it was near Ereckli, which was the Archelais Colonia of the Romans.

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ject. Passing the river Halys[28], they came to Phrygia, and continuing to advance, arrived at Celænæ, where are the fountains of the Mæander, as well as those of another river of equal size with the Mæander, called Catarracte, which rising in the public square of Celænæ, empties itself into the Mæander. In the forum of this city is suspended the skin of Marsyas[29], which the Phrygians say was placed there after he had been flayed by Apollo.

XXVII. In this city lived a man named Pythius, son of Atys, a native of Lydia, who entertained Xerxes and all his army with great magnificence: he farther engaged to supply the

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[28] *Halys.*]—If the reader will be pleased to remember, that Herodotus makes the river Halys the boundary of the kingdoms of Cyrus and Crœsus, it may lead to some interesting and useful reflections on the progress of ambition, and the fate of empires.—*T.*

[29] *Marsyas.*]—This story must be sufficiently familiar; see Ovid. Metamorph. l. vi. 382.

The punishment of Marsyas, says Licetus, was only an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, the flute was the first of all musical instruments; after the introduction of the lyre the flute came into disrepute, and nothing was to be gained by excelling on it. Pausanias, describing one of the pictures of Polygnotus, in his book of the Territories of Phocis, says, that in one of the temples of Delphi was a picture, which contained, amongst other figures, Marsyas sitting upon a rock, and the youth Olympus by him, who seems to be learning to play on the flute.—*T.*

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king with money for the war. Xerxes was on this induced to inquire of his Persian attendants who this Pythius was, and what were the resources which enabled him to make these offers: "It is the same," they replied, "who presented "your father Darius with a plane-tree and a vine "of gold, and who, next to yourself, is the richest "of mankind [30]."

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30 *Richest of mankind.*]—Many wonderful anecdotes are related of the riches of individuals in more ancient times; among which this does not seem to be the least marvellous. The sum of which Pythius is said to have been possessed amounted to five millions and a half of our sterling money: this is according to the estimate of Prideaux; that given by Montfaucon differs essentially. "The denii," says this last writer, "weighed eight modern louis-d'ors." Therefore Pythius possessed thirty-two millions of louis-d'ors. If so great then was the wealth of a single dependant on the sovereign of Persia, what must have been the riches of all the satraps, princes, nobility, &c. collectively?

Mon faucon, relating the story of Pythius, adds these reflections:

"A man might in those days safely be rich, provided he obtained his riches honestly; and how great must have been the circulation in commerce, if a private man could amass so prodigious a sum!" The wealth which the Roman Crassus possessed was not much inferior; when he had consecrated a tenth of his property to Hercules, and at ten thousand tables feasted all the people of Rome, beside giving as much corn to every citizen as was sufficient to last him three months, he found himself still possessed of 7100 Roman talents, equivalent to a million and a half of our money. The gold which Solomon employed in overlaying the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, which was no more than thirty feet square, and thirty feet high, amounted to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The gold which he

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XXVIII. These last words filled Xerxes with astonishment; and he could not refrain from asking Pythius himself the amount of his wealth: "Sir," he replied, "I conceal nothing from you, "nor affect ignorance; but as I am able I will "fairly tell you.—As soon as I heard of your "approach to the Grecian sea, I was desirous of "giving you money for the war; on examining "into the state of my affairs, I found that I "was possessed of two thousand talents of silver, "and four millions, wanting only seven thousand, "of gold staters of Darius; all this I give you— "my slaves and my farms will be sufficient to "maintain me."

XXIX. "My Lydian friend," returned Xerxes, much delighted, "since I first left Persia, "you are the only person who has treated my "army with hospitality, or who appearing in "my presence, has voluntarily offered me a "supply for the war: you have done both; "in acknowledgment for which I offer you my

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had in one year from Ophir was equal to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; his annual tribute in gold, beside silver, was four millions seven hundred ninety-five thousand two hundred pounds. Lucullus, the Roman senator, whenever he supped in his room called the Apollo, expended fifty thousand Roman denarii, nearly equal to fifteen hundred pounds. See Plutarch, Montfaucon, and Prideaux. This story is related differently in Plutarch's treatise de Virtutibus Mulierum.—*T.*

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"friendship; you shall be my host, and I will "give you the seven thousand staters, which "are wanting to make your sum of four mil-"lions complete.—Retain, therefore, and enjoy "your property; persevere in your present mode "of conduct, which will invariably operate to "your happiness."

XXX. Xerxes having performed what he promised, proceeded on his march; passing by a Phrygian city, called Anaua, and a lake from which salt is made, he came to Colossæ[31]. This also is a city of Phrygia, and of considerable eminence; here the Lycus disappears, entering abruptly a chasm in the earth, but at the distance of seven stadia it again emerges, and continues its course to the Mæander. The Persian army, advancing from Colossæ, came to Cydrara, a place on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia; here a pillar had been erected by Crœsus, with an inscription defining the boundaries of the two countries.

XXXI. On entering Lydia from Phrygia they came to a place where two roads met, the one on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis: to those who go by the latter it is

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31 *Colossæ*—or Colossis, a town of Phrygia, near Laodicea, on the confines of Caria. This place is memorable in Scripture, on account of the epistle addressed by St. Paul to its inhabitants.—*T.*

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necessary to cross the Mæander, and to pass Callatebus, a city where honey is made of the tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes here found a plane-tree *, so very beautiful, that he adorned it with chains of gold, and assigned the guard of it [32] to one of the immortal band [33]; the next day he came to the principal city of the Lydians.

XXXII. When arrived at Sardis, his first step was to send heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water, and commanding preparations should be made to entertain him. He did not, however, send either to Athens or Lacedæmon: his motive for repeating the demand to the other cities, was, the expectation that they who had before refused earth and water to Darius, would, from

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* The plane-tree, one of the noblest and loftiest that grew, was naturally venerated by the Orientals for its broad and luxuriant shade: the philosopher instructed his pupils beneath its branches, and the bacchanalian here held his revels.

32 *The guard of it.*]—This caprice of Xerxes is ridiculed by Ælian, l. ii. c. 14, but with no great point or humour. He remarks, that the beauty of a tree consists in its firm root, its spreading branches, its thick leaves, but that the bracelets of Xerxes, and gold of Barbarians, would certainly be no addition to its excellence.

Ælian here talks like a miserable pedant. Xerxes appears in this passage to have been a lover of natural beauty, and a fine tree was preserved by his precaution.—This trait does him honour.—*T.*

33 *Immortal band.*]—See on this subject, chapter 83.

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their alarm at his approach, send it now; this he wished positively to know.

XXXIII. Whilst he was preparing to go to Abydos, numbers were employed in throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, from Asia to Europe; betwixt Sestos and Madytus, in the Chersonese of the Hellespont, the coast toward the sea from Abydos is rough and woody. After this period, and at no remote interval of time, Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, and commander of the Athenians, in this place took Antaycles, a Persian, and governor of Sestos, prisoner: he was crucified alive: he had formerly carried some females to the temple of Protesilaus in Elæos, and perpetrated what is detestable*.

XXXIV. They on whom the office was imposed proceeded in the work of the bridge, commencing at the side next Abydos. The Phœnicians used a cordage made of linen, the Ægyptians the bark of the biblos: from Abydos to the opposite continent is a space of seven stadia [34]. The

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* See the story circumstantially related, book 9. l. 116.

[34] *Seven stadia.*]—The Hellespont was so called by the ancients because Helle, attempting to swim over here, on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned. The Europeans call it the Dardanelles, as well as the castles about the middle of it; the Turks give it the name of Bogas (the mouth or

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bridge was no sooner completed, than a great tempest arose, which tore in pieces and destroyed the whole of their labour.

XXXV. When Xerxes heard of what had happened, he was so enraged, that he ordered three hundred lashes to be inflicted[35] on the

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entrance.) The entrance to the Dardanelles is now to be computed from the Asia light-house, about a league without Lamsac, and from the Europe light-house, half a league to the north of Gallipoli; the whole length is about twenty-six miles: the broadest part is not computed to be above four miles over, though at Gallipoli it was judged by the ancients to be five miles, and from Sestos to Abydos only seven stadia. —*Pococke.*

On a reconnu dans ces derniers temps que ce trajet, le plus resservé de tout le detroit, n'est que d'environ 375 toises ½, les ponts ayant 7 stades de longueur; M. d'Anville en a conclu que ces stades n'étoient que de 51 toises.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

Major Rennell is of opinion that D'Anville erred very much in the scale of his stade in this place;—(the 375½ toises should be 357½.) All accounts seem to agree that the Hellespont, at the narrowest part, was the best part of a mile in breadth.

35 *To be inflicted.*]—Juvenal makes a happy use of this historical anecdote; Sat. x. 179.

> Ille tamen (Xerxes) qualis rediit Salamine relictâ
> In Corum atque Eurum solitus sævire flagellis.
> Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,
> Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum
> Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
> Credidit.

Of

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Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea. I have been informed that he even sent some executioners to brand the Hellespont with marks of ignominy; but it is certain, that he ordered those who inflicted the lashes to use these barbarous and mad expressions: "Thou ungracious water, thy master condemns thee to "this punishment for having injured him without "provocation. Xerxes the king will pass over "thee, whether thou consentest or not: just is it "that no man honours thee with sacrifice, for "thou art insidious, and of an ungrateful flavour." After thus treating the sea, the king commanded those who presided over the construction of the bridge to be beheaded.

XXXVI. These commands were executed by those on whom that unpleasing office was conferred. A bridge was then constructed by a different set of architects, who performed it in the

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Of which lines this is Dryden's translation:

> But how did he return this haughty brave,
> Who whipt the winds, and made the sea his slave?
> Tho' Neptune took unkindly to be bound,
> And Eurus never such hard usage found
> In his Æolian prison under ground.

The reader will observe that the more pointed part of the passage is totally omitted by Dryden.—Gifford is far more successful.—*T.*

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following manner: they connected together ships of different kinds, some long vessels of fifty oars, others three-banked gallies, to the number of three hundred and sixty on the side towards the Euxine sea, and three hundred and thirteen on that of the Hellespont[36]. The former of

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36 *On that of the Hellespont.*]—It seems a matter of certainty that these numbers must be erroneous.—Vessels placed transversely must reach to a much greater extent than the same number placed side by side; yet here the greater number of ships is stated to have been on the side where they were arranged transversely, that is, across the channel, with their broadsides to the stream. What the true numbers were it is vain to conjecture, it is sufficient to have pointed out that the present must be wrong.—*T.*

Since the Hellespont, in the neighbourhood of Abydos, has a very considerable bend, in its course, first running northward from Abydos towards Sestos, and then taking a pretty sharp turn to the *eastward*, may it not have been, that the two lines of ships were disposed on different sides of the *angle* just mentioned, by which it might truly be said, that the ships in one line presented their *heads* to the Euxine, the other their *sides*, although the heads of both were presented to the current? The different numbers in the two lines, certainly indicate *different breadths* of the strait, which can only be accounted for by their being at some distance from each other: for it cannot be supposed that the line was placed obliquely across the strait.

The cables extended from each shore appear to have been for the sole purpose of supporting the *bridgeways.* The ships were kept in their places by anchors ahead and astern; by the lateral pressure of each other, and by side-fastenings.—*Rennell*, page 126.

The reader will do well to consult what Larcher observes

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these were placed transversely, but the latter, to diminish the strain upon the cables, in the direction of the current. When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower, toward the Ægean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds[37]. They left however openings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels, which might have occasion to sail

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in opposition to the above reasoning; but after all, the subject of the bridges must still remain involved in great doubt and perplexity.

[37] *The south and south-east winds.*]—At first sight it appears that the west winds were most to be dreaded on that side; but the western side of the channel is sheltered by the shore of the Chersonese, and it turns in such a manner, as to bring the south-east winds, as well as the south, to act against that side. It seems extraordinary that no mention is here made of the current, as making anchors necessary on the upper side. I am tempted to think that some words expressing that circumstance have been lost from the text: we might perhaps read *της ῥοης, καὶ των ανεμων εινεκα*, instead of *της ἑτερης, των ανεμων*: the first *της ἑτερης* being not necessary to the construction, though very consistent with it. I conceive each range of vessels to have been secured by anchors above and below, the transverse ships having them from each side, those placed with the current, at head and stern, so that there were in all four sets of anchors: or, perhaps, the cables extended from shore to shore secured each range of vessels on the inner side; if so, there would be only two sets of anchors, one from the upper sides of the transverse ships, the other from one end of those which lay side by side.—*T.*

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into the Euxine or from it: having performed this, they extended cables from the shore[38], stretching them upon large capstans of wood; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness, but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge; these they laid in order across upon the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly upon the rafters; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burden might not be terrified by looking down upon the sea.

XXXVII. The bridges were at length com-

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38 *Extended cables from the shore.*]—That is, from shore to shore, and doubtless within each range of ships, at such a distance from each other as to be of a convenient breadth for the bridge; thus the ships served as piers to support the weight, and the cables resting on the vessels, or something projecting from them, formed the foundation for the road by which the army was to pass.

It may, perhaps, be thought singular by some, that no opposition to fixing the bridge was made on the European side, which of course must have been in the power of the Greeks.

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pleted, and the work at Mount Athos finished: to prevent the canal at this last place being choked up by the flow of the tides, deep trenches were sunk at its mouth. The army had wintered at Sardis, but on receiving intelligence of the above, they marched at the commencement of the spring for Abydos. At the moment of their departure, the sun, which before gave his full light, in a bright unclouded atmosphere, withdrew his beams, and the darkest night succeeded*. Xerxes, alarmed

* This is supposed by many to have been owing to an eclipse of the sun happening at this time; if so, the period of the expedition is precisely determined: for it is found on computation that the only eclipse within the compass of eight years, which was total at Sardis, in the beginning of Spring, was one which took place on February the 17th, 478 years before Christ. This Kepler has observed, Astron. part. Optic. page 219; and it has since been proved, by Costard, in a Dissertation on the use of Astronomy in History and Chronology, 4to. 1765, pages 14, 23, which is two years later than chronologers in general assign for this arrival of Xerxes in Asia. This is further confirmed by allowing thirty-six years to the reign of Darius, according to Herodotus, see chap. iv. of this book, by the Ptolemaic Canon, and by Manetho, which brings the commencement of the reign of Xerxes to the 484th year before Christ, and this expedition, which was in the seventh year of Xerxes, to the 478th year before Christ.

I shall take this opportunity of making remarks on the eclipse mentioned by Herodotus, in the 74th chapter of the first book, as being foretold by Thales the Milesian. That eclipse is assigned by different authors to different years; it is fixed by Riccioli to the year 585 before Christ, from a passage in Theon, and another in Cleomedes.

But

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at this incident, consulted the magi upon what it might portend. They replied, that the protection of Heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks;

But as the place of observation, in both these authors, seems to have been Alexandria in Egypt, it must have been after that city was built; consequently we may presume that it was observed by Hipparchus himself, and therefore could not have been the eclipse foretold by Thales. In Egypt it was only five digits; and if it was total on the banks of the Hellespont, as Theon said it was, there is no reason to suppose that the battle between the Lydians and the Medes was fought there: it was rather on the confines of the two kingdoms, to the east of Alexandria, in a more southern longitude and latitude, and the eclipse could not have been total; Sir Isaac Newton appears in this instance to have followed others, rather than to have adopted it after an examination of his own. Usher places it a. p. Jul. 4113 before Christ, 601 Olymp. 44. 4. July 20th, 34, 25 before noon; digits eclipsed, nine. The former eclipse of Riccioli at Sardis took place in May, at six in the afternoon, too late in the day to be visible. This of Usher must have produced too little effect, to turn day into night, as Herodotus says it did.

Hardouin Chron. of the Old Testament, places it before Christ 597; a. p. Jul. 4117, on Wednesday July 9th, at six in the morning, and says that the battle was fought not in the reign of Cyaxares, but in that of Astyages, not in the fourth year of the Olympiad, but a month before it began. According to Dr. Halley's Tables, the apparent time of the true conjunction at Greenwich was July the 8th 21° 50′ 9″ and therefore could not have been large enough at Sardis to answer the description of Herodotus.

But in the year before Christ 603, per. Jul. 4111, an eclipse will be found by good tables, which is entirely satisfactory, when the apparent time of the true conjunction at Greenwich, was May 17th, 20° 42′ 19.″—See Costard's

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the sun, they observed, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Persia[39]. The answer was so satisfactory to Xerxes, that he proceeded with increased alacrity.

XXXVIII. During the march, Pythius the Lydian, who was much intimidated by the prodigy which had appeared, went to the king; deriving confidence from the liberality he had shown and received, he thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "I entreat a favour no less trifling to you, "than important to myself." Xerxes, not imagining what he was about to ask, promised to grant it, and desired to know what he would have. Pythius on this became still more bold: "Sir," he returned, "I have five sons, who are all with "you in this Grecian expedition; I would entreat "you to pity my age, and dispense with the pre-"sence of the eldest. Take with you the four "others, but leave this to manage my affairs; so

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Letter to Dr. Bevis, in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 48, part 1, for the year 1753.—As far as modern maps can be depended upon, the centre of the shadow passed over the kingdom of Barca and Africa, crossed the Mediterranean between Candia and Cyprus, and then over Antiochette, and to Cryroum, and a little to the south of Kars.

39 *The moon was of Persia.*]—Several of the Oriental nations worshipped the moon as a divinity. The Jews were reproved for doing this by the prophet Jeremiah; see chap. xliv. 17.

"Let us sacrifice to the queen of heaven, and pour out our drink-offerings unto her," &c.—*T.*

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" may you return in safety, after the accomplish-
" ment of your wishes."

XXXIX. Xerxes, in great indignation[40], made this reply: " Infamous man! you see me " embark my all in this Grecian war; myself, " my children, my brothers, my domestics, and " my friends; how dare you then presume to " mention your son, you who are my slave, and " whose duty it is to accompany me on this oc- " casion, with all your family, and even your " wife[41]?—Remember this, the spirit of a man

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40 *Great indignation.*]—No two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other, than those of Darius and Xerxes: that of Darius was on various occasions marked by the tenderest humanity; it is unnecessary to specify any, as numerous instances occur in the course of this work. Xerxes, on the contrary, was insolent, imperious, and unfeeling; and, viewing the whole of his conduct, we are at a loss which to reprobate most, his want of sagacity, of true courage, or of real sensibility. The example before us, as we have nothing on record of the softer or more amiable kind to contrast it with, as it was not only unprovoked, but as the unsolicited liberality of Pythius demanded a very different return, we are compelled to consign it to everlasting infamy, as an act of consummate meanness and brutality.—*T.*

It can only be palliated by the idea that Xerxes was compelled to an act of severity to prevent discontents in his army.—The politics of Herodotus is hitherto an untouched subject.

41 *Even your wife.*]—This expression may at first sight appear a little singular; its apparent absurdity vanishes, when we take into consideration the jealous care with which the Orientals have in all ages secluded their women from the public eye.—*T.*

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" resides in his ears: when he hears what is agree-
" able to him, the pleasure diffuses itself over all
" his body; but when the contrary happens, he is
" anxious and uneasy. If your former conduct
" was good, and your promises yet better, you
" still cannot boast of having surpassed the king
" in liberality. Although your present behaviour
" is base and insolent, you shall be punished
" less severely than you deserve: your former
" hospitality preserves yourself and four of your
" children; the fifth, whom you most regard,
" shall pay the penalty of your crime." As soon as he had finished, the king commanded the proper officers to find the eldest son of Pythius, and divide his body in two; he then ordered one part of the body to be thrown on the right side of the road, the other on the left, whilst the army continued their march betwixt them.

XL. The march was conducted in the following order: first of all went those who had the care of the baggage; they were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army; after these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where the king was; next came a thousand horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were followed by the same number of spear-men, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes upon

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the ground; behind these were ten sacred horses called Nisæan[42], with very superb trappings (they take their name from a certain district in Media, called Nisæus, remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size); the sacred car of Jupiter was next in the procession, it was drawn by eight white horses, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands, for no mortal is permitted to sit in this car; then came Xerxes himself, in a chariot[43] drawn by Nisæan horses; by his side sate his charioteer, whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes the Persian.

XLI. Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but as often as occasion required, he left his chariot for a common carriage[44]. A thousand of the first and noblest

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42 *Nisæan.*]—Suidas says, that these horses were also remarkable for their swiftness; see article Νισαιον.—*T.*

43 *In a chariot.*]—The curious reader will find all the different kinds of ancient chariots, and other carriages, enumerated and explained in Montfaucon's Antiquities.—*T.*

44 *Common carriage.*]—Of the Harmamaxe Larcher remarks, that it was a carriage appropriated to females. The Greek carriages were distinguished by the different names of αρμα, αμαξα, and οχημα.

"The first heroes," says Lucretius, "were mounted on horses, for chariots were a more modern invention."—See book v.

Et

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Persians attended his person, bearing their spears according to the custom of their country; and a thousand horse, selected like the former, immediately succeeded. A body of ten thousand chosen infantry came next; a thousand of these had at the extremity of their spears a pomegranate of gold, the remaining nine thousand, whom the former enclosed, had in the same manner pomegranates of silver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their spears, had their arms decorated with gold: they who followed him had, as we have described, golden pomegranates: these ten thousand foot were followed by an equal number of Persian cavalry; at an interval of about two furlongs, followed a numerous, irregular, and promiscuous multitude.

XLII. From Lydia the army continued its march along the banks of the Caïcus, to Mysia, and leaving mount Canæ on the left, proceeded though Atarnis to the city Carina. Moving

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Et prius est reppertum in equi conscendere costas,
Et moderanter hunc frænis dextraque vigere
Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.

Mounted on well-rein'd steeds, in ancient time,
Before the use of chariots was brought in,
The first brave heroes fought.

See also Potter's Antiquities of Greece, on the Grecian chariots.—*T.*

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hence over the plains of Thebes, and passing by Adramythium and Antandros, a Pelasgian city, they left mount Ida to the left, and entered the district of Ilium. In the very first night which they passed under Ida, a furious storm of thunder and lightning arose, which destroyed numbers of the troops. From hence they advanced to the Scamander[45]; this river first of all, after their departure from Sardis, failed in supplying them with a quantity of water sufficient for their troops and beasts of burden.

XLIII. On his arrival at this river, Xerxes ascended the citadel of Priam, desirous of examining the place. Having surveyed it attentively, and satisfied himself concerning it, he ordered a thousand oxen to be sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva[46]; at the same time, the magi

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[45] *Scamander.*]—See Homer:

Ον Ξανθον καλεουσι θεοι, ανδρις δε Σκαμανδρον.

Which the gods call Xanthus, mortals Scamander.

[46] *Trojan Minerva.*]—The temple of the Trojan Minerva was in the citadel. The story of the Palladium, how essential it was deemed to the preservation of Troy, and how it was surreptitiously removed by Diomede and Ulysses, must be sufficiently known. See in particular the speech of Ulysses, in the 13th book of the Metamorphoses:

Quam rapui Phrygiæ signum penetrale Minervæ
Hostibus e mediis et se mihi comparat Ajax?

Nempe

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directed libations to be offered to the manes of the heroes; when this was done, a panic spread itself in the night through the army. At the dawn of morning they moved forward, leaving to the left the towns of Rhœtion, Ophryneon, and Dardanus, which last is very near Abydos: the Gergithæ and Teucri were to their right.

XLIV. On their arrival at Abydos, Xerxes desired to take a survey of all his army: the inhabitants had, at his previous desire, constructed for him, on an eminence, a seat of white marble; upon this he sat, and directing his eyes to the shore, beheld at one view, his land and sea forces. He next wished to see a naval combat[47]; one

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Nempe capi Trojam prohibebant fata sine illo.
* * * * * *
Verum etiam summas arces intrare, suâque
Eripere æde deam, &c.

Alexander the Great, when he visited Troy, did not omit offering sacrifice to the Trojan Minerva.—*T.*

Since the first edition of this work appeared, the existence of Troy has been disputed.—But the single fact which is here related, is one which all the learning and acuteness of Bryant is not able to invalidate.

[47] *Naval combat.*]—The Naumachiæ constituted one of the grandest of the Roman shows, and were first exhibited at the end of the first Punic war: they were originally intended to improve the Romans in naval discipline; but in more luxurious times they were never displayed from this motive, but to indulge private ostentation, or the public curiosity.

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was accordingly exhibited before him, in which the Phœnicians of Sidon were victorious. The view of this contest, as well as of the number of his forces, delighted Xerxes exceedingly.

XLV. When the king beheld all the Hellespont crowded with ships, and all the shore, with the plains of Abydos, covered with his troops, he at first congratulated himself as happy, but he afterward burst into tears [48].

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[48] *Into tears.*]—

As down
Th' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind;
While this reflection fill'd his eyes with tears—
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
Not one among those millions should survive.
Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud?
Was it that once humanity could touch
A tyrant's breast? Or rather did thy soul
Repine, O Xerxes, at the bitter thought
That all thy power was mortal? *Glover's Leonidas.*

Seneca justly points out the inconsistency of these tears: "The very man," says he, "who shed them was about to precipitate their fate, losing some by land, some by sea, some in battle, some in flight, in a word destroying within a very little space of time that multitude, whose death within a hundred years he now appeared to dread."—*De Brev. Vitæ*, c. xvii.—He also assigns, as the truer cause of his regret, the idea which concludes the above citation from Glover. Rollin has expressed the thought of Seneca with some improvement: "He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon him-

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XLVI. Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, who with so much freedom had at first opposed the expedition against Greece, observed the king's emotion: "How different, Sir," said he, addressing him, "is your present behaviour, from "what it was a few minutes since! you then "esteemed yourself happy, you now are dissolved "in tears." "My reflection," answered Xerxes, "on the transitory period of human life, excited "my compassion for this vast multitude, not one "of whom will complete the term of an hundred "years!" "This," returned Artabanus, "is "not to be reckoned the greatest calamity to "which human beings are exposed; for, short as "life is, there is no one in this multitude, nor "indeed in the universe, who has been so truly "happy, as not repeatedly to have desired death "rather than life. The oppressions of misfor-"tune, and the pangs of disease, render the short "hours of life, tedious and painful: death thus "becomes the most delightful refuge of the un-"fortunate; and perhaps the invidiousness of the "deity is most apparent, by the very pleasures "we are suffered to enjoy."

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self, and considered the reproaches he deserved, for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war." The younger Pliny rather justifies his tears, *Ep.* iii. 7.—*T.*

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XLVII. "Artabanus," replied Xerxes, "human life is what you represent it; but we will "omit reflecting upon what fills us with uneasi- "ness, and enjoy the pleasures which are before "us: rather tell me, has the vision which you "saw impressed full conviction on your mind, "or do your former sentiments incline you to "dissuade me from this Grecian war?—speak "without reserve." "May the vision, O king," replied Artabanus, "which we have mutually "seen, succeed to both our wishes! For my "own part I am still so full of apprehensions, "as not at all to be master of myself: after "reflecting seriously on the subject, I discern "two important things, exceedingly hostile to "your views."

XLVIII. "What, my good friend, can these "two things possibly be?" replied Xerxes; "Do you think unfavourably of our land army, "as not being sufficiently numerous? Do you "imagine the Greeks will be able to collect one "more powerful? Can you conceive our fleet "inferior to that of our enemies?—or do both "these considerations together distress you? If "our force does not seem to you sufficiently effec- "tive, reinforcements may soon be provided."

XLIX. "No one, Sir," answered Artabanus, "in his proper senses, could object either to your

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" army, or to the multitude of your fleet: should
" you increase their number, the more hostile
" would the two things be of which I speak; I
" allude to the land and the sea. In case of
" any sudden tempest, you will find no harbour,
" as I conjecture, sufficiently capacious or con-
" venient for the protection of your fleet; no
" one port would answer this purpose, you must
" have the whole extent of the continent; your
" being without a resource of this kind, should
" induce you to remember that fortune com-
" mands men[49], and not men fortune. This is
" one of the calamities which threaten you: I
" will now explain the other; The land is also
" your enemy; your meeting with no resistance
" will render it more so, as you will be thus
" seduced imperceptibly to advance; it is the
" nature of man, never to be satisfied with suc-
" cess: thus, having no enemy to encounter,
" every moment of time, and addition to your

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[49] *Fortune commands men.*]—This sentiment is beautifully expressed in Ecclesiastes, ix. 11.

" I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all."

A moralist may perhaps be excused for adding, as a comment to the above, the simple but elegant line of Pope:

Chance is direction which thou canst not see. *T.*

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" progress, will be gradually introductive of fa-
" mine. He therefore, who is truly wise, will
" as carefully deliberate about the possible event
" of things, as he will be bold and intrepid in
" action[50]."

L. Xerxes made this reply: "What you al-
" lege, Artabanus, is certainly reasonable; but
" you should not so much give way to fear, as
" to see every thing in the worst point of view: if
" in consulting upon any matter we were to be
" influenced by the consideration of every pos-
" sible contingency, we should execute nothing.
" It is better to submit to half of the evil which
" may be the result of any measure, than to re-
" main in inactivity from the fear of what may
" eventually occur. If you oppose such senti-
" ments as have been delivered, without inform-
" ing us what more proper conduct to pursue, you
" are not more deserving of praise than they are,
" whom you oppose. I am of opinion that no
" man is qualified to speak upon any subject
" with decision: they who are bold and enter-
" prising are more frequently successful, than they
" who are slow in their measures from extreme

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50 *Intrepid in action.*]—Larcher quotes, as a parallel passage to this, these words from Sallust—Catilin. c. 1.

Prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris mature facto opus est.

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" deliberation. You are sensible to what a height
" the power of Persia has arrived, which would
" never have been the case, if my predecessors
" had either been biassed by such sentiments as
" yours, or listened to such advisers: it was
" their contempt of danger which promoted their
" country's glory, for great exploits are always
" attended with proportionable danger[51]. We,
" therefore, emulous of their reputation, have
" selected the best season of the year for our
" enterprize; and, having effectually conquered
" Europe, we shall return without experience of
" famine or any other calamity: we have with
" us abundance of provisions, and the nations
" among which we arrive will supply us with
" corn, for they against whom we advance are
" not shepherds, but husbandmen."

LI. "Since, Sir," returned Artabanus, "you
" will suffer no mention to be made of fear, at

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[51] *Proportionable danger.*]—

The steep ascent must be with toil subdu'd;
Watchings and cares must win the lofty prize
Propos'd by heaven—true bliss, and real good.
Honour rewards the brave and bold alone,
She spurns the timorous, indolent, and base;
Danger and toil stand stern before her throne,
And guard, so Jove commands, the sacred place:
Who seeks her must the mighty cost sustain,
And pay the price of fame—labour, and care, and pain.

Choice of Hercules.

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"least listen to my advice: where a number of "things are to be discussed, prolixity is unavoid- "able.—Cyrus, son of Cambyses, made all Ionia "tributary to Persia, Athens excepted; do not, "therefore, I entreat you, lead these men against "those, from whom they are immediately de- "scended: without the Ionians, we are more "than a sufficient match for our opponents. "They must either be most base, by assisting "to reduce the principal city of their country; "or, by contributing to its freedom, will do what "is most just. If they shall prove the former, "they can render us no material service; if the "latter, they may bring destruction on your army. "Remember, therefore, the truth of the ancient "proverb, When we commence a thing, we can- "not always tell how it will end[52]."

LII. "Artabanus," interrupted Xerxes, "your "suspicions of the fidelity of the Ionians must "be false and injurious; we have had sufficient

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[52] *Will end.*]—

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit deus,
Ridetque si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat, &c. *Hor.*

See also Pindar, in Olympiis:

Νυν δ' ελπομαι μεν, εν θεφ γε παν τελος.

We may hope indeed, but the event is with God alone.—*T.*

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"testimony of their constancy, as you yourself "must be convinced, as well as all those who "served under Darius against the Scythians. "It was in their power to save or to destroy all "the forces of Persia, but they preserved their "faith, their honour, and their gratitude; add "to this, they have left their wives, their chil-"dren, and their wealth, in our dominions, and "therefore dare not meditate any thing against "us. Indulge, therefore, no apprehensions, but "cheerfully watch over my family, and preserve "my authority: to you, I commit the exercise "of my power."

LIII. Xerxes after this interview dismissed Artabanus to Susa, and a second time called an assembly of the most illustrious Persians. As soon as they were met, he thus addressed them: "My motive, Persians, for thus convoking you, "is to entreat you to behave like men, and not "dishonour the many great exploits of our an-"cestors: let us individually and collectively ex-"ert ourselves. We are engaged in a common "cause; and I the rather call upon you to dis-"play your valour, because I understand we are "advancing against a warlike people, whom if we "overcome, no one will in future dare oppose us. "Let us, therefore, proceed, having first implored "the aid of the gods of Persia."

LIV. On the same day they prepared to pass

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the bridge: the next morning, whilst they waited for the rising of the sun, they burned on the bridge all manner of perfumes, and strewed the way with branches of myrtle[53]. When the sun appeared, Xerxes poured into the sea a libation from a golden vessel, and then addressing the sun, he implored him to avert from the Persians every calamity, till they should totally have vanquished Europe, arriving at its extremest limits. Xerxes then threw the cup into the Hellespont, together with a golden goblet, and a Persian scymetar. I am not able to determine whether the king, by throwing these things into the Hellespont, intended to make an offering to the sun, or whether he wished thus to make compensation to the sea, for having formerly chastised it.

LV. When this was done, all the infantry and

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53 *Branches of myrtle.*]—The myrtle was with the ancients a very favourite plant, and always expressive of triumph and joy: the hero wore it as a mark of victory; the bridegroom on his bridal day; and friends presented each other with myrtle garlands in the conviviality of the banquet. Venus is said to have been adorned with it when Paris decided in her favour the prize of beauty, and that for this reason it was deemed odious to Juno and Minerva. It was probably from this reason, that when all other flowers and shrubs might be used in the festival of the Bona Dea at Rome, myrtle alone was excluded. See Rosinus. Harmodius and Aristogiton before mentioned, when they slew the Athenian tyrant, had their swords concealed beneath wreaths of myrtle; of which incident, as recorded in a fragment of Alcæus, Sir William Jones has made a happy use in his Poem to Liberty; I have already quoted the passage.—*T.*

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the horse were made to pass over that part of the bridge which was toward the Euxine; over that to the Ægean, went the servants of the camp, and the beasts of burden. They were preceded by ten thousand Persians, having garlands on their heads; and these were followed by a promiscuous multitude of all nations;—these passed on the first day. The first who went over the next day were the knights, and they who trailed their spears; these also had garlands on their heads: next came the sacred horses, and the sacred car; afterwards Xerxes himself, who was followed by a body of spearmen, and a thousand horse. The remainder of the army closed the procession, and at the same time the fleet moved to the opposite shore: I have heard from some, that the king himself was the last who passed the bridge.

LVI. As soon as Xerxes had set foot in Europe, he saw his troops driven over the bridge by the force of blows; and seven whole days and as many nights were consumed in the passage of his army. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, an inhabitant of the country is said to have exclaimed: "Why, O Jupiter, under the appearance of a "Persian, and for the name of Jupiter taking "that of Xerxes, art thou come to distract "and persecute Greece? or why bring so vast a "multitude, when able to accomplish thy purpose "without them?"

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LVII. When all were gone over, and were proceeding on their march, a wonderful prodigy appeared, which, though disregarded by Xerxes, had an obvious meaning—a mare brought forth a hare[54]: from this it might have been inferred, that Xerxes, who had led an army into Greece with much ostentation and insolence, should be involved in personal danger, and compelled to return with dishonour. Whilst yet at Sardis, he had seen another prodigy—a mule produced a young one, which had the marks of both sexes, those of the male being beneath.

LVIII. Neither of these incidents made any impression on his mind, and he continued to advance with his army by land, whilst his fleet, passing beyond the Hellespont, coasted along the shore in an opposite direction. The latter sailed toward the west, to the promontory of Sarpe-

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54 *Brought forth a hare.*]—In Julius Obsequens de Prodigiis, chap. xxxiii. p. 20, we have an account no less remarkable, L. Posthumio Albino, Sempronio Graccho Coss. mare arsit, ad Sinuessam *bos equuleum peperit*.

See also the same book on the subject of a mule's producing young.

Mula pariens, discordam civium, bonorum interitum mutationem legum, turpes matronarum partus significavit.—This was always deemed an unfortunate omen. See Pliny, book viii. c. 44. That mules never do produce young I have before observed.—*T.*

This story will probably excite a smile from the English reader, whom it will remind of Mary Tofts and her rabbits.

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don, where they were commanded to remain; the former proceeded eastward through the Chersonese, having on their right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas; on their left the city of Cardia. Moving onward, through the midst of a city called Agera, they turned aside to the gulph of Melana, and a river of the same name, the waters of which were not sufficient for the troops. Having passed this river, which gives its name to the above-mentioned gulph, they directed their march westward, and passing Ænos, a city of Æolia, and the lake Stertoris, they came to Doriscus.

LIX. Doriscus is on the coast, and is a spacious plain of Thrace, through which the great river Hebrus flows. Here was a royal fort called Doriscus, in which Darius, in his expedition against Scythia, had placed a Persian garrison. This appearing a proper place for the purpose, Xerxes gave orders to have his army here marshalled and numbered. The fleet being all arrived off the shore near Doriscus, their officers ranged them in order near where Salo, a Samothracian town[55], and Zena are situated. At the extremity of this shore is the celebrated pro-

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[55] *Samothracian town.*]—See Bellanger's remarks on this passage, in his Essais de Critique, where with great humour he compliments our countryman Littlebury, for kindly making

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montory of Serrium, which formerly belonged to the Ciconians. The crews having brought their vessels to shore[56], enjoyed an interval of repose, whilst Xerxes was drawing up his troops on the plain of Doriscus.

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his readers a present of two cities which never existed. Littlebury has rendered the passage thus :

" Xerxes commanded the sea captains to bring all their ships to the shore that lay nearest to Doriscus, where the cities of Sala, Samothracia, and Zena are situate, with another called Serrium, built upon a famous promontory formerly belonging to the Ciconians."

Voila, ce me semble (says Bellanger) deux villes à pur gain, Samothracia avec une autre appellée Serrium. C'est de quoi enrichir les grands dictionnaires géographiques.

I have studiously avoided pointing out any errors I may have discovered in Littlebury, from the fear of being thought invidious; I should not have done it in this instance, but that I wished to direct the reader to an excellent piece of criticism, which will at the same time reward his attention, and justify me.—*T.*

[56] *Vessels to shore.*]—As the vessels were not in those times so considerable as ours, they drew them on shore whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place. This custom, which we learn from Homer was in use in the time of the Trojan war, was also practised in the better ages of Greece. It is frequently mentioned by Xenophon, Thucydides, and other historians.—*Larcher.*

END OF VOL. III.

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HERODOTUS

IV

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Translated by

A. D. GODLEY

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

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HERODOTUS

IV

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HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

A. D. GODLEY

HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

IV

BOOKS VIII–IX

HERODOTUS

III

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Ch. 122. Cyrus' advice to the Persians to prefer hardship to comfort.

In the eighth and ninth books the central subjects are the battles of Salamis and Plataea respectively. Herodotus describes the preliminaries of Salamis,

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and both the operations prior to Plataea and the actual battle, with much detail; and his narrative has given rise to a good deal of controversy. Sometimes it is difficult to reconcile his story with the facts of geography. Sometimes, it is alleged, he is contradicted by the only other real authority for the sea fight at Salamis, Aeschylus. More often, he is said to sin against the laws of probability. He makes generals and armies do things which are surprising; and this is alleged to detract from his credit; for a historian, who allows generals and armies to disregard known rules of war, is plainly suspect, and at best the dupe of camp gossip, if not animated by partiality or even malice.

As to the battle of Salamis, a mere translator has no desire to add greatly to the literature of controversy. But it is worth while to review Herodotus' account. On the day before the battle, the Persian fleet, apparently, lay along the coast of Attica, its eastern wing being near Munychia; the Greeks being at Salamis, opposite to and rather less than a mile distant from Xerxes' ships. During the night, Persian ships were detached to close the two entrances of the straits between the mainland and Salamis. At dawn of the following day, the Greeks rowed out and made a frontal attack on the Persians facing them.

This account is questioned by the learned, mainly on two grounds; firstly, because (it is alleged) the Persians, if they originally lay along the Attic coast, could not have closed the two entrances of the straits without the knowledge of the Greeks; secondly, because Herodotus' narrative differs from that given by Aeschylus, in the Persae, a play

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produced only eight years after the battle. As to the first objection, the Persian manoeuvre was executed in darkness, and by small vessels, not modern battleships: it is surely not incredible that the Greeks should have been unaware of its full execution. As to the second ground of criticism,—that Herodotus and Aeschylus do not agree, and that Aeschylus must be held the better authority,—it still remains to be shown in what the alleged discrepancy consists. It is a fact which appears to escape the observation of the learned that Aeschylus is writing a poetic drama, and not a despatch. His manner of telling the story certainly differs from that of Herodotus; but the facts which he relates appear to be the same: and in all humility I cannot but suggest that if commentators would re-read their Herodotus and their Aeschylus in parallel columns, without (if this be not too much to ask) an *a priori* desire to catch Herodotus tripping, some of them, at least, would eventually be able to reconcile the historian with the tragedian. For Aeschylus nowhere contradicts what is apparently the view of Herodotus,—that the Persians, or their main body, lay along the Attic coast opposite Salamis when the Greeks sailed out to attack them. Messrs. How and Wells (*quos honoris causa nomino*) say that this was probably not so, because, according to Aeschylus, "some time" elapsed before the Persians could see the Greek advance, and the strait is only one thousand five hundred yards wide. But as a matter of fact, Aeschylus does not say that some time elapsed. His expression is *θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν*—"*quickly* they were all plain to view."

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Herodotus' narrative of the manœuvres of Mardonius' and Pausanias' armies near Plataea is, like most descriptions of battles, not always very clear. It is full of detail; but as some of the localities mentioned cannot be quite certainly identified, the details are not always easy to understand; and it must be confessed that there are gaps in the story. For instance, we must presume (though meritorious efforts are made to explain the statement away) that Herodotus means what he says when he asserts in Ch. 15 that Mardonius' army occupied the ground "from Erythrae past Hysiae"; the Persians, therefore, were then on the right bank of the Asopus; yet soon afterwards they are, according to the historian's equally plain statement, on the left bank. Hence there are real obscurities; and the narrative is not without picturesque and perhaps rather surprising incidents; which some commentators (being rather like M. About's gendarme, persons whose business it is to see that nothing unusual happens in the locality) promptly dismiss as "camp gossip." Altogether, what with obscurity and camp gossip, scholars have given themselves a fairly free hand to reconstruct the operations before Plataea as they must have happened—unless indeed "someone had blundered," an hypothesis which, apparently, ought only to be accepted in the very last resort, and hardly then if its acceptance implies Herodotus' veracity. Reconstruction of history is an amusing game, and has its uses, especially in places of education, where it is played with distinguished success; yet one may still doubt whether rejection of what after all is our only real authority brings the public any nearer to

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knowing what did actually happen. Strategists and tacticians do make mistakes; thus, generally, are battles lost and won; and unreasonable incidents do occur. However, it is fair to say that most of the reconstruction of Salamis and Plataea was done before August, 1914.

But here, as elsewhere in his history, Herodotus' authority is much impaired by the presumption, popular since Plutarch, of a pro-Athenian bias which leads him to falsify history by exaggerating the merit of Athens at the expense of other states, especially Sparta. Now we may readily believe that if Herodotus lived for some time at Athens, he was willing enough to do ample justice to her achievements; but if he is to be charged with undue and unjust partiality, and consequent falsification, then it must be shown that the conduct which he attributes to Athens and to Sparta is somehow not consistent with what one would naturally expect, from the circumstances of the case, and from what we know, *aliunde*, about those two states. Scholars who criticise Herodotus on grounds of probability ought to be guided by their own canon. If a historian is to be discredited where his narrative does not accord with what is antecedently probable, then he must be allowed to gain credit where antecedent probability is on his side; and there is nothing in Herodotus' account of Athenian and Spartan actions during the campaigns of 480 and 479 which disagrees with the known character of either people. *Pace* the socialistic conception of an unrelieved similarity among all states and individuals, the Athenians of the fifth century, B.C., were an exceptional people; their record is not precisely the

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record of Boeotia or Arcadia; it seems fair to say, without appealing to Herodotus' testimony, that they were more gifted, and more enterprising, than most. The spirit of the Hellenic world is general,—intense local patriotism, intense fear and hatred of Oriental absolutism and strange worships,—was more alive among the Athenians, probably, than in any other Greek state. Sparta also had her share of these qualities; she too would make no terms with the Persian; only her methods of resistance were different. Primarily, each state was interested in its own safety. To Spartans—disinclined to methods other than traditional, and as yet unaccustomed to naval warfare—it seemed that Sparta could be best defended by blocking the land access to the Peloponnese; they would defend the Isthmus successfully, as they had tried and failed to defend Thermopylae. This meant, of course, the sacrifice of Attica; and naturally that was a sacrifice not to be made willingly by Athenians. Their only chance of saving or recovering Attica lay in fighting a naval action close to its coasts; nay, the abandonment of Salamis meant the exposure of their dependents to fresh dangers; therefore, they pressed for the policy of meeting and defeating the Persian where he lay by the Attic coast. This policy was to prove successful; and thereby, the Athenians incidentally accomplished what was undoubtedly also their object, the salvation of Hellas; but the primary purpose of both Sparta and Athens, both before Salamis and before Plataea (when the Athenians were naturally displeased by a plan which left Attica a prey to the enemy) was undoubtedly to do the best they could for themselves.

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This, in fact, was always the desire of all Greek states, as of most others in the history of the world; and as the actions of both Athens and Sparta were the natural outcome of that desire, there is no need to suspect Herodotus of unduly favouring the Athenians when he credits them with the plans which led to victory, or of unduly disparaging the Spartans when he describes their delays and hesitations before their march to Boeotia.

If the charge of an excessively pro-Athenian bias is to be sustained, it must be shown that Herodotus is prone to deny credit to the great rival of Athens. But there is no evidence of that. Sparta receives full measure from Herodotus. No Spartan could conceivably have been dissatisfied with the chapters on Thermopylae. Plataea is represented as a Spartan victory; it was the Spartans and Tegeans who in Herodotus' story were the real heroes of the day; the glory of winning "the greatest victory ever won" is definitely given to the Spartan commander-in-chief. On the other hand Themistocles, the typical Athenian, is treated with a severity which even appears to be rather gratuitous. It is true that Herodotus does not take pains to praise two other Greek states which at various times were at feud with Athens. He tells us that the Thebans "medized," a fact which has not, I believe, been denied, even by Plutarch; it is difficult to see what else he could have said. True, he reports a damaging story about the Corinthians and their failure to take part in the action of Salamis; but he adds, in his candid way, that nobody believes the story outside Attica.

The hypothesis of Herodotus' "obvious pro-

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Athenian bias" is one which is bound to appeal to readers who are laudably afraid of being led away by hero-worship; but it has one fault—it lacks evidence.

With the crowning victory of Mycale, where for the first time a Persian army was defeated by a Greek within the boundaries of the Persian empire, the history of the war comes to an end. But the chapters which conclude Book IX are no anti-climax; they are congruous with the whole, part and parcel of the narrative, and as striking an example of Herodotus' supreme art as any passage in his history. What was it after all (a reader might be supposed to ask) that nerved most of the Greeks to resist Darius' and Xerxes' powerful armaments? The answer is plain; it was fear of the caprice and cruelty of Oriental despots, and desire to protect Greek temples from sacrilege. These concluding chapters illustrate and justify the Greek temper. The methods of Persian absolutism are vividly portrayed in the gruesome story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death; and the crucified body of Artaÿctes, the defiler of temples, hangs by the Hellespontian shore, overlooking the scene of Xerxes' proudest achievement and display, as a warning to all sacrilegious invaders; so perish all who lay impious hands on the religion of Hellas! . . . The story is now complete. The play is played; and in the last chapter of the book, Cyrus the great protagonist of the drama is called before the curtain to speak its epilogue.

[Besides the authorities enumerated at the beginning of Vol. I of this translation, the following

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sources are recommended to the students of the campaigns of Salamis and Plataea:—

G. B. Grundy, *The Great Persian War.*

J. A. R. Munro, *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* xxii. 323–32 and xxiv. 144–65.

Prof. Goodwin, *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology,* 1906, pp. 75 ff.]

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HERODOTUS

BOOK VIII

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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Θ

1. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες ἦσαν οἵδε, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν νέας παρεχόμενοι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑπτά· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης Πλαταιέες ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς νέας. Κορίνθιοι δὲ τεσσεράκοντα νέας παρείχοντο, Μεγαρέες δὲ εἴκοσι. καὶ Χαλκιδέες ἐπλήρουν εἴκοσι, Ἀθηναίων σφι παρεχόντων τὰς νέας, Αἰγινῆται δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα, Σικυώνιοι δὲ δυοκαίδεκα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ δέκα, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ ὀκτώ, Ἐρετριέες δὲ ἑπτά, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Στυρέες δὲ δύο, καὶ Κήμοι δύο τε νέας καὶ πεντηκοντέρους δύο· Λοκροὶ δέ σφι οἱ Ὀπούντιοι ἐπεβοήθεον πεντηκοντέρους ἔχοντες ἑπτά.

2. Ἦσαν μὲν οὗτοι οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον, εἴρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος ἕκαστοι τῶν νεῶν παρείχοντο. ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῶν συλλεχθεισέων νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἦν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, διηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ μία. τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν τὸν τὸ μέγιστον κράτος ἔχοντα παρείχοντο Σπαρτιῆται Εὐρυβιάδην Εὐρυκλείδεω·

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HERODOTUS

BOOK VIII

1. The Greeks appointed to serve in the fleet were these: the Athenians furnished a hundred and twenty-seven ships; the Plataeans manned these ships with the Athenians, not that they had any knowledge of seamanship, but of mere valour and zeal. The Corinthians furnished forty ships, and the Megarians twenty; and the Chalcidians manned twenty, the Athenians furnishing the ships; the Aeginetans eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, the Lacedaemonians ten, the Epidaurians eight, the Eretrians seven, the Troezenians five, the Styrians two, and the Ceans two, and two fifty-oared barks; and the Opuntian Locrians brought seven fifty-oared barks to their aid.

2. These were they who came to Artemisium for battle; and I have now shown how they severally furnished the whole sum. The number of ships that mustered at Artemisium was two hundred and seventy one, besides the fifty-oared barks. But the admiral who had the chief command was of the Spartans' providing, Eurybiades, son of Euryclides;

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οἱ γὰρ σύμμαχοι οὐκ ἔφασαν, ἢν μὴ ὁ Λάκων ἡγεμονεύῃ, Ἀθηναίοισι ἕψεσθαι ἡγεομένοισι, ἀλλὰ λύσειν τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι στράτευμα.

3. Ἐγένετο γὰρ κατ' ἀρχὰς λόγος, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς Σικελίην πέμπειν ἐπὶ συμμαχίην, ὡς τὸ ναυτικὸν Ἀθηναίοισι χρεὸν εἴη ἐπιτράπειν. ἀντιβάντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἶκον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ γνόντες, εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ὡς ἀπολέεται ἡ Ἑλλάς, ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· στάσις γὰρ ἔμφυλος πολέμου ὁμοφρονέοντος τοσούτῳ κάκιον ἐστὶ ὅσῳ πόλεμος εἰρήνης. ἐπιστάμενοι ὦν αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀντέτεινον ἀλλ' εἶκον, μέχρι ὅσου κάρτα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν, ὡς διέδεξαν· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ὠσάμενοι τὸν Πέρσην περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἤδη τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο, πρόφασιν τὴν Παυσανίεω ὕβριν προϊσχόμενοι ἀπείλοντο τὴν ἡγεμονίην τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.

4. Τότε δὲ οὗτοι οἱ καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον Ἑλλήνων ἀπικόμενοι ὡς εἶδον νέας τε πολλὰς καταχθείσας ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας καὶ στρατιῆς ἅπαντα πλέα, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖσι παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον, καταρρωδήσαντες δρησμὸν ἐβουλεύοντο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. γνόντες δὲ σφέας οἱ Εὐβοέες ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἐδέοντο Εὐρυβιάδεω προσμεῖναι χρόνον ὀλίγον, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑπεκθέωνται. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθον, μεταβάντες τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν πείθουσι Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπὶ μισθῷ τριήκοντα

[1] After the capture of Byzantium in 476 B.C.

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for the allies said, that if the Laconian were not their leader they would rather make an end of the fleet that was preparing than be led by the Athenians.

3. For in the first days, before the sending to Sicily for alliance there, there had been talk of entrusting the command at sea to the Athenians. But when the allies withstood this, the Athenians waived their claim, deeming the safety of Hellas of prime moment, and seeing that if they quarrelled over the leadership Hellas must perish; wherein they judged rightly; for civil strife is as much worse than united war as war is worse than peace. Knowing that, they gave ground and waived their claim, but only so long as they had great need of the others, as was shown; for when they had driven the Persian back and the battle was no longer for their territory but for his, they made a pretext of Pausanias' highhandedness and took the command away from the Lacedaemonians. But all that befel later.[1]

4. But now, the Greeks who had at last come to Artemisium saw a multitude of ships launched at Aphetae, and armaments everywhere, and contrary to all expectation the foreigner was shown to be in far other case than they had supposed; wherefore they lost heart and began to take counsel for flight from Artemisium homewards into Hellas. Then the Euboeans, seeing them to be thus planning, entreated Eurybiades to wait a little while, till they themselves should have brought away their children and households. But when they could not prevail with him, they essayed another way, and gave Themistoeles, the Athenian admiral, a bribe of

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ταλάντοισι, ἐπ' ᾧ τε καταμείναντες πρὸ τῆς Εὐβοίης ποιήσονται τὴν ναυμαχίην.

5. Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέης τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπισχεῖν ὧδε ποιέει· Εὐρυβιάδῃ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων μεταδιδοῖ πέντε τάλαντα ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῦ δῆθεν διδούς. ὡς δέ οἱ οὗτος ἀνεπέπειστο, Ἀδείμαντος γὰρ ὁ Ὠκύτου ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς τῶν λοιπῶν ἤσπαιρε μοῦνος, φάμενος ἀποπλεύσεσθαί τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου καὶ οὐ παραμενέειν, πρὸς δὴ τοῦτον εἶπε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπομόσας "Οὐ σύ γε ἡμέας ἀπολείψεις, ἐπεί τοι ἐγὼ μέζω δῶρα δώσω ἢ βασιλεὺς ἄν τοι ὁ Μήδων πέμψειε ἀπολιπόντι τοὺς συμμάχους." ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀδειμάντου τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τρία. οὗτοί τε δὴ πάντες δώροισι ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τοῖσι Εὐβοεῦσι ἐκεχάριστο, αὐτός τε ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐκέρδηνε, ἐλάνθανε δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ τὰ χρήματα.

6. Οὕτω δὴ κατέμειναν τε ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίῃ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν, ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας περὶ δείλην πρωίην γινομένην ἀπίκατο οἱ βάρβαροι, πυθόμενοι μὲν ἔτι καὶ πρότερον περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ναυλοχέειν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ὀλίγας, τότε δὲ αὐτοὶ ἰδόντες, πρόθυμοι ἦσαν ἐπιχειρέειν, εἴ κως ἕλοιεν αὐτάς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀντίης προσπλέειν οὔ κώ σφι ἐδόκεε τῶνδε εἵνεκα, μή κως ἰδόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες προσπλέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσειαν φεύγοντάς τε εὐφρόνη καταλαμβάνῃ· καὶ ἔμελλον δῆθεν ἐκφεύξεσθαι, ἔδει δὲ μηδὲ

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thirty talents on the condition that the Greek fleet should remain there and fight, when they fought, to defend Euboea.

5. This was the way whereby Themistocles made the Greeks to stay where they were: he gave Eurybiades for his share five talents of that money, as though it were of his own that he gave it. Eurybiades being thus won over, none of the rest was of a resisting temper save only Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, who said that he would not remain but sail away from Artemisium; to him said Themistocles, adding an oath thereto: "Nay, you of all men will not desert us; for I will give you a greater gift than the king of the Medes would send you for deserting your allies"; and with that saying he sent withal three talents of silver to Adimantus' ship. So these two were won over by gifts, the Euboeans got their desire, and Themistocles himself was the gainer; he kept the rest of the money, none knowing, but they that had received a part of it supposing that it had been sent for that intent by the Athenians.

6. So the Greeks abode off Euboea and there fought; and it came about as I shall show. Having arrived at Aphetae in the early part of the afternoon, the foreigners saw for themselves the few Greek ships that they had already heard were stationed off Artemisium, and they were eager to attack, that so they might take them. Now they were not yet minded to make an onfall front to front, for fear lest the Greeks should see them coming and take to flight, and night close upon them as they fled; it was their belief that the Greeks would save themselves by flight, and by the

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πυρφόρον τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ ἐκφυγόντα περιγενέσθαι.

7. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὧν τάδε ἐμηχανῶντο· τῶν νεῶν ἁπασέων ἀποκρίναντες διηκοσίας περιέπεμπον ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου, ὡς ἂν μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιπλέουσαι Εὔβοιαν κατά τε Καφηρέα καὶ περὶ Γεραιστὸν ἐς τὸν Εὔριπον, ἵνα δὴ περιλάβοιεν οἳ μὲν ταύτῃ ἀπικόμενοι καὶ φράξαντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὀπίσω φέρουσαν ὁδόν, σφεῖς δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐξ ἐναντίης. ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀπέπεμπον τῶν νεῶν τὰς ταχθείσας, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρης τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐπιθήσεσθαι, οὐδὲ πρότερον ἢ τὸ σύνθημά σφι ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι παρὰ τῶν περιπλεόντων ὡς ἡκόντων. ταύτας μὲν δὴ περιέπεμπον, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων νεῶν ἐν τῇσι Ἀφέτῃσι ἐποιεῦντο ἀριθμόν.

8. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι ἀριθμὸν ἐποιεῦντο τῶν νεῶν, ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτῳ Σκυλλίης Σκιωναῖος δύτης τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἄριστος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυηγίῃ τῇ κατὰ Πήλιον γενομένῃ πολλὰ μὲν ἔσωσε τῶν χρημάτων τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς περιεβάλετο· οὗτος ὁ Σκυλλίης ἐν νόῳ μὲν εἶχε ἄρα καὶ πρότερον αὐτομολήσειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ οἱ παρέσχε ὡς τότε. ὅτεῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἔτι ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως, θωμάζω δὲ εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐστὶ ἀληθέα· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἐξ Ἀφετέων δὺς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν οὐ πρότερον ἀνέσχε πρὶν ἢ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ τούτους ἐς ὀγδώκοντα διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης

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Persian purpose not so much as a firebearer[1] of them must be saved alive.

7. Wherefore this was the plan that they devised. Separating two hundred ships from the whole number, they sent them to cruise outside Sciathus (that so the enemies might not see them sailing round Euboea) and by way of Caphereus round Geraestus to the Euripus, so that they might catch the Greeks between them, the one part holding that course and barring the retreat, and they themselves attacking in front. Thus planning, they sent the appointed ships on their way, purposing for themselves to make no attack upon the Greeks that day, nor before the signal should be seen whereby the ships that sailed round were to declare their coming. So they sent those ships to sail round, and set about numbering the rest at Aphetae.

8. Now at the time of their numbering the ships, there was in the fleet one Scyllias, a man of Scione; he was the best diver of the time, and in the shipwreck at Pelion he had saved for the Persians much of their possessions and won much withal for himself; this Scyllias had ere now, it would seem, purposed to desert to the Greeks, but he never had had so fair an occasion as now. By what means he did thereafter at last make his way to the Greeks, I cannot with exactness say; but if the story be true it is marvellous indeed; for it is said that he dived into the sea at Aphetae and never rose above it till he came to Artemisium, thus passing underneath the sea for about eighty furlongs.

[1] The πυρφόρος carried the sacred fire which was always kept alight for the sacrifices of the army; his person was supposed to be inviolable.

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διεξελθών. λέγεται μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα ψευδέσι εἴκελα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, τὰ δὲ μετεξέτερα ἀληθέα· περὶ μέντοι τούτου γνώμη μοι ἀποδεδέχθω πλοίῳ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο, αὐτίκα ἐσήμηνε τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι τήν τε ναυηγίην ὡς γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς περιπεμφθείσας τῶν νεῶν περὶ Εὔβοιαν.

9. Τοῦτο δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγον σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ἐδίδοσαν. πολλῶν δὲ λεχθέντων ἐνίκα τὴν ἡμέρην ἐκείνην αὐτοῦ μείναντάς τε καὶ αὐλισθέντας, μετέπειτα νύκτα μέσην παρέντας πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἀπαντᾶν τῇσι περιπλεούσῃσι τῶν νεῶν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς οὐδείς σφι ἐπέπλεε, δείλην ὀψίην γινομένην τῆς ἡμέρης φυλάξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐπανέπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀπόπειραν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι τῆς τε μάχης καὶ τοῦ διεκπλόου.

10. Ὁρῶντες δὲ σφέας οἵ τε ἄλλοι στρατιῶται οἱ Ξέρξεω καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐπιπλέοντας νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι, πάγχυ σφι μανίην ἐπενείκαντες ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς νέας, ἐλπίσαντες σφέας εὐπετέως αἱρήσειν, οἰκότα κάρτα ἐλπίσαντες, τὰς μέν γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶντες ὀλίγας νέας, τὰς δὲ ἑωυτῶν πλήθεί τε πολλαπλησίας καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσας. καταφρονήσαντες ταῦτα ἐκυκλοῦντο αὐτοὺς ἐς μέσον. ὅσοι μέν νυν τῶν Ἰώνων ἦσαν εὔνοοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀέκοντές τε ἐστρατεύοντο συμφορήν τε ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην ὁρῶντες περιεχομένους αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀπονοστήσει· οὕτω ἀσθενέα σφι ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα. ὅσοισι δὲ καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἦν τὸ γινόμενον, ἅμιλλαν ἐποιεῦντο ὅκως

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There are many tales of this man, some like lies and some true; but as concerning the present business it is my opinion, which I hereby declare, that he came to Artemisium in a boat. Having then come, he straightway told the admirals the story of the shipwreck, and of the ships that had been sent round Euboea.

9. Hearing that, the Greeks took counsel together; there was much speaking, but the opinion prevailed that they should abide and encamp where they were for that day, and thereafter when it should be past midnight put to sea and meet the ships that were sailing round. But presently, none attacking them, they waited for the late afternoon of the day and themselves advanced their ships against the foreigner, desiring to put to the proof his fashion of fighting and the art of breaking the line.[1]

10. When Xerxes' men and their generals saw the Greeks bearing down on them with but a few ships, they deemed them assuredly mad, and themselves put out to sea, thinking to win an easy victory; which expectation was very reasonable, as they saw the Greek ships so few, and their own many times more numerous and more seaworthy. With this assurance, they hemmed in the Greeks in their midst. Now as many Ionians as were friendly to the Greeks came unwillingly to the war, and were sore distressed to see the Greeks surrounded, supposing that not one of them would return home; so powerless did the Greeks seem to them to be. But those who were glad of the business vied each with each that he might be the first to take an

[1] For the διεκπλους see Bk. VI. ch. 12.

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αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτος νέα Ἀττικὴν ἑλὼν παρὰ βασιλέος δῶρα λάμψεται· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ αὐτοῖσι λόγος ἦν πλεῖστος ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα.

11. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐσήμηνε, πρῶτα μὲν ἀντίπρωροι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι γενόμενοι ἐς τὸ μέσον τὰς πρύμνας συνήγαγον, δεύτερα δὲ σημήναντος ἔργου εἴχοντο ἐν ὀλίγῳ περ ἀπολαμφθέντες καὶ κατὰ στόμα. ἐνθαῦτα τριήκοντα νέας αἱρέουσι τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὸν Γόργου τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέος ἀδελφεὸν Φιλάονα τὸν Χέρσιος, λόγιμον ἐόντα ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἄνδρα. πρῶτος δὲ Ἑλλήνων νέα τῶν πολεμίων εἷλε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Λυκομήδης Αἰσχραίου, καὶ τὸ ἀριστήιον ἔλαβε οὗτος. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἑτεραλκέως ἀγωνιζομένους νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα διέλυσε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπέπλεον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, πολλὸν παρὰ δόξαν ἀγωνισάμενοι. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Ἀντίδωρος Λήμνιος μοῦνος τῶν σὺν βασιλέι Ἑλλήνων ἐόντων αὐτομολέει ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.

12. Ὡς δὲ εὐφρόνη ἐγεγόνεε, ἦν μὲν τῆς ὥρης μέσον θέρος, ἐγίνετο δὲ ὕδωρ τε ἄπλετον διὰ πάσης τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ σκληραὶ βρονταὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πηλίου· οἱ δὲ νεκροὶ καὶ τὰ ναυήγια ἐξεφέροντο ἐς τὰς Ἀφέτας, καὶ περί τε τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν εἱλέοντο καὶ ἐτάρασσον τοὺς ταρσοὺς τῶν κωπέων. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἐς φόβον κατιστέατο, ἐλπίζοντες πάγχυ ἀπολέεσθαι ἐς οἷα κακὰ ἥκον. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σφέας ἔκ τε τῆς ναυηγίης καὶ τοῦ

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Attic ship and receive gifts from the king; for it was the Athenians of whom there was most talk in the fleet.

11. But the Greeks, when the signal was given them, first drew the sterns of their ships together, their prows turned towards the foreigners; then at the second signal they put their hands to the work, albeit they were hemmed in within a narrow space and fought front to front. There they took thirty of the foreigners' ships and the brother of Gorgus king of Salamis withal, even Philaon son of Chersis, a man of note in the fleet. The first Greek to take an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lycomedes, son of Aeschraeus, and he it was who received the prize for valour. They fought that seafight with doubtful issue, and nightfall ended the battle; the Greeks sailed back to Artemisium, and the foreigners to Aphetae, after faring far below their hopes in the fight. In that battle Antidorus of Lemnos deserted to the Greeks, alone of all the Greeks that were with the king; and for that the Athenians gave him lands in Salamis.

12. When darkness came on, the season being then midsummer, there was abundance of rain all through the night and violent thunderings from Pelion; and the dead and the wrecks were driven towards Aphetae, where they were entangled with the ships' prows and fouled the blades of the oars. The ships' companies that were there were dismayed by the noise of this, and looked in their present evil case for utter destruction; for before they were

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χειμῶνος τοῦ γενομένου κατὰ Πήλιον, ὑπέλαβε ναυμαχίη καρτερή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ναυμαχίης ὄμβρος τε λάβρος καὶ ῥεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐς θάλασσαν ὁρμημένα βρονταί τε σκληραί.

13. Καὶ τούτοισι μὲν τοιαύτη ἡ νὺξ ἐγίνετο, τοῖσι δὲ ταχθεῖσι αὐτῶν περιπλέειν Εὔβοιαν ἡ αὐτή περ ἐοῦσα νὺξ πολλὸν ἦν ἔτι ἀγριωτέρη, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐν πελάγεϊ φερομένοισι ἐπέπιπτε, καὶ τὸ τέλος σφι ἐγίνετο ἄχαρι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ πλέουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμών τε καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπεγίνετο ἐοῦσι κατὰ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης, φερόμενοι τῷ πνεύματι καὶ οὐκ εἰδότες τῇ ἐφέροντο ἐξέπιπτον πρὸς τὰς πέτρας· ἐποιέετό τε πᾶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅκως ἂν ἐξισωθείη τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τὸ Περσικὸν μηδὲ πολλῷ πλέον εἴη.

14. Οὗτοι μέν νυν περὶ τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίης διεφθείροντο· οἱ δ' ἐν Ἀφέτῃσι βάρβαροι, ὡς σφι ἀσμένοισι ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, ἀτρέμας τε εἶχον τὰς νέας καί σφι ἀπεχρᾶτο κακῶς πρήσσουσι ἡσυχίην ἄγειν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. τοῖσι δε Ἕλλησι ἐπεβοήθεον νέες τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα Ἀττικαί. αὗταί τε δή σφεας ἐπέρρωσαν ἀπικόμεναι καὶ ἅμα ἀγγελίη ἐλθοῦσα, ὡς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Εὔβοιαν πάντες εἴησαν διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ γενομένου χειμῶνος. φυλάξαντες δὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥρην, πλέοντες ἐπέπεσον νηυσὶ Κιλίσσῃσι· ταύτας δὲ διαφθείραντες, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγίνετο, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον.

15. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ δεινόν τι ποιησάμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων νέας οὕτω σφι ὀλίγας λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Ξέρξεω δειμαίνοντες,

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recovered after the shipwreck and the storm off Pelion, they next must abide a stubborn sea-fight, and after the sea-fight rushing rain and mighty torrents pouring seaward and violent thunderings.

13. Thus did the night deal with them; but to those that were appointed to sail round Euboea that same night was much crueller yet, inasmuch as it caught them on the open sea; and an evil end they had. For the storm and the rain coming on them in their course off the Hollows of Euboea, they were driven by the wind they knew not whither, and were cast upon the rocks. All this was the work of heaven's providence, that so the Persian power might be more equally matched with the Greek, and not much greater than it.

14. So these perished at the Hollows of Euboea. But the foreigners at Aphetae, when to their great comfort the day dawned, kept their ships unmoved, being in their evil plight well content to do nothing for the nonce; and fifty-three Attic ships came to aid the Greeks, who were heartened by the ships' coming and the news brought withal that the foreigners sailing round Euboea had all perished in the late storm. They waited then for the same hour as before, and putting to sea fell upon certain Cilician ships; which having destroyed, when darkness came on, they returned back to Artemisium.

15. But on the third day, the foreign admirals, ill brooking that so few ships should do them hurt, and fearing Xerxes' anger, waited no longer for the

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οὐκ ἀνέμειναν ἔτι τοὺς Ἕλληνας μάχης ἄρξαι, ἀλλὰ παρακελευσάμενοι κατὰ μέσον ἡμέρης ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας. συνέπιπτε δὲ ὥστε τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τάς τε ναυμαχίας γίνεσθαι ταύτας καὶ τὰς πεζομαχίας τὰς ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ ἀγὼν τοῖσι κατὰ θάλασσαν περὶ τοῦ Εὐρίπου, ὥσπερ τοῖσι ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην τὴν ἐσβολὴν φυλάσσειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεκελεύοντο ὅκως μὴ παρήσουσι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ' ὅκως τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα διαφθείραντες τοῦ πόρου κρατήσουσι. ὡς δὲ ταξάμενοι οἱ Ξέρξεω ἐπέπλεον, οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀτρέμας εἶχον πρὸς τῷ Ἀρτεμισίῳ. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι μηνοειδὲς ποιήσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἐκυκλοῦντο, ὡς περιλάβοιεν αὐτούς.

16. Ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπανέπλεόν τε καὶ συνέμισγον. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ παραπλήσιοι ἀλλήλοισι ἐγίνοντο. ὁ γὰρ Ξέρξεω στρατὸς ὑπὸ μεγάθεός τε καὶ πλήθεος αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ ἔπιπτε, ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας· ὅμως μέντοι ἀντεῖχε καὶ οὐκ εἶκε· δεινὸν γὰρ χρῆμα ἐποιεῦντο ὑπὸ νεῶν ὀλιγέων ἐς φυγὴν τράπεσθαι. πολλαὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νέες διεφθείροντο πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρες, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνες νέες τε τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἄνδρες. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνιζόμενοι διέστησαν χωρὶς ἑκάτεροι.

17. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν τῶν Ξέρξεω στρατιωτέων ἠρίστευσαν, οἳ ἄλλα τε μεγάλα ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο καὶ νέας αὐτοῖσι ἀνδράσι εἷλον Ἑλληνίδας πέντε. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ

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Greeks to begin the fight, but gave the word and put out to sea about midday. And it so fell out that these sea-battles were fought through the same days as the land-battles at Thermopylae; the seamen's whole endeavour was to hold the Euripus, as Leonidas' men strove to guard the passage; the Greek battle word was to give the foreigner no entry into Hellas, and the Persian to destroy the Greek host and win the strait. So when Xerxes' men ordered their battle and came on, the Greeks abode in their place off Artemisium; and the foreigners made a half circle of their ships, and strove to encircle and enclose them round.

16. At that the Greeks charged and joined battle. In that sea-fight both had equal success. For Xerxes' fleet wrought itself harm by its numbers and multitude: the ships were thrown into confusion and ran foul of each other; nevertheless they held fast, nor yielded, for they could not bear to be put to flight by a few ships. Many were the Greek ships and men that there perished, and far more yet of the foreigners' ships and men; thus they battled, till they drew off and parted each from other.

17. In that sea-fight of all Xerxes' fighters the Egyptians bore themselves best; besides other great feats of arms that they achieved, they took five Greek ships and their crews withal. Of the Greeks on that day the Athenians bore themselves best;

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Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκήην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκήῃ νηί.

18. Ὡς δὲ διέστησαν, ἄσμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐς ὅρμον ἠπείγοντο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς διακριθέντες ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ἀπηλλάχθησαν, τῶν μὲν νεκρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων ἐπεκράτεον, τρηχέως δὲ περιεφθέντες, καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν αἱ ἡμίσεαι τῶν νεῶν τετρωμέναι ἦσαν, δρησμὸν δὴ ἐβούλευον ἔσω ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

19. Νόῳ δὲ λαβὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς εἰ ἀπορραγείη ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου τό τε Ἰωνικὸν φῦλον καὶ τὸ Καρικόν, οἷοί τε εἴησαν ἂν τῶν λοιπῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι, ἐλαυνόντων τῶν Εὐβοέων πρόβατα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, συλλέξας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγέ σφι ὡς δοκέοι ἔχειν τινὰ παλάμην, τῇ ἐλπίζοι τῶν βασιλέος συμμάχων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀρίστους. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο παρεγύμνου, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι τάδε ποιητέα σφι εἶναι ἔλεγε, τῶν τε προβάτων τῶν Εὐβοϊκῶν καταθύειν ὅσα τις ἐθέλοι· κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν στρατιὴν ἔχειν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους· παραίνεέ τε προειπεῖν τοῖσι ἑωυτῶν ἑκάστους πῦρ ἀνακαίειν· κομιδῆς δὲ πέρι τὴν ὥρην αὐτῷ μελήσειν, ὥστε ἀσινέας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ταῦτα ἤρεσέ σφι ποιέειν, καὶ αὐτίκα πῦρ ἀνακαυσάμενοι ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα.

20. Οἱ γὰρ Εὐβοέες, παραχρησάμενοι τὸν Βάκιδος χρησμὸν ὡς οὐδὲν λέγοντα, οὔτε τι ἐξεκομίσαντο οὐδὲν οὔτε προσεσάξαντο ὡς παρε-

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and of the Athenians Clinias son of Alcibiades; he brought to the war two hundred men and a ship of his own, all at his private charges.

18. So they parted and each right gladly made haste to his own anchorage. When the Greeks had drawn off and come out of the battle, they were left masters of the dead and the wrecks; but they had had rough handling, and chiefly the Athenians, half of whose ships had suffered hurt; and now their counsel was to flee to the inner waters of Hellas.[1]

19. Themistocles bethought him that if the Ionian and Carian nations were rent away from the foreigners, the Greeks might be strong enough to get the upper hand of the rest. Now it was the wont of the Euboeans to drive their flocks down to the sea there. Wherefore gathering the admirals together he told them that he thought he had a device whereby he hoped to draw away the best of the king's allies. So much he revealed for the nonce; but in the present turn of affairs this (he said) they must do: let everyone slay as many as he would from the Euboean flocks; it was better that the fleet should have them, than the enemy. Moreover he counselled them each to bid his men to light a fire; as for the time of their going thence, he would take such thought for that as should bring them scathless to Hellas. All this they agreed to do; and forthwith they lit fires and then laid hands on the flocks.

20. For the Euboeans had neglected the oracle of Bacis, deeming it void of meaning, and neither by carrying away nor by bringing in anything had

[1] This means, I suppose, to the seas nearer their homes.

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σομένου σφι πολέμου, περιπετέα τε ἐποιήσαντο σφίσι αὐτοῖσι τὰ πρήγματα. Βάκιδι γὰρ ὧδε ἔχει περὶ τούτων ὁ χρησμός.

φράζεο, βαρβαρόφωνος ὅταν ζυγὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλῃ
βύβλινον, Εὐβοίης ἀπέχειν πολυμηκάδας αἶγας.

τούτοισι οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἔπεσι χρησαμένοισι ἐν τοῖσι τότε παρεοῦσί τε καὶ προσδοκίμοισι κακοῖσι παρῆν σφι συμφορῇ χρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα.

21. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπρησσον, παρῆν δὲ ὁ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος κατάσκοπος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ κατάσκοπος Πολύας, γένος Ἀντικυρεύς, τῷ προσετέτακτο, καὶ εἶχε πλοῖον κατῆρες ἕτοιμον, εἰ παλήσειε ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός, σημαίνειν τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐοῦσι· ὡς δ' αὕτως ἦν Ἀβρώνιχος ὁ Λυσικλέος Ἀθηναῖος καὶ παρὰ Λεωνίδῃ ἕτοιμος τοῖσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐοῦσι ἀγγέλλειν τριηκοντέρῳ, ἤν τι καταλαμβάνῃ νεώτερον τὸν πεζόν. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἀβρώνιχος ἀπικόμενός σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, οὐκέτι ἐς ἀναβολὰς ἐποιεῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ἐκομίζοντο δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ἐτάχθησαν, Κορίνθιοι πρῶτοι, ὕστατοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

22. Ἀθηναίων δὲ νέας τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας ἐπιλεξάμενος Θεμιστοκλέης ἐπορεύετο περὶ τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα, ἐντάμνων ἐν τοῖσι λίθοισι γράμματα, τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο. τὰ δὲ γράμματα τάδε ἔλεγε. "Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια

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they shown that they feared an enemy's coming; whereby they were the cause of their own destruction; for Bacis' oracle concerning this matter runs thus:

"Whenso a strange-tongued man on the waves casts yoke of papyrus,
Then let bleating goats from coasts Euboean be banished."

To these verses the Euboeans gave no heed; but in the evils then present and soon to come they could not but heed their dire calamity.

21. While the Greeks were doing as I have said, there came to them the watcher from Trachis. For there was a watcher at Artemisium, one Polyas, a native of Anticyra, who was charged (and had a rowing boat standing ready therefor), if the fleet should be at grips, to declare it to the men at Thermopylae; and in like manner, if any ill should befall the land army, Abronichus son of Lysicles, an Athenian, was with Leonidas, ready for his part to bring the news in a thirty-oared bark to the Greeks at Artemisium. So this Abronichus came and declared to them the fate of Leonidas and his army; which when the Greeks learnt, they no longer delayed their departure, but went their ways in their appointed order, the Corinthians first, and last of all the Athenians.

22. But Themistocles picked out the seaworthiest Athenian ships and went about to the places of drinking water, where he engraved on the rocks writing which the Ionians read on the next day when they came to Artemisium. This was what the writing said: "Men of Ionia, you do wrongly

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ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας στρατευόμενοι καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταδουλούμενοι. ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πρὸς ἡμέων γίνεσθε· εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο μὴ δυνατὸν ποιῆσαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἡμῖν ἕζεσθε καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τῶν Καρῶν δέεσθε τὰ αὐτὰ ὑμῖν ποιέειν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων οἷόν τε γίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μέζονος κατέζευχθε ἢ ὥστε ἀπίστασθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, ἐθελοκακέετε μεμνημένοι ὅτι ἀπ' ἡμέων γεγόνατε καὶ ὅτι ἀρχῆθεν ἡ ἔχθρη πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν γέγονε." Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ ταῦτα ἔγραφε, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα νοέων, ἵνα ἢ λαθόντα τὰ γράμματα βασιλέα Ἴωνας ποιήσῃ μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι πρὸς ἑωυτῶν, ἢ ἐπείτε ἀνενειχθῇ καὶ διαβληθῇ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἀπίστους ποιήσῃ τοὺς Ἴωνας καὶ τῶν ναυμαχιέων αὐτοὺς ἀπόσχῃ.

23. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα ἐνέγραψε· τοῖσι δὲ βαρβάροισι αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα πλοίῳ ἦλθε ἀνὴρ Ἰστιαιεὺς ἀγγέλλων τὸν δρησμὸν τὸν ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀπιστίης τὸν μὲν ἀγγέλλοντα εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, νέας δὲ ταχέας ἀπέστειλαν προκατοψομένας· ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τούτων τὰ ἦν, οὕτω δὴ ἅμα ἡλίῳ σκιδναμένῳ πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπέπλεε ἁλὴς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον. ἐπισχόντες δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ μέχρι μέσου ἡμέρης, τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπλεον ἐς Ἱστιαίην· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσχον τῶν Ἱστιαιέων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλοπίης μοίρης γῆς δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος τὰς παραθαλασσίας χώρας πάσας ἐπέδραμον.

24. Ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τούτων ἐόντων, Ξέρξης ἑτοι-

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to fight against the land of your fathers and bring slavery upon Hellas. It were best of all that you should join yourselves to us; but if that be impossible for you, then do you even now withdraw yourselves from the war, and entreat the Carians to do the same as you. If neither of these things may be, and you are fast bound by such constraint that you cannot rebel, yet we pray you not to use your full strength in the day of battle; be mindful that you are our sons and that our quarrel with the foreigner was of your making in the beginning." To my thinking Themistocles thus wrote with a double intent, that if the king knew nought of the writing it might make the Ionians to change sides and join with the Greeks, and that if the writing were maliciously reported to Xerxes he might thereby be led to mistrust the Ionians, and keep them out of the sea-fights.

23. Such was Themistocles' writing. Immediately after this there came to the foreigners a man of Histiaea in a boat, telling them of the flight of the Greeks from Artemisium. Not believing this, they kept the bringer of the news in ward, and sent swift ships to spy out the matter; and when the crews of these brought word of the truth, on learning that, the whole armada at the first spreading of sunlight sailed all together to Artemisium, where having waited till midday, they next sailed to Histiaea, and on their coming took possession of the Histiaeans' city, and overran all the villages on the seaboard of the Ellopian [1] region, which is the land of Histiaea.

24. While they were there, Xerxes sent a herald

[1] The northern half of Euboea, including the district of Histiaea.

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μασάμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἔπεμπε ἐς τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κήρυκα, προετοιμάσατο δὲ τάδε· ὅσοι τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἦσαν νεκροὶ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι (ἦσαν δὲ καὶ δύο μυριάδες), ὑπολιπόμενος τούτων ὡς χιλίους, τοὺς λοιποὺς τάφρους ὀρυξάμενος ἔθαψε, φυλλάδα τε ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ γῆν ἐπαμησάμενος, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθείησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ. ὡς δὲ διέβη ἐς τὴν Ἱστιαίην ὁ κῆρυξ, σύλλογον ποιησάμενος παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, βασιλεὺς Ξέρξης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμέων παραδίδωσι ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἐλθόντα θεήσασθαι ὅκως μάχεται πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ἤλπισαν τὴν βασιλέος δύναμιν ὑπερβαλέεσθαι."

25. Ταῦτα ἐπαγγειλαμένου, μετὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλοίων σπανιώτερον· οὕτω πολλοὶ ἤθελον θεήσασθαι. διαπεραιωθέντες δὲ ἐθηεῦντο διεξιόντες τοὺς νεκρούς· πάντες δὲ ἠπιστέατο τοὺς κειμένους εἶναι πάντας Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Θεσπιέας, ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς εἵλωτας. οὐ μὲν οὐδ' ἐλάνθανε τοὺς διαβεβηκότας Ξέρξης ταῦτα πρήξας περὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ γελοῖον ἦν· τῶν μὲν χίλιοι ἐφαίνοντο νεκροὶ κείμενοι, οἳ δὲ πάντες ἐκέατο ἁλέες συγκεκομισμένοι ἐς τὠυτὸ χωρίον, τέσσερες χιλιάδες. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πρὸς θέην ἐτράποντο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίῃ οἳ μὲν ἀπέπλεον ἐς Ἱστιαίην ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐς ὁδὸν ὁρμέατο.

26. Ἧκον δέ σφι αὐτόμολοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίης ὀλίγοι τινές, βίου τε δεόμενοι καὶ ἐνεργοὶ βουλόμενοι εἶναι. ἄγοντες δὲ τούτους ἐς ὄψιν τὴν βασιλέος ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Πέρσαι περὶ τῶν

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to the fleet, having first bestowed the fallen men as I shall show. Of all his own soldiers who had fallen at Thermopylae (that is, as many as twenty thousand) he left about a thousand, and the rest he buried in digged trenches, which he covered with leaves and heaped earth, that the men of the fleet might not see them. So when the herald had crossed over to Histiaea, he assembled all the men of the fleet and thus spoke: "Men of our allies, King Xerxes suffers any one of you that will to leave his place and come to see how he fights against those foolish men who thought to overcome the king's power."

25. After this proclamation, there was nought so hard to get as a boat, so many were they who would see the sight. They crossed over and went about viewing the dead; and all of them supposed that the fallen Greeks were all Lacedaemonians and Thespians, though there were the helots also for them to see. Yet for all that they that crossed over were not deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead; for indeed the thing was laughable; of the Persians a thousand lay dead before their eyes, but the Greeks lay all together assembled in one place, to the number of four thousand. All that day they spent in seeing the sight; on the next the shipmen returned to their fleet at Histiaea, and Xerxes' army set forth on its march.

26. There had come to them some few deserters, men of Arcadia, lacking a livelihood and desirous to find some service. Bringing these men into the king's presence, the Persians inquired of them what

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Ἑλλήνων τί ποιέοιεν· εἷς δέ τις πρὸ πάντων ἦν ὁ εἰρωτῶν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα. οἱ δέ σφι ἔλεγον ὡς Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι καὶ θεωρέοιεν ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικόν. ὁ δὲ ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τὸ ἄεθλον εἴη σφι κείμενον περὶ ὅτευ ἀγωνίζονται· οἱ δ' εἶπον τῆς ἐλαίης τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον. ἐνθαῦτα εἴπας γνώμην γενναιοτάτην Τιγράνης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου δειλίην ὤφλε πρὸς βασιλέος. πυνθανόμενος γὰρ τὸ ἄεθλον ἐὸν στέφανον ἀλλ' οὐ χρήματα, οὔτε ἠνέσχετο σιγῶν εἶπέ τε ἐς πάντας τάδε. "Παπαῖ Μαρδόνιε, κοίους ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἤγαγες μαχησομένους ἡμέας, οἳ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων τὸν ἀγῶνα ποιεῦνται ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀρετῆς." τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εἴρητο.

27. Ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐπείτε τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τρῶμα ἐγεγόνεε, αὐτίκα Θεσσαλοὶ πέμπουσι κήρυκα ἐς Φωκέας, ἅτε σφι ἔχοντες αἰεὶ χόλον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὑστάτου τρώματος καὶ τὸ κάρτα. ἐσβαλόντες γὰρ πανστρατιῇ αὐτοί τε οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Φωκέας, οὐ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον ταύτης τῆς βασιλέος στρατηλασίης, ἐσσώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ περιέφθησαν τρηχέως. ἐπείτε γὰρ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸν Παρνησὸν οἱ Φωκέες ἔχοντες μάντιν Τελλίην τὸν Ἠλεῖον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Τελλίης οὗτος σοφίζεται αὐτοῖσι τοιόνδε. γυψώσας ἄνδρας ἑξακοσίους τῶν Φωκέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, αὐτούς τε τούτους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπεθήκατο τοῖσι Θεσσαλοῖσι, προείπας αὐτοῖσι, τὸν ἂν μὴ

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[1] On the hypothesis, usually received till lately, that the games took place at the first full moon after the summer

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the Greeks were doing, there being one who put this question in the name of all. The Arcadians telling them that the Greeks were keeping the Olympic[1] festival and viewing sports and horse-races, the Persian asked what was the prize offered, wherefor they contended; and they told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Zounds, Mardonius, what manner of men are these that you have brought us to fight withal? 'tis not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying.

27. In the meantime, immediately after the misfortune at Thermopylae, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phocians, inasmuch as they bore an old grudge against them, and more than ever by reason of their latest disaster. For a few years before the king's expedition the Thessalians and their allies had invaded Phocis with their whole army, but had been worsted and roughly handled by the Phocians. For the Phocians being beleaguered on Parnassus and having with them the diviner Tellias of Elis, Tellias devised a stratagem for them: he covered six hundred of the bravest Phocians with gypsum, themselves and their armour, and led them to attack the Thessalians by night, bidding them

solstice, we should have to adopt some theory such as Stein's, that the conversation here recorded took place in late June, while Xerxes was at Therma; for Thermopylae was fought in late August. But Macan says that the above hypothesis about the date of the games is exploded.

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λευκανθίζοντα ἴδωνται, τοῦτον κτείνειν. τούτους ὦν αἵ τε φυλακαὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν πρῶται ἰδοῦσαι ἐφοβήθησαν, δόξασαι ἄλλο τι εἶναι τέρας, καὶ μετὰ τὰς φυλακὰς αὐτὴ ἡ στρατιὴ οὕτω ὥστε τετρακισχιλίων κρατῆσαι ἀκρῶν καὶ ἀσπίδων Φωκέας, τῶν τὰς μὲν ἡμισέας ἐς Ἄβας ἀνέθεσαν τὰς δὲ ἐς Δελφούς· ἡ δὲ δεκάτη ἐγένετο τῶν χρημάτων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οἱ μεγάλοι ἀνδριάντες οἱ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα συνεστεῶτες ἔμπροσθε τοῦ νηοῦ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι ἐν Ἄβῃσι ἀνακέαται.

28. Ταῦτα μέν νυν τὸν πεζὸν ἐργάσαντο τῶν Θεσσαλῶν οἱ Φωκέες πολιορκέοντας ἑωυτούς· ἐσβαλοῦσαν δὲ ἐς τὴν χώρην τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν ἐλυμήναντο ἀνηκέστως. ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἐσβολῇ ἣ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ὑάμπολιν, ἐν ταύτῃ τάφρον μεγάλην ὀρύξαντες ἀμφορέας κενεοὺς ἐς αὐτὴν κατέθηκαν, χοῦν δὲ ἐπιφορήσαντες καὶ ὁμοιώσαντες τῷ ἄλλῳ χώρῳ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἐσβάλλοντας. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Φωκέας φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἵπποι τὰ σκέλεα διεφθάρησαν.

29. Τούτων δή σφι ἀμφοτέρων ἔχοντες ἔγκοτον οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἠγόρευον τάδε. "Ὦ Φωκέες, ἤδη τι μᾶλλον γνωσιμαχέετε μὴ εἶναι ὅμοιοι ἡμῖν. πρόσθε τε γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ὅσον χρόνον ἐκεῖνα ἡμῖν ἥνδανε, πλέον αἰεί κοτε ὑμέων ἐφερόμεθα· νῦν τε παρὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ τοσοῦτο δυνάμεθα ὥστε ἐπ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τῆς γῆς ἐστερῆσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἠνδραποδίσθαι ὑμέας. ἡμεῖς μέντοι τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες οὐ μνησικακέομεν, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν γενέσθω ἀντ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα

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slay whomsoever they should see not whitened. The Thessalian sentinels were the first to see these men and to flee for fear, supposing falsely that it was something beyond nature, and next after the sentinels the whole army fled likewise; insomuch that the Phocians made themselves masters of four thousand dead, and their shields, whereof they dedicated half at Abae and the rest at Delphi; a tithe of what they won in that fight went to the making of the great statues that stand round the tripod before the shrine at Delphi, and there are others like them dedicated at Abae.

28. Thus had the beleaguered Phocians dealt with the Thessalian foot; and when the Thessalian horsemen rode into their country the Phocians did them mortal harm; they dug a great pit in the pass near Hyampolis and put empty jars therein, covering which with earth, till all was like the rest of the ground, they awaited the onset of the Thessalians. These rode on thinking to sweep the Phocians before them, and fell in among the jars; whereby their horses' legs were broken.

29. These two deeds had never been forgiven by the Thessalians; and now they sent a herald with this message: "Men of Phocis, it is time now that you confess yourselves to be no match for us. We were ever formerly preferred before you by the Greeks, as long as we were on their side; and now we are of such weight with the foreigner that it lies in our power to have you deprived of your lands, ay, and yourselves enslaved withal. Nevertheless, though all rests with us, we bear you no ill-will for the past; pay us fifty talents of silver for what you

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ἀργυρίου, καὶ ὑμῖν ὑποδεκόμεθα τὰ ἐπιόντα ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην ἀποτρέψειν."

30. Ταῦτά σφι ἐπαγγέλλοντο οἱ Θεσσαλοί. οἱ γὰρ Φωκέες μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμήδιζον, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος εὑρίσκω, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν· εἰ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὖξον, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐμήδιζον ἂν οἱ Φωκέες. ταῦτα ἐπαγγελλομένων Θεσσαλῶν, οὔτε δώσειν ἔφασαν χρήματα, παρέχειν τε σφίσι Θεσσαλοῖσι ὁμοίως μηδίζειν, εἰ ἄλλως βουλοίατο· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσεσθαι ἑκόντες εἶναι προδόται τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

31. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ κεχολωμένοι τοῖσι Φωκεῦσι ἐγένοντο ἡγεμόνες τῷ βαρβάρῳ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς Τρηχινίης ἐς τὴν Δωρίδα ἐσέβαλον· τῆς γὰρ Δωρίδος χώρης ποδεὼν στεινὸς ταύτῃ κατατείνει, ὡς τριήκοντα σταδίων μάλιστά κῃ εὖρος, κείμενος μεταξὺ τῆς τε Μηλίδος καὶ Φωκίδος χώρης, ἥ περ ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν Δρυοπίς· ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη ἐστὶ μητρόπολις Δωριέων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. ταύτην ὦν τὴν Δωρίδα γῆν οὐκ ἐσίναντο ἐσβαλόντες οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐμήδιζόν τε γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ἐδόκεε Θεσσαλοῖσι.

32. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δωρίδος ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐσέβαλον, αὐτοὺς μὲν τοὺς Φωκέας οὐκ αἱρέουσι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Φωκέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀνέβησαν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἡ κορυφή, κατὰ Νέωνα πόλιν κειμένη ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς· Τιθορέα οὔνομα αὐτῇ· ἐς τὴν δὴ ἀνηνείκαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνέβησαν. οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς Ὀζόλας Λοκροὺς ἐξεκομίσαντο, ἐς

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did, and we promise to turn aside what threatens your land."

30. This was the Thessalians' offer. The Phocians, and they alone of all that region, would not take the Persians' part, and that for no other reason (if I argue aright) than their hatred of the Thessalians; had the Thessalians aided the Greek side, then methinks the Phocians would have stood for the Persians. They replied to the offer of the Thessalians that they would give no money; that they could do like the Thessalians and take the Persian part, if for any cause they so wished, but they would not willingly betray the cause of Hellas.

31. This answer being returned to them, thereat the Thessalians in their wrath against the Phocians began to guide the foreigner on his way. From the lands of Trachis they broke into Doris; for there is a narrow tongue of Dorian land stretching that way, about thirty furlongs wide, between the Malian territory and the Phocian, which in old time was Dryopian; this region is the motherland of the Dorians of the Peloponnese. To this Dorian territory the foreigners did no harm at their invasion; for the people took the Persian part, and the Thessalians would not have them harmed.

32. When they entered Phocis from Doris, the Phocians themselves they could not catch; for some of the Phocians ascended to the heights of Parnassus; and the peak of Parnassus called Tithorea, which rises by itself near the town Neon, has room enough for a multitude of people; thither they carried up their goods and themselves ascended to it, but the most of them made their way out of the country to

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Ἀμφισσαν πόλιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κρισαίου πεδίου οἰκημένην. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ἐπέδραμον τὴν Φωκίδα· Θεσσαλοὶ γὰρ οὕτω ἦγον τὸν στρατόν· ὁκόσα δὲ ἐπέσχον, πάντα ἐπέφλεγον καὶ ἔκειρον, καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλις ἐνιέντες πῦρ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱρά.

33. Πορευόμενοι γὰρ ταύτῃ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐδηίουν πάντα, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔκαυσαν Δρυμὸν πόλιν κατὰ δὲ Χαράδραν καὶ Ἔρωχον καὶ Τεθρώνιον καὶ Ἀμφίκαιαν καὶ Νέωνα καὶ Πεδιέας καὶ Τριτέας καὶ Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Ὑάμπολιν καὶ Παραποταμίους καὶ Ἄβας, ἔνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσί τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν. καί τινας διώκοντες εἷλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναῖκας τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος.

34. Παραποταμίους δὲ παραμειβόμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπίκοντο ἐς Πανοπέας. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἤδη διακρινομένη ἡ στρατιὴ αὐτῶν ἐσχίζετο. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ δυνατώτατον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἅμα αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ πορευόμενον ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐσέβαλε ἐς Βοιωτούς, ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὀρχομενίων. Βοιωτῶν δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐμήδιζε, τὰς δὲ πόλις αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Μακεδόνες διατεταγμένοι ἔσωζον, ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀποπεμφθέντες· ἔσωζον δὲ τῇδε, δῆλον βουλόμενοι ποιέειν Ξέρξῃ ὅτι τὰ Μήδων Βοιωτοὶ φρονέοιεν.

35. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο, ἄλλοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες ὁρμέατο

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the Ozolian Locrians, where is the town of Amphissa above the Crisaean plain. The foreigners overran the whole of Phocis, the Thessalians so guiding their army; and all that came within their power they burnt and wasted, setting fire to towns and temples.

33. Marching this way down the river Cephisus they ravaged all before them, burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra, Erochus, Tethronium, Amphicaea, Neon, Pediea, Tritea, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae, where was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with wealth of treasure and offerings; and there was then as now a place of divination there. This temple, too, they plundered and burnt; and they pursued and caught some of the Phocians near the mountains, and did certain women to death by the multitude of their violators.

34. Passing Parapotamii the foreigners came to Panopea; and there their army parted asunder into two companies. The greater and stronger part of the host marched with Xerxes himself towards Athens and broke into the territory of Orchomenus in Boeotia. Now the whole people of Boeotia took the Persian part, and men of Macedonia sent by Alexander safeguarded their towns, each in his appointed place; the reason of the safeguarding being, that Xerxes might understand the Boeotians to be on the Persian side.

35. So this part of the foreign army marched as aforesaid, and others set forth with guides for the

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ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Παρνησὸν ἀπέργοντες. ὅσα δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπέσχον τῆς Φωκίδος, πάντα ἐσιναμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Παυοπέων τὴν πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν καὶ Δαυλίων καὶ Αἰολιδέων. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ταύτῃ ἀποσχισθέντες τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως συλήσαντες τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι βασιλέι Ξέρξῃ ἀποδέξαιεν τὰ χρήματα. πάντα δ' ἠπίστατο τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ὅσα λόγου ἦν ἄξια Ξέρξης, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἄμεινον ἢ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι ἔλιπε, πολλῶν αἰεὶ λεγόντων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ Κροίσου τοῦ Ἀλυάττεω ἀναθήματα.

36. Οἱ Δελφοὶ δὲ πυνθανομενοι ταῦτα ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκατο, ἐν δείματι δὲ μεγάλῳ κατεστεῶτες ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων, εἴτε σφέα κατὰ γῆς κατορύξωσι εἴτε ἐκκομίσωσι ἐς ἄλλην χώρην. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα κινέειν, φὰς αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς εἶναι τῶν ἑωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι. Δελφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες σφέων αὐτῶν πέρι ἐφρόντιζον. τέκνα μέν νυν καὶ γυναῖκας πέρην ἐς τὴν Ἀχαιίην διέπεμψαν, αὐτῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἀνέβησαν ἐς τοῦ Παρνησοῦ τὰς κορυφὰς καὶ ἐς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον ἀνηνείκαντο, οἳ δὲ ἐς Ἄμφισσαν τὴν Λοκρίδα ὑπεξῆλθον. πάντες δὲ ὧν οἱ Δελφοὶ ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, πλὴν ἑξήκοντα ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοῦ προφήτεω.

37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὁρᾷ πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὅπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνειγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὅσιον ἦν ἅπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.

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temple at Delphi, keeping Parnassus on their right. These, too, laid waste whatsoever part of Phocis they occupied, burning the towns of the Panopeans and Daulii and Aeolidae. The purpose of their parting from the rest of the army and marching this way was, that they might plunder the temple at Delphi and lay its wealth before Xerxes; who (as I have been told) knew of all the most notable possessions in the temple better than of what he had left in his own palace, and chiefly the offerings of Croesus son of Alyattes; so many had ever spoken of them.

36. When the Delphians learnt all this they were sore afraid; and in their great fear they inquired of the oracle whether they should bury the sacred treasure in the ground or convey it away to another country. But the god bade them move nothing, saying that he was able to protect his own. On that hearing, the Delphians took thought for themselves. They sent their children and women oversea to Achaia; of the men, the most went up to the peaks of Parnassus and carried their goods into the Corycian cave,[1] and some escaped to Amphissa in Locris; in brief, all the Delphians left the town save sixty men and the prophet.

37. Now when the foreigners drew nigh in their coming and could see the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw certain sacred arms, that no man might touch without sacrilege, brought out of the chamber within and laid before the shrine. So

[1] In the heights above Delphi and some three hours distant from it, adjacent to Parnassus. The cave is "some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high" (How and Wells).

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ὁ μὲν δὴ ἤιε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεοῦσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεταί σφι τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος. θῶμα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο κάρτα ἐστί, ὅπλα ἀρήια αὐτόματα φανῆναι ἔξω προκείμενα τοῦ νηοῦ· τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δεύτερα ἐπιγενόμενα καὶ διὰ πάντων φασμάτων ἄξια θωμάσαι μάλιστα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἦσαν ἐπιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κεραυνοὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐνέπιπτον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ ἀπορραγεῖσαι δύο κορυφαὶ ἐφέροντο πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ κατέβαλον συχνούς σφεων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης βοή τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐγίνετο.

38. Συμμιγέντων δὲ τούτων πάντων, φόβος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι ἐνεπεπτώκεε. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ φεύγοντας σφέας, ἐπικαταβάντες ἀπέκτειναν πλῆθός τι αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ περιεόντες ἰθὺ Βοιωτῶν ἔφευγον. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ὡς πρὸς τούτοισι καὶ ἄλλα ὥρων θεῖα· δύο γὰρ ὁπλίτας μέζονας ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἔχοντας ἕπεσθαί σφι κτείνοντας καὶ διώκοντας.

39. Τούτους δὲ τοὺς δύο Δελφοὶ λέγουσι εἶναι ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας, Φύλακόν τε καὶ Αὐτόνοον, τῶν τὰ τεμένεα ἐστὶ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν, Φυλάκου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν κατύπερθε τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Προναίης, Αὐτονόου δὲ πέλας τῆς Κασταλίης ὑπὸ τῇ Ὑαμπείῃ κορυφῇ. οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρνησοῦ λίθοι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμέας ἦσαν σόοι,

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he went to tell the Delphians of this miracle; but when the foreigners came with all speed near to the temple of Athene Pronaea, they were visited by miracles yet greater than the aforesaid. Marvellous indeed it is, that weapons of war should of their own motion appear lying outside before the shrine; but the visitation which followed upon that was more wondrous than aught else ever seen. For when the foreigners were near in their coming to the temple of Athene Pronaea, there were they smitten by thunderbolts from heaven, and two peaks brake off from Parnassus and came rushing among them with a mighty noise and overwhelmed many of them; and from the temple of Athene there was heard a shout and a cry of triumph.

38. All this joining together struck panic into the foreigners; and the Delphians, perceiving that they fled, descended upon them and slew a great number. The survivors fled straight to Boeotia. Those of the foreigners who returned said (as I have been told) that they had seen other signs of heaven's working besides the aforesaid: two men-at-arms of stature greater than human (they said) had followed hard after them, slaying and pursuing.

39. These two, say the Delphians, were the native heroes Phylacus and Autonous, whose precincts are near the temple, Phylacus' by the road itself above the shrine of Athene Pronaea, and Autonous' near the Castalian spring, under the Hyampean peak. The rocks that fell[1] from Parnassus were yet to be

[1] "Among the olives in the glen below" the remains of the temple of Athene Pronaea "are some large masses of reddish-grey rock, which might be those said to have come hurtling from the cliffs above" (How and Wells).

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ἐν τῷ τεμένεϊ τῆς Προναίης Ἀθηναίης κείμενοι, ἐς τὸ ἐνέσκηψαν διὰ τῶν βαρβάρων φερόμενοι. τούτων μέν νυν τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὕτη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπαλλαγὴ γίνεται.

40. Ὁ δὲ Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου Ἀθηναίων δεηθέντων ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατίσχει τὰς νέας. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα προσεδεήθησαν αὐτῶν σχεῖν πρὸς Σαλαμῖνα Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα αὐτοὶ παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ὑπεξαγάγωνται ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βουλεύσωνται τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοῖσι ἔσται. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι βουλὴν ἔμελλον ποιήσασθαι ὡς ἐψευσμένοι γνώμης. δοκέοντες γὰρ εὑρήσειν Πελοποννησίους πανδημεὶ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ὑποκατημένους τὸν βάρβαρον, τῶν μὲν εὗρον οὐδὲν ἐόν, οἳ δὲ ἐπυνθάνοντο τὸν Ἰσθμὸν αὐτοὺς τειχέοντας, ὡς τὴν Πελοπόννησον περὶ πλείστου τε ποιευμένους περιεῖναι καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐν φυλακῇ, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ ἀπιέναι. ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι οὕτω δὴ προσεδεήθησαν σφέων σχεῖν πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

41. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι κατέσχον ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν κήρυγμα ἐποιήσαντο, Ἀθηναίων τῇ τις δύναται σώζειν τέκνα τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς Τροίζῆνα ἀπέστειλαν, οἳ δὲ ἐς Αἴγιναν, οἳ δὲ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. ἔσπευσαν δὲ ταῦτα ὑπεκθέσθαι τῷ χρηστηρίῳ τε βουλόμενοι ὑπηρετέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἥκιστα. λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ὄφιν μέγαν φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ· λέγουσί τε ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ὡς ἐόντι ἐπιμήνια ἐπιτελέουσι προτιθέντες· τὰ δ' ἐπιμήνια μελιτόεσσα ἐστί. αὕτη δὴ ἡ

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seen in my day, lying in the precinct of Athene Pronaea, whither their descent through the foreigners' ranks had hurled them. Such, then, was the manner of those men's departure from the temple.

40. The Greek fleet, after it had left Artemisium came by the Athenians' entreaty to land at Salamis; the reason why the Athenians entreated them to put in there being, that they themselves might convey their children and women safe out of Attica, and moreover take counsel as to what they should do. For inasmuch as the present turn of affairs had disappointed their judgment they were now to hold a council; they had thought to find the whole Peloponnesian force awaiting the foreigners' attack in Boeotia, but now of that they found no whit, but learnt contrariwise that the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus, and letting all else go, as deeming the defence of the Peloponnese to be of greatest moment. Learning this, they therefore entreated the fleet to put in at Salamis.

41. So the rest made sail thither, and the Athenians to their own country. Being there arrived they made a proclamation that every Athenian should save his children and servants as he best could. Thereat most of them sent their households to Troezen, and some to Aegina and Salamis. They made haste to convey all out of harm because they desired to be guided by the oracle, and for another reason, too, which was this: it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lives in their temple, to guard the acropolis; in proof whereof they do ever duly set out a honey-cake as a monthly offering for it; this

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μελιτόεσσα ἐν τῷ πρόσθε αἰεὶ χρόνῳ ἀναισιμουμένη τότε ἦν ἄψαυστος. σημηνάσης δὲ ταῦτα τῆς ἱρείης, μᾶλλόν τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπυίης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὡς δέ σφι πάντα ὑπεξέκειτο, ἔπλεον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

42. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀρτεμισίου ἐς Σαλαμῖνα κατέσχον τὰς νέας, συνέρρεε καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς πυνθανόμενος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναυτικὸς στρατὸς ἐκ Τροίζηνος· ἐς γὰρ Πώγωνα τὸν Τροιζηνίων λιμένα προείρητο συλλέγεσθαι. συνελέχθησάν τε δὴ πολλῷ πλεῦνες νέες ἢ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἐναυμάχεον καὶ ἀπὸ πολίων πλεύνων. ναύαρχος μέν νυν ἐπῆν ὠυτὸς ὅς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Εὐρυβιάδης ὁ Εὐρυκλείδεω ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιήτης, οὐ μέντοι γένεος τοῦ βασιληίου ἐών· νέας δὲ πολλῷ πλείστας τε καὶ ἄριστα πλεούσας παρείχοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.

43. Ἐστρατεύοντο δὲ οἵδε· ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἑκκαίδεκα νέας παρεχόμενοι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ πλήρωμα παρεχόμενοι καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· Σικυώνιοι δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παρείχοντο νέας, Ἐπιδαύριοι δὲ δέκα, Τροιζήνιοι δὲ πέντε, Ἑρμιονέες δὲ τρεῖς, ἐόντες οὗτοι πλὴν Ἑρμιονέων Δωρικόν τε καὶ Μακεδνὸν ἔθνος, ἐξ Ἐρινεοῦ τε καὶ Πίνδου καὶ τῆς Δρυοπίδος ὕστατα ὁρμηθέντες. οἱ δὲ Ἑρμιονέες εἰσὶ Δρύοπες, ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέος τε καὶ Μηλιέων ἐκ τῆς νῦν Δωρίδος καλεομένης χώρης ἐξαναστάντες.

44. Οὗτοι μέν νυν Πελοποννησίων ἐστρατεύοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔξω ἠπείρου, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους παρεχόμενοι νέας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μοῦνοι· ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ οὐ

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cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were the readier to leave their city, deeming their goddess, too, to have deserted the acropolis. When they had conveyed all away, they returned to the fleet.

42. When the Greeks from Artemisium had put in at Salamis, the rest of their fleet also heard of it and gathered in from Troezen, the port of which, Pogon, had been named for their place of mustering; and the ships that mustered there were more by far than had fought at Artemisium, and came from more cities. Their admiral-in-chief was the same as at Artemisium, Eurybiades son of Euryclides, a Spartan, yet not of the royal blood; but it was the Athenians who furnished by far the most and the sea-worthiest ships.

43. The Peloponnesians that were with the fleet were, firstly, the Lacedaemonians, with sixteen ships, and the Corinthians with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Sicyonians furnished fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Troezenians five, the people of Hermione three; all these, except the people of Hermione, were of Dorian and Macedonian stock, and had last come from Erineus and Pindus and the Dryopian region. The people of Hermione are Dryopians, driven by Heracles and the Malians from the country now called Doris.

44. These were the Peloponnesians in the fleet. Of those that came from the mainland outside the Peloponnese, the Athenians furnished more ships than any of the rest, namely, a hundred and eighty, of their own sending; for the Plataeans did not

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συνεναυμάχησαν Πλαταιέες Ἀθηναίοισι διὰ τοιόνδε τι πρῆγμα· ἀπαλλασσομένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, ὡς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ Χαλκίδα, οἱ Πλαταιέες ἀποβάντες ἐς τὴν περαίην τῆς Βοιωτίης χώρης πρὸς ἐκκομιδὴν ἐτράποντο τῶν οἰκετέων. οὗτοι μέν νυν τούτους σώζοντες ἐλείφθησαν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὀνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

45. Μεγαρέες δὲ τὠυτὸ πλήρωμα παρείχοντο καὶ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Ἀμπρακιῶται δὲ ἑπτὰ νέας ἔχοντες ἐπεβοήθησαν, Λευκάδιοι δὲ τρεῖς, ἔθνος ἐόντες οὗτοι Δωρικὸν ἀπὸ Κορίνθου.

46. Νησιωτέων δὲ Αἰγινῆται τριήκοντα παρείχοντο. ἦσαν μέν σφι καὶ ἄλλαι πεπληρωμέναι νέες, ἀλλὰ τῇσι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐφύλασσον, τριήκοντα δὲ τῇσι ἄριστα πλεούσῃσι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐναυμάχησαν. Αἰγινῆται δὲ εἰσὶ Δωριέες ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου· τῇ δὲ νήσῳ πρότερον οὔνομα ἦν Οἰνώνη. μετὰ δὲ Αἰγινήτας Χαλκιδέες τὰς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ εἴκοσι παρεχόμενοι καὶ Ἐρετριέες τὰς ἑπτά· οὗτοι δὲ Ἴωνες εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ Κήιοι τὰς αὐτὰς παρεχόμενοι, ἔθνος ἐὸν Ἰωνικὸν ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων. Νάξιοι δὲ παρείχοντο τέσσερας, ἀποπεμφθέντες μὲν ἐς τοὺς Μήδους ὑπὸ τῶν πολιη-

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fight beside the Athenians at Salamis, whereof the reason was that when the Greeks sailed from Artemisium, and had arrived off Chalcis, the Plataeans landed on the opposite Boeotian shore and set about conveying their households away. So they were left behind bringing these to safety. The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai [1]; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

45. The Megarians furnished the same complement as at Artemisium; the Ampraciots brought seven ships to the fleet, and the Leucadians (who are of Dorian stock from Corinth) brought three.

46. Of the islanders, the Aeginetans furnished thirty. They had other ships, too, manned; but they used them to guard their own coasts, and fought at Salamis with the thirty that were most seaworthy. The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus; their island was formerly called Oenone. After the Aeginetans came the Chalcidians with the twenty, and the Eretrians with the seven which had fought at Artemisium; they are Ionians; and next the Ceans, furnishing the same ships as before; they are of Ionian stock, from Athens. The Naxians furnished four ships; they had been sent by their townsmen to the Persians, like the rest of the

[1] That is, probably, "dwellers on the heights." All pre-Dorian inhabitants of Hellas are "Pelasgian" to Herodotus.

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τέων κατά περ οἱ ἄλλοι νησιῶται, ἀλογήσαντες δὲ τῶν ἐντολέων ἀπίκατο ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας Δημοκρίτου σπεύσαντος, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου καὶ τότε τριηραρχέοντος. Νάξιοι δὲ εἰσὶ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων γεγονότες. Στυρέες δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς παρείχοντο νέας τάς περ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ, Κύθνιοι δὲ μίαν καὶ πεντηκόντερον, ἐόντες συναμφότεροι οὗτοι Δρύοπες. καὶ Σερίφιοί τε καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Μήλιοι ἐστρατεύοντο· οὗτοι γὰρ οὐκ ἔδοσαν μοῦνοι νησιωτέων τῷ βαρβάρῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ.

47. Οὗτοι μὲν ἅπαντες ἐντὸς οἰκημένοι Θεσπρωτῶν καὶ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ ἐστρατεύοντο· Θεσπρωτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ὁμουρέοντες Ἀμπρακιώτῃσι καὶ Λευκαδίοισι, οἳ ἐξ ἐσχατέων χωρέων ἐστρατεύοντο. τῶν δὲ ἐκτὸς τούτων οἰκημένων Κροτωνιῆται μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἳ ἐβοήθησαν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ μιῇ νηί, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ τοὶς πυθιονίκης Φάυλλος· Κροτωνιῆται δὲ γένος εἰσὶ Ἀχαιοί.

48. Οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι τριήρεας παρεχόμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο, Μήλιοι δὲ καὶ Σίφνιοι καὶ Σερίφιοι πεντηκοντέρους· Μήλιοι μὲν γένος ἐόντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος δύο παρείχοντο, Σίφνιοι δὲ καὶ Σερίφιοι Ἴωνες ἐόντες ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων μίαν ἑκάτεροι. ἀριθμὸς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ πᾶς τῶν νεῶν, πάρεξ τῶν πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκόσιαι καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

49. Ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰρημενέων πολίων, ἐβουλεύοντο, προθέντος Εὐρυβιάδεω γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον, ὅκου δοκέοι ἐπιτηδεότατον εἶναι ναυ-

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islanders; but they paid no heed to the command and joined themselves to the Greeks, being invited thereto by Democritus, a man of note in their town, who was then captain of a trireme. The Naxians are Ionians, of Athenian lineage. The Styrians furnished the same number as at Artemisium, and the Cythnians one trireme and a fifty-oared bark; both these peoples are Dryopians. There were also in the fleet men of Seriphos and Siphnos and Melos, these being the only islanders who had not given the foreigner earth and water.

47. All these aforesaid came to the war from countries nearer than Thesprotia and the river Acheron; for Thesprotia marches with the Ampraciots and Leucadians, who came from the lands farthest distant. Of those that dwell farther off than these, the men of Croton alone came to aid Hellas in its peril, and they with one ship, whereof the captain was Phaÿlus, a victor in the Pythian games. These Crotoniats are of Achaean blood.

48. All these furnished triremes for the fleet save the Melians and Siphnians and Seriphians, who brought fifty-oared barks, the Melians (who are of Lacedaemonian stock) two, and the Siphnians and Seriphians (who are Ionians of Athenian lineage) one each. The whole number of the ships, besides the fifty-oared barks, was three hundred and seventy eight.

49. When the leaders from the cities aforenamed met at Salamis, they held a council; Eurybiades laid the matter before them, bidding whosoever would to declare what waters in his judgment were fittest for a sea-fight, among all places whereof the Greeks

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μαχίην ποιέεσθαι τῶν αὐτοὶ χωρέων ἐγκρατέες εἰσί· ἡ γὰρ Ἀττικὴ ἀπεῖτο ἤδη, τῶν δὲ λοιπέων πέρι προετίθεε. αἱ γνῶμαι δὲ τῶν λεγόντων αἱ πλεῖσται συνεξέπιπτον πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πλώσαντας ναυμαχέειν πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἐπιλέγοντες τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς εἰ νικηθέωσι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μὲν ἐόντες πολιορκήσονται ἐν νήσῳ, ἵνα σφι τιμωρίη οὐδεμία ἐπιφανήσεται, πρὸς δὲ τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐς τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἐξοίσονται.

50. Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἧκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηίου. ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον.

51. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἱρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καί τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἳ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἡ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον

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were masters; of Attica they had no more hope; it was among other places that he bade them judge. Then the opinion of most of the speakers tended to the same conclusion, that they should sail to the Isthmus and do battle by sea for the safety of the Peloponnese, the reason which they alleged being this, that if they were defeated in the fight at Salamis they would be beleaguered in an island, where no help could come to them; but off the Isthmus they could win to their own coasts.

50. While the Peloponnesian captains held this argument, there came a man of Athens, bringing news that the foreigner was arrived in Attica, and was wasting it all with fire. For the army which followed Xerxes through Boeotia had burnt the town of the Thespians (who had themselves left it and gone to the Peloponnese) and Plataea likewise, and was arrived at Athens, laying waste all the country round. They burnt Thespia and Plataea because they learnt from the Thebans that those towns had not taken the Persian part.

51. Now after the crossing of the Hellespont whence they began their march, the foreigners had spent one month in their passage into Europe, and in three more months they arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens. There they took the city, then left desolate; but they found in the temple some few Athenians, temple-stewards and needy men, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs; these had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by reason of poverty, and also because they supposed themselves to have found out the meaning of the Delphic oracle that the wooden wall should be

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ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

52. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἱζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς ὀιστοὺς περιθέντες ἅψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἠμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενον σφέας ἑλεῖν.

53. Χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δή τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μή κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησαν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἳ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἳ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν

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[1] In vii. 142.

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impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.[1]

52. The Persians sat down on the hill over against the acropolis, which is called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and besieged them by shooting arrows wrapped in lighted tow at the barricade. There the Athenians defended themselves against their besiegers, albeit they were in extremity and their barricade had failed them; nor would they listen to the terms of surrender proposed to them by the Pisistratids, but defended themselves by counter-devices, chiefly by rolling great stones down on the foreigners when they assaulted the gates; insomuch that for a long while Xerxes could not take the place, and knew not what to do.

53. But at the last in their quandary the foreigners found an entrance; for the oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the mainland of Attica be made subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent thereto, there was a place where none was on guard and none would have thought that any man would ascend that way; here certain men mounted near the shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, though the way led up a sheer cliff.[2] When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves

[2] Hdt.'s description (say How and Wells) is accurate and obvious. The ascent was probably made by a steep cleft running under or within the N. wall of the Acropolis; the western entrance of this cleft is 'in front,' facing the same way as the main entrance of the Acropolis. *μέγαρον* here = *ἱρόν*.

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ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

54. Σχὼν δὲ παντελέως τὰς Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Σοῦσα ἄγγελον ἱππέα Ἀρταβάνῳ ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι εὐπρηξίην. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πέμψιος τοῦ κήρυκος δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ συγκαλέσας Ἀθηναίων τοὺς φυγάδας, ἑωυτῷ δὲ ἑπομένους, ἐκέλευε τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ θῦσαι τὰ ἱρὰ ἀναβάντας ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, εἴτε δὴ ὦν ὄψιν τινὰ ἰδὼν ἐνυπνίου ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα, εἴτε καὶ ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ἐμπρήσαντι τὸ ἱρόν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐποίησαν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

55. Τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκεν τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθέος τοῦ γηγενέος λεγομένου εἶναι νηός, ἐν τῷ ἐλαίη τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι, τὰ λόγος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων Ποσειδέωνά τε καὶ Ἀθηναίην ἐρίσαντας περὶ τῆς χώρης μαρτύρια θέσθαι. ταύτην ὦν τὴν ἐλαίην ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ ἱρῷ κατέλαβε ἐμπρησθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· δευτέρῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμπρήσιος Ἀθηναίων οἱ θύειν ὑπὸ βασιλέος κελευόμενοι ὡς ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν, ὥρων βλαστὸν ἐκ τοῦ στελέχεος ὅσον τε πηχυαῖον ἀναδεδραμηκότα. οὗτοι μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔφρασαν.

56. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι Ἕλληνες, ὡς σφι ἐξηγγέλθη ὡς ἔσχε τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν, ἐς τοσοῦτον θόρυβον ἀπίκοντο ὡς ἔνιοι τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐδὲ κυρωθῆναι ἔμενον τὸ προκείμενον πρῆγμα, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὰς νέας ἐσέπιπτον καὶ ἱστία ἀείροντο ὡς ἀποθευσόμενοι· τοῖσί τε ὑπολειπο-

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to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

54. Being now wholly master of Athens, Xerxes sent a horseman to Susa to announce his present success to Artabanus. On the next day after the messenger was sent he called together the Athenian exiles who followed in his train, and bade them go up to the acropolis and offer sacrifice after their manner, whether it was some vision seen of him in sleep that led him to give this charge, or that he repented of his burning of the temple. The Athenian exiles did as they were bidden.

55. I will now show wherefore I make mention of this: on that acropolis there is a shrine of Erechtheus the Earthborn (as he is called), wherein is an olive tree, and a salt-pool, which (as the Athenians say) were set there by Poseidon and Athene as tokens of their contention for the land.[1] Now it was so, that the olive tree was burnt with the temple by the foreigners; but on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the temple, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the trunk; which thing they reported.

56. When it was told to the Greeks at Salamis what had befallen the Athenian acropolis, they were so panic-struck that some of their captains would not wait till the matter whereon they debated should be resolved, but threw themselves aboard their ships and hoisted their sails for flight. Those that were

[1] Athene created the olive, Poseidon the salt pool; Cecrops adjudged the land to Athene.

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μένοισι αὐτῶν ἐκυρώθη πρὸ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ναυμαχέειν. νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ οἱ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου ἐσέβαινον ἐς τὰς νέας.

57. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Θεμιστοκλέα ἀπικόμενον ἐπὶ τὴν νέα εἴρετο Μνησίφιλος ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ὅ τι σφι εἴη βεβουλευμένον. πυθόμενος δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὡς εἴη δεδογμένον ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ναυμαχέειν, εἶπε "Οὔτ' ἄρα, ἢν ἀπαείρωσι τὰς νέας ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος, περὶ οὐδεμιῆς ἔτι πατρίδος ναυμαχήσεις· κατὰ γὰρ πόλις ἕκαστοι τρέψονται, καὶ οὔτε σφέας Εὐρυβιάδης κατέχειν δυνήσεται οὔτε τις ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ὥστε μὴ οὐ διασκεδασθῆναι τὴν στρατιήν· ἀπολέεταί τε ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἀβουλίῃσι. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἐστὶ μηχανή, ἴθι καὶ πειρῶ διαχέαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἤν κως δύνῃ ἀναγνῶσαι Εὐρυβιάδην μεταβουλεύσασθαι ὥστε αὐτοῦ μένειν."

58. Κάρτα τε τῷ Θεμιστοκλέι ἤρεσε ἡ ὑποθήκη, καὶ οὐδὲν πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμειψάμενος ἤιε ἐπὶ τὴν νέα τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔφη ἐθέλειν οἱ κοινόν τι πρῆγμα συμμῖξαι· ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νέα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλει. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης παριζόμενός οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς, ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἔκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον.

59. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα συνελέχθησαν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην προθεῖναι τὸν λόγον τῶν εἵνεκα συνήγαγε τοὺς στρατηγούς, πολλὸς ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἐν τοῖσι λόγοισι οἷα κάρτα δεόμενος·

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left behind resolved that the fleet should fight to guard the Isthmus; and at nightfall they broke up from the assembly and embarked.

57. Themistocles then being returned to his ship, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, asked him what was the issue of their counsels. Learning from him that their plan was to sail to the Isthmus and fight in defence of the Peloponnese, "Then," said Mnesiphilus, "if they put out to sea from Salamis, your ships will have no country left wherefor to fight; for everyone will betake himself to his own city, and neither Eurybiades, nor any other man, will be able to hold them, but the armament will be scattered abroad; and Hellas will perish by unwisdom. Nay, if there be any means thereto, go now and strive to undo this plan, if haply you may be able to persuade Eurybiades to change his purpose and so abide here."

58. This advice pleased Themistocles well; making no answer to Mnesiphilus, he went to Eurybiades' ship, and said that he would confer with him on a matter of their common interest. Eurybiades bidding him come aboard and say what he would, Themistocles sat by him and told him all that he had heard from Mnesiphilus, as it were of his own devising, and added much thereto, till he prevailed with the Spartan by entreaty to come out of his ship and assemble the admirals in their place of meeting.

59. They being assembled (so it is said), before Eurybiades had laid before them the matter wherefor the generals were brought together, Themistocles spoke long and vehemently in the earnestness of his entreaty; and while he yet spoke, Adimantus son

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λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Κορίνθιος στρατηγὸς Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Ὠκύτου εἶπε "Ὦ Θεμιστόκλεες, ἐν τοῖσι ἀγῶσι οἱ προεξανιστάμενοι ῥαπίζονται." ὁ δὲ ἀπολυόμενος ἔφη "Οἱ δέ γε ἐγκαταλειπόμενοι οὐ στεφανοῦνται."

60. Τότε μὲν ἠπίως πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἀμείψατο, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἔλεγε ἐκείνων μὲν ἔτι οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, ὡς ἐπεὰν ἀπαείρωσι ἀπὸ Σαλαμῖνος διαδρήσονται· παρεόντων γὰρ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ἔφερέ οἱ κόσμον οὐδένα κατηγορέειν· ὁ δὲ ἄλλου λόγου εἴχετο, λέγων τάδε. "Ἐν σοὶ νῦν ἐστὶ σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ ναυμαχίην αὐτοῦ μένων ποιέεσθαι, μηδὲ πειθόμενος τούτων τοῖσι λόγοισι ἀναζεύξῃς πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τὰς νέας. ἀντίθες γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἀκούσας. πρὸς μὲν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ συμβάλλων ἐν πελάγεϊ ἀναπεπταμένῳ ναυμαχήσεις, ἐς τὸ ἥκιστα ἡμῖν σύμφορον ἐστὶ νέας ἔχουσι βαρυτέρας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονας· τοῦτο δὲ ἀπολέεις Σαλαμῖνά τε καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Αἴγιναν, ἤν περ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐτυχήσωμεν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ ναυτικῷ αὐτῶν ἕψεται καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατός, καὶ οὕτω σφέας αὐτὸς ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κινδυνεύσεις τε ἁπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἢν δὲ τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω ποιήσῃς, τοσάδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρηστὰ εὑρήσεις· πρῶτα μὲν ἐν στεινῷ συμβάλλοντες νηυσὶ ὀλίγῃσι πρὸς πολλάς, ἢν τὰ οἰκότα ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐκβαίνῃ, πολλὸν κρατήσομεν· τὸ γὰρ ἐν στεινῷ ναυμαχέειν πρὸς ἡμέων ἐστί, ἐν εὐρυχωρίῃ δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνων. αὖτις δὲ Σαλαμὶς περιγίνεται, ἐς τὴν ἡμῖν ὑπέκκειται τέκνα τε καὶ γυναῖκες. καὶ μὲν καὶ τόδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἔνεστι, τοῦ καὶ περιέχεσθε μάλιστα·

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of Ocytus, the Corinthian admiral, said, "At the games, Themistocles, they that come forward before their time are beaten with rods." "Ay," said Themistocles, justifying himself, "but they that wait too long win no crown."

60. Thus for the nonce he made the Corinthian a soft answer; then turning to Eurybiades, he said now nought of what he had said before, how that if they set sail from Salamis they would scatter and flee; for it would have ill become him to bring railing accusations against the allies in their presence; he trusted to another plea instead. "It lies in your hand," said he, "to save Hellas, if you will be guided by me and fight here at sea, and not be won by the words of these others to remove your ships over to the Isthmus. Hear me now, and judge between two plans. If you engage off the Isthmus you will fight in open waters, where it is least for our advantage, our ships being the heavier and the fewer in number; and moreover you will lose Salamis and Megara and Aegina, even if victory attend us otherwise; and their land army will follow with their fleet, and so you will lead them to the Peloponnese, and imperil all Hellas. But if you do as I counsel you, you will thereby profit as I shall show: firstly, by engaging their many ships with our few in narrow seas, we shall win a great victory, if the war have its rightful issue; for it is for our advantage to fight in a strait as it is theirs to have wide sea-room. Secondly, we save Salamis, whither we have conveyed away our children and our women. Moreover, there is this, too, in my plan, and it is your chiefest desire: you will be defending the

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ὁμοίως αὐτοῦ τε μένων προναυμαχήσεις Πελοποννήσου καὶ πρὸς τῷ Ἰσθμῷ, οὐδὲ σφέας, εἴ περ εὖ φρονέεις, ἄξεις ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἦν δέ γε καὶ τὰ ἐγὼ ἐλπίζω γένηται καὶ νικήσωμεν τῇσι νηυσί, οὔτε ὑμῖν ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν παρέσονται οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτε προβήσονται ἑκαστέρω τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀπίασί τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Μεγάροισί τε κερδανέομεν περιεοῦσι καὶ Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι, ἐν τῇ ἡμῖν καὶ λόγιον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατύπερθε γενέσθαι. οἰκότα μέν νυν βουλευομένοισι ἀνθρώποισι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν ἐθέλει γίνεσθαι· μὴ δὲ οἰκότα βουλευομένοισι οὐκ ἐθέλει οὐδὲ ὁ θεὸς προσχωρέειν πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρωπηίας γνώμας."

61. Ταῦτα λέγοντος Θεμιστοκλέος αὖτις ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο, σιγᾶν τε κελεύων τῷ μὴ ἐστὶ πατρὶς καὶ Εὐρυβιάδην οὐκ ἐῶν ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρί· πόλιν γὰρ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα παρεχόμενον οὕτω ἐκέλευε γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι. ταῦτα δέ οἱ προέφερε ὅτι ἡλώκεσάν τε καὶ κατείχοντο αἱ Ἀθῆναι. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης κεῖνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσι τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἴη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζων ἤ περ ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ' ἂν διηκόσιαι νέες σφι ἔωσι πεπληρωμέναι· οὐδαμοὺς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων αὐτοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀποκρούσεσθαι.

62. Σημαίνων δὲ ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ διέβαινε ἐς Εὐρυβιάδην, λέγων μᾶλλον ἐπεστραμμένα. "Σὺ εἰ μενέεις αὐτοῦ καὶ μένων ἔσεαι ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνατρέψεις τὴν Ἑλλάδα· τὸ πᾶν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦ πολέμου φέρουσι αἱ νέες. ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεο. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃς, ἡμεῖς μὲν ὡς

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Peloponnese as well by abiding here as you would by fighting off the Isthmus, and you will not lead our enemies (if you be wise) to the Isthmus. And if that happen which I expect, you will never have the foreigners upon you at the Isthmus; they will advance no further than Attica, but depart in disorderly fashion; and we shall gain by the saving of Megara and Aegina and Salamis, where it is told us by an oracle that we shall have the upper hand of our enemies. Success comes oftenest to men when they make reasonable designs; but if they do not so, neither will heaven for its part side with human devices."

61. Thus said Themistocles; but Adimantus the Corinthian attacked him again, saying that a landless man should hold his peace, and that Eurybiades must not suffer one that had no city to vote; let Themistocles (said he) have a city at his back ere he took part in council,—taunting him thus because Athens was taken and held by the enemy. Thereupon Themistocles spoke long and bitterly against Adimantus and the Corinthians, giving them plainly to understand that the Athenians had a city and country greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred ships fully manned; for there were no Greeks that could beat them off.

62. Thus declaring, he passed over to Eurybiades, and spoke more vehemently than before. "If you abide here, by so abiding you will be a right good man; but if you will not, you will overthrow Hellas; for all our strength for war is in our ships. Nay, be guided by me. But if you do not so, we then

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ἔχομεν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκέτας κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σῖριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίῃ, ἥ περ ἡμετέρη τε ἐστὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔτι, καὶ τὰ λόγια λέγει ὑπ' ἡμέων αὐτὴν δέειν κτισθῆναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ συμμάχων τοιῶνδε μουνωθέντες μεμνήσεσθε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων."

63. Ταῦτα δὲ Θεμιστοκλέος λέγοντος ἀνεδιδάσκετο Εὐρυβιάδης· δοκέειν δέ μοι, ἀρρωδήσας μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀνεδιδάσκετο, μή σφεας ἀπολίπωσι, ἢν πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀγάγῃ τὰς νέας· ἀπολιπόντων γὰρ Ἀθηναίων οὐκέτι ἐγίνοντο ἀξιόμαχοι οἱ λοιποί. ταύτην δὲ αἱρέεται τὴν γνώμην, αὐτοῦ μένοντας διαναυμαχέειν.

64. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἔπεσι ἀκροβολισάμενοι, ἐπείτε Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἔδοξε, αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἡμέρη τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι σεισμὸς ἐγένετο ἔν τε τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἔδοξε δέ σφι εὔξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους. ὡς δέ σφι ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίευν ταῦτα· εὐξάμενοι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰακὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν.

65. Ἔφη δὲ Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος φυγάς τε καὶ παρὰ Μήδοισι λόγιμος γενόμενος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἐπείτε ἐκείρετο ἡ Ἀττικὴ χώρη ὑπὸ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ Ξέρξεω ἐοῦσα ἔρημος Ἀθηναίων, τυχεῖν τότε ἐὼν ἅμα Δημαρήτῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἐν τῷ Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ, ἰδεῖν δὲ

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[1] The images of Aeacus and his sons; *cp.* v. 80.

[2] N.W. of Athens, from which Eleusis is about 15 miles distant. Plutarch says that the vision was seen on the day

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without more ado will take our households and voyage to Siris in Italy, which has been ours from old time, and the oracles tell that we must there plant a colony; and you, left without allies such as we are, will have cause to remember what I have said."

63. These words of Themistocles moved Eurybiades to change his purpose; which to my thinking he did chiefly because he feared lest the Athenians should leave him if he took his ships to the Isthmus; for if the Athenians should leave the fleet the rest would be no match for the enemy. He chose then the plan aforesaid, namely, to abide and fight on the seas where they were.

64. Thus after this wordy skirmish the Greeks at Salamis prepared, since Eurybiades so willed, to fight their battle where they were. At sunrise on the next day there was an earthquake on land and sea; and they resolved to pray to the gods, and to call the sons of Aeacus to be their helpers. As they resolved, so they did; they prayed to all the gods, and called Aias and Telamon to come to them from Salamis, where the Greeks were; and they sent a ship to Aegina for Aeacus and the rest that were of his House.[1]

65. There was one Dicaeus, son of Theocydes, an exile from Athens who had attained to estimation among the Medes. This was the tale that he told: At the time when the land of Attica was being laid waste by Xerxes' army, and no Athenians were therein, he, being with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian on the Thriasian[2] plain, saw dust coming

of the battle of Salamis, which would thus have been fought on September 22 (20th of Boedromion); for it is assumed that the vision coincided in date with the standing date of the Eleusinian festival.

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κονιορτὸν χωρέοντα ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος ὡς ἀνδρῶν μάλιστά κῃ τρισμυρίων, ἀποθωμάζειν τε σφέας τὸν κονιορτὸν ὅτεων κοτὲ εἴη ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πρόκατε φωνῆς ἀκούειν, καί οἱ φαίνεσθαι τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸν μυστικὸν ἴακχον. εἶναι δ' ἀδαήμονα τῶν ἱρῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι γινομένων τὸν Δημάρητον, εἰρέσθαί τε αὐτὸν ὅ τι τὸ φθεγγόμενον εἴη τοῦτο. αὐτὸς δὲ εἰπεῖν "Δημάρητε, οὐκ ἔστι ὅκως οὐ μέγα τι σίνος ἔσται τῇ βασιλέος στρατιῇ· τάδε γὰρ ἀρίδηλα, ἐρήμου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅτι θεῖον τὸ φθεγγόμενον, ἀπ' Ἐλευσῖνος ἰὸν ἐς τιμωρίην Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ τοῖσι συμμάχοισι. καὶ ἢν μέν γε κατασκήψῃ ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, κίνδυνος αὐτῷ τε βασιλέι καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἔσται, ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς νέας τράπηται τὰς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν κινδυνεύσει βασιλεὺς ἀποβαλεῖν. τὴν δὲ ὁρτὴν ταύτην ἄγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ τῇ Κούρῃ, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μυεῖται· καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀκούεις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ὁρτῇ ἰακχάζουσι." πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν Δημάρητον "Σίγα τε καὶ μηδενὶ ἄλλῳ τὸν λόγον τοῦτον εἴπῃς· ἢν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνενειχθῇ τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλήν, καί σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι ῥύσασθαι οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς. ἀλλ' ἔχ' ἥσυχος, περὶ δὲ στρατιῆς τῆσδε θεοῖσι μελήσει." τὸν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα παραινέειν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ καὶ τῆς φωνῆς γενέσθαι νέφος καὶ μεταρσιωθὲν φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν ὅτι τὸ ναυτικὸν τὸ Ξέρξεω ἀπο-

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from Eleusis as it were raised by the feet of about thirty thousand men; and as they marvelled greatly what men they should be whence the dust came, immediately they heard a cry, which cry seemed to him to be the Iacchus-song of the mysteries. Demaratus, not being conversant with the rites of Eleusis, asked him what this voice might be; and Dicaeus said, "Without doubt, Demaratus, some great harm will befall the king's host; for Attica being unpeopled, it is plain hereby that the voice we hear is of heaven's sending, and comes from Eleusis to the aid of the Athenians and their allies. And if the vision descend upon the Peloponnese, the king himself and his army on land will be endangered; but if it turn towards the ships at Salamis, the king will be in peril of losing his fleet. As for this feast, it is kept by the Athenians every year for the honour of the Mother and the Maid,[1] and whatever Greek will, be he Athenian or other, is then initiated; and the cry which you hear is the 'Iacchus' which is uttered at this feast." Demaratus replied thereto, "Keep silence, and speak to none other thus; for if these words of yours be reported to the king, you will lose your head, and neither I nor any other man will avail to save you. Hold your peace; and for this host, the gods shall look to it." Such was Demaratus' counsel; and after the dust and the cry came a cloud, which rose aloft and floated away towards Salamis, to the Greek fleet. By this they understood, that Xerxes' ships must perish.—This was

[1] Demeter and Persephone.

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λέεσθαι μέλλοι. ταῦτα μὲν Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος ἔλεγε, Δημαρήτου τε καὶ ἄλλων μαρτύρων καταπτόμενος.

66. Οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ξέρξεω ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ταχθέντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Τρηχῖνος θεησάμενοι τὸ τρῶμα τὸ Λακωνικὸν διέβησαν ἐς τὴν Ἱστιαίην, ἐπισχόντες ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἔπλεον δι' Εὐρίπου, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρῃσι τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι ἐγένοντο ἐν Φαλήρῳ. ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, κατά τε ἤπειρον καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ ἀπικόμενοι, ἢ ἐπί τε Σηπιάδα ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Θερμοπύλας· ἀντιθήσω γὰρ τοῖσί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος αὐτῶν ἀπολομένοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι καὶ τῇσι ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχίῃσι τούσδε τοὺς τότε οὔκω ἑπομένους βασιλέι, Μηλιέας καὶ Δωριέας καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὺς πανστρατιῇ ἑπομένους πλὴν Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλαταιέων, καὶ μάλα Καρυστίους τε καὶ Ἀνδρίους καὶ Τηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς νησιώτας πάντας, πλὴν τῶν πέντε πολίων τῶν ἐπεμνήσθημεν πρότερον τὰ οὐνόματα. ὅσῳ γὰρ δὴ προέβαινε ἐσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὁ Πέρσης, τοσούτῳ πλέω ἔθνεά οἱ εἵπετο.

67. Ἐπεὶ ὦν ἀπίκατο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πάντες οὗτοι πλὴν Παρίων (Πάριοι δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες ἐν Κύθνῳ ἐκαραδόκεον τὸν πόλεμον κῇ ἀποβήσεται), οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ὡς ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ Φάληρον, ἐνθαῦτα κατέβη αὐτὸς Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τὰς νέας, ἐθέλων σφι συμμῖξαί τε καὶ πυθέσθαι τῶν ἐπιπλεόντων τὰς γνώμας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπικόμενος προΐζετο, παρῆσαν μετάπεμπτοι οἱ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν σφετέρων τύραννοι καὶ ταξίαρχοι ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, καὶ ἵζοντο

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the tale told by Dicaeus, son of Theocydes; and Demaratus and others (he said) could prove it true.

66. They that were appointed to serve in Xerxes' fleet, when they had viewed the hurt done to the Laconians and crossed over from Trachis to Histiaea, after three days' waiting sailed through the Euripus, and in three more days they arrived at Phalerum. To my thinking, the forces both of land and sea were no fewer in number when they brake into Athens than when they came to Sepias and Thermopylae; for against those that were lost in the storm, and at Thermopylae, and in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set these, who at that time were not yet in the king's following—namely, the Melians, the Dorians, the Locrians, and the whole force of Boeotia (save only the Thespians and Plataeans), yea, and the men of Carystus and Andros and Tenos and the rest of the islands, save the five states of which I have before made mention.[1] For the farther the Persian pressed on into Hellas the more were the peoples that followed in his train.

67. So when all these were come to Athens, except the Parians (who had been left behind in Cythnus watching to see which way the war should incline)—the rest, I say, being come to Phalerum, Xerxes then came himself down to the fleet, that he might consort with the shipmen and hear their opinions. When he was come, and sat enthroned, there appeared before him at his summons the despots of their cities and the leaders of companies from the ships, and they sat according to the

[1] In ch. 46, where, however, six states are mentioned.

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ὥς σφι βασιλεὺς ἑκάστῳ τιμὴν ἐδεδώκεε, πρῶτος μὲν ὁ Σιδώνιος βασιλεύς, μετὰ δὲ ὁ Τύριος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἄλλοι. ὡς δὲ κόσμῳ ἐπεξῆς ἵζοντο, πέμψας Ξέρξης Μαρδόνιον εἰρώτα ἀποπειρώμενος ἑκάστου εἰ ναυμαχίην ποιέοιτο.

68. Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιιὼν εἰρώτα ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ Σιδωνίου, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τὠυτὸ γνώμην ἐξεφέροντο κελεύοντες ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι, Ἀρτεμισίη δὲ τάδε ἔφη. "Εἰπεῖν μοι πρὸς βασιλέα, Μαρδόνιε, ὡς ἐγὼ τάδε λέγω, οὔτε κακίστη γενομένη ἐν τῇσι ναυμαχίῃσι τῇσι πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ οὔτε ἐλάχιστα ἀποδεξαμένη. δέσποτα, τὴν δὲ ἐοῦσαν γνώμην με δίκαιον ἐστὶ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, τὰ τυγχάνω φρονέουσα ἄριστα ἐς πρήγματα τὰ σά. καί τοι τάδε λέγω, φείδεο τῶν νεῶν μηδὲ ναυμαχίην ποιέο. οἱ γὰρ ἄνδρες τῶν σῶν ἀνδρῶν κρέσσονες τοσοῦτο εἰσὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ὅσον ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. τί δὲ πάντως δέει σε ναυμαχίῃσι ἀνακινδυνεύειν; οὐκ ἔχεις μὲν τὰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν περ εἵνεκα ὁρμήθης στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχεις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα; ἐμποδὼν δέ τοι ἵσταται οὐδείς· οἳ δέ τοι ἀντέστησαν, ἀπήλλαξαν οὕτω ὡς κείνους ἔπρεπε. τῇ δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω ἀποβήσεσθαι τὰ τῶν ἀντιπολέμων πρήγματα, τοῦτο φράσω. ἢν μὲν μὴ ἐπειχθῇς ναυμαχίην ποιεύμενος, ἀλλὰ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ ἔχῃς πρὸς γῇ μένων ἢ καὶ προβαίνων ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, εὐπετέως τοι δέσποτα χωρήσει τὰ νοέων ἐλήλυθας. οὐ γὰρ οἷοί τε πολλὸν χρόνον εἰσί τοι ἀντέχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ σφέας διασκεδᾷς, κατὰ πόλις δὲ ἕκαστοι φεύξονται. οὔτε γὰρ σῖτος πάρα σφι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, οὔτε αὐτοὺς

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honourable rank which the king had granted them severally, first in place the king of Sidon, and next he of Tyre, and then the rest. When they had sat down in order one after another, Xerxes sent Mardonius and put each to the test by questioning him if the Persian ships should offer battle.

68. Mardonius went about questioning them, from the Sidonian onwards; and all the rest gave their united voice for offering battle at sea; but Artemisia said: "Tell the king, I pray you, Mardonius, that I who say this have not been the hindmost in courage or in feats of arms in the fights near Euboea. Nay, master, but it is right that I should declare my opinion, even that which I deem best for your cause. And this I say to you—Spare your ships, and offer no battle at sea; for their men are as much stronger by sea than yours, as men are stronger than women. And why must you at all costs imperil yourself by fighting battles on the sea? have you not possession of Athens, for the sake of which you set out on this march, and of the rest of Hellas? no man stands in your path; they that resisted you have come off in such plight as beseemed them. I will show you now what I think will be the course of your enemies' doings. If you make no haste to fight at sea, but keep your ships here and abide near the land, or even go forward into the Peloponnese, then, my master, you will easily gain that end wherefor you have come. For the Greeks are not able to hold out against you for a long time, but you will scatter them, and they will flee each to his city; they have no food in this island, as I am informed, nor, if you

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οἰκός, ἢν σὺ ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐλαύνῃς τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν, ἀτρεμιεῖν τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν αὐτῶν ἥκοντας, οὐδέ σφι μελήσει πρὸ τῶν Ἀθηνέων ναυμαχέειν. ἢν δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπειχθῇς ναυμαχῆσαι, δειμαίνω μὴ ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς τὸν πεζὸν προσδηλήσηται. πρὸς δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ τόδε ἐς θυμὸν βάλευ, ὡς τοῖσι μὲν χρηστοῖσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων κακοὶ δοῦλοι φιλέουσι γίνεσθαι, τοῖσι δὲ κακοῖσι χρηστοί. σοὶ δὲ ἐόντι ἀρίστῳ ἀνδρῶν πάντων κακοὶ δοῦλοι εἰσί, οἳ ἐν συμμάχων λόγῳ λέγονται εἶναι ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Κύπριοι καὶ Κίλικες καὶ Πάμφυλοι, τῶν ὄφελος ἐστὶ οὐδέν."

69. Ταῦτα λεγούσης πρὸς Μαρδόνιον, ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν εὔνοοι τῇ Ἀρτεμισίῃ, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο τοὺς λόγους ὡς κακόν τι πεισομένης πρὸς βασιλέος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔα ναυμαχίην ποιέεσθαι· οἳ δὲ ἀγεόμενοί τε καὶ φθονέοντες αὐτῇ, ἅτε ἐν πρώτοισι τετιμημένης διὰ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἐτέρποντο τῇ ἀνακρίσι ὡς ἀπολεομένης αὐτῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνηνείχθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι ἐς Ξέρξην, κάρτα τε ἥσθη τῇ γνώμῃ τῇ Ἀρτεμισίης, καὶ νομίζων ἔτι πρότερον σπουδαίην εἶναι τότε πολλῷ μᾶλλον αἴνεε. ὅμως δὲ τοῖσι πλέοσι πείθεσθαι ἐκέλευε, τάδε καταδόξας, πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας.

70. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγελλον ἀναπλέειν, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ παρεκρίθησαν διαταχθέντες κατ' ἡσυχίην. τότε μέν νυν οὐκ ἐξέχρησέ σφι ἡ ἡμέρη ναυμαχίην ποιήσασθαι· νὺξ γὰρ ἐπεγένετο· οἳ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν

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lead your army into the Peloponnese, is it likely that those of them who have come from thence will abide unmoved; they will have no mind to fight sea-battles for Athens. But if you make haste to fight at once on sea, I fear lest your fleet take some hurt and thereby harm your army likewise. Moreover, O king, call this to mind—good men's slaves are wont to be evil and bad men's slaves good; and you, who are the best of all men, have evil slaves, that pass for your allies, men of Egypt and Cyprus and Cilicia and Pamphylia, in whom is no usefulness."

69. When Artemisia spoke thus to Mardonius, all that were her friends were sorry for her words, thinking that the king would do her some hurt for counselling him against a sea-fight; but they that had ill-will and jealousy against her for the honour in which she was held above all the allies were glad at her answer, thinking it would be her undoing. But when the opinions were reported to Xerxes he was greatly pleased by the opinion of Artemisia; he had ever deemed her a woman of worth and now held her in much higher esteem. Nevertheless he bade the counsel of the more part to be followed; for he thought that off Euboea his men had been slack fighters by reason of his absence, and now he purposed to watch the battle himself.

70. When the command to set sail was given, they put out to Salamis and arrayed their line in order at their ease. That day there was not time enough left to offer battle, for the night came; and they made preparation for the next day instead. But the

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ὑστεραίην. τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας εἶχε δέος τε καὶ ἀρρωδίη, οὐκ ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου· ἀρρώδεον δὲ ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κατήμενοι ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίων ναυμαχέειν μέλλοιεν, νικηθέντες τε ἐν νήσῳ ἀπολαμφθέντες πολιορκήσονται, ἀπέντες τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀφύλακτον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὁ πεζὸς ὑπὸ τὴν παρεοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

71. Καίτοι τὰ δυνατὰ πάντα ἐμεμηχάνητο ὅκως κατ' ἤπειρον μὴ ἐσβάλοιεν οἱ βάρβαροι. ὡς γὰρ ἐπύθοντο τάχιστα Πελοποννήσιοι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λεωνίδην ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τετελευτηκέναι, συνδραμόντες ἐκ τῶν πολίων ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἵζοντο, καί σφι ἐπῆν στρατηγὸς Κλεόμβροτος ὁ Ἀναξανδρίδεω, Λεωνίδεω δὲ ἀδελφεός. ἱζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ καὶ συγχώσαντες τὴν Σκιρωνίδα ὁδόν, μετὰ τοῦτο ὥς σφι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι, οἰκοδόμεον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τεῖχος. ἅτε δὲ ἐουσέων μυριάδων πολλέων καὶ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐργαζομένου, ἤνετο τὸ ἔργον· καὶ γὰρ λίθοι καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ φορμοὶ ψάμμου πλήρεες ἐσεφέροντο, καὶ ἐλίνυον οὐδένα χρόνον οἱ βοηθήσαντες ἐργαζόμενοι, οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρης.

72. Οἱ δὲ βοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν πανδημεὶ οἵδε ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες πάντες καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Ἑρμιονέες. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ὑπεραρρωδέοντες τῇ Ἑλλάδι κινδυνευούσῃ· τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι

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[1] A track (later made into a regular road) leading to the Isthmus along the face of Geraneia: narrow and even

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Greeks were in fear and dread, and especially they that were from the Peloponnese; and the cause of their fear was, that they themselves were about to fight for the Athenians' country where they lay at Salamis, and if they were overcome they must be shut up and beleaguered in an island, leaving their own land unguarded. At the next nightfall, the land army of the foreigners began its march to the Peloponnese.

71. Nathless the Greeks had used every device possible to prevent the foreigners from breaking in upon them by land. For as soon as the Peloponnesians heard that Leonidas' men at Thermopylae were dead, they hasted together from their cities and encamped on the Isthmus, their general being the brother of Leonidas, Cleombrotus son of Anaxandrides. Being there encamped they broke up the Scironian road,[1] and thereafter built a wall across the Isthmus, having resolved in council so to do. As there were many tens of thousands there and all men wrought, the work was brought to accomplishment; for they carried stones to it and bricks and logs and crates full of sand, and they that mustered there never rested from their work by night or by day.

72. Those Greeks that mustered all their people at the Isthmus were the Lacedaemonians and all the Arcadians, the Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Troezenians, and men of Hermione. These were they who mustered there, and were moved by great fear for Hellas in her peril; but the rest of the Peloponnesians cared

dangerous for some six miles, and very easily made impassable.

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Πελοποννησίοισι ἔμελε οὐδέν. Ὀλύμπια δὲ καὶ Κάρνεια παροιχώκεε ἤδη.

73. Οἰκέει δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔθνεα ἑπτά. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα ἐόντα κατὰ χώρην ἵδρυται νῦν τε καὶ τὸ πάλαι οἴκεον, Ἀρκάδες τε καὶ Κυνούριοι· ἓν δὲ ἔθνος τὸ Ἀχαιϊκὸν ἐκ μὲν Πελοποννήσου οὐκ ἐξεχώρησε, ἐκ μέντοι τῆς ἑωυτῶν, οἰκέει δὲ τὴν ἀλλοτρίην. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἔθνεα τῶν ἑπτὰ τέσσερα ἐπήλυδα ἐστί, Δωριέες τε καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Λήμνιοι. Δωριέων μὲν πολλαί τε καὶ δόκιμοι πόλιες, Αἰτωλῶν δὲ Ἦλις μούνη, Δρυόπων δὲ Ἑρμιών τε καὶ Ἀσίνη ἡ πρὸς Καρδαμύλῃ τῇ Λακωνικῇ, Λημνίων δὲ Παρωρεῆται πάντες. οἱ δὲ Κυνούριοι αὐτόχθονες ἐόντες δοκέουσι μοῦνοι εἶναι Ἴωνες, ἐκδεδωρίευνται δὲ ὑπό τε Ἀργείων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐόντες Ὀρνεῆται καὶ οἱ περίοικοι. τούτων ὦν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐθνέων αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλιες, πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο· εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι ἐμήδιζον.

74. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ τοιούτῳ πόνῳ συνέστασαν, ἅτε περὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἤδη δρόμου θέοντες καὶ τῇσι νηυσὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἐλλάμψεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὅμως ταῦτα πυνθανόμενοι ἀρρώδεον, οὐκ οὕτω περὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δειμαίνοντες ὡς περὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ παραστὰς σιγῇ λόγον ἐποιέετο, θῶμα ποιεύμενοι τὴν Εὐρυβιάδεω ἀβουλίην· τέλος δὲ ἐξερράγη ἐς τὸ μέσον. σύλλογός τε δὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ πολλὰ ἐλέγετο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν,

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nothing; and the Olympian and Carnean festivals were now past.[1]

73. Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese; two of these, the Arcadians and Cynurians, are native to the soil and are now settled where they have ever been; and one nation, the Achaean, has never departed from the Peloponnese, but has left its own country and dwells in another. The four that remain of the seven have come from elsewhere, namely, the Dorians and Aetolians and Dryopians and Lemnians; the Dorians have many notable cities, the Aetolians Elis alone; the Dryopians have Hermione and that Asine which is near Cardamyle of Laconia; and the Lemnians, all the Paroreatae. The Cynurians are held to be Ionians, and the only Ionians native to the soil, but their Argive masters and time have made Dorians of them; they are the people of Orneae and the country round. Now of these seven nations all the cities, save those aforesaid, sat apart from the war; and if I may speak freely, by so doing they took the part of the enemy.

74. So the Greeks on the Isthmus had such labour to cope withal, seeing that now all they had was at stake, and they had no hope of winning renown with their ships; but they that were at Salamis, although they heard of the work, were affrighted, and their dread was less for themselves than for the Peloponnese. For a while there was but murmuring between man and man, and wonder at Eurybiades' unwisdom, but at the last came an open outbreak; and an assembly was held, where there was much speaking of the same matters as before, some saying

[1] That is, there was no longer any excuse for their not coming. *Cp.* vii. 205.

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οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον χρεὸν εἴη ἀποπλέειν καὶ περὶ ἐκείνης κινδυνεύειν μηδὲ πρὸ χώρης δοριαλώτου μένοντας μάχεσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται καὶ Μεγαρέες αὐτοῦ μένοντας ἀμύνεσθαι.

75. Ἐνθαῦτα Θεμιστοκλέης ὡς ἐσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λαθὼν ἐξέρχεται ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, ἐξελθὼν δὲ πέμπει ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἄνδρα πλοίῳ ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρεόν, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Σίκιννος, οἰκέτης δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς ἦν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος παίδων· τὸν δὴ ὕστερον τούτων τῶν πρηγμάτων Θεμιστοκλέης Θεσπιέα τε ἐποίησε, ὡς ἐπεδέκοντο οἱ Θεσπιέες πολιήτας, καὶ χρήμασι ὄλβιον. ὃς τότε πλοίῳ ἀπικόμενος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων τάδε. "Ἔπεμψέ με στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἀθηναίων λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων (τυγχάνει γὰρ φρονέων τὰ βασιλέος καὶ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον τὰ ὑμέτερα κατύπερθε γίνεσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρήγματα) φράσοντα ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες δρησμὸν βουλεύονται καταρρωδηκότες, καὶ νῦν παρέχει κάλλιστον ὑμέας ἔργων ἁπάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι, ἢν μὴ περιίδητε διαδράντας αὐτούς. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλλήλοισι ὁμοφρονέουσι οὔτε ἀντιστήσονται ὑμῖν, πρὸς ἑωυτούς τε σφέας ὄψεσθε ναυμαχέοντας τοὺς τὰ ὑμέτερα φρονέοντας καὶ τοὺς μή."

76. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτά σφι σημήνας ἐκποδὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο· τοῖσι δὲ ὡς πιστὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἀγγελθέντα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, μεταξὺ Σαλαμῖνός τε κειμένην καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου, πολλοὺς τῶν Περσέων ἀπεβιβάσαντο· τοῦτο δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ'

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that they must sail away to the Peloponnese and face danger for that country, rather than abide and fight for a land won from them by the spear; but the Athenians and Aeginetans and Megarians pleading that they should remain and defend themselves where they were.

75. Then Themistocles, when the Peloponnesians were outvoting him, went privily out of the assembly, and sent to the Median fleet a man in a boat, charged with a message that he must deliver. This man's name was Sicinnus, and he was of Themistocles' household and attendant on his children; at a later day, when the Thespians were receiving men to be their citizens, Themistocles made him a Thespian, and a wealthy man withal. He now came in a boat and spoke thus to the foreigners' admirals: "I am sent by the admiral of the Athenians without the knowledge of the other Greeks (he being a friend to the king's cause and desiring that you rather than the Greeks should have the mastery) to tell you that the Greeks have lost heart and are planning flight, and that now is the hour for you to achieve an incomparable feat of arms, if you suffer them not to escape. For there is no union in their counsels, nor will they withstand you any more, and you will see them battling against each other, your friends against your foes."

76. With that declaration he departed away. The Persians put faith in the message; and first they landed many of their men on the islet Psyttalea, which lies between Salamis and the mainland; then, at midnight, they advanced their western wing

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ἑσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα, ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσουραν τεταγμένοι, κατεῖχόν τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῆσι νηυσί. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας, ἵνα δὴ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μηδὲ φυγεῖν ἐξῇ, ἀλλ' ἀπολαμφθέντες ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι δοῖεν τίσιν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ἀγωνισμάτων. ἐς δὲ τὴν νησῖδα τὴν Ψυττάλειαν καλεομένην ἀπεβίβαζον τῶν Περσέων τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὡς ἐπεὰν γίνηται ναυμαχίη, ἐνθαῦτα μάλιστα ἐξοισομένων τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ναυηγίων (ἐν γὰρ δὴ πόρῳ τῆς ναυμαχίης τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι ἔκειτο ἡ νῆσος), ἵνα τοὺς μὲν περιποιέωσι τοὺς δὲ διαφθείρωσι. ἐποίευν δὲ σιγῇ ταῦτα, ὡς μὴ πυνθανοίατο οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες παραρτέοντο.

77. Χρησμοῖσι δὲ οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ ἀληθέες, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐναργέως λέγοντας πειρᾶσθαι καταβάλλειν, ἐς τοιάδε πρήγματα[1] ἐσβλέψας.

ἀλλ' ὅταν Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσαόρου ἱερὸν ἀκτὴν
νηυσὶ γεφυρώσωσι καὶ εἰναλίην Κυνόσουραν
ἐλπίδι μαινομένῃ, λιπαρὰς πέρσαντες Ἀθήνας,
δῖα δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν κόρον, ὕβριος υἱόν,
δεινὸν μαιμώοντα, δοκεῦντ' ἀνὰ πάντα πίεσθαι.

[1] ῥήματα is suggested, and would certainly be more natural.

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[1] For a brief notice of controversy respecting the operations off Salamis. see the Introduction to this volume. The locality of Ceos and Cynosura is conjectural.

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towards Salamis for encirclement, and they too put out to sea that were stationed off Ceos and Cynosura; and they held all the passage with their ships as far as Munychia.[1] The purpose of their putting out to sea was, that the Greeks might have no liberty even to flee, but should be hemmed in at Salamis and punished for their fighting off Artemisium. And the purpose of their landing Persians on the islet called Psyttalea was this, that as it was here in especial that in the sea fight men and wrecks would be washed ashore (for the island lay in the very path of the battle that was to be), they might thus save their friends and slay their foes. All this they did in silence, lest their enemies should know of it. So they made these preparations in the night, taking no rest.

77. But, for oracles, I have no way of gainsaying their truth; for they speak clearly, and I would not essay to overthrow them, when I look into such matter as this:

"When that with lines of ships thy sacred coasts they have fencèd,
Artemis[2] golden-sworded, and thine, sea-washed Cynosura,
All in the madness of hope, having ravished the glory of Athens,
Then shall desire full fed, by pride o'erweening engendered,
Raging in dreadful wrath and athirst for the nations' destruction,
Utterly perish and fall; for the justice of heaven shall quench it;

[2] There were temples of Artemis both at Salamis and at Munychia on the Attic shore.

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χαλκὸς γὰρ χαλκῷ συμμίξεται, αἵματι δ' Ἄρης πόντον φοινίξει. τότ' ἐλεύθερον Ἑλλάδος ἦμαρ εὐρύοπα Κρονίδης ἐπάγει καὶ πότνια Νίκη.

ἐς τοιαῦτα μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐναργέως λέγοντι Βάκιδι ἀντιλογίης χρησμῶν πέρι οὔτε αὐτὸς λέγειν τολμέω οὔτε παρ' ἄλλων ἐνδέκομαι.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι στρατηγῶν ἐγίνετο ὠθισμὸς λόγων πολλός· ᾔδεσαν δὲ οὔκω ὅτι σφέας περιεκυκλοῦντο τῇσι νηυσὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς ἡμέρης ὥρων αὐτοὺς τεταγμένους, ἐδόκεον κατὰ χώρην εἶναι.

79. Συνεστηκότων δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐξ Αἰγίνης διέβη Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος μὲν ἐξωστρακισμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· τὸν ἐγὼ νενόμικα, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, ἄριστον ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι καὶ δικαιότατον. οὗτος ὡνὴρ στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἐξεκαλέετο Θεμιστοκλέα, ἐόντα μὲν ἑωυτῷ οὐ φίλον ἐχθρὸν δὲ τὰ μάλιστα· ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν λήθην ἐκείνων ποιεύμενος ἐξεκαλέετο, θέλων αὐτῷ συμμῖξαι· προακηκόεε δὲ ὅτι σπεύδοιεν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἀνάγειν τὰς νέας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. ὡς δὲ ἐξῆλθέ οἱ Θεμιστοκλέης, ἔλεγε Ἀριστείδης τάδε. "Ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεὸν ἐστι ἔν τε τῷ ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ ὁκότερος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατρίδα ἐργάσεται. λέγω δέ τοι ὅτι ἴσον ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ ὀλίγα λέγειν περὶ ἀποπλόου τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν Πελο-

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Bronze upon bronze shall clash, and the terrible bidding of Ares
Redden the seas with blood. But Zeus far-seeing, and hallowed
Victory then shall grant that Freedom dawn upon Hellas."

Looking at such matter and seeing how clear is the utterance of Bacis, I neither venture myself to gainsay him as touching oracles nor suffer such gainsaying by others.

78. But among the admirals at Salamis there was a hot bout of argument; and they knew not as yet that the foreigners had drawn their ships round them, but supposed the enemy to be still where they had seen him stationed in the daylight.

79. But as they contended, there crossed over from Aegina Aristides son of Lysimachus, an Athenian, but one that had been ostracised by the commonalty; from that which I have learnt of his way of life I am myself well persuaded that he was the best and the justest man at Athens. He then came and stood in the place of council and called Themistocles out of it, albeit Themistocles was no friend of his but his chiefest enemy; but in the stress of the present danger he put that old feud from his mind, and so called Themistocles out, that he might converse with him. Now he had heard already, that the Peloponnesians desired to sail to the Isthmus. So when Themistocles came out, Aristides said, "Let the rivalry between us be now as it has been before, to see which of us two shall do his country more good. I tell you now, that it is all one for the Peloponnesians to talk much or little about sailing

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πουνησίοισι. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτόπτης τοι λέγω γενόμενος ὅτι νῦν οὐδ' ἣν θέλωσι Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ αὐτὸς Εὐρυβιάδης οἷοί τε ἔσονται ἐκπλῶσαι· περιεχόμεθα γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ. ἀλλ' ἐσελθὼν σφι ταῦτα σήμηνον." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε.

80. "Κάρτα τε χρηστὰ διακελεύεαι καὶ εὖ ἤγγειλας· τὰ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐδεόμην γενέσθαι, αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἥκεις. ἴσθι γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέο τὰ ποιεύμενα ὑπὸ Μήδων· ἔδεε γάρ, ὅτε οὐκ ἑκόντες ἤθελον ἐς μάχην κατίστασθαι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀέκοντας παραστήσασθαι. σὺ δὲ ἐπεί περ ἥκεις χρηστὰ ἀπαγγέλλων, αὐτός σφι ἄγγειλον. ἢν γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὰ λέγω, δόξω πλάσας λέγειν καὶ οὐ πείσω, ὡς οὐ ποιεύντων τῶν βαρβάρων ταῦτα. ἀλλά σφι σήμηνον αὐτὸς παρελθὼν ὡς ἔχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ σημήνῃς, ἢν μὲν πείθωνται, ταῦτα δὴ τὰ κάλλιστα, ἢν δὲ αὐτοῖσι μὴ πιστὰ γένηται, ὅμοιον ἡμῖν ἔσται· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διαδρήσονται, εἴ περ περιεχόμεθα πανταχόθεν, ὡς σὺ λέγεις."

81. Ἐνθαῦτα ἔλεγε παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, φάμενος ἐξ Αἰγίνης τε ἥκειν καὶ μόγις ἐκπλῶσαι λαθὼν τοὺς ἐπορμέοντας· περιέχεσθαι γὰρ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν Ξέρξεω· παραρτέεσθαί τε συνεβούλευε ὡς ἀλεξησομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας μετεστήκεε, τῶν δὲ αὖτις ἐγίνετο λόγων ἀμφισβασίη· οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες τῶν στρατηγῶν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο τὰ ἐσαγγελθέντα.

82. Ἀπιστεόντων δὲ τούτων ἧκε τριήρης ἀνδρῶν Τηνίων αὐτομολέουσα, τῆς ἦρχε ἀνὴρ Παναίτιος ὁ Σωσιμένεος, ἥ περ δὴ ἔφερε τὴν ἀληθείην πᾶσαν.

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away from hence; for I say from that which my eyes have seen that now even if the Corinthians and Eurybiades himself desire to sail out, they cannot; we are hemmed in on all sides by our enemies. Do you go in now, and tell them this."

80. "Your exhortation is right useful," Themistocles answered, "and your news is good; for you have come with your own eyes for witnesses of that which I desired might happen. Know that what the Medes do is of my contriving; for when the Greeks would not of their own accord prepare for battle, it was needful to force them to it willy-nilly. But now since you have come with this good news, give your message to them yourself. If I tell it, they will think it is of my own devising, and they will never take my word for it that the foreigners are doing as you say; nay, go before them yourself and tell them how it stands. When you have told them, if they believe you, that is best; but if they will not believe you, it will be the same thing to us; for if we are hemmed in on every side, as you say, they will no longer be able to take to flight."

81. Aristides then came forward and told them; he was come, he said, from Aegina, and had been hard put to it to slip unseen through the blockade; for all the Greek fleet was compassed round by Xerxes' ships, and they had best (he said) prepare to defend themselves. Thus he spoke, and took his departure. They fell a-wrangling again; for the more part of the admirals would not believe that the news was true.

82. But while they yet disbelieved, there came a trireme with Tenian deserters, whose captain was one Panaetius son of Sosimenes, and this brought

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διὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐνεγράφησαν Τήνιοι ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐς τὸν τρίποδα ἐν τοῖσι τὸν βάρβαρον κατελοῦσι. σὺν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτομολησάσῃ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τῇ πρότερον ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τῇ Λημνίῃ ἐξεπληροῦτο τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐς τὰς ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας νέας· δύο γὰρ δὴ νεῶν τότε κατέδεε ἐς τὸν ἀριθμόν.

83. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς πιστὰ δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ἦν τῶν Τηνίων ῥήματα, παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ναυμαχήσοντες. ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ οἳ σύλλογον τῶν ἐπιβατέων ποιησάμενοι, προηγόρευε εὖ ἔχοντα μὲν ἐκ πάντων Θεμιστοκλέης, τὰ δὲ ἔπεα ἦν πάντα κρέσσω τοῖσι ἥσσοσι ἀντιτιθέμενα, ὅσα δὴ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσι καὶ καταστάσι ἐγγίνεται· παραινέσας δὲ τούτων τὰ κρέσσω αἱρέεσθαι καὶ καταπλέξας τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἐσβαίνειν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὰς νέας. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐσέβαινον, καὶ ἧκε ἡ ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τριήρης, ἣ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀπεδήμησε.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἁπάσας Ἕλληνες, ἀναγομένοισι δέ σφι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ πρύμνην ἀνεκρούοντο καὶ ὤκελλον τὰς νέας, Ἀμεινίης δὲ Παλληνεὺς ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἐξαναχθεὶς νηὶ ἐμβάλλει· συμπλακείσης δὲ τῆς νεὸς καὶ οὐ δυναμένων ἀπαλλαγῆναι, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀμεινίῃ βοηθέοντες συνέμισγον. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι τῆς ναυμαχίης γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, Αἰγινῆται δὲ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰακίδας ἀποδημήσασαν ἐς Αἴγιναν, ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἄρξασαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε, ὡς φάσμα σφι γυναικὸς ἐφάνη, φανεῖσαν δὲ διακε-

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them the whole truth. For that deed the men of Tenos were engraved on the tripod at Delphi among those that had vanquished the foreigner. With this ship that deserted to Salamis and the Lemnian which had already deserted to Artemisium, the Greek fleet, which had fallen short by two of three hundred and eighty, now attained to that full number.

83. The Greeks, believing at last the tale of the Tenians, made ready for battle. It was now earliest dawn, and they called the fighting men to an assembly, wherein Themistocles made an harangue in which he excelled all others; the tenor of his words was to array all the good in man's nature and estate against the evil; and having exhorted them to choose the better, he made an end of speaking and bade them embark. Even as they so did, came the trireme from Aegina which had been sent away for the Sons of Aeacus.[1]

84. With that the Greeks stood out to sea in full force, and as they stood out the foreigners straightway fell upon them. The rest of the Greeks began to back water and beach their ships; but Aminias of Pallene, an Athenian, pushed out to the front and charged a ship; which being entangled with his, and the two not able to be parted, the others did now come to Aminias' aid and joined battle. This is the Athenian story of the beginning of the fight; but the Aeginetans say that the ship which began it was that one which had been sent away to Aegina for the Sons of Aeacus. This story also is told,—that they saw the vision of a woman, who

[1] *cp.* 64.

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λεύσασθαι ὥστε καὶ ἅπαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατόπεδον, ὀνειδίσασαν πρότερον τάδε, "Ὦ δαιμόνιοι, μέχρι κόσου ἔτι πρύμνην ἀνακρούεσθε;"

85. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἐτετάχατο Φοίνικες (οὗτοι γὰρ εἶχον τὸ πρὸς Ἐλευσῖνός τε καὶ ἑσπέρης κέρας), κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους Ἴωνες· οὗτοι δ' εἶχον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιέα. ἐθελοκάκεον μέντοι αὐτῶν κατὰ τὰς Θεμιστοκλέος ἐντολὰς ὀλίγοι, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες οὔ. ἔχω μέν νυν συχνῶν οὐνόματα τριηράρχων καταλέξαι τῶν νέας Ἑλληνίδας ἑλόντων, χρήσομαι δὲ αὐτοῖσι οὐδὲν πλὴν Θεομήστορός τε τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος καὶ Φυλάκου τοῦ Ἰστιαίου, Σαμίων ἀμφοτέρων. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα μέμνημαι τούτων μούνων, ὅτι Θεομήστωρ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Σάμου ἐτυράννευσε καταστησάντων τῶν Περσέων, Φύλακος δὲ εὐεργέτης βασιλέος ἀνεγράφη καὶ χώρῃ ἐδωρήθη πολλῇ. οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὁροσάγγαι καλέονται περσιστί.

86. Περὶ μέν νυν τούτους οὕτω εἶχε· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι ἐκεραΐζετο, αἳ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων διαφθειρόμεναι αἳ δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγινητέων. ἅτε γὰρ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων σὺν κόσμῳ ναυμαχεόντων καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οὔτε τεταγμένων ἔτι οὔτε σὺν νόῳ ποιεόντων οὐδέν, ἔμελλε τοιοῦτό σφι συνοίσεσθαι οἷόν περ ἀπέβη. καίτοι ἦσάν γε καὶ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην μακρῷ ἀμείνονες αὐτοὶ ἑωυτῶν ἢ πρὸς Εὐβοίῃ, πᾶς τις προθυμεόμενος καὶ δειμαίνων Ξέρξην, ἐδόκεέ τε ἕκαστος ἑωυτὸν θεήσασθαι βασιλέα.

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cried commands loud enough for all the Greek fleet to hear, uttering first this reproach, "Sirs, what madness is this? how long will you still be backing water?"

85. The Phoenicians (for they had the western wing, towards Eleusis) were arrayed opposite to the Athenians, and to the Lacedaemonians the Ionians, on the eastern wing, nearest to Piraeus. Yet but few of them fought slackly, as Themistocles had bidden them, and the more part did not so. Many names I could record of ships' captains that took Greek ships; but I will speak of none save Theomestor son of Androdamas and Phylacus son of Histiaeus, Samians both; and I make mention of these alone, because Theomestor was for this feat of arms made by the Persians despot of Samos, and Phylacus was recorded among the king's benefactors and given much land. These benefactors of the king are called in the Persian language, orosangae.[1]

86. Thus it was with these two; but the great multitude of the ships were shattered at Salamis, some destroyed by the Athenians and some by the Aeginetans. For since the Greeks fought orderly and in array, but the foreigners were by now disordered and did nought of set purpose, it was but reason that they should come to such an end as befel them. Yet on that day they were and approved themselves by far better men than off Euboea; all were zealous, and feared Xerxes, each man thinking that the king's eye was on him.

[1] Perhaps from old Persian *var*, to guard, and *Kshayata*, king; or, as Rawlinson suggests, from *Khur sangha* (Zend) = worthy of praise or record. (How and Wells' note.)

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87. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἄλλους οὐκ ἔχω μετεξετέρους εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως ὡς ἕκαστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠγωνίζοντο· κατὰ δὲ Ἀρτεμισίην τάδε ἐγένετο, ἀπ' ὧν εὐδοκίμησε μᾶλλον ἔτι παρὰ βασιλέι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐς θόρυβον πολλὸν ἀπίκετο τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἡ νηῦς ἡ Ἀρτεμισίης ἐδιώκετο ὑπὸ νεὸς Ἀττικῆς· καὶ ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσα διαφυγεῖν, ἔμπροσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς ἦσαν ἄλλαι νέες φίλιαι, ἡ δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων μάλιστα ἐτύγχανε ἐοῦσα, ἔδοξέ οἱ τόδε ποιῆσαι, τὸ καὶ συνήνεικε ποιησάσῃ. διωκομένη γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς φέρουσα ἐνέβαλε νηὶ φιλίῃ ἀνδρῶν τε Καλυνδέων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέοντος τοῦ Καλυνδέων βασιλέος Δαμασιθύμου. εἰ μὲν καί τι νεῖκος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγεγόνεε ἔτι περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντων, οὐ μέντοι ἔχω γε εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὰ ἐποίησε, οὔτε εἰ συνεκύρησε ἡ τῶν Καλυνδέων κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα νηῦς. ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλέ τε καὶ κατέδυσε, εὐτυχίῃ χρησαμένη διπλᾶ ἑωυτὴν ἀγαθὰ ἐργάσατο. ὅ τε γὰρ τῆς Ἀττικῆς νεὸς τριήραρχος ὡς εἶδέ μιν ἐμβάλλουσαν νηὶ ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων, νομίσας τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀρτεμισίης ἢ Ἑλληνίδα εἶναι ἢ αὐτομολέειν ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἀμύνειν, ἀποστρέψας πρὸς ἄλλας ἐτράπετο.

88. Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτο αὐτῇ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι διαφυγεῖν τε καὶ μὴ ἀπολέσθαι, τοῦτο δὲ συνέβη ὥστε κακὸν ἐργασαμένην ἀπὸ τούτων αὐτὴν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. λέγεται γὰρ βασιλέα θηεύμενον μαθεῖν τὴν νέα ἐμβαλοῦσαν, καὶ δή τινα εἰπεῖν τῶν παρεόντων "Δέσποτα, ὡρᾷς Ἀρτεμισίην ὡς εὖ ἀγωνίζεται καὶ νέα τῶν πολε-

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87. Now as touching some of the others I cannot with exactness say how they fought severally, foreigners or Greeks; but what befel Artemisia made her to be esteemed by the king even more than before. The king's side being now in dire confusion, Artemisia's ship was at this time being pursued by a ship of Attica; and she could not escape, for other friendly ships were in her way, and it chanced that she was the nearest to the enemy; wherefore she resolved that she would do that which afterwards tended to her advantage, and as she fled pursued by the Athenian she charged a friendly ship that bore men of Calyndus and the king himself of that place, Damasithymus. It may be that she had had some quarrel with him while they were still at the Hellespont, but if her deed was done of set purpose, or if the Calyndian met her by crossing her path at haphazard, I cannot say. But having charged and sunk the ship, she had the good luck to work for herself a double advantage. For when the Attic captain saw her charge a ship of foreigners, he supposed that Artemisia's ship was Greek or a deserter from the foreigners fighting for the Greeks, and he turned aside to deal with others.

88. By this happy chance it came about that she escaped and avoided destruction; and moreover the upshot was that the very harm which she had done won her great favour in Xerxes' eyes. For the king (it is said) saw her charge the ship as he viewed the battle, and one of the bystanders said, "Sire, see you Artemisia, how well she fights, and

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μίων κατέδυσε;" καὶ τὸν ἐπειρέσθαι εἰ ἀληθέως ἐστὶ Ἀρτεμισίης τὸ ἔργον, καὶ τοὺς φάναι, σαφέως τὸ ἐπίσημον τῆς νεὸς ἐπισταμένους· τὴν δὲ διαφθαρεῖσαν ἠπιστέατο εἶναι πολεμίην. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, ὡς εἴρηται, αὐτῇ συνήνεικε ἐς εὐτυχίην γενόμενα, καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καλυνδικῆς νεὸς μηδένα ἀποσωθέντα κατήγορον γενέσθαι. Ξέρξην δὲ εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὰ φραζόμενα "Οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γεγόνασί μοι γυναῖκες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἄνδρες." ταῦτα μὲν Ξέρξην φασὶ εἰπεῖν.

89. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπὸ μὲν ἔθανε ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀριαβίγνης ὁ Δαρείου, Ξέρξεω ἐὼν ἀδελφεός, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄλλοι πολλοί τε καὶ ὀνομαστοὶ Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινὲς καὶ Ἑλλήνων· ἅτε γὰρ νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι, τοῖσι αἱ νέες διεφθείροντο, καὶ μὴ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπολλύμενοι, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διένεον. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ διεφθάρησαν νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ πρῶται ἐς φυγὴν ἐτράποντο, ἐνθαῦτα αἱ πλεῖσται διεφθείροντο· οἱ γὰρ ὄπισθε τεταγμένοι, ἐς τὸ πρόσθε τῇσι νηυσὶ παριέναι πειρώμενοι ὡς ἀποδεξόμενοί τι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔργον βασιλέι, τῇσι σφετέρῃσι νηυσὶ φευγούσῃσι περιέπιπτον.

90. Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ. τῶν τινες Φοινίκων, τῶν αἱ νέες διεφθάρατο, ἐλθόντες παρὰ βασιλέα διέβαλλον τοὺς Ἴωνας, ὡς δι' ἐκείνους ἀπολοίατο αἱ νέες, ὡς προδόντων. συνήνεικε ὦν οὕτω ὥστε Ἰώνων τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μὴ ἀπολέσθαι Φοινίκων τε τοὺς διαβάλλοντας λαβεῖν τοιόνδε μισθόν. ἔτι τούτων ταῦτα λεγόντων ἐνέβαλε νηὶ Ἀττικῇ Σαμοθρηικίη

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how she has sunk an enemy ship?" Xerxes then asking if it were truly Artemisia that had done the deed, they affirmed it, knowing well the ensign of her ship; and they supposed that the ship she had sunk was an enemy; for the luckiest chance of all which had (as I have said) befallen her was, that not one from the Calyndian ship was saved alive to be her accuser. Hearing what they told him, Xerxes is reported to have said, "My men have become women, and my women men"; such, they say, were his words.

89. In that hard fighting Xerxes' brother the admiral Ariabignes, son of Darius, was slain, and withal many other Persians and Medes and allies of renown, and some Greeks, but few; for since they could swim, they who lost their ships, yet were not slain in hand-to-hand fight, swam across to Salamis; but the greater part of the foreigners were drowned in the sea, not being able to swim. When the foremost ships were turned to flight, it was then that the most of them were destroyed; for the men of the rearmost ranks, pressing forward in their ships that they too might display their valour to the king, ran foul of their friends' ships that were in flight.

90. It happened also amid this disorder that certain Phoenicians whose ships had been destroyed came to the king and accused the Ionians of treason, saying that it was by their doing that the ships had been lost; the end of which matter was, that the Ionian captains were not put to death, and those Phoenicians who accused them were rewarded as I will show. While they yet spoke as aforesaid, a Samothracian ship charged an Attic; and while

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νηῦς. ἥ τε δὴ Ἀττικὴ κατεδύετο καὶ ἐπιφερομένη Αἰγιναίη νηῦς κατέδυσε τῶν Σαμοθρηίκων τὴν νέα. ἅτε δὲ ἐόντες ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ Σαμοθρήικες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπὸ τῆς καταδυσάσης νεὸς βάλλοντες ἀπήραξαν καὶ ἐπέβησάν τε καὶ ἔσχον αὐτήν. ταῦτα γενόμενα τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐρρύσατο· ὡς γὰρ εἶδε σφέας Ξέρξης ἔργον μέγα ἐργασαμένους, ἐτράπετο πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας οἷα ὑπερλυπεόμενός τε καὶ πάντας αἰτιώμενος, καί σφεων ἐκέλευσε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποταμεῖν, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοὶ κακοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς ἀμείνονας διαβάλλωσι. ὅκως γάρ τινα ἴδοι Ξέρξης τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἔργον τι ἀποδεικνύμενον ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, κατήμενος ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρεϊ τῷ ἀντίον Σαλαμῖνος τὸ καλέεται Αἰγάλεως, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τὸν ποιήσαντα, καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ ἀνέγραφον πατρόθεν τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ τὴν πόλιν. πρὸς δέ τι καὶ προσεβάλετο φίλος ἐὼν Ἀριαράμνης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης παρεὼν τούτου τοῦ Φοινικηίου πάθεος. οἳ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐτράποντο.

91. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἐς φυγὴν τραπομένων καὶ ἐκπλεόντων πρὸς τὸ Φάληρον, Αἰγινῆται ὑποστάντες ἐν τῷ πορθμῷ ἔργα ἀπεδέξαντο λόγου ἄξια. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκεράιζον τάς τε ἀντισταμένας καὶ τὰς φευγούσας τῶν νεῶν, οἱ δὲ Αἰγινῆται τὰς ἐκπλεούσας· ὅκως δὲ τινὲς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφύγοιεν, φερόμενοι ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας.

92. Ἐνθαῦτα συνεκύρεον νέες ἥ τε Θεμιστοκλέος διώκουσα νέα καὶ ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Κριοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγινήτεω νηὶ ἐμβαλοῦσα Σιδωνίῃ, ἥ περ εἶλε τὴν προφυλάσσουσαν ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ τὴν Αἰγιναίην,

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the Attic ship was sinking, a ship of Aegina bore down and sank the Samothracian; but the Samothracians, being javelin throwers, swept the fighting men with a shower of javelins off from the ship that had sunk theirs, and boarded and seized her themselves. Thereby the Ionians were saved; for when Xerxes saw this great feat of their arms, he turned on the Phoenicians (being moved to blame all in the bitterness of his heart) and commanded that their heads be cut off, that so they might not accuse better men, being themselves cowards. For whenever Xerxes, from his seat under the hill over against Salamis called Aegaleos, saw any feat achieved by his own men in the battle, he inquired who was the doer of it, and his scribes wrote down the names of the ship's captain and his father and his city. Moreover it tended somewhat to the doom of the Phoenicians that Ariaramnes, a Persian, was there, who was a friend of the Ionians. So Xerxes' men dealt with the Phoenicians.

91. The foreigners being routed and striving to win out to Phalerum, the Aeginetans lay in wait for them in the passage and then achieved notable deeds; for the Athenians amid the disorder made havoc of all ships that would resist or fly, and so did the Aeginetans with those that were sailing out of the strait; and all that escaped from the Athenians fell in their course among the Aeginetans.

92. Two ships met there, Themistocles' ship pursuing another, and one that bore Polycritus son of Crius of Aegina; this latter had charged a Sidonian, the same which had taken the Aeginetan

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ἐπ' ἧς ἔπλεε Πυθέης ὁ Ἰσχενόου, τὸν οἱ Πέρσαι κατακοπέντα ἀρετῆς εἵνεκα εἶχον ἐν τῇ νηὶ ἐκπαγλεόμενοι· τὸν δὴ περιάγουσα ἅμα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἥλω ἡ νηῦς ἡ Σιδωνίη, ὥστε Πυθέην οὕτω σωθῆναι ἐς Αἴγιναν. ὡς δὲ ἐσεῖδε τὴν νέα τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Πολύκριτος, ἔγνω τὸ σημήιον ἰδὼν τῆς στρατηγίδος, καὶ βώσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ἐπεκερτόμησε ἐς τῶν Αἰγινητέων τὸν μηδισμὸν ὀνειδίζων. ταῦτα μέν νυν νηὶ ἐμβαλὼν ὁ Πολύκριτος ἀπέρριψε ἐς Θεμιστοκλέα· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγένοντο, φεύγοντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Φάληρον ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν.

93. Ἐν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ ταύτῃ ἤκουσαν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστα Αἰγινῆται, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνδρῶν δὲ Πολύκριτός τε ὁ Αἰγινήτης καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι Εὐμένης τε ὁ Ἀναγυράσιος καὶ Ἀμεινίης Παλληνεύς, ὃς καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐπεδίωξε. εἰ μέν νυν ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐν ταύτῃ πλέοι Ἀρτεμισίη, οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ εἷλέ μιν ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥλω. τοῖσι γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τριηράρχοισι παρεκεκέλευστο, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἄεθλον ἔκειτο μύριαι δραχμαί, ὃς ἄν μιν ζωὴν ἕλῃ· δεινὸν γάρ τι ἐποιεῦντο γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας στρατεύεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν δή, ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, διέφυγε· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, τῶν αἱ νέες περιεγεγόνεσαν, ἐν τῷ Φαλήρῳ.

94. Ἀδείμαντον δὲ τὸν Κορίνθιον στρατηγὸν λέγουσι Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, ὡς συνέμισγον αἱ νέες, ἐκπλαγέντα τε καὶ ὑπερδείσαντα,

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[1] Polycritus cries to Themistocles, "See how friendly we are to the Persians!" Polycritus and his father had been

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ship that watched off Sciathus, wherein was Pytheas son of Ischenous, that Pytheas whom when gashed with wounds the Persians kept aboard their ship and made much of for his valour; this Sidonian ship was carrying Pytheas among the Persians when she was now taken, so that thereby he came safe back to Aegina. When Polycritus saw the Attic ship, he knew it by seeing the admiral's ship's ensign, and cried out to Themistocles with bitter taunt and reproach as to the friendship of Aegina with the Persians.[1] Such taunts did Polycritus hurl at Themistocles, after that he had charged an enemy ship. As for the foreigners whose ships were yet undestroyed, they fled to Phalerum and took refuge with the land army.

93. In that sea-fight the nations that won most renown were the Aeginetans, and next to them the Athenians; among men the most renowned were Polycritus of Aegina and two Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyrus and Aminias of Pallene, he who pursued after Artemisia. Had he known that she was in that ship, he had never been stayed ere he took hers or lost his own; such was the bidding given to the Athenian captain, and there was a prize withal of ten thousand drachmae for whoever should take her alive; for there was great wrath that a woman should come to attack Athens. She, then, escaped as I have already said; and the rest also whose ships were undestroyed were at Phalerum.

94. As for the Corinthian admiral Adimantus, the Athenians say that at the very moment when the ships joined battle he was struck with terror and

taken as hostages by the Athenians when Aegina was charged with favouring the Persians (vi. 49, 73)

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τὰ ἱστία ἀειράμενον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα, ἰδόντας δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους τὴν στρατηγίδα φεύγουσαν ὡσαύτως οἴχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα φεύγοντας γινεσθαι τῆς Σαλαμινίης κατὰ ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης Σκιράδος, περιπίπτειν σφι κέλητα θείῃ πομπῇ, τὸν οὔτε πέμψαντα φανῆναι οὐδένα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς εἰδόσι προσφέρεσθαι τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι. τῇδε δὲ συμβάλλονται εἶναι θεῖον τὸ πρῆγμα. ὡς γὰρ ἀγχοῦ γενέσθαι τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέλητος λέγειν τάδε. "Ἀδείμαντε, σὺ μὲν ἀποστρέψας τὰς νέας ἐς φυγὴν ὅρμησαι καταπροδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἳ δὲ καὶ δὴ νικῶσι ὅσον αὐτοὶ ἠρῶντο ἐπικρατήσαντες τῶν ἐχθρῶν." ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀπιστέειν γὰρ τὸν Ἀδείμαντον, αὖτις τάδε λέγειν, ὡς αὐτοὶ οἷοί τε εἶεν ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢν μὴ νικῶντες φαίνωνται οἱ Ἕλληνες. οὕτω δὴ ἀποστρέψαντα τὴν νέα αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τούτους μὲν τοιαύτη φάτις ἔχει ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐν πρώτοισι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῆς ναυμαχίης νομίζουσι γενέσθαι· μαρτυρέει δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.

95. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ Λυσιμάχου ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου, οὗτος ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ τῷ περὶ Σαλαμῖνα γενομένῳ τάδε ἐποίεε· παραλαβὼν πολλοὺς τῶν ὁπλιτέων οἳ παρατετάχατο παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τῆς Σαλαμινίης χώρης, γένος ἐόντες

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panic, and hoisting his sails fled away; and when the Corinthians saw their admiral's ship fleeing they were off and away likewise. But when (so the story goes) they came in their flight near that part of Salamis where is the temple of Athene Sciras,[1] there by heaven's providence a boat met them which none was known to have sent, nor had the Corinthians, ere it drew nigh to them, known aught of the doings of the fleet; and this is how they infer heaven's hand in the matter: when the boat came nigh the ships, those that were in it cried, "Adimantus, you have turned back with your ships in flight, and betrayed the Greeks; but even now they are winning the day as fully as they ever prayed that they might vanquish their enemies." Thus they spoke, and when Adimantus would not believe they said further that they were ready to be taken for hostages and slain if the Greeks were not victorious for all to see. Thereupon Adimantus and the rest did turn their ships about and came to the fleet when all was now over and done. Thus the Athenians report of the Corinthians; but the Corinthians deny it, and hold that they were among the foremost in the battle; and all Hellas bears them witness likewise.

95. But Aristides son of Lysimachus, that Athenian of whose great merit I have lately made mention, did in this rout at Salamis as I will show: taking many of the Athenian men-at-arms who stood arrayed on the shores of Salamis, he carried them across to

[1] The temple stood on the southern extremity of Salamis. If the Persians at the outset of the battle were occupying the ends of the whole strait between Salamis and the mainland, it is not clear how the Corinthians could get to this point.

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Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ψυττάλειαν νῆσον ἀπέβησε ἄγων, οἳ τοὺς Πέρσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ νησῖδι ταύτῃ κατεφόνευσαν πάντας.

96. Ὡς δὲ ἡ ναυμαχίη διελέλυτο, κατειρύσαντες ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα οἱ Ἕλληνες τῶν ναυηγίων ὅσα ταύτῃ ἐτύγχανε ἔτι ἐόντα, ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν ἐς ἄλλην ναυμαχίην, ἐλπίζοντες τῇσι περιεούσῃσι νηυσὶ ἔτι χρήσεσθαι βασιλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυηγίων πολλὰ ὑπολαβὼν ἄνεμος ζέφυρος ἔφερε τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἠιόνα τὴν καλεομένην Κωλιάδα· ὥστε ἀποπλησθῆναι τὸν χρησμὸν τόν τε ἄλλον πάντα τὸν περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης ταύτης εἰρημένον Βάκιδι καὶ Μουσαίῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὰ ναυήγια τὰ ταύτῃ ἐξενειχθέντα τὸ εἰρημένον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐν χρησμῷ Λυσιστράτῳ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρησμολόγῳ, τὸ ἐλελήθεε πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας,

Κωλιάδες δὲ γυναῖκες ἐρετμοῖσι φρύξουσι

τοῦτο δὲ ἔμελλε ἀπελάσαντος βασιλέος ἔσεσθαι.

97. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς ἔμαθε τὸ γενόμενος πάθος, δείσας μή τις τῶν Ἰώνων ὑποθῆται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἢ αὐτοὶ νοήσωσι πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντες τὰς γεφύρας, καὶ ἀπολαμφθεὶς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κινδυνεύσῃ ἀπολέσθαι, δρησμὸν ἐβούλευε. θέλων δὲ μὴ ἐπίδηλος εἶναι μήτε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι μήτε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ, ἐς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα χῶμα ἐπειρᾶτο διαχοῦν, γαύλους τε Φοινικηίους συνέδεε, ἵνα ἀντί τε σχεδίης ἔωσι καὶ τείχεος, ἀρτέετό τε ἐς πόλεμον ὡς ναυμαχίην ἄλλην ποιησόμενος.

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[1] A narrow headland 2½ miles south of Phalerum; just where ships would be driven from the battle by a west wind.

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the island Psyttalea, and they slaughtered all the Persians who were on that islet.

96. The sea-fight being broken off, the Greeks towed to Salamis all the wrecks that were still afloat in those waters, and held themselves ready for another battle, thinking that the king would yet again use his ships that were left. But many of the wrecks were caught by a west wind and carried to the strand in Attica called Colias;[1] so that not only was the rest of the prophecy fulfilled which had been uttered by Bacis and Musaeus concerning that sea-fight, but also that which had been prophesied many years ago by an Athenian oracle-monger named Lysistratus, about the wrecks that were here cast ashore (the import of which prophecy no Greek had noted):

"Also the Colian dames shall roast their barley
with oar-blades."

But this was to happen after the king's departure.

97. When Xerxes was aware of the calamity that had befallen him, he feared lest the Greeks (by Ionian counsel or their own devising) might sail to the Hellespont to break his bridges, and he might be cut off in Europe and in peril of his life; and so he planned flight. But that neither the Greeks nor his own men might discover his intent, he essayed to build a mole across to Salamis,[2] and made fast a line of Phoenician barges to be a floating bridge and a wall; and he made preparation for war, as though he would fight at sea again. The rest who saw him

[2] Ctesias and Strabo place this project before and not after the battle; plainly it would have been useless (and indeed impossible) to the Persians after their defeat.

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ὁρῶντες δέ μιν πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα πρήσσοντα εὖ ἠπιστέατο ὡς ἐκ παντὸς νόου παρεσκεύασται μένων πολεμήσειν· Μαρδόνιον δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλάνθανε ὡς μάλιστα ἔμπειρον ἐόντα τῆς ἐκείνου διανοίης.

98. Ταῦτά τε ἅμα Ξέρξης ἐποίεε καὶ ἔπεμπε ἐς Πέρσας ἀγγελέοντα τὴν παρεοῦσάν σφι συμφορήν. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἐόν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξεύρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς ὁσέων ἂν ἡμερέων ᾖ ἡ πᾶσα ὁδός, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες διεστᾶσι κατὰ ἡμερησίην ὁδὸν ἑκάστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὔτε νιφετός, οὐκ ὄμβρος, οὐ καῦμα, οὐ νὺξ ἔργει μὴ οὐ κατανύσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος δραμὼν παραδιδοῖ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατά περ ἐν Ἕλλησι ἡ λαμπαδηφορίη τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέουσι. τοῦτο τὸ δράμημα τῶν ἵππων καλέουσι Πέρσαι ἀγγαρήιον.

99. Ἡ μὲν δὴ πρώτη ἐς Σοῦσα ἀγγελίη ἀπικομένη, ὡς ἔχοι Ἀθήνας Ξέρξης, ἔτερψε οὕτω δή τι Περσέων τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ὡς τάς τε ὁδοὺς μυρσίνῃ πάσας ἐστόρεσαν καὶ ἐθυμίων θυμιήματα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐν θυσίῃσί τε καὶ εὐπαθείῃσι. ἡ δὲ δευτέρη σφι ἀγγελίη ἐπεσελθοῦσα συνέχεε οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς κιθῶνας κατερρή-

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[1] Torch-races were run at certain Athenian festivals. They were of various kinds. One was "a relay or team race. There were several lines of runners; the first man in each

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so doing were fully persuaded that he was in all earnestness prepared to remain there and carry on the war; but none of this deceived Mardonius, who had best experience of Xerxes' purposes.

98. While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skilful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey; and these are stayed neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race [1] in honour of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, angareïon.[2]

99. When the first message came to Susa, telling that Xerxes had taken Athens, it gave such delight to the Persians who were left at home that they strewed all the roads with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and gave themselves up to sacrificial feasts and jollity; but the second, coming on the heels of the first, so confounded them that they all rent

line had his torch lighted at the altar and ran with it at full speed to the second, to whom he passed it on, the second to the third, and so on till the last man carried it to the goal. The line of runners which first passed its torch alight to the goal was the winning team" (How and Wells).

[2] ἄγγαρος is apparently a Babylonian word, the Persian word for a post-rider being in Greek ἀστάνδης (How and Wells). ἄγγαρος passed into Greek usage; *cp.* Aesch. Ag. 282.

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ξαντο πάντες, βοῇ τε καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἐχρέωντο ἀπλέτῳ, Μαρδόνιον ἐν αἰτίῃ τιθέντες. οὐκ οὕτω δὲ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα οἱ Πέρσαι ἐποίευν ὡς περὶ αὐτῷ Ξέρξῃ δειμαίνοντες.

100. Καὶ περὶ Πέρσας μὲν ἦν ταῦτα τὸν πάντα μεταξὺ χρόνον γενόμενον, μέχρι οὗ Ξέρξης αὐτός σφεας ἀπικόμενος ἔπαυσε. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν Ξέρξην συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίης ποιεύμενον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ αὐτὸν δρησμὸν βουλεύειν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνέων, φροντίσας πρὸς ἑωυτὸν ὡς δώσει δίκην ἀναγνώσας βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καί οἱ κρέσσον εἴη ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἢ κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἢ αὐτὸν καλῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ὑπὲρ μεγάλων αἰωρηθέντα· πλέον μέντοι ἔφερέ οἱ ἡ γνώμη κατεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα· λογισάμενος ὧν ταῦτα προσέφερε τὸν λόγον τόνδε. "Δέσποτα, μήτε λυπέο μήτε συμφορὴν μηδεμίαν μεγάλην ποιεῦ τοῦδε τοῦ γεγονότος εἵνεκα πρήγματος. οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγὼν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων. σοὶ δὲ οὔτε τις τούτων τῶν τὸ πᾶν σφίσι ἤδη δοκεόντων κατεργάσθαι ἀποβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πειρήσεται ἀντιωθῆναι οὔτ' ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου τῆσδε· οἵ τε ἡμῖν ἠντιώθησαν, ἔδοσαν δίκας. εἰ μέν νυν δοκέει, αὐτίκα πειρώμεθα τῆς Πελοποννήσου· εἰ δὲ καὶ δοκέει ἐπισχεῖν, παρέχει ποιέειν ταῦτα. μηδὲ δυσθύμεε· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι Ἕλλησι οὐδεμία ἔκδυσις μὴ οὐ δόντας λόγον τῶν ἐποίησαν νῦν τε καὶ πρότερον εἶναι σοὺς δούλους. μάλιστα μέν νυν ταῦτα ποίεε· εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι βεβούλευται αὐτὸν ἀπελαύνοντα ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιήν, ἄλλην ἔχω καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε βουλήν. σὺ

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their tunics, and cried and lamented without ceasing, holding Mardonius to blame; and it was not so much in grief for their ships that they did this as because they feared for Xerxes himself.

100. Such was the plight of the Persians for all the time until the coming of Xerxes himself ended it. But Mardonius, seeing that Xerxes was greatly distressed by reason of the sea-fight, and suspecting that he planned flight from Athens, considered with himself that he would be punished for over-persuading the king to march against Hellas, and that it was better for him to risk the chance of either subduing Hellas or dying honourably by flying at a noble quarry; yet his hope rather inclined to the subduing of Hellas; wherefore taking all this into account he made this proposal: "Sire, be not grieved nor greatly distressed by reason of this that has befallen us. It is not on things of wood that all the issue hangs for us, but on men and horses; and there is not one of these men, who think that they have now won a crowning victory, that will disembark from his ship and essay to withstand you, no, nor anyone from this mainland; they that have withstood us have paid the penalty. If then it so please you, let us straightway attack the Peloponnese; or if it please you to wait, that also we can do. Be not cast down; for the Greeks have no way of escape from being accountable for their former and their latter deeds, and becoming your slaves. It is best then that you should do as I have said; but if you are resolved that you will lead your army away, even then I have another

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Πέρσας, βασιλεῦ, μὴ ποιήσῃς καταγελάστους γενέσθαι Ἕλλησι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν Πέρσῃσί τοί τι δεδήληται τῶν πρηγμάτων, οὐδ' ἐρέεις ὅκου ἐγενόμεθα ἄνδρες κακοί. εἰ δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Κύπριοί τε καὶ Κίλικες κακοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν πρὸς Πέρσας τοῦτο προσήκει τὸ πάθος. ἤδη ὦν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ Πέρσαι τοι αἴτιοι εἰσί, ἐμοὶ πείθεο· εἴ τοι δέδοκται μὴ παραμένειν, σὺ μὲν ἐς ἤθεα τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀπέλαυνε τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπάγων τὸ πολλόν, ἐμὲ δὲ σοὶ χρὴ τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρασχεῖν δεδουλωμένην, τριήκοντα μυριάδας τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον."

101. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ξέρξης ὡς ἐκ κακῶν ἐχάρη τε καὶ ἥσθη, πρὸς Μαρδόνιόν τε βουλευσάμενος ἔφη ὑποκρινέεσθαι ὁκότερον ποιήσει τούτων. ὡς δὲ ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι, ἔδοξέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρτεμισίην ἐς συμβουλίην μεταπέμψασθαι, ὅτι πρότερον ἐφαίνετο μούνη νοέουσα τὰ ποιητέα ἦν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἡ Ἀρτεμισίη, μεταστησάμενος τοὺς ἄλλους τούς τε συμβούλους Περσέων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἔλεξε Ξέρξης τάδε. "Κελεύει με Μαρδόνιος μένοντα αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, λέγων ὥς μοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς οὐδενὸς μεταίτιοι πάθεος εἰσί, ἀλλὰ βουλομένοισί σφι γένοιτ' ἂν ἀπόδεξις. ἐμὲ ὦν ἢ ταῦτα κελεύει ποιέειν, ἢ αὐτὸς ἐθέλει τριήκοντα μυριάδας ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ παρασχεῖν μοι τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεδουλωμένην, αὐτὸν δέ με κελεύει ἀπελαύνειν σὺν τῷ λοιπῷ στρατῷ ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἐμά. σὺ ὦν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβού-

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plan. Do not, O king, make the Persians a laughing-stock to the Greeks; for if you have suffered harm, it is by no fault of the Persians, nor can you say that we have anywhere done less than brave men should; and if Phoenicians and Egyptians and Cyprians and Cilicians have so done, it is not the Persians who have any part in this disaster. Wherefore since the Persians are nowise to blame, be guided by me; if you are resolved that you will not remain, do you march away homewards with the greater part of your army; but it is for me to enslave and deliver Hellas to you, with three hundred thousand of your host whom I will choose."

101. When Xerxes heard that, he was as glad and joyful as a man in his evil case might be, and said to Mardonius that he would answer him when he had first taken counsel which of the two plans he would follow; and as he consulted with those Persians whom he summoned, he was fain to bid Artemisia too to the council, because he saw that she alone at the former sitting had discerned what was best to do. When Artemisia came, Xerxes bade all others withdraw, both Persian councillors and guards, and said to her: "It is Mardonius' counsel that I should abide here and attack the Peloponnese; for the Persians, he says, and the land army are nowise to blame for our disaster, and of that they would willingly give proof. Wherefore it is his counsel that I should do this; else he offers to choose out three hundred thousand men of the army and deliver Hellas to me enslaved, while I myself by his counsel march away homeward with the rest of the host. Now therefore I ask of you:

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λευσας τῆς γενομένης οὐκ ἐῶσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος."

102. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβουλεύετο, ἣ δὲ λέγει τάδε. "Βασιλεῦ, χαλεπὸν μὲν ἐστὶ συμβουλευομένῳ τυχεῖν τὰ ἄριστα εἴπασαν, ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι δοκέει μοι αὐτὸν μέν σε ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιον δέ, εἰ ἐθέλει τε καὶ ὑποδέκεται ταῦτα ποιήσειν, αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν σὺν τοῖσι ἐθέλει. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἢν καταστρέψῃται τὰ φησὶ θέλειν καί οἱ προχωρήσῃ τὰ νοέων λέγει, σὸν τὸ ἔργον ὦ δέσποτα γίνεται· οἱ γὰρ σοὶ δοῦλοι κατεργάσαντο. τοῦτο δὲ ἢν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται σέο τε περιεόντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν· ἢν γὰρ σύ τε περιῇς καὶ οἶκος ὁ σός, πολλοὺς πολλάκις ἀγῶνας δραμέονται περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Μαρδονίου δέ, ἤν τι πάθῃ, λόγος οὐδεὶς γίνεται, οὐδέ τι νικῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶσι, δοῦλον σὸν ἀπολέσαντες· σὺ δέ, τῶν εἵνεκα τὸν στόλον ἐποιήσαο, πυρώσας τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπελᾷς."

103. Ἥσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλίῃ Ξέρξης· λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τά περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔμενε ἂν δοκέειν ἐμοί· οὕτω καταρρωδήκεε. ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν Ἀρτεμισίην, ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐς Ἔφεσον· νόθοι γὰρ τινὲς παῖδές οἱ συνέσποντο.

104. Συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον Ἑρμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ

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as you did rightly in counselling me against the late sea-fight, so now counsel me as to which of these two things I shall be best advised to do."

102. Being thus asked for advice she replied: "It is difficult, O king, to answer your asking for advice by saying that which is best; but in the present turn of affairs I think it best that you march away back, and that Mardonius, if he wills and promises to do as he says, be left here with those whom he desires. For if he subdue all that he offers to subdue, and prosper in the purpose wherewith he speaks, the achievement, Sire, is yours; for it will be your servants that have wrought it. But if again the issue be contrary to Mardonius' opinion, it is no great misfortune so long as you and all that household of yours be safe; for while you and they of your house are safe, many a time and oft will the Greeks have to fight for their lives. As for Mardonius, if aught ill befall him, it is no matter for that; nor will any victory of the Greeks be a victory in truth, when they have but slain your servant; but as for you, you will be marching home after the burning of Athens, which thing was the whole purpose of your expedition."

103. Artemisia's counsel pleased Xerxes; for it happened that she spoke his own purpose; in truth I think that he would not have remained, though all men and women had counselled him so to do; so panic-stricken was he. Having then thanked Artemisia, he sent her away to carry his sons to Ephesus; for he had some bastard sons with him.

104. With these sons he sent Hermotimus as guardian; this man was by birth of Pedasa, and the

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οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων παρὰ βασιλέι·[1] [οἱ δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέουσι ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ· ἐν δὲ τοῖσι Πηδάσοισι τουτέοισι τοιόνδε συμφέρεται πρῆγμα γίνεσθαι· ἐπεὰν τοῖσι ἀμφικτυόσι πᾶσι τοῖσι ἀμφὶ ταύτης οἰκέουσι τῆς πόλιος μέλλῃ τι ἐντὸς χρόνου ἔσεσθαι χαλεπόν, τότε ἡ ἱερείη αὐτόθι τῆς Ἀθηναίης φύει πώγωνα μέγαν. τοῦτο δέ σφι δὶς ἤδη ἐγένετο.

105. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν Πηδασέων ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἦν] τῷ μεγίστῃ τίσις ἤδη ἀδικηθέντι ἐγένετο πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. ἁλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ πωλεόμενον ὠνέεται Πανιώνιος ἀνὴρ Χῖος, ὃς τὴν ζόην κατεστήσατο ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων· ὅκως γὰρ κτήσαιτο παῖδας εἴδεος ἐπαμμένους, ἐκτάμνων ἀγινέων ἐπώλεε ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ Ἔφεσον χρημάτων μεγάλων. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι τιμιώτεροι εἰσὶ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι πίστιος εἵνεκα τῆς πάσης τῶν ἐνορχίων. ἄλλους τε δὴ ὁ Πανιώνιος ἐξέταμε πολλούς, ἅτε ποιεύμενος ἐκ τούτου τὴν ζόην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτον. καὶ οὐ γὰρ τὰ πάντα ἐδυστύχεε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος, ἀπικνέεται ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων παρὰ βασιλέα μετ' ἄλλων δώρων, χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος πάντων τῶν εὐνούχων ἐτιμήθη μάλιστα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ.

106. Ὡς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Περσικὸν ὅρμα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐὼν ἐν Σάρδισι, ἐνθαῦτα καταβὰς κατὰ δή τι πρῆγμα ὁ Ἑρμότιμος ἐς γῆν τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χῖοι μὲν νέμονται Ἀταρνεὺς δὲ καλέεται, εὑρίσκει τὸν Πανιώνιον ἐνθαῦτα. ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλοὺς καὶ φιλίους λόγους, πρῶτα μέν οἱ καταλέγων ὅσα αὐτὸς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔχοι ἀγαθά, δεύτερα δέ οἱ ὑπισχνεύμενος

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most honoured by Xerxes of all his eunuchs. The people of Pedasa dwell above Halicarnassus. This happens among these people: when aught untoward is about to befall within a certain time all those that dwell about their city, the priestess of Athene then grows a great beard. This had already happened to them twice.

105. Hermotimus, who came from this place Pedasa, had achieved a fuller vengeance for wrong done to him than had any man within my knowledge. Being taken captive by enemies and exposed for sale, he was bought by one Panionius of Chios, a man that had set himself to earn a livelihood out of most wicked practices; he would procure beautiful boys and castrate and take them to Sardis and Ephesus, where he sold them for a great price; for the foreigners value eunuchs more than perfect men, by reason of the full trust that they have in them. Now among the many whom Panionius had castrated in the way of trade was Hermotimus, who was not in all things unfortunate; for he was brought from Sardis among other gifts to the king, and as time went on he stood higher in Xerxes' favour than any other eunuch.

106. Now while the king was at Sardis and there preparing to lead his Persian armament against Athens, Hermotimus came for some business that he had in hand down to the part of Mysia which is inhabited by Chians and called Atarneus, and there he found Panionius. Perceiving who he was, he held long and friendly converse with him; "it is to you," he said, "that I owe all this prosperity of

[1] The words in brackets are probably an interpolation, from i. 175, where they occur more appropriately.

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ἀντὶ τούτων ὅσα μιν ἀγαθὰ ποιήσει ἢν κομίσας τοὺς οἰκέτας οἰκέῃ ἐκείνῃ, ὥστε ὑποδεξάμενον ἄσμενον τοὺς λόγους τὸν Πανιώνιον κομίσαι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα. ὡς δὲ ἄρα πανοικίῃ μιν περιέλαβε, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἑρμότιμος τάδε. "Ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἤδη μάλιστα ἀπ' ἔργων ἀνοσιωτάτων τὸν βίον κτησάμενε, τί σε ἐγὼ κακὸν ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν τίς σε προγόνων ἐργάσατο, ἢ σὲ ἢ τῶν σῶν τινα, ὅτι με ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐποίησας τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι; ἐδόκεές τε θεοὺς λήσειν οἷα ἐμηχανῶ τότε· οἵ σε ποιήσαντα ἀνόσια, νόμῳ δικαίῳ χρεώμενοι, ὑπήγαγον ἐς χεῖρας τὰς ἐμάς, ὥστε σε μὴ μέμψασθαι τὴν ἀπ' ἐμέο τοι ἐσομένην δίκην." ὡς δέ οἱ ταῦτα ὠνείδισε, ἀχθέντων τῶν παίδων ἐς ὄψιν ἠναγκάζετο ὁ Πανιώνιος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ παίδων τεσσέρων ἐόντων τὰ αἰδοῖα ἀποτάμνειν, ἀναγκαζόμενος δὲ ἐποίεε ταῦτα· αὐτοῦ τε, ὡς ταῦτα ἐργάσατο, οἱ παῖδες ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀπέταμνον. Πανιώνιον μέν νυν οὕτω περιῆλθε ἥ τε τίσις καὶ Ἑρμότιμος.

107. Ξέρξης δὲ ὡς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπέτρεψε Ἀρτεμισίῃ ἀπάγειν ἐς Ἔφεσον, καλέσας Μαρδόνιον ἐκέλευσέ μιν τῆς στρατιῆς διαλέγειν τοὺς βούλεται, καὶ ποιέειν τοῖσι λόγοισι τὰ ἔργα πειρώμενον ὅμοια. ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κελεύσαντος βασιλέος τὰς νέας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκ τοῦ Φαλήρου ἀπῆγον ὀπίσω ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὡς τάχεος εἶχε ἕκαστος, διαφυλαξούσας τὰς σχεδίας πορευθῆναι βασιλέι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἦσαν Ζωστῆρος πλέοντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνατείνουσι γὰρ ἄκραι

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mine; now if you will bring your household and dwell here, I will make you prosperous in return,"—promising this and that; Panionius accepted his offer gladly, and brought his children and his wife. But Hermotimus, having got the man and all his household in his power, said to him: "Tell me, you that have made a livelihood out of the wickedest trade on earth! what harm had I or any of my forefathers done to you, to you or yours, that you made me to be no man, but a thing of nought? ay, you thought that the gods would have no knowledge of your devices of old; but their just law has brought you for your wicked deeds into my hands, and now you shall be well content with the fulness of that justice which I will execute upon you." With these words of reproach, he brought Panionius' sons before him and compelled him to castrate all four of them, his own children; this Panionius was compelled to do; which done, the sons were compelled to castrate their father in turn. Thus was Panionius overtaken by vengeance and by Hermotimus.

107. Having given his sons to Artemisia's charge to be carried to Ephesus, Xerxes called Mardonius to him and bade him choose out whom he would from the army, and make his words good so far as endeavour availed. For that day matters went thus far; in the night, the admirals by the king's command put out to sea from Phalerum and made for the Hellespont again with all speed, to guard the bridges for the king's passage. When the foreigners came near to the "Girdle"[1] in their course, they thought that certain little headlands, which here jut

[1] A promontory on the west coast of Attica, between Piraeus and Sunium.

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λεπταὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης, ἔδοξάν τε νέας εἶναι καὶ ἔφευγον ἐπὶ πολλόν· χρόνῳ δὲ μαθόντες ὅτι οὐ νέες εἶεν ἀλλ' ἄκραι, συλλεχθέντες ἐκομίζοντο.

108. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγίνετο, ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες κατὰ χώρην μένοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν πεζὸν ἤλπιζον καὶ τὰς νέας εἶναι περὶ Φάληρον, ἐδόκεόν τε ναυμαχήσειν σφέας παραρτέοντό τε ὡς ἀλεξησόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπύθοντο τὰς νέας οἰχωκυίας, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκεε ἐπιδιώκειν. τὸν μέν νυν ναυτικὸν τὸν Ξέρξεω στρατὸν οὐκ ἐπεῖδον διώξαντες μέχρι Ἄνδρου, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἀπικόμενοι ἐβουλεύοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν γνώμην ἀπεδείκνυτο διὰ νήσων τραπομένους καὶ ἐπιδιώξαντας τὰς νέας πλέειν ἰθέως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὰς γεφύρας· Εὐρυβιάδης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίην ταύτῃ γνώμην ἐτίθετο, λέγων ὡς εἰ λύσουσι τὰς σχεδίας, τοῦτ' ἂν μέγιστον πάντων σφι κακῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐργάσαιτο. εἰ γὰρ ἀναγκασθείη ὁ Πέρσης μένειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, πειρῷτο ἂν ἡσυχίην μὴ ἄγειν, ὡς ἄγοντι μέν οἱ ἡσυχίην οὔτε τι προχωρέειν οἷόν τε ἔσται τῶν πρηγμάτων οὔτε τις κομιδὴ τὰ ὀπίσω φανήσεται, λιμῷ τέ οἱ ἡ στρατιὴ διαφθερέεται, ἐπιχειρέοντι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἔργου ἐχομένῳ πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην οἷά τε ἔσται προσχωρῆσαι κατὰ πόλις τε καὶ κατὰ ἔθνεα, ἤτοι ἁλισκομένων γε ἢ πρὸ τούτου ὁμολογεόντων· τροφήν τε ἕξειν σφέας τὸν ἐπέτειον αἰεὶ τὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καρπόν. ἀλλὰ δοκέειν γὰρ νικηθέντα τῇ ναυμαχίῃ οὐ μενέειν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὸν Πέρσην· ἐατέον ὦν εἶναι φεύγειν, ἐς ὃ ἔλθοι φεύγων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ποιέεσθαι ἤδη τὸν

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out from the mainland, were ships, and they fled for a long way; but learning at last that they were no ships but headlands they drew together and went on their way.

108. When it was day, the Greeks saw the land army abiding where it had been and supposed the ships also to be at Phalerum; and thinking that there would be a sea-fight they prepared to defend themselves. But when they learnt that the ships were gone, they straightway resolved on pursuit; so they pursued Xerxes' fleet as far as Andros, but had no sight of it; and when they came to Andros they held a council there. Themistocles declared his opinion that they should hold their course through the islands, and having pursued after the ships should sail forthwith to the Hellespont to break the bridges; but Eurybiades offered a contrary opinion, saying that to break the bridges would be the greatest harm that they could do to Hellas. "For," said he, "if the Persian be cut off and compelled to remain in Europe, he will essay not to be inactive, seeing that if he be inactive neither can his cause prosper nor can he find any way of return home, but his army will perish of hunger; but if he be adventurous and busy, it may well be that every town and nation in Europe may join itself to him severally, by conquest or ere that by compact; and he will live on whatsoever yearly fruits of the earth Hellas produces. But, as I think that the Persian will not remain in Europe after his defeat in the sea-fight, let us suffer him to flee, till he come in his flight to his own country; and thereafter let it be that country and not ours that is at stake in the war."

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ἀγῶνα ἐκέλευε. ταύτης δὲ εἴχοντο τῆς γνώμης καὶ Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἄλλων οἱ στρατηγοί.

109. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε ὅτι οὐ πείσει τούς γε πολλοὺς πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης, μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (οὗτοι γὰρ μάλιστα ἐκπεφευγότων περιημέκτεον, ὁρμέατό τε ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέειν καὶ ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν βαλόμενοι, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι μὴ βουλοίατο) ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πολλοῖσι παρεγενόμην καὶ πολλῷ πλέω ἀκήκοα τοιάδε γενέσθαι, ἄνδρας ἐς ἀναγκαίην ἀπειληθέντας νενικημένους ἀναμάχεσθαί τε καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν προτέρην κακότητα. ἡμεῖς δέ, εὕρημα γὰρ εὑρήκαμεν ἡμέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, νέφος τοσοῦτο ἀνθρώπων ἀνωσάμενοι, μὴ διώκωμεν ἄνδρας φεύγοντας. τάδε γὰρ οὐκ ἡμεῖς κατεργασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ θεοί τε καὶ ἥρωες, οἳ ἐφθόνησαν ἄνδρα ἕνα τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης βασιλεῦσαι ἐόντα ἀνόσιόν τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον· ὃς τά τε ἱρὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἐν ὁμοίῳ ἐποιέετο, ἐμπιπράς τε καὶ καταβάλλων τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα· ὃς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀπεμαστίγωσε πέδας τε κατῆκε. ἀλλ' εὖ γὰρ ἔχει ἐς τὸ παρεὸν ἡμῖν, νῦν μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταμείναντας ἡμέων τε αὐτῶν ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τῶν οἰκετέων, καί τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι καταπλέωμεν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ἰωνίης." ταῦτα ἔλεγε ἀποθήκην μέλλων ποιήσασθαι ἐς τὸν Πέρσην, ἵνα ἢν ἄρα τί μιν καταλαμβάνῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίων πάθος ἔχῃ ἀποστροφήν· τά περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.

110. Θεμιστοκλέης μὲν ταῦτα λέγων διέβαλλε,

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With that opinion the rest of the Peloponnesian admirals also agreed.

109. When Themistocles perceived that he could not persuade the greater part of them to sail to the Hellespont, he turned to the Athenians (for they were the angriest at the Persians' escape, and they were minded to sail to the Hellespont even by themselves, if the rest would not) and thus addressed them: "This I have often seen with my eyes, and much oftener heard, that beaten men when they be driven to bay will rally and retrieve their former mishap. Wherefore I say to you,—as it is to a fortunate chance that we owe ourselves and Hellas, and have driven away so mighty a cloud of enemies, let us not pursue after men that flee. For it is not we that have won this victory, but the gods and the heroes, who deemed Asia and Europe too great a realm for one man to rule, and that a wicked man and an impious; one that dealt alike with temples and homes, and burnt and overthrew the images of the gods,—yea, that scourged the sea and threw fetters thereinto. But as it is well with us for the nonce, let us abide now in Hellas and take thought for ourselves and our households; let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away; and when the next spring comes let us set sail for the Hellespont and Ionia." This he said with intent to put somewhat to his credit with the Persian, so that he might have a place of refuge if ever (as might chance) he should suffer aught at the hands of the Athenians; and indeed it did so happen.

110. Thus spoke Themistocles with intent to

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Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ καὶ πρότερον δεδογμένος εἶναι σοφὸς ἐφάνη ἐὼν ἀληθέως σοφός τε καὶ εὔβουλος, πάντως ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν λέγοντι πείθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὗτοί οἱ ἀνεγνωσμένοι ἦσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης ἄνδρας ἀπέπεμπε ἔχοντας πλοῖον, τοῖσι ἐπίστευε σιγᾷν ἐς πᾶσαν βάσανον ἀπικνεομένοισι τὰ αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο βασιλέι φράσαι· τῶν καὶ Σίκιννος ὁ οἰκέτης αὖτις ἐγένετο· οἳ ἐπείτε ἀπίκοντο πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οἳ μὲν κατέμενον ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ, Σίκιννος δὲ ἀναβὰς παρὰ Ξέρξην ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἔπεμψέ με Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Νεοκλέος, στρατηγὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πάντων ἄριστος καὶ σοφώτατος, φράσοντά τοι ὅτι Θεμιστοκλέης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, σοὶ βουλόμενος ὑπουργέειν, ἔσχε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰς νέας βουλομένους διώκειν καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γεφύρας λύειν. καὶ νῦν κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν κομίζεο." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα σημήναντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω.

111. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπείτε σφι ἀπέδοξε μήτ' ἐπιδιώκειν ἔτι προσωτέρω τῶν βαρβάρων τὰς νέας μήτε πλέειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον λύσοντας τὸν πόρον, τὴν Ἄνδρον περικατέατο ἐξελεῖν ἐθέλοντες. πρῶτοι γὰρ Ἄνδριοι νησιωτέων αἰτηθέντες πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέος χρήματα οὐκ ἔδοσαν, ἀλλὰ προϊσχομένου Θεμιστοκλέος λόγον τόνδε, ὡς ἥκοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἑωυτοὺς ἔχοντες δύο θεοὺς μεγάλους, πειθώ τε καὶ ἀναγκαίην, οὕτω τέ σφι κάρτα δοτέα εἶναι χρήματα, ὑπεκρίναντο πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοντες ὡς κατὰ λόγον ἦσαν ἄρα αἱ Ἀθῆναι μεγάλαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονες, αἳ καὶ θεῶν χρηστῶν ἥκοιεν εὖ, ἐπεὶ Ἀνδρίους γε εἶναι

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deceive, and the Athenians obeyed him; for since he had ever been esteemed wise and now had shown himself to be both wise and prudent, they were ready to obey whatsoever he said. Having won them over, Themistocles straightway sent men in a boat whom he could trust not to reveal under any question whatsoever the message which he charged them to deliver to the king; of whom one was again his servant Sicinnus. When these men came to Attica, the rest abode with the boat, and Sicinnus went up to Xerxes; "Themistocles son of Neocles," he said, "who is the Athenian general, and of all the allies the worthiest and wisest, has sent me to tell you this: Themistocles the Athenian has out of his desire to do you a service stayed the Greeks when they would pursue your ships and break the bridges of the Hellespont; and now he bids you go your way, none hindering you." With that message, the men returned in their boat.

111. But the Greeks, now that they were no longer minded to pursue the foreigners' ships farther or sail to the Hellespont and break the way of passage, beleaguered Andros that they might take it. For the men of that place, the first islanders of whom Themistocles demanded money, would not give it; but when Themistocles gave them to understand that the Athenians had come with two great gods to aid them, even Persuasion and Necessity, and that therefore the Andrians must assuredly give money, they answered and said, "It is then but reasonable that Athens is great and prosperous, being blest with serviceable gods; as for us Andrians, we are but

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γεωπείνας ἐς τὰ μέγιστα ἀνήκοντας, καὶ θεοὺς δύο ἀχρήστους οὐκ ἐκλείπειν σφέων τὴν νῆσον ἀλλ' αἰεὶ φιλοχωρέειν, πενίην τε καὶ ἀμηχανίην, καὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐπηβόλους ἐόντας Ἀνδρίους οὐ δώσειν χρήματα· οὐδέκοτε γὰρ τῆς ἑωυτῶν ἀδυναμίης τὴν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν εἶναι κρέσσω.

112. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ὑποκρινάμενοι καὶ οὐ δόντες τὰ χρήματα ἐπολιορκέοντο. Θεμιστοκλέης δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο πλεονεκτέων, ἐσπέμπων ἐς τὰς ἄλλας νήσους ἀπειλητηρίους λόγους αἴτεε χρήματα διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγγέλων, χρεώμενος τοῖσι καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα ἐχρήσατο, λέγων ὡς εἰ μὴ δώσουσι τὸ αἰτεόμενον, ἐπάξει τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πολιορκέων ἐξαιρήσει. λέγων ταῦτα συνέλεγε χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ Καρυστίων τε καὶ Παρίων, οἳ πυνθανόμενοι τήν τε Ἄνδρον ὡς πολιορκέοιτο διότι ἐμήδισε, καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα ὡς εἴη ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ τῶν στρατηγῶν, δείσαντες ταῦτα ἔπεμπον χρήματα. εἰ δὲ δὴ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι ἔδοσαν νησιωτέων, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλους δοῦναι καὶ οὐ τούτους μούνους. καίτοι Καρυστίοισί γε οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβολὴ ἐγένετο· Πάριοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα χρήμασι ἱλασάμενοι διέφυγον τὸ στράτευμα. Θεμιστοκλέης μέν νυν ἐξ Ἄνδρου ὁρμώμενος χρήματα παρὰ νησιωτέων ἐκτᾶτο λάθρῃ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν.

113. Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Ξέρξην ἐπισχόντες ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίην ἐξήλαυνον ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν. ἔδοξε γὰρ Μαρδονίῳ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι βασιλέα, ἅμα δὲ ἀνωρίη εἶναι τοῦ ἔτεος πολεμέειν, χειμερίσαι τε ἄμεινον εἶναι ἐν

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blest with a plentiful lack of land, and we have two unserviceable gods who never quit our island but are ever fain to dwell there, even Poverty and Impotence; being possessed of these gods, we of Andros will give no money; for the power of Athens can never be stronger than our inability."

112. So for thus answering and refusing to give they were besieged. There was no end to Themistocles' avarice; using the same agents whom he had used with the king, he sent threatening messages to the other islands, demanding money, and saying that if they would not give what he asked he would bring the Greek armada upon them and besiege and take their islands. Thereby he collected great sums from the Carystians and Parians; for these were informed that Andros was besieged for taking the Persian part, and that Themistocles was of all the generals the most esteemed; which so affrighted them that they sent money; and I suppose that there were other islanders too that gave, and not these alone, but I cannot with certainty say. Nevertheless the Carystians got thereby no respite from misfortune; but the Parians propitiated Themistocles with money and so escaped the armament. So Themistocles issued out from Andros and took monies from the islanders, unknown to the other generals.

113. They that were with Xerxes waited for a few days after the sea-fight and then marched away to Boeotia by the road whereby they had come; for Mardonius was minded to give the king safe conduct, and deemed the time of year unseasonable for war; it was better, he thought, to

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Θεσσαλίῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίην, ἐνθαῦτα Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέγετο πρώτους μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας πάντας τοὺς ἀθανάτους καλεομένους, πλὴν Ὑδάρνεος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ (οὗτος γὰρ οὐκ ἔφη λείψεσθαι βασιλέος), μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων τοὺς θωρηκοφόρους καὶ τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην, καὶ Μήδους τε καὶ Σάκας καὶ Βακτρίους τε καὶ Ἰνδούς, καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἵππον. ταῦτα μὲν ἔθνεα ὅλα εἵλετο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐξελέγετο κατ' ὀλίγους, τοῖσι εἴδεά τε ὑπῆρχε διαλέγων καὶ εἰ τεοῖσι τι χρηστὸν συνῄδεε πεποιημένον· ἓν δὲ πλεῖστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἱρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ τὸ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμῃ δὲ ἥσσονες. ὥστε σύμπαντας τριήκοντα μυριάδας γενέσθαι σὺν ἱππεῦσι.

114. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Μαρδόνιός τε τὴν στρατιὴν διέκρινε καὶ Ξέρξης ἦν περὶ Θεσσαλίην, χρηστήριον ἐληλύθεε ἐκ Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι, Ξέρξην αἰτέειν δίκας τοῦ Λεωνίδεω φόνου καὶ τὸ διδόμενον ἐξ ἐκείνου δέκεσθαι. πέμπουσι δὴ κήρυκα τὴν ταχίστην Σπαρτιῆται, ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέλαβε ἐοῦσαν ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Ξέρξεω ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαιμόνιοί τέ σε καὶ Ἡρακλεῖδαι οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης αἰτέουσι φόνου δίκας, ὅτι σφέων τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινας ῥυόμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα." ὁ δὲ γελάσας τε καὶ κατασχὼν πολλὸν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ ἐτύγχανε παρε-

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winter in Thessaly, and then attack the Peloponnese in the spring. When they were arrived in Thessaly, Mardonius there chose out first all the Persians called Immortals, save only Hydarnes their general, who said that he would not quit the king's person; and next, the Persian cuirassiers, and the thousand horse,[1] and the Medes and Sacae and Bactrians and Indians, alike their footmen and the rest of the horsemen. He chose these nations entire; of the rest of his allies he picked out a few from each people, the goodliest men and those that he knew to have done some good service; but the Persians that he chose (men that wore torques and bracelets)[2] were more in number than those of any other nation, and next to them the Medes; these indeed were as many as the Persians, but not so stout fighters. Thereby the whole number, with the horsemen, grew to three hundred thousand men.

114. Now while Mardonius was making choice of his army and Xerxes was in Thessaly, there came an oracle from Delphi to the Lacedaemonians, that they should demand justice of Xerxes for the slaying of Leonidas, and take what answer he should give them. The Spartans then sent a herald with all speed; who finding the army yet undivided in Thessaly, came into Xerxes' presence and thus spoke: "The Lacedaemonians and the Heraclidae of Sparta demand of you, king of the Medes! that you pay the penalty for the death of their king, whom you slew while he defended Hellas." At that Xerxes laughed; and after a long while he

[1] Two regiments of a thousand horse are mentioned in vii. 40 and 55

[2] *cp.* vi. 83.

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στεὼς Μαρδόνιος, δεικνὺς ἐς τοῦτον εἶπε "Τοιγὰρ σφι Μαρδόνιος ὅδε δίκας δώσει τοιαύτας οἵας ἐκείνοισι πρέπει."

115. Ὁ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενος τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο, Ξέρξης δὲ Μαρδόνιον ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὸν πόρον τῆς διαβάσιος ἐν πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι, ἀπάγων τῆς στρατιῆς οὐδὲν μέρος ὡς εἰπεῖν. ὅκου δὲ πορευόμενοι γινοίατο καὶ κατ' οὕστινας ἀνθρώπους, τὸν τούτων καρπὸν ἁρπάζοντες ἐσιτέοντο· εἰ δὲ καρπὸν μηδένα εὕροιεν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ποίην τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναφυομένην καὶ τῶν δενδρέων τὸν φλοιὸν περιλέποντες καὶ τὰ φύλλα καταδρέποντες κατήσθιον, ὁμοίως τῶν τε ἡμέρων καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων, καὶ ἔλειπον οὐδέν· ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεον ὑπὸ λιμοῦ. ἐπιλαβὼν δὲ λοιμός τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ δυσεντερίη κατ' ὁδὸν ἔφθειρε. τοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσέοντας αὐτῶν κατέλειπε, ἐπιτάσσων τῇσι πόλισι, ἵνα ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο ἐλαύνων, μελεδαίνειν τε καὶ τρέφειν, ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ τε τινὰς καὶ ἐν Σίρι τῆς Παιονίης καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ. ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅρμα καταλιπὼν τοῦ Διός, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤλαυνε, ἀπιὼν οὐκ ἀπέλαβε, ἀλλὰ δόντες οἱ Παίονες τοῖσι Θρήιξι ἀπαιτέοντος Ξέρξεω ἔφασαν νεμομένας ἁρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω Θρηίκων τῶν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Στρυμόνος οἰκημένων.

116. Ἔνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρῆιξ ἔργον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἑκὼν εἶναι δουλεύσειν, ἀλλ' οἴχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν

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pointed to Mardonius, who chanced to be standing by him, and said, "Then here is Mardonius, who shall pay those you speak of such penalty as befits them."

115. So the herald took that utterance and departed; but Xerxes left Mardonius in Thessaly, and himself journeying with all speed to the Hellespont came in forty-five days to the passage for crossing, bringing back with him as good as none (if one may so say) of his host. Whithersoever and to whatsoever people they came, they seized and devoured its produce; and if they found none, they would take for their eating the grass of the field, and strip the bark and pluck the leaves of the trees, garden and wild alike, leaving nothing; so starved they were for hunger. Moreover a pestilence and a dysentery broke out among them on their way, whereby they died. Some that were sick Xerxes left behind, charging the cities whither he came in his march to care for them and nourish them, some in Thessaly and some in Siris of Paeonia and in Macedonia; in Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but in his return he received it not again; for the Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon.

116. It was then that a monstrous deed was done by the Thracian king of the Bisaltae and the Crestonian country. He had refused to be of his own free will Xerxes' slave, and fled away to the

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Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσί τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ δὲ ἀλογήσαντες, ἢ ἄλλως σφι θυμὸς ἐγένετο θεήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐστρατεύοντο ἅμα τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρησαν ἀσινέες πάντες ἐξ ἐόντες, ἐξώρυξε αὐτῶν ὁ πατὴρ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς διὰ τὴν αἰτίην ταύτην.

117. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοῦτον τὸν μισθὸν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐκ τῆς Θρῃκίης πορευόμενοι ἀπίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον, ἐπειγόμενοι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τῇσι νηυσὶ διέβησαν ἐς Ἄβυδον· τὰς γὰρ σχεδίας οὐκ εὗρον ἔτι ἐντεταμένας ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χειμῶνος διαλελυμένας. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ κατεχόμενοι σιτία τε πλέω ἢ κατ' ὁδὸν ἐλάγχανον, καὶ οὐδένα τε κόσμον ἐμπιπλάμενοι καὶ ὕδατα μεταβάλλοντες ἀπέθνησκον τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ περιεόντος πολλοί. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

118. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος, ὡς ἐπειδὴ Ξέρξης ἀπελαύνων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ἀπίκετο ἐπ' Ἠιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι, ἐνθεῦτεν οὐκέτι ὁδοιπορίῃσι διεχρᾶτο, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν Ὑδάρνεϊ ἐπιτράπει ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ νεὸς Φοινίσσης ἐπιβὰς ἐκομίζετο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. πλέοντα δέ μιν ἄνεμον Στρυμονίην ὑπολαβεῖν μέγαν καὶ κυματίην. καὶ δὴ μᾶλλον γάρ τι χειμαίνεσθαι γεμούσης τῆς νεός, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐπεόντων συχνῶν Περσέων τῶν σὺν Ξέρξῃ κομιζομένων, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς δεῖμα πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα εἰρέσθαι βώσαντα τὸν κυβερνήτην εἴ τις ἐστί σφι σωτηρίη, καὶ τὸν εἶπαι "Δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι οὐδεμία, εἰ μὴ τούτων ἀπαλλαγή τις γένηται τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιβατέων."

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mountains called Rhodope; and he forbade his sons to go with the army to Hellas; but they took no account of that, for they had ever a desire to see the war, and they followed the Persians' march; for which cause, when all the six of them returned back scatheless, their father tore out their eyes.

117. This was their reward. But the Persians, journeying through Thrace to the passage, made haste to cross to Abydos in their ships; for they found the bridges no longer made fast but broken by a storm. There their march was stayed, and more food was given them than on their way; and by reason of their immoderate gorging and the change of the water which they drank, many of the army that yet remained died. The rest came with Xerxes to Sardis.

118. But there is another tale, which is this:—When Xerxes came in his march from Athens to Eïon on the Strymon, he travelled no farther than that by land, but committed his army to Hydarnes to be led to the Hellespont, and himself embarked and set sail for Asia in a Phoenician ship. In which voyage he was caught by a strong wind called Strymonian, that lifted up the waves. This storm bearing the harder upon him by reason of the heavy lading of the ship (for the Persians of his company that were on the deck were so many), the king was affrighted and cried to the ship's pilot asking him if there were any way of deliverance; whereat the man said, "Sire, there is none, except there be a riddance of these many that are on board." Hearing that, it

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καὶ Ξέρξην λέγεται ἀκούσαντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν "Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, νῦν τις διαδεξάτω ὑμέων βασιλέος κηδόμενος· ἐν ὑμῖν γὰρ οἶκε εἶναι ἐμοὶ ἡ σωτηρίη." τὸν μὲν ταῦτα λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ προσκυνέοντας ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ τὴν νέα ἐπικουφισθεῖσαν οὕτω δὴ ἀποσωθῆναι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην. ὡς δὲ ἐκβῆναι τάχιστα ἐς γῆν τὸν Ξέρξην, ποιῆσαι τοιόνδε· ὅτι μὲν ἔσωσε βασιλέος τὴν ψυχήν, δωρήσασθαι χρυσέῃ στεφάνῃ τὸν κυβερνήτην, ὅτι δὲ Περσέων πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσε, ἀποταμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

119. Οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος λέγεται λόγος περὶ τοῦ Ξέρξεω νόστου, οὐδαμῶς ἔμοιγε πιστὸς οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε τὸ Περσέων τοῦτο πάθος· εἰ γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω εἰρέθη ἐκ τοῦ κυβερνήτεω πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν μυρίῃσι γνώμῃσι μίαν οὐκ ἔχω ἀντίξοον μὴ οὐκ ἂν ποιῆσαι βασιλέα τοιόνδε, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νέα ἐόντας Πέρσας καὶ Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, τῶν δ' ἐρετέων ἐόντων Φοινίκων ὅκως οὐκ ἂν ἴσον πλῆθος τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐξέβαλε ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀλλ' ὁ μέν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ὁδῷ χρεώμενος ἅμα τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

120. Μέγα δὲ καὶ τόδε μαρτύριον· φαίνεται γὰρ Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἄβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκῃ τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ χρυσοπάστῳ. καὶ ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρῖται, λέγοντες ἔμοιγε οὐδαμῶς πιστά, πρῶτον ἐλύσατο τὴν ζώνην φεύγων ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀπίσω, ὡς ἐν ἀδείῃ ἐών. τὰ δὲ Ἄβδηρα ἵδρυται πρὸς τοῦ

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is said, Xerxes said to the Persians, "Now it is for you to prove yourselves careful for your king; for it seems that my deliverance rests with you"; whereat they did obeisance and leapt into the sea; and the ship, being thus lightened, came by these means safe to Asia. No sooner had Xerxes disembarked on land, than he made the pilot a gift of a golden crown for saving the king's life, but cut off his head for being the death of many Persians.

119. This is the other tale of Xerxes' return; but I for my part believe neither the story of the Persians' fate, nor any other part of it. For if indeed the pilot had spoken to Xerxes as aforesaid, I think that there is not one in ten thousand but would say that the king would have bidden the men on deck (who were Persians and of the best blood of Persia) descend into the ship's hold, and would have taken of the Phoenician rowers a number equal to the number of the Persians and cast them into the sea. Nay, the truth is that Xerxes did as I have already said, and returned to Asia with his army by road.

120. And herein too lies a clear proof of it: it is known that when Xerxes came to Abdera in his return he entered into bonds of friendship with its people, and gave them a golden sword and a gilt tiara; and as the people of Abdera say (but for my part I wholly disbelieve them), it was here that Xerxes in his flight back from Athens first loosed his girdle,[1] as being here in safety. Now Abdera

[1] *cp.* perhaps v. 106, where Histiaeus swears to Darius that he will not take off his tunic till he reaches Ionia; or the reference may be to a man's being εὔζωνος (with his 'loins girded up') for swift travel.

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Ἑλλησπόντου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Στρυμόνος καὶ τῆς Ἠιόνος, ὅθεν δή μιν φασὶ ἐπιβῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν νέα.

121. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπείτε οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο ἐξελεῖν τὴν Ἄνδρον, τραπόμενοι ἐς Κάρυστον καὶ δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώρην ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. πρῶτα μέν νυν τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἐξεῖλον ἀκροθίνια ἄλλα τε καὶ τριήρεας τρεῖς Φοινίσσας, τὴν μὲν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν ἀναθεῖναι, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ Σούνιον, τὴν δὲ τῷ Αἴαντι αὐτοῦ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο διεδάσαντο τὴν ληίην καὶ τὰ ἀκροθίνια ἀπέπεμψαν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νεός, ἐὼν μέγαθος δυώδεκα πηχέων· ἕστηκε δὲ οὗτος τῇ περ ὁ Μακεδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος.

122. Πέμψαντες δὲ ἀκροθίνια οἱ Ἕλληνες ες Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τὸν θεὸν κοινῇ εἰ λελάβηκε πλήρεα καὶ ἀρεστὰ τὰ ἀκροθίνια. ὁ δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήνων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔφησε ἔχειν, παρὰ Αἰγινητέων δὲ οὔ, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀριστήια τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίης. Αἰγινῆται δὲ πυθόμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἀστέρας χρυσέους, οἳ ἐπὶ ἱστοῦ χαλκέου ἑστᾶσι τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γωνίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος.

123. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῆς ληίης ἔπλεον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀριστήια δώσοντες τῷ ἀξιωτάτῳ γενομένῳ Ἑλλήνων ἀνὰ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ διένεμον τὰς ψήφους ἐπὶ τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον κρίνοντες ἐκ πάντων, ἐνθαῦτα πᾶς τις αὐτῶν ἑωυτῷ ἐτίθετο τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος δοκέων ἄριστος γενέσθαι, δεύτερα

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lies nearer to the Hellespont than the Strymon and Eïon, where they say that he took ship.

121. As for the Greeks, not being able to take Andros they betook themselves to Carystus, and having laid it waste they returned to Salamis. First of all they set apart for the gods, among other first-fruits, three Phoenician triremes, one to be dedicated at the Isthmus, where it was till my lifetime, the second at Sunium, and the third for Aias at Salamis where they were. After that, they divided the spoil and sent the firstfruits of it to Delphi; whereof was made a man's image twelve cubits high, holding in his hand the figure-head of a ship; this stood in the same place as the golden statue of Alexander the Macedonian.

122. Having sent the firstfruits to Delphi the Greeks inquired in common of the god, if the first-fruits that he had received were of full measure and if he was content therewith; whereat he said that this was so as touching what he received from all other Greeks, but not from the Aeginetans; of these he demanded the victor's prize for the sea-fight of Salamis. When the Aeginetans learnt that, they dedicated three golden stars that are set on a bronze mast, in the angle, nearest to Croesus' bowl.

123. After the division of the spoil, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, there to award the prize of excellence to him who had shown himself most worthy of it in that war. But when the admirals came and gave their divers votes at the altar of Poseidon, to judge who was first and who second among them, each of them there voted for himself, supposing himself to have done the best service, but the greater part of them united in giving the second

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δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ συνεξέπιπτον Θεμιστοκλέα κρίνοντες. οἳ μὲν δὴ ἐμουνοῦντο, Θεμιστοκλέης δὲ δευτερείοισι ὑπερεβάλλετο πολλόν.

124. Οὐ βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα κρίνειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων φθόνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεόντων ἑκάστων ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀκρίτων, ὅμως Θεμιστοκλέης ἐβώσθη τε καὶ ἐδοξώθη εἶναι ἀνὴρ πολλὸν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὅτι δὲ νικῶν οὐκ ἐτιμήθη πρὸς τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχησάντων, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπίκετο θέλων τιμηθῆναι· καί μιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο, μεγάλως δὲ ἐτίμησαν. ἀριστήια μέν νυν ἔδοσαν[1] . . Εὐρυβιάδῃ ἐλαίης στέφανον, σοφίης δὲ καὶ δεξιότητος Θεμιστοκλέι καὶ τούτῳ στέφανον ἐλαίης· ἐδωρήσαντό τέ μιν ὄχῳ τῷ ἐν Σπάρτῃ καλλιστεύσαντι. αἰνέσαντες δὲ πολλά, προέπεμψαν ἀπιόντα τριηκόσιοι Σπαρτιητέων λογάδες, οὗτοι οἵ περ ἱππέες καλέονται, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Τεγεητικῶν. μοῦνον δὴ τοῦτον πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Σπαρτιῆται προέπεμψαν.

125. Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἐνθαῦτα Τιμόδημος Ἀφιδναῖος τῶν ἐχθρῶν μὲν τῶν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐών, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, φθόνῳ καταμαργέων ἐνείκεε τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα, τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἄπιξιν προφέρων, ὡς διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔχοι τὰ γέρεα τὰ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἑωυτόν. ὁ δέ, ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐπαύετο λέγων ταῦτα ὁ Τιμόδημος, εἶπε "Οὔτω ἔχει τοι· οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐὼν Βελβινίτης

[1] Stein supposes that something is omitted before Εὐρυβιάδῃ, perhaps ἀνδραγαθίης.

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place to Themistocles. So they each gained but one vote, but Themistocles far outstripped them in votes for the second place.

124. The Greeks were too jealous to adjudge the prize, and sailed away each to his own place, leaving the matter doubtful; nevertheless, Themistocles was cried up, and all Hellas glorified him for the wisest man by far of the Greeks. But because he had not received from them that fought at Salamis the honour due to his pre-eminence, immediately afterwards he betook himself to Lacedaemon, that he might receive honour there; and the Lacedaemonians made him welcome and paid him high honour. They bestowed on Eurybiades a crown of olive as the reward of excellence, and another such crown on Themistocles for his wisdom and cleverness; and they gave him the finest chariot in Sparta; and with many words of praise, they sent him on his homeward way with the three hundred picked men of Sparta who are called Knights to escort him as far as the borders of Tegea. Themistocles was the only man of whom I have heard to whom the Spartans gave this escort.

125. But when Themistocles returned to Athens from Lacedaemon, Timodemus of Aphidnae, who was one of Themistocles' enemies but a man in nowise notable, was crazed with envy and spoke bitterly to Themistocles of his visit to Lacedaemon, saying that the honours he had from the Lacedaemonians were paid him for Athens' sake and not for his own. This he would continually be saying; till Themistocles replied, "This is the truth of the matter—had I been of Belbina[1] I had not been thus honoured

[1] An islet S. of Sunium; a typical instance of an unimportant place.

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ἐτιμήθην οὕτω πρὸς Σπαρτιητέων, οὔτ' ἂν σὺ, ὤνθρωπε, ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος." ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

126. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος ἀνὴρ ἐν Πέρσῃσι λόγιμος καὶ πρόσθε ἐών, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Πλαταιικῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι γενόμενος, ἔχων ἓξ μυριάδας στρατοῦ τοῦ Μαρδόνιος ἐξελέξατο, προέπεμπε βασιλέα μέχρι τοῦ πόρου. ὡς δὲ ὃ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ὃ δὲ ὀπίσω πορευόμενος κατὰ τὴν Παλλήνην ἐγίνετο, ἅτε Μαρδονίου τε χειμερίζοντος περὶ Θεσσαλίην τε καὶ Μακεδονίην καὶ οὐδέν κω κατεπείγοντος ἥκειν ἐς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἐδικαίου ἐντυχὼν ἀπεστεῶσι Ποτιδαιήτῃσι μὴ οὐκ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας. οἱ γὰρ Ποτιδαιῆται, ὡς βασιλεὺς παρεξεληλάκεε καὶ ὁ ναυτικὸς τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οἰχώκεε φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀπέστασαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν Παλλήνην ἔχοντες.

127. Ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Ποτίδαιαν. ὑποπτεύσας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ ταύτην ἐπολιόρκεε· εἶχον δὲ αὐτὴν Βοττιαῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Θερμαίου κόλπου ἐξαναστάντες ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ἐπεὶ δὲ σφέας εἷλε πολιορκέων, κατέσφαξε ἐξαγαγὼν ἐς λίμνην, τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδιδοῖ Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ τῷ Χαλκιδικῷ γένεϊ, καὶ οὕτω Ὀλυνθον Χαλκιδέες ἔσχον.

128. Ἐξελὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος τῇ Ποτιδαίῃ ἐντεταμένως προσεῖχε· προσέχοντι δέ οἱ προθύμως συντίθεται προδοσίην Τιμόξεινος ὁ τῶν Σκιωναίων στρατηγός, ὅντινα μὲν τρόπον ἀρχήν, ἔγωγε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται), τέλος

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by the Spartans; nor had you, sirrah, for all you are of Athens." Such was the end of that business.

126. Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who was already a notable man among the Persians and grew to be yet more so by the Plataean business, escorted the king as far as the passage with sixty thousand men of the army that Mardonius had chosen. Xerxes being now in Asia, when Artabazus came near Pallene in his return (for Mardonius was wintering in Thessaly and Macedonia and making no haste to come to the rest of his army), he thought it right that he should enslave the people of Potidaea, whom he found in revolt. For the king having marched away past the town and the Persian fleet taken flight from Salamis, Potidaea had openly revolted from the foreigners; and so too had the rest of the people of Pallene.

127. Thereupon Artabazus laid siege to Potidaea; and suspecting that Olynthus too was plotting revolt from the king, he laid siege to it also, the town being held by Bottiaeans who had been driven from the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Having besieged and taken Olynthus, he brought these men to a lake and there cut their throats, and delivered their city over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone and the Chalcidian people; and thus the Chalcidians gained possession of Olynthus.

128. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus was instant in dealing with Potidaea; and his zeal was aided by Timoxenus the general of the Scionaeans, who agreed to betray the place to him; I know not how the agreement was first made, nothing being told thereof; but the end was as I

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μέντοι τοιάδε ἐγίνετο· ὅκως βυβλίον γράψειε ἢ Τιμόξεινος ἐθέλων παρὰ Ἀρτάβαζον πέμψαι ἢ Ἀρτάβαζος παρὰ Τιμόξεινον, τοξεύματος παρὰ τὰς γλυφίδας περιειλίξαντες καὶ πτερώσαντες τὸ βυβλίον ἐτόξευον ἐς συγκείμενον χωρίον. ἐπάιστος δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ Τιμόξεινος προδιδοὺς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν· τοξεύων γὰρ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς τὸ συγκείμενον, ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου βάλλει ἀνδρὸς Ποτιδαιήτεω τὸν ὦμον, τὸν δὲ βληθέντα περιέδραμε ὅμιλος, οἷα φιλέει γίνεσθαι ἐν πολέμῳ, οἳ αὐτίκα τὸ τόξευμα λαβόντες ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ βυβλίον, ἔφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· παρῆν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Παλληναίων συμμαχίη. τοῖσι δὲ στρατηγοῖσι ἐπιλεξαμένοισι τὸ βυβλίον καὶ μαθοῦσι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς προδοσίης ἔδοξε μὴ καταπλῆξαι Τιμόξεινον προδοσίῃ τῆς Σκιωναίων πόλιος εἵνεκα, μὴ νομιζοίατο εἶναι Σκιωναῖοι ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον αἰεὶ προδόται.

129. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ἐπάιστος ἐγεγόνεε· Ἀρταβάζῳ δὲ ἐπειδὴ πολιορκέοντι ἐγεγόνεσαν τρεῖς μῆνες, γίνεται ἄμπωτις τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τέναγος γενόμενον παρήισαν ἐς τὴν Παλλήνην. ὡς δὲ τὰς δύο μὲν μοίρας διοδοιπορήκεσαν, ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι ἦσαν, τὰς διελθόντας χρῆν εἶναι ἔσω ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ, ἐπῆλθε πλημμυρὶς τῆς θαλάσσης μεγάλη, ὅση οὐδαμά κω, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι, πολλάκις γινομένη. οἱ μὲν δὴ νέειν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι διεφθεί-

[1] Probably points on each side of the notch (where the arrow lies on the string) to give the fingers better grip.

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will now show. Whenever Timoxenus wrote a letter for sending to Artabazus, or Artabazus to Timoxenus, they would wrap it round the shaft of an arrow at the notches[1] and put feathers to the letter, and shoot it to a place whereon they had agreed. But Timoxenus' plot to betray Potidaea was discovered; for Artabazus in shooting an arrow to the place agreed upon, missed it and hit the shoulder of a man of Potidaea; and a throng gathering quickly round the man when he was struck (which is a thing that ever happens in war), they straightway took the arrow and found the letter and carried it to their generals, the rest of their allies of Pallene being also there present. The generals read the letter and perceived who was the traitor, but they resolved for Scione's sake that they would not smite Timoxenus to the earth with a charge of treason, lest so the people of Scione should ever after be called traitors.

129. Thus was Timoxenus' treachery brought to light. But when Artabazus had besieged Potidaea for three months, there was a great ebb-tide in the sea, lasting for a long while, and when the foreigners saw that the sea was turned to a marsh they made to pass over it into Pallene. But when they had made their way over two fifths of it and three yet remained to cross ere they could be in Pallene, there came a great flood-tide, higher, as the people of the place say, than any one of the many that had been before; and some of them that knew not how

"The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put over it to hide it" (How and Wells).

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ροντο, τοὺς δὲ ἐπισταμένους οἱ Ποτιδαιῆται ἐπιπλώσαντες πλοίοισι ἀπώλεσαν. αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτιδαιῆται τῆς τε ῥηχίης καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ πάθεος γενέσθαι τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ποσειδέωνος ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἠσέβησαν οὗτοι τῶν Περσέων οἵ περ καὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης· αἴτιον δὲ τοῦτο λέγοντες εὖ λέγειν ἔμοιγε δοκέουσι. τοὺς δὲ περιγενομένους ἀπῆγε Ἀρτάβαζος ἐς Θεσσαλίην παρὰ Μαρδόνιον. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ προπέμψαντες βασιλέα οὕτω ἔπρηξαν.

130. Ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ὁ Ξέρξεω περιγενόμενος ὡς προσέμιξε τῇ Ἀσίῃ φεύγων ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος καὶ βασιλέα τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν ἐκ Χερσονήσου διεπόρθμευσε ἐς Ἄβυδον, ἐχειμέριζε ἐν Κύμῃ. ἔαρος δὲ ἐπιλάμψαντος πρώιος συνελέγετο ἐς Σάμον· αἱ δὲ τῶν νεῶν καὶ ἐχειμέρισαν αὐτοῦ· Περσέων δὲ καὶ Μήδων οἱ πλεῦνες ἐπεβάτευον. στρατηγοὶ δέ σφι ἐπῆλθον Μαρδόντης τε ὁ Βαγαίου καὶ Ἀρταΰντης ὁ Ἀρταχαίεω· συνῆρχε δὲ τούτοισι καὶ ἀδελφιδέος αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω προσελομένου Ἰθαμίτρης. ἅτε δὲ μεγάλως πληγέντες, οὐ προήισαν ἀνωτέρω τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης, οὐδ' ἐπηνάγκαζε οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κατήμενοι ἐφύλασσον τὴν Ἰωνίην μὴ ἀποστῇ, νέας ἔχοντες σὺν τῇσι Ἰάσι τριηκοσίας. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ προσεδέκοντο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλεύσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσειν σφι τὴν ἑωυτῶν φυλάσσειν, σταθμεύμενοι ὅτι σφέας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν φεύγοντας ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἀλλ' ἄσμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο. κατὰ μέν νυν τὴν θάλασσαν ἐσσωμένοι ἦσαν τῷ θυμῷ, πεζῇ δὲ ἐδόκεον πολλῷ κρατήσειν

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to swim were drowned, and those that knew were slain by the Potidaeans, who came among them in boats. The Potidaeans say that the cause of the high sea and flood and the Persian disaster lay herein, that those same Persians who now perished in the sea had profaned the temple and the image of Poseidon that was in the suburb of the city; and I think that in saying that this was the cause they say rightly. They that escaped alive were led away by Artabazus to Mardonius in Thessaly. Thus fared these men, who had been the king's escort.

130. All that was left of Xerxes' fleet, having in its flight from Salamis touched the coast of Asia and ferried the king and his army over from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyme. Then early in the first dawn of spring they mustered at Samos, where some of the ships had wintered; the most of their fighting men were Persians and Medes. Mardontes son of Bagaeus and Artaÿntes son of Artachaees came to be their admirals, and Artaÿntes chose also his own nephew Ithamitres to have a share in the command. But by reason of the heavy blow dealt them they went no further out to sea westwards, nor was any man instant that they should so do, but they lay off Samos keeping watch against a revolt in Ionia, the whole number of their ships, Ionian and other, being three hundred; nor in truth did they expect that the Greeks would come to Ionia, but rather that they would be content to guard their own country; thus they inferred, because the Greeks had not pursued them when they fled from Salamis, but had been glad to be quit of them. In regard to the sea, the Persians were at heart beaten men, but they supposed that

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τὸν Μαρδόνιον. ἐόντες δὲ ἐν Σάμῳ ἅμα μὲν ἐβουλεύοντο εἴ τι δυναίατο κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ποιέειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὠτακούστεον ὅκῃ πεσέεται τὰ Μαρδονίου πρήγματα.

131. Τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας τό τε ἔαρ γινόμενον ἤγειρε καὶ Μαρδόνιος ἐν Θεσσαλίῃ ἐών. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεζὸς οὔκω συνελέγετο, ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγιναν, νέες ἀριθμὸν δέκα καὶ ἑκατόν. στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ ναύαρχος ἦν Λευτυχίδης ὁ Μενάρεος τοῦ Ἡγησίλεω τοῦ Ἱπποκρατίδεω τοῦ Λευτυχίδεω τοῦ Ἀναξίλεω τοῦ Ἀρχιδήμου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω τοῦ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Χαρίλεω τοῦ Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω τοῦ Πρυτάνιος τοῦ Εὐρυφῶντος τοῦ Προκλέος τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὕλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἐὼν τῆς ἑτέρης οἰκίης τῶν βασιλέων.[1] οὗτοι πάντες, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν μετὰ Λευτυχίδεα πρώτων καταλεχθέντων, οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλέες ἐγένοντο Σπάρτης. Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἐστρατήγεε Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφρονος.

132. Ὡς δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν πᾶσαι αἱ νέες, ἀπίκοντο Ἰώνων ἄγγελοι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἳ καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τούτων ἀπικόμενοι ἐδέοντο Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν Ἰωνίην· τῶν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Βασιληίδεω ἦν· οἳ στασιῶται σφίσι γενόμενοι ἐπεβούλευον θάνατον Στράττι τῷ Χίου τυράννῳ, ἐόντες ἀρχὴν ἑπτά· ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ ὡς φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, ἐξενείκαντος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἑνὸς τῶν

[1] The first royal house was the line of Agis, from whom Leonidas was descended (vii. 204). The second was the line of Euryphon. In the present list "the first king among the

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on land Mardonius would easily prevail. So they were at Samos, and there planned to do what harm they could to their enemies, and to listen the while for tidings of how it went with Mardonius.

131. But as for the Greeks, the coming of spring and Mardonius' being in Thessaly moved them to action. They had not yet begun the mustering of their army, but their fleet, an hundred and ten ships, came to Aegina; and their general and admiral was Leutychides son of Menares, tracing his lineage from son to father through Hegesilaus, Hippocratides, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidemus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicandrus, Charilaus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanis, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodaeus, to Hyllus who was the son of Heracles; he was of the second royal house.[1] All the aforesaid had been kings of Sparta, save the seven named first after Leutychides. The general of the Athenians was Xanthippus son of Ariphron.

132. When all the ships were arrived at Aegina, there came to the Greek quarters messengers from the Ionians, the same who a little while before that had gone to Sparta and entreated the Lacedaemonians to free Ionia; of whom one was Herodotus the son of Basileïdes.[2] These, who at first were seven, made a faction and conspired to slay Strattis, the despot of Chios; but when their conspiracy became known, one of the accomplices

ancestors of Leutychides is Theopompus, the seven more immediate ancestors of L. belonging to a younger branch, which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus" (How and Wells).

[2] Otherwise unknown.

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μετεχόντων, οὕτω δὴ οἱ λοιποὶ ἓξ ἐόντες ὑπεξεσχον ἐκ τῆς Χίου καὶ ἐς Σπάρτην τε ἀπίκοντο καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐς τὴν Αἴγιναν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι καταπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην· οἳ προήγαγον αὐτοὺς μόγις μέχρι Δήλου. τὸ γὰρ προσωτέρω πᾶν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι οὔτε τῶν χώρων ἐοῦσι ἐμπείροισι, στρατιῆς τε πάντα πλέα ἐδόκεε εἶναι, τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἐπιστέατο δόξῃ καὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἴσον ἀπέχειν. συνέπιπτε δὲ τοιοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἀνωτέρω Σάμου μὴ τολμᾶν καταπλῶσαι καταρρωδηκότας, τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας, χρηιζόντων Χίων, τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ κατωτέρω Δήλου· οὕτω δέος τὸ μέσον ἐφύλασσε σφέων.

133. Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Δῆλον, Μαρδόνιος δὲ περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίην ἐχείμαζε. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενος ἔπεμπε κατὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἄνδρα Εὐρωπέα γένος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μῦς, ἐντειλάμενος πανταχῇ μιν χρησόμενον ἐλθεῖν, τῶν οἷά τε ἦν σφι ἀποπειρήσασθαι. ὅ τι μὲν βουλόμενος ἐκμαθεῖν πρὸς τῶν χρηστηρίων ταῦτα ἐνετέλλετο, οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· οὐ γὰρ ὦν λέγεται· δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε περὶ τῶν παρεόντων πρηγμάτων καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων πέρι πέμψαι.

134. Οὗτος ὁ Μῦς ἔς τε Λεβάδειαν φαίνεται ἀπικόμενος καὶ μισθῷ πείσας τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρα καταβῆναι παρὰ Τροφώνιον, καὶ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο, τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχρήσατο· ἔστι δὲ κατά περ

[1] "As far off as the Straits of Gibraltar"—a figure of distance.

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having revealed their enterprise, the six that remained got them privily out of Chios, whence they went to Sparta and now to Aegina, entreating the Greeks to sail to Ionia. The Greeks brought them as far as Delos, and that not readily; for they feared all that lay beyond, having no knowledge of those parts, and thinking that armed men were everywhere; and they supposed that Samos was no nearer to them than the Pillars of Heracles.[1] So it fell out that the foreigners were too disheartened to dare to sail farther west than Samos, while at the same time the Greeks dared go at the Chians' request no farther east than Delos; thus fear kept the middle space between them.

133. The Greeks, then, sailed to Delos, and Mardonius wintered in Thessaly. Having here his headquarters he sent thence a man of Europus called Mys to visit the places of divination, charging him to inquire of all the oracles whereof he could make trial. What it was that he desired to learn from the oracles when he gave this charge, I cannot say, for none tells of it; but I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning his present business, and that alone.

134. This man Mys is known to have gone to Lebadea and to have bribed a man of the country to go down into the cave of Trophonius,[2] and to have gone to the place of divination at Abae in Phocis; to Thebes too he first went, where he inquired of Ismenian Apollo (sacrifice is there the

[2] See How and Wells *ad loc.* for a full description of the method of consulting this subterranean deity: also on Amphiaraus and "Ptoan" Apollo. All these shrines are in Boeotia, the home of early Greek superstitions.

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ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἱροῖσι αὐτόθι χρηστηριάζεσθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ξεῖνον τινὰ καὶ οὐ Θηβαῖον χρήμασι πείσας κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω. Θηβαίων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι μαντεύεσθαι αὐτόθι διὰ τόδε· ἐκέλευσε σφέας ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως διὰ χρηστηρίων ποιεύμενος ὁκότερα βούλονται ἑλέσθαι τούτων, ἑωυτῷ ἢ ἅτε μάντι χρᾶσθαι ἢ ἅτε συμμάχῳ, τοῦ ἑτέρου ἀπεχομένους· οἳ δὲ σύμμαχόν μιν εἵλοντο εἶναι. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἔξεστι Θηβαίων οὐδενὶ αὐτόθι ἐγκατακοιμηθῆναι.

135. Τότε δὲ θῶμά μοι μέγιστον γενέσθαι λέγεται ὑπὸ Θηβαίων· ἐλθεῖν ἄρα τὸν Εὐρωπέα Μῦν, περιστρωφώμενον πάντα τὰ χρηστήρια, καὶ ἐς τοῦ Πτῴου Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ τέμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν καλέεται μὲν Πτῷον, ἔστι δὲ Θηβαίων, κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὄρεϊ ἀγχοτάτω Ἀκραιφίης πόλιος. ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐπείτε παρελθεῖν τὸν καλεόμενον τοῦτον Μῦν, ἕπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν αἱρετοὺς ἄνδρας τρεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὡς ἀπογραψομένους τὰ θεσπιέειν ἔμελλε, καὶ πρόκατε τὸν πρόμαντιν βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ χρᾶν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἑπομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐν θώματι ἔχεσθαι ἀκούοντας βαρβάρου γλώσσης ἀντὶ Ἑλλάδος, οὐδὲ ἔχειν ὅ τι χρήσωνται τῷ παρεόντι πρήγματι· τὸν δὲ Εὐρωπέα Μῦν ἐξαρπάσαντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφέροντο δέλτον, τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτεω γράφειν ἐς αὐτήν, φάναι δὲ Καρίῃ μιν γλώσσῃ χρᾶν, συγγραψάμενον δὲ οἴχεσθαι ἀπιόντα ἐς Θεσσαλίην.

136. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ὅ τι δὴ λέγοντα ἦν τὰ χρηστήρια μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε ἄγγελον ἐς

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way of divination, even as at Olympia), and moreover bribed one that was no Theban but a stranger to lie down to sleep in the shrine of Amphiaraus. No Theban may seek a prophecy there; for Amphiaraus bade them by an oracle to choose which of the two they would and forgo the other, and take him either for their prophet or for their ally; and they chose that he should be their ally; wherefore no Theban may lay him down to sleep in that place.

135. But at this time there happened, as the Thebans say, a thing at which I marvel greatly. It would seem that this man Mys of Europus came in his wanderings among the places of divination to the precinct of Ptoan Apollo. This temple is called Ptoum,[1] and belongs to the Thebans; it lies by a hill, above the lake Copaïs, very near to the town Acraephia. When the man called Mys entered into this temple, three men of the town following him that were chosen on the state's behalf to write down the oracles that should be given, straightway the diviner prophesied in a foreign tongue. The Thebans that followed him stood astonied to hear a strange language instead of Greek, and knew not what this present matter might be; but Mys of Europus snatched from them the tablet that they carried and wrote on it that which was spoken by the prophet, saying that the words of the oracle were Carian; and having written all down he went away back to Thessaly.

136. Mardonius read whatever was said in the oracles; and presently he sent a messenger to Athens,

[1] Called after Ptous, son of Athamas, according to Apollodorus. The story of Athamas, and his plot with Ino their stepmother against his children's lives, was localised in Boeotia as well as Achaea, *cp.* vii. 197.

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Ἀθήνας Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Ἀμύντεω ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι οἱ προσκηδέες οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀδελφεὴν Γυγαίην, Ἀμύντεω δὲ θυγατέρα, Βουβάρης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ἔσχε, ἐκ τῆς οἱ ἐγεγόνεε Ἀμύντης ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, ἔχων τὸ οὔνομα τοῦ μητροπάτορος, τῷ δὴ ἐκ βασιλέος τῆς Φρυγίης ἐδόθη Ἀλάβανδα πόλις μεγάλη νέμεσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ὁ Μαρδόνιος πυθόμενος ὅτι πρόξεινός τε εἴη καὶ εὐεργέτης ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπεμπε· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους οὕτω ἐδόκεε μάλιστα προσκτήσεσθαι, λεών τε πολλὸν ἄρα ἀκούων εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, τά τε κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν συντυχόντα σφι παθήματα κατεργασαμένους μάλιστα Ἀθηναίους ἐπίστατο. τούτων δὲ προσγενομένων κατήλπιζε εὐπετέως τῆς θαλάσσης κρατήσειν, τά περ ἂν καὶ ἦν, πεζῇ τε ἐδόκεε πολλῷ εἶναι κρέσσων, οὕτω τε ἐλογίζετο κατύπερθέ οἱ τὰ πρήγματα ἔσεσθαι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν. τάχα δ' ἂν καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια ταῦτά οἱ προλέγοι, συμβουλεύοντα σύμμαχον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ποιέεσθαι· τοῖσι δὴ πειθόμενος ἔπεμπε.

137. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἕβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφεοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ

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[1] Alabanda was not in Phrygia but in Caria (*cp.* vii. 195); Stein prefers to read Alabastra, a town which Herodotus, according to Stephanus of Byzantium, places in Phrygia.

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Alexander, a Macedonian, son of Amyntas; him he sent, partly because the Persians were akin to him; for Bubares, a Persian, had taken to wife Gygaea Alexander's sister and Amyntas' daughter, who had borne to him that Amyntas of Asia who was called by the name of his mother's father, and to whom the king gave Alabanda[1] a great city in Phrygia for his dwelling; and partly he sent him because he learnt that Alexander was a protector and benefactor to the Athenians. It was thus that he supposed he could best gain the Athenians for his allies, of whom he heard that they were a numerous and valiant people, and knew that they had been the chief authors of the calamities which had befallen the Persians at sea. If he gained their friendship he looked to be easily master of the seas, as truly he would have been; and on land he supposed himself to be by much the stronger; so he reckoned that thus he would have the upper hand of the Greeks. Peradventure this was the prediction of the oracles, counselling him to make the Athenian his ally, and it was in obedience to this that he sent his messenger.

137. This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the despotism of Macedonia in the way that I will show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus came as banished men from Argos[2] to Illyria, Gauanes and Aeropus and Perdiccas; and from Illyria they crossed over into the highlands of Macedonia till they came to the town Lebaea. There they served for wages as

[2] The story of an Argive origin of the Macedonian dynasty appears to be mythical. It rests probably on the similarity of the name Argeadae, the tribe to which the dynasty belonged.

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ἐθήτευον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέι, ὃ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὃ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέος αὐτὴ τὰ σιτία σφι ἔπεσσε· ἦσαν γὰρ τὸ πάλαι καὶ αἱ τυραννίδες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀσθενέες χρήμασι, οὐ μοῦνον ὁ δῆμος· ὅκως δὲ ὀπτῴη, ὁ ἄρτος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ θητὸς Περδίκκεω διπλήσιος ἐγίνετο αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀκούσαντα ἐσῆλθε αὐτίκα ὡς εἴη τέρας καὶ φέροι μέγα τι. καλέσας δὲ τοὺς θῆτας προηγόρευέ σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ. οἳ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος "Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι," δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἀέροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἕστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἴπας τάδε "Δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ τὰ διδοῖς," περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκείνου.

138. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπήισαν, τῷ δὲ βασιλέι σημαίνει τις τῶν παρέδρων οἷόν τι χρῆμα ποιήσειε ὁ παῖς καὶ ὡς σὺν νόῳ κείνων ὁ νεώτατος λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα. ὃ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ὀξυνθεὶς πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἱππέας ἀπολέοντας. ποταμὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ, τῷ θύουσι οἱ τούτων τῶν

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thralls in the king's household, one tending horses and another oxen, and Perdiccas, who was the youngest, the lesser flocks. Now the king's wife cooked their food for them; for in old times the ruling houses among men, and not the commonalty alone, were lacking in wealth; and whenever she baked bread, the loaf of the thrall Perdiccas grew double in bigness. Seeing that this ever happened, she told her husband; and it seemed to him when he heard it that this was a portent, signifying some great matter. So he sent for his thralls and bade them depart out of his territory. They said it was but just that they should have their wages ere they departed; whereupon the king, when they spoke of wages, was moved to foolishness, and said, "That is the wage you merit, and it is that I give you," pointing to the sunlight that shone down the smoke-vent into the house. Gauanes and Aeropus, who were the elder, stood astonied when they heard that; but the boy said, "We accept what you give, O king," and with that he took a knife that he had upon him and drew a line with it on the floor of the house round the sunlight[1]; which done, he thrice gathered up the sunlight into the fold of his garment, and went his way with his companions.

138. So they departed; but one of them that sat by declared to the king what this was that the boy had done, and how it was of set purpose that the youngest of them had accepted the gift offered; which when the king heard, he was angered, and sent riders after them to slay them. But there is in that land a river, whereto the descendants from

[1] The action is said to symbolise claiming possession of house and land, and also to call the sun to witness the claim. Ancient Germany, apparently, had a similar custom.

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ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἀπόγονοι σωτῆρι· οὗτος, ἐπείτε διέβησαν οἱ Τημενίδαι, μέγας οὕτω ἐρρύη ὥστε τοὺς ἱππέας μὴ οἵους τε γενέσθαι διαβῆναι. οἱ δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς ἄλλην γῆν τῆς Μακεδονίης οἴκησαν πέλας τῶν κήπων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι Μίδεω τοῦ Γορδίεω, ἐν τοῖσι φύεται αὐτόματα ῥόδα, ἓν ἕκαστον ἔχον ἑξήκοντα φύλλα, ὀδμῇ τε ὑπερφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων. ἐν τούτοισι καὶ ὁ Σιληνὸς τοῖσι κήποισι ἥλω, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν κήπων ὄρος κέεται Βέρμιον οὔνομα, ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι, ὡς ταύτην ἔσχον, κατεστρέφοντο καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην.

139. Ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Περδίκκεω Ἀλέξανδρος ὧδε ἐγένετο· Ἀμύντεω παῖς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀμύντης δὲ Ἀλκέτεω, Ἀλκέτεω δὲ πατὴρ ἦν Ἀέροπος, τοῦ δὲ Φίλιππος, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀργαῖος, τοῦ δὲ Περδίκκης ὁ κτησάμενος τὴν ἀρχήν.

140. Ἐγεγόνεε μὲν δὴ ὧδε ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω· ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου, ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Μαρδόνιος τάδε λέγει. ἐμοὶ ἀγγελίη ἥκει παρὰ βασιλέος λέγουσα οὕτω. 'Ἀθηναίοισι τὰς ἁμαρτάδας τὰς ἐς ἐμὲ ἐξ ἐκείνων γενομένας πάσας μετίημι. νῦν τε ὧδε Μαρδόνιε ποίεε· τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος, τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτῃ ἑλέσθων αὐτοί, ἥντινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἐόντες αὐτόνομοι· ἱρά τε πάντα σφι, ἢν δὴ βού-

[1] This was the fertile and beautiful valley in which stood Aegae or Edessa (modern Vodena), the ancient home of the Macedonian kings.

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Argos of these men offer sacrifice, as their deliverer; this river, when the sons of Temenus had crossed it, rose in such flood that the riders could not cross. So the brothers came to another part of Macedonia and settled near the place called the garden of Midas son of Gordias,[1] wherein roses grow of themselves, each bearing sixty blossoms and of surpassing fragrance; in which garden, by the Macedonian story, Silenus[2] was taken captive; above it rises the mountain called Bermius, which none can ascend for the wintry cold. Thence they issued forth when they had won that country, and presently subdued also the rest of Macedonia.

139. From that Perdiccas Alexander was descended, being the son of Amyntas, who was the son of Alcetes; Alcetes' father was Aeropus, and his was Philippus; Philippus' father was Argaeus, and his again was Perdiccas, who won that lordship.

140. Such was the lineage of Alexander son of Amyntas; who, when he came to Athens from Mardonius who had sent him, spoke on this wise. "This, Athenians, is what Mardonius says to you:—There is a message come to me from the king, saying, 'I forgive the Athenians all the offences which they have committed against me; and now, Mardonius, I bid you do this:—Give them back their territory, and let them choose more for themselves besides, wheresoever they will, and dwell under their own laws; and rebuild all their temples

[2] This is a Phrygian tale, transferred to Macedonia. Silenus was a "nature-deity," inhabiting places of rich vegetation: if captured, he was fabled in the Greek version of the myth to give wise counsel to his captor. One may compare the story of Proteus captured by Menelaus, in the Odyssey.

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λωνταί γε ἐμοὶ ὁμολογέειν, ἀνόρθωσον, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐνέπρησα.' τούτων δὲ ἀπιγμένων ἀναγκαίως ἔχει μοι ποιέειν ταῦτα, ἢν μὴ τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον γένηται. λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τάδε. νῦν τί μαίνεσθε πόλεμον βασιλέι ἀειρόμενοι; οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ὑπερβάλοισθε οὔτε οἷοί τε ἐστὲ ἀντέχειν τὸν πάντα χρόνον. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ξέρξεω στρατηλασίης τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ ἔργα, πυνθάνεσθε δὲ καὶ τὴν νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐοῦσαν δύναμιν· ὥστε καὶ ἢν ἡμέας ὑπερβάλησθε καὶ νικήσητε, τοῦ περ ὑμῖν οὐδεμία ἐλπὶς εἴ περ εὖ φρονέετε, ἄλλη παρέσται πολλαπλησίη. μὴ ὦν βούλεσθε παρισούμενοι βασιλέι στέρεσθαι μὲν τῆς χώρης, θέειν δὲ αἰεὶ περὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταλύσασθε· παρέχει δὲ ὑμῖν κάλλιστα καταλύσασθαι, βασιλέος ταύτῃ ὁρμημένου. ἔστε ἐλεύθεροι, ἡμῖν ὁμαιχμίην συνθέμενοι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης. Μαρδόνιος μὲν ταῦτα ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνετείλατό μοι εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμέας· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν εὐνοίης τῆς πρὸς ὑμέας ἐούσης ἐξ ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν λέξω, οὐ γὰρ ἂν νῦν πρῶτον ἐκμάθοιτε, προσχρηίζω δὲ ὑμέων πείθεσθαι Μαρδονίῳ. ἐνορῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν οὐκ οἵοισί τε ἐσομένοισι τὸν πάντα χρόνον πολεμέειν Ξέρξῃ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνώρων τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἄν κοτε ἐς ὑμέας ἦλθον ἔχων λόγους τούσδε· καὶ γὰρ δύναμις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἡ βασιλέος ἐστὶ καὶ χεὶρ ὑπερμήκης. ἢν ὦν μὴ αὐτίκα ὁμολογήσητε, μεγάλα προτεινόντων ἐπ' οἷσι ὁμολογέειν ἐθέλουσι, δειμαίνω ὑπὲρ ὑμέων ἐν τρίβῳ τε μάλιστα οἰκημένων τῶν συμμάχων πάντων αἰεί τε φθειρομένων μούνων, ἐξαίρετον μεταίχμιόν τε τὴν γῆν ἐκτημένων. ἀλλὰ

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that I burnt, if they will make a covenant with me." This being the message, needs must that I obey it (says Mardonius), unless you take it upon you to hinder me. And this I say to you:—Why are you so mad as to wage war against the king? you cannot overcome him, nor can you resist him for ever. For the multitude of Xerxes' host, and what they did, you have seen, and you have heard of the power that I now have with me; so that even if you overcome and conquer us (whereof, if you be in your right minds, you can have no hope), yet there will come another host many times as great as this. Be not then minded to match yourselves against the king, and thereby lose your land and ever be yourselves in jeopardy, but make peace; which you can most honourably do, the king being that way inclined; keep your freedom, and agree to be our brothers in arms in all faith and honesty.—This, Athenians, is the message which Mardonius charges me to give you. For my own part I will say nothing of the goodwill that I have towards you, for it would not be the first that you have learnt of that; but I entreat you to follow Mardonius' counsel. Well I see that you will not have power to wage war against Xerxes for ever; did I see such power in you, I had never come to you with such language as this; for the king's might is greater than human, and his arm is long. If therefore you will not straightway agree with them, when the conditions which they offer you, whereon they are ready to agree, are so great, I fear what may befall you; for of all the allies you dwell most in the very path of the war, and you alone will never escape destruction, your country being marked out for a battlefield. Nay, follow his counsel;

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πείθεσθε· πολλοῦ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἄξια ταῦτα, εἰ βασιλεύς γε ὁ μέγας μούνοισι ὑμῖν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἁμαρτάδας ἀπιεὶς ἐθέλει φίλος γενέσθαι."

141. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ἥκειν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐς Ἀθήνας ἐς ὁμολογίην ἄξοντα τῷ βαρβάρῳ Ἀθηναίους, ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν λογίων ὥς σφεας χρεόν ἐστι ἅμα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Δωριεῦσι ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων, κάρτα τε ἔδεισαν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσι τῷ Πέρσῃ Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτίκα τέ σφι ἔδοξε πέμπειν ἀγγέλους. καὶ δὴ συνέπιπτε ὥστε ὁμοῦ σφεων γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν· ἐπανέμειναν γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διατρίβοντες, εὖ ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι ἔμελλον Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεύσεσθαι ἥκοντα παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἄγγελον ἐπ' ὁμολογίῃ, πυθόμενοί τε πέμψειν κατὰ τάχος ἀγγέλους. ἐπίτηδες ὦν ἐποίευν, ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι τὴν ἑωυτῶν γνώμην.

142. Ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λέγων Ἀλέξανδρος, διαδεξάμενοι ἔλεγον οἱ ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἄγγελοι "Ἡμέας δὲ ἔπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεησομένους ὑμέων μήτε νεώτερον ποιέειν μηδὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε λόγους ἐνδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου. οὔτε γὰρ δίκαιον οὐδαμῶς οὔτε κόσμον φέρον οὔτε γε ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι, ὑμῖν δὲ δὴ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἥκιστα πολλῶν εἵνεκα. ἠγείρατε γὰρ τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν ἡμέων βουλομένων, καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆθεν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο, νῦν δὲ φέρει καὶ ἐς πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα· ἄλλως τε τούτων ἁπάντων αἰτίους γενέσθαι δουλοσύνης

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for it is not to be lightly regarded by you that you are the only men in Hellas whose offences the great king is ready to forgive and whose friend he would be."

141. Thus spoke Alexander. But the Lacedaemonians had heard that Alexander was come to Athens to bring the Athenians to an agreement with the foreigner; and remembering the oracles, how that they themselves with the rest of the Dorians must be driven out of the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians, they were greatly afraid lest the Athenians should agree with the Persian, and they straightway resolved that they would send envoys. Moreover it so fell out for both, that they made their entry at one and the same time; for the Athenians delayed, and tarried for them, being well assured that the Lacedaemonians were like to hear that the messenger was come from the Persians for an agreement; and they had heard that the Lacedaemonians would send their envoys with all speed; therefore it was of set purpose that they did it, that they might make their will known to the Lacedaemonians.

142. So when Alexander had made an end of speaking, the envoys from Sparta took up the tale, and said, "We on our part are sent by the Lacedaemonians to entreat you to do nought hurtful to Hellas and accept no offer from the foreigner. That were a thing unjust and dishonourable for any Greek, but for you most of all, on many counts; it was you who stirred up this war, by no desire of ours, and your territory was first the stake of that battle, wherein all Hellas is now engaged; and setting that apart, it is a thing not to be borne that not all this alone but slavery too should be brought

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τοῖσι Ἕλλησι Ἀθηναίους οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν, οἵτινες αἰεὶ καὶ τὸ πάλαι φαίνεσθε πολλοὺς ἐλευθερώσαντες ἀνθρώπων. πιεζευμένοισι μέντοι ὑμῖν συναχθόμεθα, καὶ ὅτι καρπῶν ἐστερήθητε διξῶν ἤδη καὶ ὅτι οἰκοφθόρησθε χρόνον ἤδη πολλόν. ἀντὶ τούτων δὲ ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπαγγέλλονται γυναῖκάς τε καὶ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἄχρηστα οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα πάντα ἐπιθρέψειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε συνεστήκῃ. μηδὲ ὑμέας Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν ἀναγνώσῃ, λεήνας τὸν Μαρδονίου λόγον. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιητέα ἐστί· τύραννος γὰρ ἐὼν τυράννῳ συγκατεργάζεται· ὑμῖν δὲ οὐ ποιητέα, εἴ περ εὖ τυγχάνετε φρονέοντες, ἐπισταμένοισι ὡς βαρβάροισι ἐστὶ οὔτε πιστὸν οὔτε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν." ταῦτα ἔλεξαν οἱ ἄγγελοι.

143. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι πολλαπλησίη ἐστὶ τῷ Μήδῳ δύναμις ἤ περ ἡμῖν, ὥστε οὐδὲν δέει τοῦτό γε ὀνειδίζειν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐλευθερίης γλιχόμενοι ἀμυνεύμεθα οὕτω ὅκως ἂν καὶ δυνώμεθα. ὁμολογῆσαι δὲ τῷ βαρβάρῳ μήτε σὺ ἡμέας πειρῶ ἀναπείθειν οὔτε ἡμεῖς πεισόμεθα. νῦν τε ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴῃ τῇ περ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήκοτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ· ἀλλὰ θεοῖσί τε συμμάχοισι πίσυνοί μιν ἐπέξιμεν ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ τοῖσι ἥρωσι, τῶν ἐκεῖνος οὐδεμίαν ὄπιν ἔχων ἐνέπρησε τούς τε οἴκους καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα. σύ τε τοῦ λοιποῦ λόγους ἔχων τοιούσδε μὴ ἐπιφαίνεο Ἀθηναίοισι, μηδὲ δοκέων χρηστὰ ὑπουργέειν ἀθέμιστα ἔρδειν

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upon the Greeks by you Athenians, who have ever of old been known for givers of freedom to many. Nevertheless we grieve with you in your afflictions, for that now you have lost two harvests and your substance has been for a long time wasted; in requital wherefor the Lacedaemonians and their allies declare that they will nourish your women and all of your households that are unserviceable for war, so long as this war shall last. But let not Alexander the Macedonian win you with his smooth-tongued praise of Mardonius' counsel. It is his business to follow that counsel, for as he is a despot so must he be the despot's fellow-worker; but it is not your business, if you be men rightly minded; for you know, that in foreigners there is no faith nor truth." Thus spoke the envoys.

143. But to Alexander the Athenians thus replied: "We know of ourselves that the power of the Mede is many times greater than ours; there is no need to taunt us with that. Nevertheless in our zeal for freedom we will defend ourselves to the best of our ability. But as touching agreements with the foreigner, do not you essay to persuade us thereto, nor will we consent; and now carry this answer back to Mardonius from the Athenians, that as long as the sun holds the course whereby he now goes, we will make no agreement with Xerxes; but we will fight against him without ceasing, trusting in the aid of the gods and the heroes whom he has set at nought and burnt their houses and their adornments. To you we say, come no more to Athenians with such a plea, nor under the semblance of rendering us a service counsel us to do wickedly;

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παραίνεε· οὐ γάρ σε βουλόμεθα οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς Ἀθηναίων παθεῖν ἐόντα πρόξεινόν τε καὶ φίλον."

144. Πρὸς μὲν Ἀλέξανδρον ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σπάρτης ἀγγέλους τάδε. "Τὸ μὲν δεῖσαι Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ βαρβάρῳ, κάρτα ἀνθρωπήιον ἦν· ἀτὰρ αἰσχρῶς γε οἴκατε ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ Ἀθηναίων φρόνημα ἀρρωδῆσαι, ὅτι οὔτε χρυσός ἐστι γῆς οὐδαμόθι τοσοῦτος οὔτε χώρη κάλλεϊ καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγα ὑπερφέρουσα, τὰ ἡμεῖς δεξάμενοι ἐθέλοιμεν ἂν μηδίσαντες καταδουλῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ μεγάλα ἐστὶ τὰ διακωλύοντα ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν μηδ' ἢν ἐθέλωμεν, πρῶτα μὲν καὶ μέγιστα τῶν θεῶν τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐμπεπρησμένα τε καὶ συγκεχωσμένα, τοῖσι ἡμέας ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τιμωρέειν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα μᾶλλον ἤ περ ὁμολογέειν τῷ ταῦτα ἐργασαμένῳ, αὖτις δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν ὅμαιμόν τε καὶ ὁμόγλωσσον καὶ θεῶν ἱδρύματά τε κοινὰ καὶ θυσίαι ἤθεά τε ὁμότροπα, τῶν προδότας γενέσθαι Ἀθηναίους οὐκ ἂν εὖ ἔχοι. ἐπίστασθέ τε οὕτω, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἐτυγχάνετε ἐπιστάμενοι, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ εἷς περιῇ Ἀθηναίων, μηδαμὰ ὁμολογήσοντας ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ. ὑμέων μέντοι ἀγάμεθα τὴν προνοίην τὴν πρὸς ἡμέας ἐοῦσαν, ὅτι προείδετε ἡμέων οἰκοφθορημένων οὕτω ὥστε ἐπιθρέψαι ἐθέλειν ἡμέων τοὺς οἰκέτας. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ χάρις ἐκπεπλήρωται, ἡμεῖς μέντοι λιπαρήσομεν οὕτω ὅκως ἂν ἔχωμεν, οὐδὲν λυπέοντες ὑμέας. νῦν δέ, ὡς οὕτω ἐχόντων, στρατιὴν ὡς τάχιστα ἐκπέμπετε. ὡς γὰρ ἡμεῖς εἰκάζομεν, οὐκ ἑκὰς χρόνου παρέσται ὁ βάρβαρος

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for we would not that you who are our friend and protector should suffer any harm at Athenian hands."

144. Such was their answer to Alexander; but to the Spartan envoys they said, "It was most human that the Lacedaemonians should fear our making an agreement with the foreigner; but we think you do basely to be afraid, knowing the Athenian temper to be such that there is nowhere on earth such store of gold or such territory of surpassing fairness and excellence that the gift of it should win us to take the Persian part and enslave Hellas. For there are many great reasons why we should not do this, even if we so desired; first and chiefest, the burning and destruction of the adornments and temples of our gods, whom we are constrained to avenge to the uttermost rather than make covenants with the doer of these things, and next the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our way of life, to all which it would ill beseem Athenians to be false. Know this now, if you knew it not before, that as long as one Athenian is left alive we will make no agreement with Xerxes. Nevertheless we thank you for your forethought concerning us, in that you have so provided for our wasted state that you offer to nourish our households. For your part, you have given us full measure of kindness; yet for ourselves, we will make shift to endure as best we may, and not be burdensome to you. But now, seeing that this is so, send your army with all speed; for as we guess, the foreigner

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ἐσβαλὼν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ταχιστα πύθηται τὴν ἀγγελίην ὅτι οὐδὲν ποιήσομεν τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἡμέων προσεδέετο. πρὶν ὦν παρεῖναι ἐκεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἡμέας καιρός ἐστι προβοηθῆσαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην." οἳ μὲν ταῦτα ὑποκριναμένων Ἀθηναίων ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Σπάρτην.

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will be upon us and invading our country in no long time, but as soon as ever the message comes to him that we will do nothing that he requires of us; wherefore, ere he comes into Attica, now is the time for us to march first into Boeotia." At this reply of the Athenians the envoys returned back to Sparta.

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BOOK IX

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I

1. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὥς οἱ ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων ἐσήμηνε, ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίης ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῇ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας. ὅκου δὲ ἑκάστοτε γίνοιτο, τούτους παρελάμβανε. τοῖσι δὲ Θεσσαλίης ἡγεομένοισι οὔτε τὰ πρὸ τοῦ πεπρηγμένα μετέμελε οὐδὲν πολλῷ τε μᾶλλον ἐπῆγον τὸν Πέρσην, καὶ συμπροέπεμψέ τε Θώρηξ ὁ Ληρισαῖος Ξέρξην φεύγοντα καὶ τότε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ παρῆκε Μαρδόνιον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος γίνεται ὁ στρατὸς ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι, οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατελάμβανον τὸν Μαρδόνιον καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ λέγοντες ὡς οὐκ εἴη χῶρος ἐπιτηδεότερος ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐκείνου, οὐδὲ ἔων ἰέναι ἑκαστέρω, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἱζόμενον ποιέειν ὅκως ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πᾶσαν Ἑλλάδα καταστρέψεται. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν Ἕλληνας ὁμοφρονέοντας, οἵ περ καὶ πάρος ταὐτὰ ἐγίνωσκον, χαλεπὰ εἶναι περιγίνεσθαι καὶ ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· "εἰ δὲ ποιήσεις τὰ ἡμεῖς παραινέομεν," ἔφασαν λέγοντες, "ἕξεις ἀπόνως πάντα τὰ ἐκείνων ἰσχυρὰ βουλεύματα· πέμπε χρήματα ἐς τοὺς δυναστεύοντας ἄνδρας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, πέμπων δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαστήσεις· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ

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BOOK IX

1. Mardonius, when Alexander returned and told him what he had heard from the Athenians, set forth from Thessaly and led his army with all zeal against Athens[1]; and to whatsoever country he came he took its people along with him. The rulers of Thessaly repented no whit of what they had already done, and were but readier than before to further his march; and Thorax of Larissa, who had aided to give Xerxes safe-conduct in his flight, did now without disguise open a passage for Mardonius into Hellas.

2. But when the army in its march was come into Boeotia, the Thebans sought to stay Mardonius, advising him that he could find no country better fitted than theirs for encampment; he should not (they pleaded) go further, but rather halt there and so act as to subdue all Hellas without fighting. For as long as the Greeks who before had been of the same way of thinking remained in accord, it would be a hard matter even for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms; "but if you do as we advise," said the Thebans as they spoke, "you will without trouble be master of all their counsels of battle. Send money to the men that have power in their cities, and thereby you will divide Hellas against

[1] In the summer of 479. Mardonius occupied Athens in July.

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τοὺς μὴ τὰ σὰ φρονέοντας ῥηιδίως μετὰ τῶν στασιωτέων καταστρέψεαι."

3. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, ἀλλά οἱ δεινὸς ἐνέστακτο ἵμερος τὰς Ἀθήνας δεύτερα ἑλεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀγνωμοσύνης, ἅμα δὲ πυρσοῖσι διὰ νήσων ἐδόκεε βασιλέι δηλώσειν ἐόντι ἐν Σάρδισι ὅτι ἔχοι Ἀθήνας· ὃς οὐδὲ τότε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εὗρε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἀλλ' ἔν τε Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πλείστους ἐπυνθάνετο εἶναι ἔν τε τῇσι νηυσί, αἱρέει τε ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ. ἡ δὲ βασιλέος αἵρεσις ἐς τὴν ὑστέρην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἐπιστρατηίην δεκάμηνος ἐγένετο.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι ἐγένετο ὁ Μαρδόνιος, πέμπει ἐς Σαλαμῖνα Μουρυχίδην ἄνδρα Ἑλλησπόντιον φέροντα τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους τοὺς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι διεπόρθμευσε. ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε προέχων μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφέας ὑπήσειν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δοριαλώτου ἐούσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ ἐούσης ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ.

5. Τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἀπέπεμψε Μουρυχίδην ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἔλεγε τὰ παρὰ Μαρδονίου. τῶν δὲ βουλευτέων Λυκίδης εἶπε γνώμην ὡς ἐδόκεε ἄμεινον εἶναι δεξαμένους τὸν λόγον, τόν σφι Μουρυχίδης προφέρει, ἐξενεῖκαι ἐς τὸν δῆμον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο, εἴτε δὴ δεδεγμένος χρήματα παρὰ Μαρδονίου, εἴτε καὶ ταῦτά οἱ ἐάνδανε· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτίκα δεινὸν ποιησάμενοι οἵ τε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἔξωθεν ὡς ἐπύθοντο, περι-

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itself; and after that, with your partisans to aid, you will easily subdue those who are your adversaries."

3. Such was their counsel, but he would not follow it; rather he was imbued with a wondrous desire to take Athens once more; this was partly of mere perversity, and partly because he thought to signify to the king at Sardis by a line of beacons across the islands that he held Athens. Yet on his coming to Attica he found the Athenians no more there than before, but, as he learnt, the most of them were on shipboard at Salamis; and he took the city, but no men therein. There were ten months between the king's taking of the place and the later invasion of Mardonius.

4. When Mardonius came to Athens, he sent to Salamis one Murychides, a man of the Hellespont, bearing the same offer as Alexander the Macedonian had ferried across to the Athenians. He sent this the second time because, albeit he knew already the Athenians' unfriendly purpose, he expected that they would abate their stiff-neckedness now that Attica was the captive of his spear and lay at his mercy.

5. For this reason he sent Murychides to Salamis, who came before the council and told them Mardonius' message. Then Lycidas, one of the councillors, gave it for his opinion that it seemed to him best to receive the offer brought to them by Murychides and lay it before the people. This was the opinion which he declared, either because he had been bribed by Mardonius, or because the plan pleased him; but the Athenians in the council were very wroth, and so too when they heard of it were they that were outside; and they made a ring

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στάντες Λυκίδην κατέλευσαν βάλλοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἑλλησπόντιον Μουρυχίδην ἀπέπεμψαν ἀσινέα. γενομένου δὲ θορύβου ἐν τῇ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὸν Λυκίδην, πυνθάνονται τὸ γινόμενον αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, διακελευσαμένη δὲ γυνὴ γυναικὶ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα ἐπὶ τὴν Λυκίδεω οἰκίην ἵισαν αὐτοκελέες, καὶ κατὰ μὲν ἔλευσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα κατὰ δὲ τὰ τέκνα.

6. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διέβησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὧδε. ἕως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἥξειν τιμωρήσοντά σφι, οἳ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἳ μὲν μακρότερα καὶ σχολαίτερα ἐποίεον, ὃ δὲ ἐπιὼν καὶ δὴ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ ὑπεξεκομίσαντό τε πάντα καὶ αὐτοὶ διέβησαν ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐς Λακεδαίμονά τε ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἅμα μὲν μεμψομένους τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ὅτι περιεῖδον ἐμβαλόντα τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ σφέων ἠντίασαν ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην, ἅμα δὲ ὑπομνήσοντας ὅσα σφι ὑπέσχετο ὁ Πέρσης μεταβαλοῦσι δώσειν, προεῖπαί τε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἀμυνεῦσι Ἀθηναίοισι, ὡς καὶ αὐτοί τινα ἀλεωρὴν εὑρήσονται.

7. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅρταζόν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καί σφι ἦν Ὑακίνθια, περὶ πλείστου δ' ἦγον τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πορσύνειν· ἅμα δὲ τὸ τεῖχός σφι, τὸ ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐτείχεον, καὶ ἤδη ἐπάλξις ἐλάμβανε. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων, ἅμα ἀγόμενοι ἔκ τε Μεγάρων ἀγγέλους καὶ ἐκ Πλαταιέων, ἔλεγον

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round Lycidas and stoned him to death. But they suffered Murychides the Hellespontian to depart unharmed. There was much noise at Salamis over the business of Lycidas; and when the Athenian women learnt what was afoot, one calling to another and bidding her follow, they went of their own motion to the house of Lycidas, and stoned to death his wife and his children.

6. Now this was how the Athenians had passed over to Salamis. As long as they expected that the Peloponnesian army would come to their aid, so long they abode in Attica. But when the Peloponnesians were ever longer and slower in action, and the invader was said to be already in Boeotia, they did then convey all their goods out of harm's way and themselves crossed over to Salamis; and they sent envoys to Lacedaemon, who should upbraid the Lacedaemonians for suffering the foreigner to invade Attica and not meeting him in Boeotia with the Athenians to aid; and should bid the Lacedaemonians withal remember what promises the Persian had made to Athens if she would change sides, and warn them that the Athenians would devise some succour for themselves if the Lacedaemonians sent them no help.

7. For the Lacedaemonians were at this time holiday-making, keeping the festival of Hyacinthus,[1] and their chiefest care was to give the god his due; moreover, the wall that they were building on the Isthmus was by now even getting its battlements. When the Athenian envoys were arrived at Lacedaemon, bringing with them envoys from Megara

[1] A festival said to be of pre-Dorian origin, commemorating the killing of Hyacinthus by Apollo.

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τάδε ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους. "Ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Ἀθηναῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἡμῖν βασιλεὺς ὁ Μήδων τοῦτο μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀποδιδοῖ, τοῦτο δὲ συμμάχους ἐθέλει ἐπ' ἴσῃ τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ ποιήσασθαι ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης, ἐθέλει δὲ καὶ ἄλλην χώρην πρὸς τῇ ἡμετέρῃ διδόναι, τὴν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἑλώμεθα. ἡμεῖς δὲ Δία τε Ἑλλήνιον αἰδεσθέντες καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι προδοῦναι οὐ καταινέσαμεν ἀλλ' ἀπειπάμεθα, καίπερ ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπροδιδόμενοι, ἐπιστάμενοί τε ὅτι κερδαλεώτερον ἐστὶ ὁμολογέειν τῷ Πέρσῃ μᾶλλον ἤ περ πολεμέειν· οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ὁμολογήσομεν ἑκόντες εἶναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ' ἡμέων οὕτω ἀκίβδηλον νέμεται ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην τότε ἀπικόμενοι μὴ ὁμολογήσωμεν τῷ Πέρσῃ, ἐπείτε ἐξεμάθετε τὸ ἡμέτερον φρόνημα σαφέως, ὅτι οὐδαμὰ προδώσομεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ διότι τεῖχος ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐλαυνόμενον ἐν τέλεϊ ἐστί, καὶ δὴ λόγον οὐδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιέεσθε, συνθέμενοί τε ἡμῖν τὸν Πέρσην ἀντιώσεσθαι ἐς τὴν Βοιωτίην προδεδώκατε, περιείδετέ τε προεσβαλόντα ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν βάρβαρον. ἐς μέν νυν τὸ παρεὸν Ἀθηναῖοι ὑμῖν μηνίουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσατε ἐπιτηδέως. νῦν δὲ ὅτι τάχος στρατιὴν ἅμα ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσαν ὑμέας ἐκπέμπειν, ὡς ἂν τὸν βάρβαρον δεκώμεθα ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τῆς Βοιωτίης, τῆς γε ἡμετέρης ἐπιτηδεότατον ἐστὶ μαχέσασθαι τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον."

8. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἤκουσαν οἱ ἔφοροι ταῦτα, ἀνεβάλλοντο ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ὑποκρίνασθαι, τῇ δὲ

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and Plataeae, they came before the ephors and said: "The Athenians have sent us with this message: The king of the Medes is ready to give us back our country, and to make us his confederates, equal in right and standing, in all honour and honesty, and to give us withal whatever land we ourselves may choose besides our own. But we, for that we would not sin against Zeus the god of Hellas, and think it shame to betray Hellas, have not consented, but refused, and this though the Greeks are dealing with us wrongfully and betraying us to our hurt, and though we know that it is rather for our advantage to make terms with the Persian than to wage war with him; yet we will not make terms with him, of our own free will. Thus for our part we act honestly by the Greeks; but what of you, who once were in great dread lest we should make terms with the Persian? Because now you have clear knowledge of our temper and are sure that we will never betray Hellas, and because the wall that you are building across the Isthmus is well-nigh finished, to-day you take no account of the Athenians, but have deserted us for all your promises that you would withstand the Persian in Boeotia, and have suffered the foreigner to march into Attica. For the nonce, then, the Athenians are angry with you; for that which you have done beseems you ill. But now they pray you to send with us an army with all speed, that we may await the foreigner's onset in Attica; for since we have lost Boeotia, in our own land the fittest battle-ground is the Thriasian plain."

8. When the ephors, it would seem, heard that, they delayed answering till the next day, and again

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ὑστεραίῃ ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην· τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμέρας ἐποίεον, ἐξ ἡμέρης ἐς ἡμέρην ἀναβαλλόμενοι. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐτείχεον σπουδὴν ἔχοντες πολλὴν πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι, καί σφι ἦν πρὸς τέλεϊ. οὐδ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν τὸ αἴτιον διότι ἀπικομένου μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐς Ἀθήνας σπουδὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο μὴ μηδίσαι Ἀθηναίους, τότε δὲ ὥρην ἐποιήσαντο οὐδεμίαν, ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ἰσθμός σφι ἐτετείχιστο καὶ ἐδόκεον Ἀθηναίων ἔτι δεῖσθαι οὐδέν· ὅτε δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, οὔκω ἀπετετείχιστο, ἐργάζοντο δὲ μεγάλως καταρρωδηκότες τοὺς Πέρσας.

9. Τέλος δὲ τῆς τε ὑποκρίσιος καὶ ἐξόδου τῶν Σπαρτιητέων ἐγένετο τρόπος τοιόσδε. τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι Χίλεος ἀνὴρ Τεγεήτης, δυνάμενος ἐν Λακεδαίμονι μέγιστον ξείνων, τῶν ἐφόρων ἐπύθετο πάντα λόγον τὸν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔλεγον· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Χίλεος ἔλεγε ἄρα σφι τάδε. "Οὕτω ἔχει, ἄνδρες ἔφοροι· Ἀθηναίων ἡμῖν ἐόντων μὴ ἀρθμίων τῷ δὲ βαρβάρῳ συμμάχων, καίπερ τείχεος διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ ἐληλαμένου καρτεροῦ, μεγάλαι κλισιάδες ἀναπεπτέαται ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον τῷ Πέρσῃ. ἀλλ' ἐσακούσατε, πρίν τι ἄλλο Ἀθηναίοισι δόξαι σφάλμα φέρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι."

10. Ὁ μέν σφι ταῦτα συνεβούλευε· οἱ δὲ φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸν λόγον αὐτίκα, φράσαντες οὐδὲν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι ἀπιγμένοισι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων, νυκτὸς ἔτι ἐκπέμπουσι πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιητέων καὶ ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τάξαντες

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till the day after; and this they did for ten days, putting off from day to day. In the meantime all the Peloponnesians were fortifying the Isthmus with might and main, and they had the work well-nigh done. Nor can I say why it was that when Alexander the Macedonian came to Athens[1] the Lacedaemonians were urgent that the Athenians should not take the Persian part, yet now made no account of that; except it was that now they had the Isthmus fortified and thought they had no more need of the Athenians, whereas when Alexander came to Attica their wall was not yet built, and they were working thereat in great fear of the Persians.

9. But the manner of their answering at last and sending the Spartan army was this: On the day before that hearing which should have been the last, Chileüs, a man of Tegea, who had more authority with the Lacedaemonians than any other of their guests, learnt from the ephors all that the Athenians had said; and having heard it he said, as the tale goes, to the ephors, "Sirs, this is how the matter stands: if the Athenians be our enemies and the foreigner's allies, then though you drive a strong wall across the Isthmus the Persian has an effectual door opened for passage into the Peloponnese. Nay, hearken to them, ere the Athenians take some new resolve that will bring calamity to Hellas."

10. This was the counsel he gave the ephors, who straightway took it to heart; saying no word to the envoys who were come from the cities, they bade march before dawn of day five thousand Spartans, with seven helots appointed to attend each of them;

[1] *cp.* viii. 135.

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τῶν εἰλώτων, Παυσανίῃ τῷ Κλεομβρότου ἐπιτάξαντες ἐξάγειν. ἐγίνετο μὲν ἡ ἡγεμονίη Πλειστάρχου τοῦ Λεωνίδεω· ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ἦν ἔτι παῖς, ὃ δὲ τούτου ἐπίτροπός τε καὶ ἀνεψιός. Κλεόμβροτος γὰρ ὁ Παυσανίεω μὲν πατὴρ Ἀναξανδρίδεω δὲ παῖς οὐκέτι περιῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τὸ τεῖχος δείμασαν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τινὰ βιοὺς ἀπέθανε. ἀπῆγε δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ διὰ τόδε· θυομένῳ οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ ὁ ἥλιος ἀμαυρώθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. προσαιρέεται δὲ ἑωυτῷ Παυσανίης Εὐρυάνακτα τὸν Δωριέος, ἄνδρα οἰκίης ἐόντα τῆς αὐτῆς.

11. Οἱ μὲν δὴ σὺν Παυσανίῃ ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἔξω Σπάρτης· οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι, ὡς ἡμέρη ἐγεγόνεε, οὐδὲν εἰδότες περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου ἐπῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἐν νόῳ δὴ ἔχοντες ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος· ἐπελθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ὑμεῖς μέν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες Ὑακίνθιά τε ἄγετε καὶ παίζετε, καταπροδόντες τοὺς συμμάχους· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὡς ἀδικεόμενοι ὑπὸ ὑμέων χήτεΐ τε συμμάχων καταλύσονται τῷ Πέρσῃ οὕτω ὅκως ἂν δύνωνται· καταλυσάμενοι δέ, δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι σύμμαχοι βασιλέος γινόμεθα, συστρατευσόμεθα ἐπ' ἣν ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ἐξηγέωνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν μαθήσεσθε ὁκοῖον ἄν τι ὑμῖν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐκβαίνῃ." ταῦτα λεγόντων τῶν ἀγγέλων, οἱ ἔφοροι εἶπαν ἐπ' ὅρκου καὶ δὴ δοκέειν εἶναι ἐν Ὀρεσθείῳ στείχοντας ἐπὶ

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[1] His cousin; Euryanax was son of Dorieus, who was a brother of Pausanias' father Cleombrotus.

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and they gave the command to Pausanias son of Cleombrotus. The leader's place belonged of right to Pleistarchus son of Leonidas; but he was yet a boy, and Pausanias his guardian and cousin. For Cleombrotus, Pausanias' father and Anaxandrides' son, was no longer living; after he led away from the Isthmus the army which had built the wall, he lived but a little while ere his death. The reason of Cleombrotus' leading his army away from the Isthmus was that while he was offering sacrifice for victory over the Persian the sun was darkened in the heavens. Pausanias chose as his colleague a man of the same family,[1] Euryanax son of Dorieus.

11. So Pausanias' army had marched away from Sparta; but as soon as it was day, the envoys came before the ephors, having no knowledge of the expedition, and being minded themselves too to depart each one to his own place; and when they were come, "You Lacedaemonians," they said, "abide still where you are, keeping your Hyacinthia and disporting yourselves, leaving your allies deserted; the Athenians, for the wrong that you do them and for lack of allies, will make their peace with the Persian as best they can, and thereafter, seeing that plainly we shall be the king's allies, we will march with him against whatever land his men lead us. Then will you learn what the issue of this matter shall be for you." Thus spoke the envoys; and the ephors swore to them that they believed their army to be even now at Orestheum,[2] marching

[2] Other references place Orestheum N.W. of Sparta, therefore hardly on the direct route to the Isthmus.

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τοὺς ξεινους. ξείνους γὰρ ἐκάλεον τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἳ δὲ ὡς οὐκ εἰδότες ἐπειρώτων τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐπειρόμενοι δὲ ἐξέμαθον πᾶν τὸ ἐόν, ὥστε ἐν θώματι γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τὴν ταχίστην διώκοντες· σὺν δέ σφι τῶν περιοίκων Λακεδαιμονίων λογάδες πεντακισχίλιοι ὁπλῖται τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεον.

12. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἠπείγοντο· Ἀργεοῖι δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐξεληλυθότας ἐκ Σπάρτης, πέμπουσι κήρυκα τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, πρότερον αὐτοὶ Μαρδονίῳ ὑποδεξάμενοι σχήσειν τὸν Σπαρτιήτην μὴ ἐξιέναι· ὃς ἐπείτε ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μαρδόνιε, ἔπεμψάν με Ἀργεῖοι φράσοντά τοι ὅτι ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἐξεληλυθε ἡ νεότης, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυνατοὶ αὐτὴν ἔχειν εἰσὶ Ἀργεῖοι μὴ οὐκ ἐξιέναι. πρὸς ταῦτα τύγχανε εὖ βουλευόμενος."

13. Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μέν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας. ἐξήλαυνε

[1] Inhabitants of the country districts of Laconia, not enjoying the full privileges of Spartans.

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against the "strangers," as they called the foreigners. Having no knowledge of this, the envoys questioned them further as to what the tale might mean, and thereby learnt the whole truth; whereat they marvelled, and took the road with all speed after the army; and with them went likewise five thousand chosen men-at-arms of the Lacedaemonian countrymen.[1]

12. So they made haste to reach the Isthmus. But the Argives had already promised Mardonius that they would hinder the Spartan from going out to war; and as soon as they were informed that Pausanias and his army had departed from Sparta, they sent as their herald to Attica the swiftest runner of long distances that they could find; who, when he came to Athens, spoke on this wise to Mardonius: "I am sent by the Argives to tell you that the young men have gone out from Lacedaemon to war, and that the Argives cannot stay them from so doing; wherefore, may fortune grant you good counsel."

13. So spoke the herald, and departed back again; and when Mardonius heard that, he was no longer desirous of remaining in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his hand, desiring to know the Athenians' plan and what they would do, and neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still ever supposed that they would make terms with him; but when he could not move them, and learnt all the truth of the matter, he drew off from before Pausanias' army ere it entered the Isthmus; but first he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing. The reason of his

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δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὔτε ἱππασιμη ἡ χώρη ἦν ἡ Ἀττική, εἴ τε νικῷτο συμβαλών, ἀπάλλαξις οὐκ ἦν ὅτι μὴ κατὰ στεινόν, ὥστε ὀλίγους σφέας ἀνθρώπους ἴσχειν. ἐβουλεύετο ὦν ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐς τὰς Θήβας συμβαλεῖν πρὸς πόλι τε φιλίῃ καὶ χώρῃ ἱππασίμῳ.

14. Μαρδόνιος μὲν δὴ ὑπεξεχώρεε, ἤδη δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἐόντι αὐτῷ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη πρόδρομον ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἥκειν ἐς Μέγαρα, Λακεδαιμονίων χιλίους· πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύετο θέλων εἴ κως τούτους πρῶτον ἕλοι. ὑποστρέψας δὲ τὴν στρατιὴν ἦγε ἐπὶ τὰ Μέγαρα· ἡ δὲ ἵππος προελθοῦσα κατιππάσατο χώρην τὴν Μεγαρίδα. ἐς ταύτην δὴ ἑκαστάτω τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου δύνοντος ἡ Περσικὴ αὕτη στρατιὴ ἀπίκετο.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μαρδονίῳ ἦλθε ἀγγελίη ὡς ἁλέες εἴησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ. οὕτω δὴ ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο διὰ Δεκελέης· οἱ γὰρ βοιωτάρχαι μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς προσχώρους τῶν Ἀσωπίων, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγέοντο ἐς Σφενδαλέας, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Τάναγραν· ἐν Τανάγρῃ δὲ νύκτα ἐναυλισάμενος, καὶ τραπόμενος τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐς Σκῶλον ἐν γῇ τῇ Θηβαίων ἦν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καίπερ μηδιζόντων ἔκειρε τοὺς χώρους, οὔτι κατὰ ἔχθος αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης μεγάλης ἐχόμενος ἔρυμά τε τῷ στρατῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ ἢν συμβαλόντι οἱ μὴ ἐκβαίνῃ ὁκοῖόν τι ἐθέλοι, κρησφύγετον τοῦτο ἐποιέετο. παρῆκε δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ Ἐρυθρέων

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marching away was, that Attica was no country for horsemen's work, and if he should be worsted in a battle there was no way of retreat save one so narrow that a few men could stay his passage.[1] Wherefore it was his plan to retreat to Thebes and do battle where he had a friendly city at his back and ground fitted for horsemen.

14. So Mardonius drew his men off, and when he had now set forth on his road there came a message that over and above the rest an advance guard of a thousand Lacedaemonians was arrived at Megara; at which hearing he took counsel how he might first make an end of these; and he turned about and led his army against Megara, his horse going first and overrunning the lands of that city. That was the most westerly place in Europe to which this Persian armament attained.

15. Presently there came a message to Mardonius that the Greeks were gathered together on the Isthmus. Thereupon he marched back again through Decelea; for the rulers of Boeotia sent for those of the Asopus country that dwelt near, and these guided him to Sphendalae and thence to Tanagra, where he camped for the night; and on the next day he turned thence to Scolus, where he was in Theban territory. There he laid waste the lands of the Thebans, though they took the Persian part; not for any ill-will that he bore them, but because sheer necessity drove him to make a strong place for his army, and to have this for a refuge if the fortune of battle were other than he desired. His army covered the ground from Erythrae past

[1] He would have to retreat into Boeotia by way of the pass over Cithaeron.

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παρὰ Ὑσιάς, κατέτεινε δὲ ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν τεταγμένον. οὐ μέντοι τό γε τεῖχος τοσοῦτο ἐποιέετο, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους μάλιστά κῃ μέτωπον ἕκαστον.

16. Ἐχόντων δὲ τὸν πόνον τοῦτον τῶν βαρβάρων, Ἀτταγῖνος ὁ Φρύνωνος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος παρασκευασάμενος μεγάλως ἐκάλεε ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτόν τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ πεντήκοντα Περσέων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους, κληθέντες δὲ οὗτοι εἵποντο· ἦν δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ποιεύμενον ἐν Θήβῃσι. τάδε δὲ ἤδη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἤκουον Θερσάνδρου ἀνδρὸς μὲν Ὀρχομενίου, λογίμου δὲ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. ἔφη δὲ ὁ Θέρσανδρος κληθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Ἀτταγίνου ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦτο, κληθῆναι δὲ καὶ Θηβαίων ἄνδρας πεντήκοντα, καί σφεων οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρους κλῖναι, ἀλλὰ Πέρσην τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστῃ. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσην τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἱέντα εἰρέσθαι αὐτὸν ὁποδαπός ἐστι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς εἴη Ὀρχομένιος. τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "Ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁμοτράπεζός τέ μοι καὶ ὁμόσπονδος ἐγένεο, μνημόσυνά τοι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς καταλιπέσθαι θέλω, ἵνα καὶ προειδὼς αὐτὸς περὶ σεωυτοῦ βουλεύεσθαι ἔχῃς τὰ συμφέροντα. ὁρᾷς τούτους τοὺς δαινυμένους Πέρσας καὶ τὸν στρατὸν τὸν ἐλίπομεν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ στρατοπεδευόμενον· τούτων πάντων ὄψεαι ὀλίγου τινὸς χρόνου διελθόντος ὀλίγους τινὰς τοὺς περιγενομένους." ταῦτα ἅμα τε τὸν Πέρσην λέγειν καὶ μετιέναι πολλὰ τῶν δακρύων. αὐτὸς δὲ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν "Οὐκῶν Μαρδονίῳ τε ταῦτα χρεόν ἐστι λέγειν

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Hysiae and reached unto the lands of Plataeae, where it lay ranked by the Asopus river. I say not that the walled camp which he made was so great; each side of it was of a length of about ten furlongs.

16. While the foreigners were employed about this work, Attaginus son of Phrynon, a Theban, made great preparation and invited Mardonius with fifty who were the most notable of the Persians to be his guests at a banquet. They came as they were bidden; the dinner was given at Thebes. Now here follows the end of that matter, which was told me by Thersandrus of Orchomenus, one of the most notable men of that place. Thersandrus too (he said) was bidden to this dinner, and fifty Thebans besides; and Attaginus made them sit, not each man by himself, but on each couch a Persian and a Theban together. Now after dinner while they drank one with another, the Persian that sat with him asked Thersandrus in the Greek tongue of what country he was; and Thersandrus answered that he was of Orchomenus. Then said the Persian: "Since now you have eaten at the board with me and drunk with me thereafter, I would fain leave some record of my thought, that you yourself may have such knowledge as to take fitting counsel for your safety. See you these Persians at the banquet, and that host which we left encamped by the river side? of all these in a little while you shall see but a little remnant left alive"; and as he said this, the Persian wept bitterly. Marvelling at this saying, Thersandrus answered: "Must you not then tell this to Mardonius

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καὶ τοῖσι μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐν αἴνῃ ἐοῦσι Περσέων;" τὸν δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰπεῖν "Ξεῖνε, ὅ τι δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀμήχανον ἀποτρέψαι ἀνθρώπῳ· οὐδὲ γὰρ πιστὰ λέγουσι ἐθέλει πείθεσθαι οὐδείς. ταῦτα δὲ Περσέων συχνοὶ ἐπιστάμενοι ἑπόμεθα ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεδεμένοι, ἐχθίστη δὲ ὀδύνη ἐστὶ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι αὕτη, πολλὰ φρονέοντα μηδενὸς κρατέειν." ταῦτα μὲν Ὀρχομενίου Θερσάνδρου ἤκουον, καὶ τάδε πρὸς τούτοισι, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτίκα λέγοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρότερον ἢ γενέσθαι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν μάχην.

17. Μαρδονίου δὲ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίῃ στρατοπεδευομένου οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παρείχοντο ἅπαντες στρατιὴν καὶ συνεσέβαλον ἐς Ἀθήνας, ὅσοι περ ἐμήδιζον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, μοῦνοι δὲ Φωκέες οὐ συνεσέβαλον (ἐμήδιζον γὰρ δὴ σφόδρα καὶ οὗτοι) οὐκ ἑκόντες ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀναγκαίης. ἡμέρῃσι δὲ οὐ πολλῇσι μετὰ τὴν ἄπιξιν τὴν ἐς Θήβας ὕστερον ἦλθον αὐτῶν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἁρμοκύδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπίκατο καὶ οὗτοι ἐς Θήβας, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἱππέας ἐκέλευσε σφέας ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἵζεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα, αὐτίκα παρῆν ἵππος ἡ ἅπασα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διεξῆλθε μὲν διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Μήδων ἐόντος φήμη ὡς κατακοντιεῖ σφεας, διεξῆλθε δὲ δι' αὐτῶν Φωκέων τὠυτὸ τοῦτο. ἔνθα δή σφι ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἁρμοκύδης παραίνεε λέγων τοιάδε. "Ὦ Φωκέες, πρόδηλα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμέας οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι μέλλουσι προόπτῳ θανάτῳ δώσειν, διαβεβλημένους ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω· νῦν ἄνδρα πάντα τινὰ

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and those honourable Persians that are with him?" "Sir," said the Persian, "that which heaven wills to send no man can turn aside; for even truth finds none to believe it. What I have said is known to many of us Persians; but we follow, in the bonds of necessity. And it is the hatefulest of all human sorrows to have much knowledge and no power." This tale I heard from Thersandrus of Orchomenus; who said to me, moreover, that he had straightway told it to others before the fight of Plataeae.

17. So Mardonius was making his encampment in Boeotia; all the Greeks of that region who took the Persian part furnished fighting men, and they joined with him in his attack upon Athens, except only the Phocians: as to taking the Persian part, that they did in good sooth, albeit not willingly but of necessity. But when a few days were past after the Persians' coming to Thebes, there came a thousand Phocian men-at-arms, led by Harmocydes, the most notable of their countrymen. These also being arrived at Thebes, Mardonius sent horsemen and bade the Phocians take their station on the plain by themselves. When they had so done, straightway appeared the whole of the Persian cavalry; and presently it was bruited about through all the Greek army that was with Mardonius, and likewise among the Phocians themselves, that Mardonius would shoot them to death. Then their general Harmocydes exhorted them: "Men of Phocis," he said, "seeing it is plain that death at these fellows' hands stares us in the face (we being, as I surmise, maligned by the Thessalians); now it is meet for

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ὑμεων χρεον ἐστι γενεσθαι ἀγαθόν· κρέσσον γὰρ ποιεῦντά τι καὶ ἀμυνομένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν αἰῶνα ἤ περ παρέχοντας διαφθαρῆναι αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ. ἀλλὰ μαθέτω τις αὐτῶν ὅτι ἐόντες βάρβαροι ἐπ' Ἕλλησι ἀνδράσι φόνον ἔρραψαν."

18. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα παραίνεε· οἱ δὲ ἱππέες ἐπεί σφεας ἐκυκλώσαντο, ἐπήλαυνον ὡς ἀπολέοντες, καὶ δὴ διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀπήσοντες, καί κού τις καὶ ἀπῆκε. καὶ οἱ ἀντίοι ἔστησαν πάντῃ συστρέψαντες ἑωυτοὺς καὶ πυκνώσαντες ὡς μάλιστα. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέστρεφον καὶ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω. οὐκ ἔχω δ' ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν οὔτε εἰ ἦλθον μὲν ἀπολέοντες τοὺς Φωκέας δεηθέντων Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρων πρὸς ἀλέξησιν τραπομένους, δείσαντες μὴ καὶ σφίσι γένηται τρώματα, οὕτω δὴ ἀπήλαυνον ὀπίσω· ὡς γάρ σφι ἐνετείλατο Μαρδόνιος· οὔτ' εἰ αὐτῶν πειρηθῆναι ἠθέλησε εἴ τι ἀλκῆς μετέχουσι. ὡς δὲ ὀπίσω ἀπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, πέμψας Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Θαρσέετε ὦ Φωκέες· ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐφάνητε ἐόντες ἀγαθοί, οὐκ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην. καὶ νῦν προθύμως φέρετε τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον· εὐεργεσίῃσι γὰρ οὐ νικήσετε οὔτ' ὧν ἐμὲ οὔτε βασιλέα." τὰ περὶ Φωκέων μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὡς ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἦλθον, ἐν τούτῳ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ λοιποὶ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῖσι τὰ ἀμείνω ἐάνδανε, οἳ δὲ καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐξιόντας Σπαρτιήτας, οὐκ ἐδικαίευν λείπεσθαι τῆς ἐξόδου Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ καλλιερησάντων

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every one of you to play the man; for it is better to end our lives in action and fighting than tamely to suffer a shameful death. Nay, but we will teach them that they whose slaying they have devised are men of Hellas." Thus he exhorted them.

18. But when the horsemen had encircled the Phocians they rode at them as it were to slay them, and drew their bows to shoot, and 'tis like that some did even shoot. The Phocians fronted them every way, drawing in together and closing their ranks to the best of their power; whereat the horsemen wheeled about and rode back and away. Now I cannot with exactness say if they came at the Thessalians' desire to slay the Phocians, but, when they saw the men preparing to defend themselves, feared lest they themselves should suffer some hurt, and so rode away back (for such was Mardonius' command),—or if Mardonius desired to test the Phocians' mettle. But when the horsemen had ridden away, Mardonius sent a herald, with this message: "Men of Phocis, be of good courage; for you have shown yourselves to be valiant men, and not as it was reported to me. And now push this war zealously forward; for you will outdo neither myself nor the king in the rendering of service."[1] Thus far went the Phocian business.

19. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they were come to the Isthmus, they encamped there. When the rest of the Peloponnesians who chose the better cause heard that, seeing the Spartans setting forth to war, they deemed it was not for them to be behind the Lacedaemonians in so doing. Wherefore they all marched from the Isthmus (the omens of

[1] That is, serve us and we will serve you.

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τῶν ἱρῶν ἐπορεύοντο πάντες καὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα· ποιήσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἱρά, ὥς σφι ἐκαλλιέρεε, τὸ πρόσω ἐπορεύοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἅμα αὐτοῖσι, διαβάντες μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, συμμιγέντες δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ὡς δὲ ἄρα ἀπίκοντο τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐς Ἐρυθράς, ἔμαθόν τε δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ στρατοπεδευομένους, φρασθέντες δὲ τοῦτο ἀντετάσσοντο ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

20. Μαρδόνιος δέ, ὡς οὐ κατέβαινον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐς τὸ πεδίον, πέμπει ἐς αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἵππον, τῆς ἱππάρχεε Μασίστιος εὐδοκιμέων παρὰ Πέρσῃσι, τὸν Ἕλληνες Μακίστιον καλέουσι, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, προσέβαλλον κατὰ τέλεα, προσβάλλοντες δὲ κακὰ μεγάλα ἐργάζοντο καὶ γυναῖκας σφέας ἀπεκάλεον.

21. Κατὰ συντυχίην δὲ Μεγαρέες ἔτυχον ταχθέντες τῇ τε ἐπιμαχώτατον ἦν τοῦ χωρίου παντός, καὶ πρόσοδος μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἐγίνετο τῇ ἵππῳ. προσβαλλούσης ὦν τῆς ἵππου οἱ Μεγαρέες πιεζόμενοι ἔπεμπον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκα, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ κῆρυξ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Μεγαρέες λέγουσι· ἡμεῖς, ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐ δυνατοί εἰμεν τὴν Περσέων ἵππον δέκεσθαι μοῦνοι, ἔχοντες στάσιν ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔστημεν ἀρχήν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τόδε λιπαρίῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ ἀντέχομεν καίπερ πιεζόμενοι. νῦν τε εἰ μή τινας ἄλλους πέμψετε διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος, ἴστε ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν." ὃ μὲν δή σφι ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλε, Παυσανίης δὲ ἀπε-

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sacrifice being favourable) and came to Eleusis; and when they had offered sacrifice there also and the omens were favourable, they held on their march further, having now the Athenians with them, who had crossed over from Salamis and joined with them at Eleusis. When they came (as it is said) to Erythrae in Boeotia, they learnt that the foreigners were encamped by the Asopus, and taking note of that they arrayed themselves over against the enemy on the lower hills of Cithaeron.

20. The Greeks not coming down into the plain, Mardonius sent against them all his horse, whose commander was Masistius (whom the Greeks call Macistius), a man much honoured among the Persians; he rode a Nesaean horse that had a golden bit and was at all points gaily adorned. Thereupon the horsemen rode up to the Greeks and charged them by squadrons, doing them much hurt thereby and calling them women.

21. Now it chanced that the Megarians were posted in that part of the field which was openest to attack, and here the horsemen found the readiest approach. Wherefore, being hard pressed by the charges, the Megarians sent a herald to the generals of the Greeks, who came to them and thus spoke: "From the men of Megara to their allies: We cannot alone withstand the Persian horse (albeit we have till now held our ground with patience and valour, though hard pressed) in this post whereunto we were first appointed; and now be well assured that we will leave our post, except you send others to take our place therein." Thus the herald reported, and

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πειρᾶτο τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινες ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοι ἐθελονταὶ ἰέναι τε ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον καὶ τάσσεσθαι διάδοχοι Μεγαρεῦσι. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ Ἀθηναίων οἱ τριηκόσιοι λογάδες, τῶν ἐλοχήγεε Ὀλυμπιόδωρος ὁ Λάμπωνος.

22. Οὗτοι ἦσαν οἵ τε ὑποδεξάμενοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, τοὺς τοξότας προσελόμενοι. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ χρόνον τέλος τοιόνδε ἐγένετο τῆς μάχης. προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα, ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος βάλλεται τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά, ἀλγήσας δὲ ἵσταταί τε ὀρθὸς καὶ ἀποσείεται τὸν Μασίστιον· πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο. τόν τε δὴ ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνουσι καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι, κατ' ἀρχὰς οὐ δυνάμενοι. ἐνεσκεύαστο γὰρ οὕτω· ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσεον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε. τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν οὐδέν, πρίν γε δὴ μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον παίει μιν ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε. ταῦτα δέ κως γινόμενα ἐλελήθεε τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας· οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς οὐκ ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔστησαν, αὐτίκα ἐπόθεσαν, ὥς σφεας οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ τάσσων μαθόντες δὲ τὸ γεγονός, διακελευσάμενοι ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους πάντες, ὡς ἂν τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελοίατο.

23. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι κατὰ τέλεα προσελαύνοντας τοὺς ἱππέας ἀλλὰ πάντας, τὴν

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Pausanias inquired among the Greeks if any would offer themselves to go to that place and relieve the Megarians by holding the post. None other would go; but the Athenians took it upon themselves, even three hundred picked men of Athens, whose captain was Olympiodorus son of Lampon.

22. These were they who took it upon themselves, and were posted at Erythrae in advance of the whole Greek army; and they took with them the archers also. For a long time they fought; and the end of the battle was as I shall show. The horsemen charged by squadrons; and Masistius' horse, being at the head of the rest, was smitten in the side by an arrow, and rearing up in its pain it threw Masistius; who when he fell was straightway set upon by the Athenians. His horse they took then and there, and he himself was slain fighting, though at first they could not kill him; for the fashion of his armour was such, that he wore a purple tunic over a cuirass of golden scales that was within it; and it was all in vain that they smote at the cuirass, till someone saw what they did and stabbed him in the eye, so that he fell dead. But as chance would have it the rest of the horsemen knew nought of this; for they had not seen him fall from his horse, or die; and they wheeled about and rode back without perceiving what was done. But as soon as they halted they saw what they lacked, since there was none to order them; and when they perceived what had chanced, they gave each other the word, and all rode together to recover the dead body.

23. When the Athenians saw the horsemen riding at them, not by squadrons as before, but all together,

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ἄλλην στρατιὴν ἐπεβώσαντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ πεζὸς ἅπας ἐβοήθεε, ἐν τούτῳ μάχη ὀξέα περὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ γίνεται. ἕως μέν νυν μοῦνοι ἦσαν οἱ τριηκόσιοι, ἐσσοῦντό τε πολλὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπέλειπον· ὡς δέ σφι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεβοήθησε, οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι οἱ ἱππόται ὑπέμενον οὐδέ σφι ἐξεγένετο τὸν νεκρὸν ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνῳ ἄλλους προσαπώλεσαν τῶν ἱππέων. ἀποστήσαντες ὦν ὅσον τε δύο στάδια ἐβουλεύοντο ὅ τι χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν· ἐδόκεε δέ σφι ἀναρχίης ἐούσης ἀπελαύνειν παρὰ Μαρδόνιον.

24. Ἀπικομένης δὲ τῆς ἵππου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ· ἅπασαν γὰρ τὴν Βοιωτίην κατεῖχε ἠχὼ ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀπολομένου μετά γε Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου παρά τε Πέρσῃσι καὶ βασιλέι.

25. Οἱ μέν νυν βάρβαροι τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀποθανόντα ἐτίμων Μασίστιον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς τὴν ἵππον ἐδέξαντο προσβάλλουσαν καὶ δεξάμενοι ὤσαντο, ἐθάρσησάν τε πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐς ἅμαξαν ἐσθέντες τὸν νεκρὸν παρὰ τὰς τάξις ἐκόμιζον· ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, τῶν δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίευν· ἐκλείποντες τὰς τάξις ἐφοίτων θεησόμενοι Μασίστιον. μετὰ δὲ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐπικαταβῆναι ἐς Πλαταιάς· ὁ γὰρ χῶρος ἐφαίνετο πολλῷ ἐὼν ἐπιτηδεότερός σφι ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ὁ Πλαταιικὸς τοῦ Ἐρυθραίου τά τε ἄλλα καὶ εὐυδρότερος. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην τὴν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ

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they cried to the rest of the army for help. While all their foot was rallying to aid, there waxed a sharp fight over the dead body. As long as the three hundred stood alone, they had the worst of the battle by far, and were nigh leaving the dead man; but when the main body came to their aid, then it was the horsemen that could no longer hold their ground, nor avail to recover the dead man, but they lost others of their comrades too besides Masistius. They drew off therefore and halted about two furlongs off, where they consulted what they should do; and resolved, as there was none to lead them, to ride away to Mardonius.

24. When the cavalry returned to the camp, Mardonius and all the army made very great mourning for Masistius, cutting their own hair and the hair of their horses and beasts of burden, and lamenting loud and long; for the sound of it was heard over all Boeotia, inasmuch as a man was dead who was next to Mardonius most esteemed by all Persia and the king.

25. So the foreigners honoured Masistius' death after their manner; but the Greeks were much heartened by their withstanding and repelling of the horsemen. And first they laid the dead man on a cart and carried him about their ranks; and the body was worth the viewing, for stature and goodliness; wherefore they would even leave their ranks and come to view Masistius. Presently they resolved that they would march down to Plataeae; for they saw that the ground there was in all ways fitter by much for encampment than at Erythrae, and chiefly because it was better watered. To this place, and to the Gargaphian spring that was there,

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ἐοῦσαν ἔδοξέ σφι χρεὸν εἶναι ἀπικέσθαι καὶ διαταχθέντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ἀναλαβόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ἤισαν διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρὰ Ὑσιὰς ἐς τὴν Πλαταιίδα γῆν, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐτάσσοντο κατὰ ἔθνεα πλησίον τῆς τε κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης καὶ τοῦ τεμένεος τοῦ Ἀνδροκράτεος τοῦ ἥρωος, διὰ ὄχθων τε οὐκ ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἀπέδου χώρου.

26. Ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ διατάξι ἐγένετο λόγων πολλῶν ὠθισμὸς Τεγεητέων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων· ἐδικαίευν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας, καὶ καινὰ καὶ παλαιὰ παραφέροντες ἔργα. τοῦτο μὲν οἱ Τεγεῆται ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς αἰεί κοτε ἀξιεύμεθα ταύτης τῆς τάξιος ἐκ τῶν συμμάχων ἁπάντων, ὅσαι ἤδη ἔξοδοι κοιναὶ ἐγένοντο Πελοποννησίοισι καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τὸ νέον, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπείτε Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπειρῶντο μετὰ τὸν Εὐρυσθέος θάνατον κατιόντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον· τότε εὑρόμεθα τοῦτο διὰ πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἐπεὶ μετὰ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἰώνων τῶν τότε ἐόντων ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐκβοηθήσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἱζόμεθα ἀντίοι τοῖσι κατιοῦσι, τότε ὧν λόγος Ὕλλον ἀγορεύσασθαι ὡς χρεὸν εἴη τὸν μὲν στρατὸν τῷ στρατῷ μὴ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Πελοποννησίου στρατοπέδου τὸν ἂν σφέων αὐτῶν κρίνωσι εἶναι ἄριστον, τοῦτόν οἱ μουνομαχῆσαι ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι. ἔδοξέ τε τοῖσι Πελοποννησίοισι ταῦτα εἶναι ποιητέα καὶ ἔταμον ὅρκιον ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ἢν μὲν Ὕλλος νικήσῃ τὸν Πελοποννησίων ἡγεμόνα, κατιέναι Ἡρακλείδας ἐπὶ τὰ πατρώια, ἢν δὲ νικηθῇ, τὰ

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they resolved that they must betake themselves and encamp in their several battalions; and they took up their arms and marched along the lower slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the lands of Plataeae, and when they were there they arrayed themselves nation by nation near the Gargaphian spring and the precinct of the hero Androcrates, among low hills and in a level country.

26. There, in the ordering of their battle, arose much dispute between the Tegeans and the Athenians; for each of them claimed that they should hold the second[1] wing of the army, justifying themselves by tales of deeds new and old. First said the Tegeans: "Of all the allies we have ever had the right to hold this post, in all campaigns ancient and late of the united Peloponnesian armies, ever since that time when the Heraclidae after Eurystheus' death essayed to return into the Peloponnese; that right we then gained, for the achievement which we will relate. When we mustered at the Isthmus for war, along with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and encamped over against the returning exiles, then (it is said) Hyllus[2] proclaimed his counsel that army should not be risked against army in battle, but that that champion in the host of the Peloponnesians whom they chose for their best should fight with him in single combat on agreed conditions. The Peloponnesians resolving that this should be so, they swore a compact that if Hyllus should vanquish the Peloponnesian champion, the Heraclidae should return to the land of their fathers, but if he were himself vanquished, then

[1] That is, the wing which was not held by the Lacedaemonians themselves. [2] Son of Heracles.

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ἔμπαλιν Ἡρακλείδας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὴν ἑκατόν τε ἐτέων μὴ ζητῆσαι κάτοδον ἐς Πελοπόννησον. προεκρίθη τε δὴ ἐκ πάντων τῶν συμμάχων ἐθελοντὴς Ἔχεμος ὁ Ἡερόπου τοῦ Φηγέος στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμέτερος, καὶ ἐμουνομάχησέ τε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε Ὕλλον. ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εὑρόμεθα ἐν Πελοποννησίοισί γε τοῖσι τότε καὶ ἄλλα γέρεα μεγάλα, τὰ διατελέομεν ἔχοντες, καὶ τοῦ κέρεος τοῦ ἑτέρου αἰεὶ ἡγεμονεύειν κοινῆς ἐξόδου γινομένης. ὑμῖν μέν νυν ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἀντιεύμεθα, ἀλλὰ διδόντες αἵρεσιν ὁκοτέρου βούλεσθε κέρεος ἄρχειν παρίεμεν· τοῦ δὲ ἑτέρου φαμὲν ἡμέας ἱκνέεσθαι ἡγεμονεύειν κατά περ ἐν τῷ πρόσθε χρόνῳ. χωρίς τε τούτου τοῦ ἀπηγημένου ἔργου ἀξιονικότερα εἰμὲν Ἀθηναίων ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ εὖ ἔχοντες πρὸς ὑμέας ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Σπαρτιῆται, ἀγῶνες ἀγωνίδαται, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους. οὕτω ὦν δίκαιον ἡμέας ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἤ περ Ἀθηναίους· οὐ γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἔργα οἷά περ ἡμῖν κατεργασμένα, οὔτ' ὦν καινὰ οὔτε παλαιά."

27. Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο τάδε. "Ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν σύνοδον τήνδε μάχης εἵνεκα συλλεγῆναι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Τεγεήτης προέθηκε παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ λέγειν τὰ ἑκατέροισι ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ κατέργασται χρηστά, ἀναγκαίως ἡμῖν ἔχει δηλῶσαι πρὸς ὑμέας ὅθεν ἡμῖν πατρώιον ἐστὶ ἐοῦσι χρηστοῖσι αἰεὶ πρώτοισι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ Ἀρκάσι. Ἡρακλείδας, τῶν οὗτοι φασὶ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, τοῦτο

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contrariwise the Heraclidae should depart and lead their army away, and not seek to return to the Peloponnese till a hundred years were past. Then our general and king Echemus, son of Phegeus' son Eëropus, offered himself and was chosen out of all the allied host; and he fought that duel and slew Hyllus. For that feat of arms the Peloponnesians of that day granted us this also among other great privileges which we have never ceased to possess, that in all united campaigns we should ever lead the army's second wing. Now with you, men of Lacedaemon, we have no rivalry, but forbear and bid you choose the command of whichever wing you will; but this we say, that our place is at the head of the other, as ever aforetime. And setting aside that feat which we have related, we are worthier than the Athenians to hold that post; for many are the fields on which we have fought with happy event in regard to you, men of Lacedaemon, and others besides. It is just, therefore, that we and not the Athenians should hold the second wing; for never early or late have they achieved such feats of arms as we."

27. Thus they spoke; and thus the Athenians replied: "It is our belief that we are here gathered in concourse for battle with the foreigner, and not for discourses; but since the man of Tegea has made it his business to speak of all the valorous deeds, old and new, which either of our nations has at any time achieved, needs must that we prove to you how we, rather than Arcadians, have in virtue of our valour an hereditary right to the place of honour. These Tegeans say that they slew the leader of the Heraclidae at the Isthmus; now when those same Hera-

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μὲν τούτους, πρότερον ἐξελαυνομένους ὑπὸ πάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοὺς ἀπικοίατο φεύγοντες δουλοσύνην πρὸς Μυκηναίων, μοῦνοι ὑποδεξάμενοι τὴν Εὐρυσθέος ὕβριν κατείλομεν, σὺν ἐκείνοισι μάχῃ νικήσαντες τοὺς τότε ἔχοντας Πελοπόννησον. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀργείους τοὺς μετὰ Πολυνείκεος ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐλάσαντας, τελευτήσαντας τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἀτάφους κειμένους, στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Καδμείους ἀνελέσθαι τε τοὺς νεκροὺς φαμὲν καὶ θάψαι τῆς ἡμετέρης ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι. ἔστι δὲ ἡμῖν ἔργον εὖ ἔχον καὶ ἐς Ἀμαζονίδας τὰς ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος ποταμοῦ ἐσβαλούσας κοτὲ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, καὶ ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ τι προέχει τούτων ἐπιμεμνῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἂν χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὡυτοὶ νῦν ἂν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι, καὶ τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι νῦν ἂν εἶεν ἀμείνονες. παλαιῶν μέν νυν ἔργων ἄλις ἔστω· ἡμῖν δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἀποδεδεγμένον, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ πολλά τε καὶ εὖ ἔχοντα εἰ τεοῖσι καὶ ἄλλοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔργου ἄξιοι εἰμὲν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτῳ, οἵτινες μοῦνοι Ἑλλήνων δὴ μουνομαχήσαντες τῷ Πέρσῃ καὶ ἔργῳ τοσούτῳ ἐπιχειρήσαντες περιεγενόμεθα καὶ ἐνικήσαμεν ἔθνεα ἔξ τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα. ἆρ' οὐ δίκαιοι εἰμὲν ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τούτου μούνου τοῦ ἔργου; ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τάξιος εἵνεκα στασιάζειν πρέπει, ἄρτιοι εἰμὲν πείθεσθαι ὑμῖν ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἵνα δοκέει ἐπιτηδεότατον ἡμέας εἶναι ἑστάναι καὶ κατ' οὕστινας· πάντῃ γὰρ τεταγμένοι πειρησόμεθα

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clidae had till then been rejected by every Greek people to whom they resorted to escape the tyranny of the Mycenaeans, we and none other received them[1]; and with them we vanquished those that then dwelt in the Peloponnese, and we broke the pride of Eurystheus. Furthermore, when the Argives who had marched with Polynices[2] against Thebes had there made an end of their lives and lay unburied, know that we sent our army against the Cadmeans and recovered the dead and buried them in Eleusis; and we have on record our great victory against the Amazons who once came from the river Thermodon and broke into Attica; and in the hard days of Troy we were second to none. But since it is idle to recall these matters—for they that were erstwhile valiant may now be of lesser mettle, and they that lacked mettle then may be better men now—enough of these doings of old time; and we, if we are known for no achievement (as we are, for more and greater than are any men in Hellas), yet from our feat of arms at Marathon we deserve to have this honour, yea, and more beside; seeing that alone of all Greeks we met the Persian single-handed, nor failed in that high enterprise, but overcame six and forty nations. Is it not our right to hold this post, for nought but that one feat? Yet seeing that this is no time for wrangling about our place in the battle, we are ready to obey you, men of Lacedaemon! and take whatso place and face whatso enemy you deem most fitting; wheresoever you set us, we will strive to be valiant

[1] Hyllus, pursued by his enemy Eurystheus, took refuge with the Athenians, and with their aid defeated and killed Eurystheus and his sons.

[2] When Polynices tried to recover Thebes from his brother Eteocles; see Aeschylus' "Seven against Thebes."

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εἶναι χρηστοί. ἐξηγέεσθε δὲ ὡς πεισομένων." οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἀμείβοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ἀνέβωσε ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιονικοτέρους εἶναι ἔχειν τὸ κέρας ἤ περ Ἀρκάδας. οὕτω δὴ ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὑπερεβάλοντο τοὺς Τεγεήτας.

28. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐτάσσοντο ὧδε οἱ ἐπιφοιτῶντές τε καὶ οἱ ἀρχὴν ἐλθόντες Ἑλλήνων. τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας εἶχον Λακεδαιμονίων μύριοι· τούτων δὲ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἐόντας Σπαρτιήτας ἐφύλασσον ψιλοὶ τῶν εἰλώτων πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι, περὶ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον ἑπτὰ τεταγμένοι. προσεχέας δὲ σφίσι εἵλοντο ἑστάναι οἱ Σπαρτιῆται τοὺς Τεγεήτας καὶ τιμῆς εἵνεκα καὶ ἀρετῆς· τούτων δ' ἦσαν ὁπλῖται χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἵσταντο Κορινθίων πεντακισχίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ σφίσι εὕροντο παρὰ Παυσανίεω ἑστάναι Ποτιδαιητέων τῶν ἐκ Παλλήνης τοὺς παρεόντας τριηκοσίους. τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἀρκάδες Ὀρχομένιοι ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Σικυώνιοι τρισχίλιοι. τούτων δὲ εἵχοντο Ἐπιδαυρίων ὀκτακόσιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους Τροιζηνίων ἐτάσσοντο χίλιοι, Τροιζηνίων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Λεπρεητέων διηκόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Μυκηναίων καὶ Τιρυνθίων τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Φλειάσιοι χίλιοι. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησαν Ἑρμιονέες τριηκόσιοι. Ἑρμιονέων δὲ ἐχόμενοι ἵσταντο Ἐρετριέων τε καὶ Στυρέων ἑξακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Χαλκιδέες τετρακόσιοι, τούτων δὲ Ἀμπρακιητέων πεντακόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Λευκαδίων καὶ Ἀνακτορίων ὀκτακόσιοι ἔστησαν, τούτων δὲ ἐχόμενοι Παλέες οἱ ἐκ Κεφαλ-

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men. Command us then, as knowing that we will obey." Thus the Athenians answered; and the whole army shouted aloud that the Athenians were worthier to hold the wing than the Arcadians. Thus the Athenians were preferred to the men of Tegea, and gained that place.

28. Presently the whole Greek army was arrayed as I shall show, both the later and the earliest comers. On the right wing were ten thousand Lacedaemonians; five thousand of these, who were Spartans, had a guard of thirty-five thousand light-armed helots, seven appointed for each man. The Spartans chose the Tegeans for their neighbours in the battle, both to do them honour, and for their valour; there were of these fifteen hundred men-at-arms. Next to these in the line were five thousand Corinthians, at whose desire Pausanias suffered the three hundred Potidaeans from Pallene then present to stand by them. Next to these were six hundred Arcadians from Orchomenus, and after them three thousand men of Sicyon. By these a thousand Troezenians were posted, and after them two hundred men of Lepreum, then four hundred from Mycenae and Tiryns, and next to them a thousand from Phlius. By these stood three hundred men of Hermione. Next to the men of Hermione were six hundred Eretrians and Styreans; next to them, four hundred Chalcidians; next again, five hundred Ampraciots. After these stood eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians, and next to them two hundred from

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λληνίης διηκόσιοι. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Αἰγινητέων πεντακόσιοι ἐτάχθησαν. παρὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάσσοντο Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι. εἴχοντο δὲ τούτων Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι. τελευταῖοι δὲ καὶ πρῶτοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάσσοντο, κέρας ἔχοντες τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὀκτακισχίλιοι· ἐστρατήγεε δ᾽ αὐτῶν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου.

29. Οὗτοι, πλὴν τῶν ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον τεταγμένων Σπαρτιήτῃσι, ἦσαν ὁπλῖται, σύμπαντες ἐόντες ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς τε μυριάδες καὶ ὀκτὼ χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἑπτά. ὁπλῖται μὲν οἱ πάντες συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον ἦσαν τοσοῦτοι, ψιλῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τόδε, τῆς μὲν Σπαρτιητικῆς τάξιος πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἄνδρες, ὡς ἐόντων ἑπτὰ περὶ ἕκαστον ἄνδρα, καὶ τούτων πᾶς τις παρήρτητο ὡς ἐς πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ψιλοί, ὡς εἷς περὶ ἕκαστον ἐὼν ἄνδρα, πεντακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τρισμύριοι ἦσαν.

30. Ψιλῶν μὲν δὴ τῶν ἁπάντων τῶν μαχίμων ἦν τὸ πλῆθος ἔξ τε μυριάδες καὶ ἐννέα χιλιάδες καὶ ἑκατοντάδες πέντε, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ τοῦ συνελθόντος ἐς Πλαταιὰς σύν τε ὁπλίτῃσι καὶ ψιλοῖσι τοῖσι μαχίμοισι ἕνδεκα μυριάδες ἦσαν, μιῆς χιλιάδος, πρὸς δὲ ὀκτακοσίων ἀνδρῶν καταδέουσαι. σὺν δὲ Θεσπιέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἐξεπληροῦντο αἱ ἕνδεκα μυριάδες· παρῆσαν γὰρ καὶ Θεσπιέων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ περιεόντες, ἀριθμὸν ἐς ὀκτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ὅπλα δὲ οὐδ᾽ οὗτοι εἶχον. οὗτοι μέν νυν ταχθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.

31. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπε-

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Pale in Cephallenia; after them in the array, five hundred Aeginetans; by them stood three thousand men of Megara, and next to these six hundred Plataeans. At the end, and first in the line, were the Athenians, on the left wing, eight thousand men; their general was Aristides son of Lysimachus.

29. All these, save the seven appointed to attend each Spartan, were men-at-arms, and the whole sum of them was thirty-eight thousand and seven hundred. This was the number of men-at-arms that mustered for war against the foreigner; as regarding the number of the light-armed men, there were in the Spartan array seven for each man-at-arms, that is, thirty-five thousand, and every one of these was equipped for war; the light-armed from the rest of Lacedaemon and Hellas were as one to every man-at-arms, and their number was thirty-four thousand and five hundred.

30. So the sum of all the light-armed men that were fighters was sixty-nine thousand and five hundred, and of the whole Greek army mustered at Plataeae, men-at-arms and light-armed fighting men together, eleven times ten thousand, lacking eighteen hundred. But the Thespians who were there present made up the full tale of an hundred and ten thousand; for the survivors[1] of the Thespians were also present with the army, eighteen hundred in number. These then were arrayed, and encamped by the Asopus.

31. When Mardonius' foreigners had finished their

[1] That is, who had not fallen at Thermopylae.

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κήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν τὸν ταύτῃ ῥέοντα. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἀντετάσσοντο ὧδε ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου. κατὰ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔστησε Πέρσας. καὶ δὴ πολλὸν γὰρ περιῆσαν πλήθεϊ οἱ Πέρσαι, ἐπί τε τάξις πλεῦνας ἐκεκοσμέατο καὶ ἐπεῖχον τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔταξε δὲ οὕτω· ὅ τι μὲν ἦν αὐτῶν δυνατώτατον πᾶν ἀπολέξας ἔστησε ἀντίον Λακεδαιμονίων, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστερον παρέταξε κατὰ τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίεε φραζόντων τε καὶ διδασκόντων Θηβαίων. Περσέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Μήδους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Κορινθίους τε καὶ Ποτιδαιήτας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους τε καὶ Σικυωνίους. Μήδων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε Βακτρίους· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἐπιδαυρίους τε καὶ Τροιζηνίους καὶ Λεπρεήτας τε καὶ Τιρυνθίους καὶ Μυκηναίους τε καὶ Φλειασίους. μετὰ δὲ Βακτρίους ἔστησε Ἰνδούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπέσχον Ἑρμιονέας τε καὶ Ἐρετριέας καὶ Στυρέας τε καὶ Χαλκιδέας. Ἰνδῶν δὲ ἐχομένους Σάκας ἔταξε, οἳ ἐπέσχον Ἀμπρακιήτας τε καὶ Ἀνακτορίους καὶ Λευκαδίους καὶ Παλέας καὶ Αἰγινήτας. Σακέων δὲ ἐχομένους ἔταξε ἀντία Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Πλαταιέων καὶ Μεγαρέων Βοιωτούς τε καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ Μηλιέας τε καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ Φωκέων τοὺς χιλίους· οὐ γὰρ ὧν ἅπαντες οἱ Φωκέες ἐμήδισαν, ἀλλὰ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων ηὔξον περὶ τὸν Παρνησσὸν κατειλημένοι, καὶ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμώμενοι ἔφερόν τε καὶ ἦγον τήν τε Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐόντας Ἑλλήνων. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ Μακε-

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mourning for Masistius, and heard that the Greeks were at Plataeae, they also came to the part of the Asopus river nearest to them. When they were there they were arrayed for battle by Mardonius as I shall show. He posted the Persians facing the Lacedaemonians; and seeing that the Persians by far outnumbered the Lacedaemonians, they were arrayed in deeper ranks and their line ran fronting the Tegeans also. In his arraying of them he chose out the strongest part of the Persians to set it over against the Lacedaemonians, and posted the weaker by them facing the Tegeans; this he did being so informed and taught by the Thebans. Next to the Persians he posted the Medes, fronting the men of Corinth and Potidaea and Orchomenus and Sicyon; next to the Medes, the Bactrians, fronting the men of Epidaurus, Troezen, Lepreum, Tiryns, Mycenae, and Phlius. After the Bactrians he set the Indians, fronting the men of Hermione and Eretria and Styra and Chalcis. Next to the Indians he posted the Sacae, fronting the Ampraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Aeginetans; next to the Sacae, and over against the Athenians and Plataeans and Megarians, the Boeotians and Locrians and Malians and Thessalians and the thousand that came from Phocis; for not all the Phocians took the Persian part, but some of them gave their aid to the Greek cause; these had been beleaguered on Parnassus, and issued out from thence to harry Mardonius' army and the Greeks that were with him. Besides these,

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δόνας τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην οἰκημένους κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

32. Ταῦτα μὲν τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ μέγιστα ὠνόμασται τῶν ὑπὸ Μαρδονίου ταχθέντων, τά περ ἐπιφανέστατά τε ἦν καὶ λόγου πλείστου· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων ἄνδρες ἀναμεμιγμένοι, Φρυγῶν τε καὶ Θρηίκων καὶ Μυσῶν τε καὶ Παιόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐν δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων οἵ τε Ἑρμοτύβιες καὶ οἱ Καλασίριες καλεόμενοι μαχαιροφόροι, οἵ περ εἰσὶ Αἰγυπτίων μοῦνοι μάχιμοι. τούτους δὲ ἔτι ἐν Φαλήρῳ ἐὼν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπεβιβάσατο ἐόντας ἐπιβάτας· οὐ γὰρ ἐτάχθησαν ἐς τὸν πεζὸν τὸν ἅμα Ξέρξῃ ἀπικόμενον ἐς Ἀθήνας Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν μὲν δὴ βαρβάρων ἦσαν τριήκοντα μυριάδες, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται· τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων τῶν Μαρδονίου συμμάχων οἶδε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀριθμόν· οὐ γὰρ ὦν ἠριθμήθησαν· ὡς δὲ ἐπεικάσαι, ἐς πέντε μυριάδας συλλεγῆναι εἰκάζω. οὗτοι οἱ παραταχθέντες πεζοὶ ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ ἵππος χωρὶς ἐτέτακτο.

33. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαύτα τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφότεροι. Ἕλλησι μὲν Τισαμενὸς Ἀντιόχου ἦν ὁ θυόμενος· οὗτος γὰρ δὴ εἵπετο τῷ στρατεύματι τούτῳ μάντις· τὸν ἐόντα Ἠλεῖον καὶ γένεος τοῦ Ἰαμιδέων [Κλυτιάδην] Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποιήσαντο λεωσφέτερον. Τισαμενῷ γὰρ μαντευομένῳ ἐν Δελφοῖσι περὶ γόνου ἀνεῖλε ἡ Πυθίη ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ἀναιρήσεσθαι πέντε. ὁ μὲν δὴ

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[1] The Egyptian military classes mentioned in Bk. II. 164.

[2] The Iamidae were a priestly family, the members of

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he arrayed against the Athenians Macedonians also and the dwellers about Thessaly.

32. These that I have named were the greatest of the nations set in array by Mardonius that were of most note and account; but there was also in the army a mixed multitude of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the rest, besides Ethiopians and the Egyptian swordsmen called Hermotybies and Calasiries,[1] who are the only fighting men in Egypt. These had been fighters on shipboard, till Mardonius while yet at Phalerum disembarked them from their ships; for the Egyptians were not appointed to serve in the land army which Xerxes led to Athens. Of the foreigners, then, there were three hundred thousand, as I have already shown; as for the Greek allies of Mardonius, none knows the number of them, for they were not counted; but as far as guessing may serve, I suppose them to have been mustered to the number of fifty thousand. These were the footmen that were set in array; the cavalry were separately ordered.

33. When they had all been arrayed in their nations and their battalions, on the second day thereafter both armies offered sacrifice. For the Greeks, Tisamenus it was that sacrificed; for he was with their army as a diviner; he was an Elean by birth, a Clytiad of the Iamid clan,[2] and the Lacedaemonians gave him the freedom of their city. For when Tisamenus was inquiring of the oracle at Delphi concerning issue, the priestess prophesied to him that he should win five great victories. Not under-

which were found in all parts of Hellas. The Clytiadae were also Elean priests, but quite separate from the Iamidae; so Stein is probably right in bracketing Κλυτιάδην.

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ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρηστηρίου προσεῖχε γυμνασίοισι ὡς ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον παρὰ ἓν πάλαισμα ἔδραμε νικᾶν Ὀλυμπιάδα, Ἱερωνύμῳ τῷ Ἀνδρίῳ ἐλθὼν ἐς ἔριν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μαθόντες οὐκ ἐς γυμνικοὺς ἀλλ' ἐς ἀρήιους ἀγῶνας φέρον τὸ Τισαμενοῦ μαντήιον, μισθῷ ἐπειρῶντο πείσαντες Τισαμενὸν ποιέεσθαι ἅμα Ἡρακλειδέων τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. ὁ δὲ ὁρέων περὶ πολλοῦ ποιευμένους Σπαρτιήτας φίλον αὐτὸν προσθέσθαι, μαθὼν τοῦτο ἀνετίμα, σημαίνων σφι ὡς ἤν μιν πολιήτην σφέτερον ποιήσωνται τῶν πάντων μεταδιδόντες, ποιήσει ταῦτα, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ μισθῷ δ' οὔ. Σπαρτιῆται δὲ πρῶτα μὲν ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιεῦντο καὶ μετίεσαν τῆς χρησμοσύνης τὸ παράπαν, τέλος δὲ δείματος μεγάλου ἐπικρεμαμένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ τούτου στρατεύματος καταίνεον μετιόντες. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τετραμμένους σφέας οὐδ' οὕτω ἔτι ἔφη ἀρκέεσθαι τούτοισι μούνοισι, ἀλλὰ δεῖν ἔτι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ Ἡγίην γίνεσθαι Σπαρτιήτην ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.

34. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων οὗτος ἐμιμέετο Μελάμποδα, ὡς εἰκάσαι βασιληίην τε καὶ πολιτηίην αἰτεομένους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μελάμπους τῶν ἐν Ἄργεϊ γυναικῶν μανεισέων, ὥς μιν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐμισθοῦντο ἐκ Πύλου παῦσαι τὰς σφετέρας γυναῖκας τῆς νούσου, μισθὸν προετείνατο τῆς βασιληίης τὸ ἥμισυ. οὐκ ἀνασχομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων ἀλλ' ἀπιόντων, ὡς ἐμαίνοντο πλεῦνες τῶν γυναικῶν,

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[1] The five events of the Pentathlum were running, jumping, wrestling, and throwing of the spear and the discus.

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standing that oracle, he betook himself to bodily exercises, thinking so to win in such-like sports; and having trained himself for the Five Contests,[1] he came within one wrestling bout of winning the Olympic prize, in a match with Hieronymus of Andros. But the Lacedaemonians perceived that the oracle given to Tisamenus spake of the lists not of sport but of war; and they essayed to bribe Tisamenus to be a leader in their wars, jointly with their kings of Heracles' line. But when he saw that the Spartans set great store by his friendship, with this knowledge he set his price higher, and made it known to them that for no reward would he do their will save for the gift of full citizenship and all a citizen's rights. Hearing that, the Spartans at first were angry and ceased wholly from their request; but when the dreadful menace of this Persian host overhung them they consented and granted his demand. But when he saw their purpose changed, he said that not even so and with that only would he be content; his brother Hegias too must be made a Spartan on the same terms as himself.

34. By so saying he imitated Melampus, in so far as one may compare demands for kingship and for citizenship. For when the women of Argos had gone mad, and the Argives would fain hire him to come from Pylos and heal them of that madness,[2] Melampus demanded half of their kingship for his wages; which the Argives could not suffer, and so departed; but when the madness spread among their women,

[2] According to the legend, the Argive women were driven mad by Dionysus for refusing to take part in his orgies, and cured by Melampus. Many Greek authors refer to it, with varying details.

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οὕτω δὴ ὑποστάντες τὰ ὁ Μελάμπους προετείνατο ἤισαν δώσοντές οἱ ταῦτα. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπορέγεται ὁρέων αὐτοὺς τετραμμένους, φάς, ἢν μὴ καὶ τῷ ἀδελφεῷ Βίαντι μεταδῶσι τὸ τριτημόριον τῆς βασιληίης, οὐ ποιήσειν τὰ βούλονται. οἱ δὲ Αργεῖοι ἀπειληθέντες ἐς στεινὸν καταινέουσι καὶ ταῦτα.

35. Ὡς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιῆται, ἐδέοντο γὰρ δεινῶς τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ, πάντως συνεχώρεόν οἱ. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, οὕτω δὴ πέντε σφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἠλεῖος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταιρέει. μοῦνοι δὲ δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο οὗτοι Σπαρτιήτῃσι πολιῆται. οἱ δὲ πέντε ἀγῶνες οἵδε ἐγένοντο, εἷς μὲν καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος ὁ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ ἐν Τεγέῃ πρὸς Τεγεήτας τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος, μετὰ δὲ ὁ ἐν Διπαιεῦσι πρὸς Ἀρκάδας πάντας πλὴν Μαντινέων, ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ Μεσσηνίων ὁ πρὸς Ἰθώμῃ, ὕστατος δὲ ὁ ἐν Τανάγρῃ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Ἀργείους γενόμενος· οὗτος δὲ ὕστατος κατεργάσθη τῶν πέντε ἀγώνων.

36. Οὗτος δὴ τότε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ὁ Τισαμενός, ἀγόντων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, ἐμαντεύετο ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι. τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἕλλησι καλὰ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρὰ ἀμυνομένοισι, διαβᾶσι δὲ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν καὶ μάχης ἄρχουσι οὔ.

37. Μαρδονίῳ δὲ προθυμεομένῳ μάχης ἄρχειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά, ἀμυνομένῳ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ καλά. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἱροῖσι ἐχρᾶτο, μάντιν ἔχων Ἡγησίστρατον ἄνδρα Ἠλεῖον

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thereat they promised what Melampus demanded and were ready to give it to him. Thereupon, seeing their purpose changed, he asked yet more, and said that he would not do their will except they gave a third of their kingship to his brother Bias; and the Argives, driven thus into a strait, consented to that also.

35. Thus the Spartans too were so eagerly desirous of winning Tisamenus that they granted all his demand. When they had granted him this also, then did Tisamenus of Elis, now become a Spartan, ply his divination for them and aid them to win five very great victories. None on earth save Tisamenus and his brother ever became citizens of Sparta. Now the five victories were these: one, the first, this victory at Plataeae; next that which was won at Tegea over the Tegeans and Argives; after that, over all the Arcadians save the Mantineans at Dipaea; next, over the Messenians at Ithome; lastly, the victory at Tanagra over the Athenians and Argives, which was the last won of the five victories.[1]

36. This Tisamenus had now been brought by the Spartans and was the diviner of the Greeks in the lands of Plataeae. Now the sacrifices boded good to the Greeks if they should but defend themselves, but evil if they should cross the Asopus and be the first to attack.

37. But Mardonius' sacrifices also boded nought to his liking if he should be zealous to attack first, and good if he should but defend himself; for he too used the Greek manner of sacrifice; Hegesistratus

[1] The battle at Ithome was apparently in the third Messenian war; that at Tanagra, in 457 B.C. (Thucyd. i. 107). Nothing is known of the battles at Tegea and Dipaea.

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τε καὶ τῶν Τελλιαδέων ἐόντα λογιμώτατον, τὸν δὴ πρότερον τούτων Σπαρτιῆται λαβόντες ἔδησαν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ὡς πεπονθότες πολλά τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ ἐχόμενος, ὥστε τρέχων περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρό τε τοῦ θανάτου πεισόμενος πολλά τε καὶ λυγρά, ἔργον ἐργάσατο μέζον λόγου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἐδέδετο ἐν ξύλῳ σιδηροδέτῳ, ἐσενειχθέντος κως σιδηρίου ἐκράτησε, αὐτίκα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀνδρηιότατον ἔργον πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· σταθμησάμενος γὰρ ὅκως ἐξελεύσεταί οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ ποδός, ἀπέταμε τὸν ταρσὸν ἑωυτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας, ὡς φυλασσόμενος ὑπὸ φυλάκων, διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Τεγέην, τὰς μὲν νύκτας πορευόμενος, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας καταδύνων ἐς ὕλην καὶ αὐλιζόμενος, οὕτω ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων πανδημεὶ διζημένων τρίτῃ εὐφρόνῃ γενέσθαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν θώματι μεγάλῳ ἐνέχεσθαι τῆς τε τόλμης, ὁρῶντας τὸ ἡμίτομον τοῦ ποδὸς κείμενον, κἀκεῖνον οὐ δυναμένους εὑρεῖν. τότε μὲν οὕτω διαφυγὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καταφεύγει ἐς Τεγέην ἐοῦσαν οὐκ ἀρθμίην Λακεδαιμονίοισι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον· ὑγιὴς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ προσποιησάμενος ξύλινον πόδα κατεστήκεε ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης Λακεδαιμονίοισι πολέμιος. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τέλος οἱ συνήνεικε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ ἐς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκεκυρημένον· ἥλω γὰρ μαντευόμενος ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανε.

38. Ὁ μέντοι θάνατος ὁ Ἡγησιστράτου ὕστερον ἐγένετο τῶν Πλαταιικῶν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀσωπῷ Μαρδονίῳ μεμισθωμένος οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐθύετό τε καὶ προεθυμέετο κατά τε τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ

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of Elis was his diviner, the most notable of the sons of Tellias. This man had been put in prison and doomed to die by the Spartans for the much harm that he had done them. Being in this evil case, inasmuch as he was in peril of his life and like to be very grievously maltreated ere his death, he did a deed well nigh past believing: being made fast in iron-bound stocks, he got an iron weapon that was brought in some wise into his prison, and straightway conceived a plan of such hardihood as we have never known; reckoning how best the rest of it might get free, he cut off his own foot at the instep. This done, he burrowed through the wall out of the way of the guards that kept ward over him, and so escaped to Tegea; all night he journeyed and all day he hid and lay close in the woods, till on the third night he came to Tegea, while all the people of Lacedaemon sought him; and they were greatly amazed, seeing the half of his foot cut off and lying there, but not being able to find the man himself. Thus did he then escape from the Lacedaemonians and take refuge in Tegea, which at that time was unfriendly to Lacedaemon; and after he was healed and had made himself a foot of wood, he declared himself an open enemy of the Lacedaemonians. Yet the enmity that he bore them brought him no good at the last; for they caught him at his divinations in Zacynthus, and slew him.

38. Howbeit, the death of Hegesistratus happened after the Plataean business; at the present he was by the Asopus, hired by Mardonius for no small wage, where he sacrificed and wrought zealously, both for the hatred he bore the Lacedaemonians,

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κατὰ τὸ κέρδος. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρεε ὥστε μάχεσθαι οὔτε αὐτοῖσι Πέρσῃσι οὔτε τοῖσι μετ' ἐκείνων ἐοῦσι Ἑλλήνων (εἶχον γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μάντιν Ἱππόμαχον Λευκάδιον ἄνδρα), ἐπιρρεόντων δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ γινομένων πλεύνων, Τιμηγενίδης ὁ Ἕρπυος ἀνὴρ Θηβαῖος συνεβούλευσε Μαρδονίῳ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φυλάξαι, λέγων ὡς ἐπιρρέουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην καὶ ὡς ἀπολάμψοιτο συχνούς.

39. Ἡμέραι δέ σφι ἀντικατημένοισι ἤδη ἐγεγόνεσαν ὀκτώ, ὅτε ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος συνεβούλευε Μαρδονίῳ. ὃ δὲ μαθὼν τὴν παραίνεσιν εὖ ἔχουσαν, ὡς εὐφρόνη ἐγένετο, πέμπει τὴν ἵππον ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς τὰς Κιθαιρωνίδας αἳ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι, τὰς Βοιωτοὶ μὲν Τρεῖς κεφαλὰς καλέουσι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Δρυὸς κεφαλάς. πεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ ἱππόται οὐ μάτην ἀπίκοντο· ἐσβάλλοντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ πεδίον λαμβάνουσι ὑποζύγιά τε πεντακόσια, σιτία ἄγοντα ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ ἀνθρώπους οἳ εἵποντο τοῖσι ζεύγεσι. ἑλόντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἄγρην οἱ Πέρσαι ἀφειδέως ἐφόνευον, οὐ φειδόμενοι οὔτε ὑποζυγίου οὐδενὸς οὔτε ἀνθρώπου. ὡς δὲ ἄδην εἶχον κτείνοντες, τὰ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν ἤλαυνον περιβαλόμενοι παρά τε Μαρδόνιον καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

40. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἑτέρας δύο ἡμέρας διέτριψαν, οὐδέτεροι βουλόμενοι μάχης ἄρξαι· μέχρι μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ἐπήισαν οἱ βάρβαροι πειρώμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, διέβαινον δὲ οὐδέτεροι. ἡ μέντοι ἵππος ἡ Μαρδονίου αἰεὶ προσέκειτό τε καὶ ἐλύπεε τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι, ἅτε μηδίζοντες μεγάλως, προθύμως ἔφερον τὸν πόλε-

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and for gain. But when no favourable omens for battle could be won either by the Persians themselves or by the Greeks that were with them (for they too had a diviner of their own, Hippomachus of Leucas), and the Greeks the while were ever flocking in and their army grew, Timagenides son of Herpys, a Theban, counselled Mardonius to guard the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron, telling him that the Greeks were ever flocking in daily and that he would thereby cut off many of them.

39. The armies had now lain over against each other for eight days when he gave this counsel. Mardonius perceived that the advice was good; and when night had fallen he sent his horsemen to the outlet of the pass over Cithaeron that leads towards Plataeae, which pass the Boeotians call the Three Heads, and the Athenians the Oaks' Heads. This despatch of the horsemen was no fruitless one; for they caught five hundred beasts of burden issuing into the low country, bringing provision from the Peloponnese for the army, and men that came with the waggons; having taken which quarry the Persians slew without mercy, sparing neither man nor beast. When they had their fill of slaughter, they set what remained in their midst and drove them to Mardonius and his camp.

40. After this deed they waited two days more, neither side desiring to begin the battle; for though the foreigners came to the Asopus to make trial of the Greeks' purpose, neither army crossed it. Howbeit Mardonius' horse was ever besetting and troubling the Greeks; for the Thebans, in their zeal for the Persian part, waged war heartily, and

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μον καὶ αἰεὶ κατηγέοντο μέχρι μάχης, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου παραδεκόμενοι Πέρσαι τε καὶ Μῆδοι μάλα ἔσκον οἳ ἀπεδείκνυντο ἀρετάς.

41. Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν δέκα ἡμερέων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦν ἐγίνετο τούτων· ὡς δὲ ἑνδεκάτη ἐγεγόνεε ἡμέρη ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, οἵ τε δὴ Ἕλληνες πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐγεγόνεσαν καὶ Μαρδόνιος περιημέκτεε τῇ ἕδρῃ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐς λόγους ἦλθον Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γοβρύεω καὶ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ Φαρνάκεος, ὃς ἐν ὀλίγοισι Περσέων ἦν ἀνὴρ δόκιμος παρὰ Ξέρξῃ. βουλευομένων δὲ αἵδε ἦσαν αἱ γνῶμαι, ἣ μὲν Ἀρταβάζου ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὴν ταχίστην πάντα τὸν στρατὸν ἰέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Θηβαίων, ἔνθα σῖτόν τέ σφι ἐσενηνεῖχθαι πολλὸν καὶ χόρτον τοῖσι ὑποζυγίοισι, κατ᾽ ἡσυχίην τε ἰζομένους διαπρήσσεσθαι ποιεῦντας τάδε· ἔχειν γὰρ χρυσὸν πολλὸν μὲν ἐπίσημον πολλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄσημον, πολλὸν δὲ ἄργυρόν τε καὶ ἐκπώματα· τούτων φειδομένους μηδενὸς διαπέμπειν ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, Ἑλλήνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐς τοὺς προεστεῶτας ἐν τῇσι πόλισι, καὶ ταχέως σφέας παραδώσειν τὴν ἐλευθερίην· μηδὲ ἀνακινδυνεύειν συμβάλλοντας. τούτου μὲν ἡ αὐτὴ ἐγίνετο καὶ Θηβαίων γνώμη, ὡς προειδότος πλεῦν τι καὶ τούτου, Μαρδονίου δὲ ἰσχυροτέρη τε καὶ ἀγνωμονεστέρη καὶ οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη· δοκέειν τε γὰρ πολλῷ κρέσσονα εἶναι τὴν σφετέρην στρατιὴν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς, συμβάλλειν τε τὴν ταχίστην μηδὲ περιορᾶν συλλεγομένους ἔτι πλεῦνας τῶν συλλελεγμένων, τά τε σφάγια τὰ Ἡγησισ-

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were ever guiding the horsemen to the encounter; thereafter it was the turn of the Persians and Medes, and they and none other would do deeds of valour.

41. Until the ten days were past no more was done than this; but on the eleventh day from their first encampment over against each other, the Greeks growing greatly in number and Mardonius being sore vexed by the delay, there was a debate held between Mardonius son of Gobryas and Artabazus son of Pharnaces, who stood as high as but few others in Xerxes' esteem; and their opinions in council were as I will show. Artabazus held it best that they should strike their camp with all speed and lead the whole army within the walls of Thebes, where they had much provision stored and fodder for their beasts of burden, and where they could sit at their ease and despatch the business by taking the great store they had of gold, minted and other, and silver and drinking-cups, and sending all this without stint to all places in Hellas, but especially to the chief men in the cities of Hellas; let them do this (said he) and the Greeks would quickly surrender their liberty; but let not the Persians risk the event of a battle. This opinion of his was the same as the Thebans', inasmuch as he too had especial foreknowledge; but Mardonius' counsel was more vehement and intemperate and nowise leaning to moderation; for (said he) he deemed that their army was by much stronger than the Greeks', and that they should give battle with all speed, and not suffer yet more Greeks to muster than were mustered already; as for the sacrifices of Hegesistratus, let them pay no heed to these, nor

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τράτου ἐᾶν χαίρειν μηδὲ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τῷ Περσέων χρεωμένους συμβάλλειν.

42. Τούτου δὲ οὕτω δικαιεῦντος ἀντέλεγε οὐδείς, ὥστε ἐκράτεε τῇ γνώμῃ· τὸ γὰρ κράτος εἶχε τῆς στρατιῆς οὗτος ἐκ βασιλέος, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀρτάβαζος. μεταπεμψάμενος ὦν τοὺς ταξιάρχους τῶν τελέων καὶ τῶν μετ' ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰρώτα εἴ τι εἰδεῖεν λόγιον περὶ Περσέων ὡς διαφθερέονται ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. σιγώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων, τῶν μὲν οὐκ εἰδότων τοὺς χρησμούς, τῶν δὲ εἰδότων μὲν ἐν ἀδείῃ δὲ οὐ ποιευμένων τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸς Μαρδόνιος ἔλεγε "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ὑμεῖς ἢ ἴστε οὐδὲν ἢ οὐ τολμᾶτε λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρέω ὡς εὖ ἐπιστάμενος· ἔστι λόγιον ὡς χρεὸν ἐστι Πέρσας ἀπικομένους ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαρπάσαι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν διαρπαγὴν ἀπολέσθαι πάντας. ἡμεῖς τοίνυν αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐπιστάμενοι οὔτε ἴμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὔτε ἐπιχειρήσομεν διαρπάζειν, ταύτης τε εἵνεκα τῆς αἰτίης οὐκ ἀπολεόμεθα. ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἤδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων." ταῦτά σφι εἴπας δεύτερα ἐσήμαινε παραρτέεσθαί τε πάντα καὶ εὐκρινέα ποιέεσθαι ὡς ἅμα ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ συμβολῆς ἐσομένης.

43. Τοῦτον δ' ἔγωγε τὸν χρησμόν, τὸν Μαρδόνιος εἶπε ἐς Πέρσας ἔχειν, ἐς Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ τὸν Ἐγχελέων στρατὸν οἶδα πεποιημένον, ἀλλ'

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[1] Lit. to do violence, compel the gods, like "superos votis fatigare" in Latin.

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seek to wring good from them,[1] but rather give battle after Persian custom.

42. None withstood this argument, so that his opinion prevailed; for it was he and not Artabazus who was generalissimo of the army by the king's commission. He sent therefore for the leaders of the battalions and the generals of those Greeks that were with him, and asked them if they knew any oracle which prophesied that the Persians should perish in Hellas. They that were summoned said nought, some not knowing the prophecies, and some knowing them but deeming it perilous to speak; then said Mardonius himself: "Since, therefore, you either have no knowledge or are afraid to declare it, hear what I tell you out of the full knowledge that I have. There is an oracle that Persians are fated to come to Hellas and there all perish after they have plundered the temple at Delphi. We, therefore, knowing this same oracle, will neither approach that temple nor essay to plunder it; and in so far as destruction hangs on that, none awaits us. Wherefore as many of you as wish the Persians well may rejoice for that, as knowing that we shall overcome the Greeks." Having thus spoken he gave command to have all prepared and set in fair order for the battle that should be joined at the next day's dawn.

43. Now for this prophecy, which Mardonius said was spoken of the Persians, I know it to have been made concerning not them but the Illyrians and the

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οὐκ ἐς Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Βάκιδι ἐς ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐστὶ πεποιημένα,

τὴν δ' ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι καὶ Ἀσωπῷ λεχεποίῃ
Ἑλλήνων σύνοδον καὶ βαρβαρόφωνον ἰυγήν,
τῇ πολλοὶ πεσέονται ὑπὲρ λάχεσίν τε μόρον τε
τοξοφόρων Μήδων, ὅταν αἴσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ,

ταῦτα μὲν καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοισι ἄλλα Μουσαίῳ ἔχοντα οἶδα ἐς Πέρσας. ὁ δὲ Θερμώδων ποταμὸς ῥέει μεταξὺ Τανάγρης τε καὶ Γλίσαντος.

44. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπειρώτησιν τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ παραίνεσιν τὴν ἐκ Μαρδονίου νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ ἐς φυλακὰς ἐτάσσοντο. ὡς δὲ πρόσω τῆς νυκτὸς προελήλατο καὶ ἡσυχίη ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀνὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι ἐν ὕπνῳ, τηνικαῦτα προσελάσας ἵππῳ πρὸς τὰς φυλακὰς τὰς Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἀμύντεω, στρατηγός τε ἐὼν καὶ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων, ἐδίζητο τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες παρέμενον, οἳ δ' ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐλθόντες δὲ ἔλεγον ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἥκοι ἐπ' ἵππου ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ Μήδων, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν παραγυμνοῖ ἔπος, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ὀνομάζων ἐθέλειν φησὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.

45. Οἳ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, αὐτίκα εἴποντο ἐς τὰς φυλακάς· ἀπικομένοισι δὲ ἔλεγε Ἀλέξανδρος τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι, ἀπόρρητα ποιεύ-

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[1] Referring to a legendary expedition of these north-western tribes, directed against Hellas and Delphi in particular.

[2] A little to the N.W. of Thebes.

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army of the Encheleës.[1] But there is a prophecy made by Bacis concerning this battle:

By Thermodon's stream and the grassgrown banks of Asopus
Muster of Greeks for fight, and the ring of a foreigner's war-cry,
Many a Median archer by death untimely o'ertaken
There in the battle shall fall when the day of his doom is upon him;

this prophecy, and others like to it that were made by Musaeus, I know to have been spoken of the Persians. As for the river Thermodon, it flows between Tanagra and Glisas.[2]

44. After this questioning concerning oracles, and Mardonius' exhortation, night came on and the armies posted their sentries. Now when the night was far spent and it seemed that all was still in the camps and the men wrapt in deepest slumber, at that hour Alexander son of Amyntas, the general and king of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts and sought to have speech of their generals. The greater part of the sentries abiding where they were, the rest ran to their generals, and told them that a horseman had ridden in from the Persian camp, imparting no other word save that he would have speech of the generals and called them by their names.

45. Hearing that, the generals straightway went with the men to the outposts; and when they were come Alexander said to them: "Men of Athens, I give you this my message in trust as a secret that

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μενος πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν ὑμέας ἄλλον ἢ Παυσανίην, μή με καὶ διαφθείρητε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔλεγον, εἰ μὴ μεγάλως ἐκηδόμην συναπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλλην γένος εἰμὶ τὠρχαῖον καὶ ἀντ' ἐλευθέρης δεδουλωμένην οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιμι ὁρᾶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα. λέγω δὲ ὧν ὅτι Μαρδονίῳ τε καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ σφάγια οὐ δύναται καταθύμια γενέσθαι· πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἐμάχεσθε. νῦν δέ οἱ δέδοκται τὰ μὲν σφάγια ἐᾶν χαίρειν, ἅμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ συμβολὴν ποιέεσθαι· καταρρώδηκε γὰρ μὴ πλεῦνες συλλεχθῆτε, ὡς ἐγὼ εἰκάζω. πρὸς ταῦτα ἑτοιμάζεσθε. ἢν δὲ ἄρα ὑπερβάληται τὴν συμβολὴν Μαρδόνιος καὶ μὴ ποιέηται, λιπαρέετε μένοντες· ὀλιγέων γάρ σφι ἡμερέων λείπεται σιτία. ἢν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι τινὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι, ὃς Ἑλλήνων εἵνεκα οὕτω ἔργον παράβολον ἔργασμαι ὑπὸ προθυμίης, ἐθέλων ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν Μαρδονίου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιπέσωσι ὑμῖν ἐξαίφνης οἱ βάρβαροι μὴ προσδεκομένοισί κω. εἰμὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών." ὃ μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τάξιν.

46. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔλεγον Παυσανίῃ τά περ ἤκουσαν Ἀλεξάνδρου. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταρρωδήσας τοὺς Πέρσας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐς ἣν ἡ συμβολὴ γίνεται, ὑμέας μὲν χρεόν ἐστι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στῆναι κατὰ τοὺς Πέρσας, ἡμέας δὲ κατὰ τοὺς Βοιωτούς τε καὶ τοὺς κατ' ὑμέας τεταγμένους Ἑλλήνων, τῶνδε εἵνεκα· ὑμεῖς

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you must reveal to none but Pausanias, lest you even be my undoing; in truth I would not tell it to you were it not by reason of my great care for all Hellas; for I myself am by ancient descent a Greek, and I would not willingly see Hellas change her freedom for slavery. I tell you, then, that Mardonius and his army cannot get from the sacrifices omens to his liking; else had you fought long ere this. But now it is his purpose to pay no heed to the sacrifices, and join battle at the first glimmer of dawn; for he is in dread, as I surmise, lest you should muster to a greater host. Therefore I bid you make ready; and if (as may be) Mardonius should delay and not join battle, wait patiently where you are; for he has but a few days' provision left. But if this war end as you would wish, then must you take thought how to save me too from slavery, who of my zeal have done so desperate a deed as this for the cause of Hellas, in my desire to declare to you Mardonius' intent, that so the foreigners may not fall upon you suddenly ere you yet expect them. I that speak am Alexander the Macedonian." With that he rode away back to the camp and his own place therein.

46. The Athenian generals went to the right wing and told Pausanias what they had heard from Alexander. At the message Pausanias was struck with fear of the Persians, and said: "Since, therefore, the battle is to begin at dawn, it is best that you Athenians should take your stand fronting the Persians, and we fronting the Boeotians and the Greeks that are posted over against you, by reason that you

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ἐπίστασθε τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τὴν μάχην αὐτῶν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μαχεσάμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄπειροί τε εἰμὲν καὶ ἀδαέες τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν· Σπαρτιητέων γὰρ οὐδεὶς πεπείρηται Μήδων· ἡμεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἔμπειροι εἰμέν. ἀλλ' ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ὑμέας μὲν ἐς τόδε τὸ κέρας, ἡμέας δὲ ἐς τὸ εὐώνυμον." πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάδε. "Καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν πάλαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐπείτε εἴδομεν κατ' ὑμέας τασσομένους τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐν νόῳ ἐγένετο εἰπεῖν ταῦτα τά περ ὑμεῖς φθάντες προφέρετε· ἀλλὰ ἀρρωδέομεν μὴ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἡδέες γένωνται οἱ λόγοι. ἐπεὶ δ' ὦν αὐτοὶ ἐμνήσθητε, καὶ ἡδομένοισι ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἕτοιμοι εἰμὲν ποιέειν ταῦτα."

47. Ὡς δ' ἤρεσκε ἀμφοτέροισι ταῦτα, ἠώς τε διέφαινε καὶ διαλλάσσοντο τὰς τάξις. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὸ ποιεύμενον ἐξαγορεύουσι Μαρδονίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐπείτε ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα μετιστάναι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειρᾶτο, παράγων τοὺς Πέρσας κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ὡς δὲ ἔμαθε τοῦτο τοιοῦτο γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίης, γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει, ὀπίσω ἦγε τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας· ὣς δὲ οὕτως καὶ ὁ Μαρδόνιος ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου.

48. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐς τὰς ἀρχαίας τάξις, πέμψας ὁ Μαρδόνιος κήρυκα ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὑμεῖς δὴ λέγεσθε εἶναι ἄνδρες ἄριστοι ὑπὸ τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐκπαγλεομένων ὡς οὔτε φεύγετε ἐκ πολέμου οὔτε τάξιν ἐκλείπετε, μένοντές τε ἢ ἀπόλλυτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθε. τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἦν οὐδὲν ἀληθές· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ συμμῖξαι ἡμέας ἐς χειρῶν τε νόμον ἀπικέσθαι, καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας καὶ στάσιν

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have fought with the Medes at Marathon and know them and their manner of fighting, but we have no experience or knowledge of those men; we Spartans have experience of the Boeotians and Thessalians, but not one of us has put the Medes to the test. Nay, let us take up our equipment and remove, you to this wing and we to the left." "We, too," the Athenians answered, "even from the moment when we saw the Persians posted over against you, had it in mind to make that proffer that now has first come from you; but we feared lest we should displease you by making it. But since you have spoken the wish yourselves, we too hear your words very gladly and are ready to do as you say."

47. Both being satisfied with this, they exchanged their places in the ranks at the first light of dawn. The Boeotians marked that and made it known to Mardonius; who, when he heard, forthwith essayed to make a change for himself also, by moving the Persians along to front the Lacedaemonians. But when Pausanias perceived what was this that was being done, he saw that his act was known, and led the Spartans back to the right wing; and Mardonius did in like manner on the left of his army.

48. When all were at their former posts again, Mardonius sent a herald to the Lacedaemonians with this message: "Men of Lacedaemon, you are said by the people of these parts to be very brave men; it is their boast of you that you neither flee from the field nor leave your post, but abide there and either slay your enemies or are yourselves slain. But it would seem that in all this there is no truth; for ere we can join battle and fight hand to hand, we have seen you even now fleeing and leaving your

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ἐκλείποντας ὑμέας εἴδομεν, ἐν Ἀθηναίοισί τε τὴν πρόπειραν ποιευμένους αὐτούς τε ἀντία δούλων τῶν ἡμετέρων τασσομένους. ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργα, ἀλλὰ πλεῖστον δὴ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐψεύσθημεν. προσδεκόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ κλέος ὡς δὴ πέμψετε ἐς ἡμέας κήρυκα προκαλεύμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι μούνοισι Πέρσῃσι μάχεσθαι, ἄρτιοι ἐόντες ποιέειν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγοντας ὑμέας εὕρομεν ἀλλὰ πτώσσοντας μᾶλλον. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ὑμεῖς ἤρξατε τούτου τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρχομεν. τί δὴ οὐ πρὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑμεῖς, ἐπείτε δεδόξωσθε εἶναι ἄριστοι, πρὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡμεῖς ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἀριθμὸν ἐμαχεσάμεθα; καὶ ἦν μὲν δοκέῃ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μάχεσθαι, οἱ δ' ὦν μετέπειτα μαχέσθων ὕστεροι· εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ δοκέοι ἀλλ' ἡμέας μούνους ἀποχρᾶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ διαμαχεσώμεθα· ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν ἡμέων νικήσωσι, τούτους τῷ ἅπαντι στρατοπέδῳ νικᾶν."

49. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τε εἴπας καὶ ἐπισχὼν χρόνον, ὡς οἱ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑπεκρίνατο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, ἀπελθὼν δὲ ἐσήμαινε Μαρδονίῳ τὰ καταλαβόντα. ὁ δὲ περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ ἐπαερθεὶς ψυχρῇ νίκῃ ἐπῆκε τὴν ἵππον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ὡς δὲ ἐπήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται, ἐσίνοντο πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐσακοντίζοντές τε καὶ τοξεύοντες ὥστε ἱπποτοξόται τε ἐόντες καὶ προσφέρεσθαι ἄποροι· τήν τε κρήνην τὴν Γαργαφίην, ἀπ' ἧς ὑδρεύετο πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, συνετάραξαν καὶ συνέχωσαν. ἦσαν μὲν ὦν κατὰ τὴν κρήνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταγμένοι μοῦνοι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι ἡ μὲν κρήνη πρόσω ἐγίνετο, ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον τεταγμένοι, ὁ

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station, using Athenians for the first assay of your enemy, and arraying yourselves over against those that are but our slaves. This is no brave men's work; nay, we have been grievously mistaken in you; for by what we heard of you, we looked that you should send us a herald challenging the Persians and none other to fight with you; and that we were ready to do; but we find you making no such proffer, but rather quailing before us. Now, therefore, since the challenge comes not from you, take it from us instead. What hinders that we should fight with equal numbers on both sides, you for the Greeks (since you have the name of being their best), and we for the foreigners? and if it be willed that the others fight also, let them fight later after us; but if contrariwise it be willed that we alone suffice, then let us fight it out, and which side soever wins, let that serve as a victory for the whole army."

49. Thus proclaimed the herald; and when he had waited awhile and none made him any answer, he departed back again, and at his return told Mardonius what had befallen him. Mardonius was overjoyed thereat and proud of this semblance of victory, and sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks. The horsemen rode at them and shot arrows and javelins among the whole Greek army to its great hurt, inasmuch as they were mounted archers and ill to close with; and they troubled and choked the Gargaphian spring, whence all the army of the Greeks drew its water. None indeed but the Lacedaemonians were posted near the spring, and it was far from the several stations of the other Greeks,

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δὲ Ἀσωπὸς ἀγχοῦ· ἐρυκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν κρήνην ἐφοίτων· ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ σφι οὐκ ἐξῆν ὕδωρ φορέεσθαι ὑπό τε τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τοξευμάτων.

50. Τούτου δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἅτε τοῦ τε ὕδατος στερηθείσης τῆς στρατιῆς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου ταρασσομένης, συνελέχθησαν περὶ αὐτῶν τε τούτων καὶ ἄλλων, ἐλθόντες παρὰ Παυσανίην ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας. ἄλλα γὰρ τούτων τοιούτων ἐόντων μᾶλλον σφέας ἐλύπεε· οὔτε γὰρ σιτία εἶχον ἔτι, οἵ τε σφέων ὀπέωνες ἀποπεμφθέντες ἐς Πελοπόννησον ὡς ἐπισιτιεύμενοι ἀπεκεκλήιατο ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

51. Βουλευομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι ἔδοξε, ἣν ὑπερβάλωνται ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέρην οἱ Πέρσαι συμβολὴν ποιεύμενοι, ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἰέναι. ἣ δὲ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ καὶ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης, ἐπ' ᾗ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τότε, δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχουσα, πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος. νῆσος δὲ οὕτω ἂν εἴη ἐν ἠπείρῳ· σχιζόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ῥέει κάτω ἐς τὸ πεδίον, διέχων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ ῥέεθρα ὅσον περ τρία στάδια, καὶ ἔπειτα συμμίσγει ἐς τὠυτό. οὔνομα δέ οἱ Ὠερόη· θυγατέρα δὲ ταύτην λέγουσι εἶναι Ἀσωποῦ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χῶρον ἐβουλεύσαντο μεταναστῆναι, ἵνα καὶ ὕδατι ἔχωσι χρᾶσθαι ἀφθόνῳ καὶ οἱ ἱππέες σφέας μὴ

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[1] Several streams flow N. or N.W. from Cithaeron, and unite eventually to form the small river Oëroë. Between two of these there is a long strip of land, which is perhaps

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whereas the Asopus was near; but they would ever go to the spring, because they were barred from the Asopus, not being able to draw water from that river by reason of the horsemen and the arrows.

50. In this turn of affairs, seeing that their army was cut off from water and disordered by the horsemen, the generals of the Greeks betook themselves to Pausanias on the right wing, and debated concerning this and other matters; for there were other causes that troubled them more than what I have told; they had no food left, and their followers whom they had sent into the Peloponnese to bring provision thence had been cut off by the horsemen, and could not make their way to the army.

51. So they resolved in their council that if the Persians delayed through that day to give battle, they would go to the Island.[1] This is ten furlongs distant from the Asopus and the Gargaphian spring, whereby their army then lay, and in front of the town of Plataeae. It is like to an island on dry land, by reason that the river in its course down from Cithaeron into the plain is parted into two channels, and there is about three furlongs' space between till presently the two channels unite again; and the name of that river is Oëroë, who (say the people of the country) was the daughter of Asopus. To that place then they planned to remove, that they might have water in plenty for their use, and not be harmed by the

the νῆσος; but it is not now actually surrounded by water, as Herodotus describes it.

For some notice of controversy about the battlefield of Plataeae, see the Introduction to this volume.

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σινοίατο ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων· μετακινέεσθαί τε ἐδόκεε τότε ἐπεὰν τῆς νυκτὸς ᾖ δευτέρη φυλακή, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἰδοίατο οἱ Πέρσαι ἐξορμωμένους καί σφεας ἑπόμενοι ταράσσοιεν οἱ ἱππόται. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς τὸν χῶρον τοῦτον, τὸν δὴ ἡ Ἀσωπὶς Ὠερόη περισχίζεται ῥέουσα ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος, ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην ἐδόκεε τοὺς ἡμίσεας ἀποστέλλειν τοῦ στρατοπέδου πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ὡς ἀναλάβοιεν τοὺς ὀπέωνας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ σιτία οἰχομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἀπολελαμμένοι.

52. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι κείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέρην πᾶσαν προσκειμένης τῆς ἵππου εἶχον πόνον ἄτρυτον· ὡς δὲ ἥ τε ἡμέρη ἔληγε καὶ οἱ ἱππέες ἐπέπαυντο, νυκτὸς δὴ γινομένης καὶ ἐούσης τῆς ὥρης ἐς τὴν συνέκειτό σφι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐνθαῦτα ἀερθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, ἐς μὲν τὸν χῶρον ἐς τὸν συνέκειτο οὐκ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες, οἳ δὲ ὡς ἐκινήθησαν ἔφευγον ἄσμενοι τὴν ἵππον πρὸς τὴν Πλαταιέων πόλιν, φεύγοντες δὲ ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον· τὸ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐστὶ τῆς Πλαταιέων, εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης τῆς Γαργαφίης ἀπέχον· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἔθεντο πρὸ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὰ ὅπλα.

53. Καὶ οἳ μὲν περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, Παυσανίης δὲ ὁρῶν σφεας ἀπαλλασσομένους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου παρήγγελλε καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἀναλαβόντας τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς προϊόντας, νομίσας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἰέναι ἐς τὸν συνεθήκαντο. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄρτιοι ἦσαν τῶν ταξιάρχων πείθεσθαι Παυσανίῃ, Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ὁ Πολιάδεω λοχη-

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horsemen, as now when they were face to face; and they resolved to make their removal in the second watch of the night, lest the Persians should see them setting forth and the horsemen press after them and disorder their array. Further, they resolved that when they were come to that place, which is encircled by the divided channels of Asopus' daughter Oëroë as she flows from Cithaeron, they would in that night send half of their army to Cithaeron, to fetch away their followers who were gone to get the provision; for these were cut off from them on Cithaeron.

52. Having formed this design, all that day they suffered unending hardship from the cavalry that continually beset them; but when the day ended and the horsemen ceased from troubling, then at that hour of the night whereat it was agreed that they should depart the most of them arose and took their departure, not with intent to go to the place whereon they had agreed; instead of that, once they were afoot they got quit to their great content of the horsemen, and escaped to the town of Plataeae, and came in their flight to the temple of Here which is without that town, twenty furlongs distant from the Gargaphian spring; thither they came, and piled their arms before the temple.

53. So they encamped about the temple of Here. But Pausanias, seeing their departure from the camp, gave orders to the Lacedaemonians to take up their arms likewise and follow after the others that went before, supposing that these were making for the place whither they had agreed to go. Thereupon, all the rest of the captains being ready to obey Pausanias, Amompharetus son of Poliades, the leader

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γέων τοῦ Πιτανητέων λόχου οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς ξείνους φεύξεσθαι οὐδὲ ἑκὼν εἶναι αἰσχυνέειν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐθώμαζέ τε ὁρέων τὸ ποιεύμενον ἅτε οὐ παραγενόμενος τῷ προτέρῳ λόγῳ. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίης τε καὶ ὁ Εὐρυάναξ δεινὸν μὲν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι ἐκεῖνον σφίσι, δεινότερον δὲ ἔτι, κείνου ταῦτ' ἀναινομένου, ἀπολιπεῖν τὸν λόχον τὸν Πιτανήτην, μὴ ἢν ἀπολίπωσι ποιεῦντες τὰ συνεθήκαντο τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι, ἀπόληται ὑπολειφθεὶς αὐτός τε Ἀμομφάρετος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα λογιζόμενοι ἀτρέμας εἶχον τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Λακωνικόν, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο πείθοντές μιν ὡς οὐ χρεὸν εἴη ταῦτα ποιέειν.

54. Καὶ οἳ μὲν παρηγόρεον Ἀμομφάρετον μοῦνον Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ Τεγεητέων λελειμμένον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐποίευν τοιάδε· εἶχον ἀτρέμας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἵνα ἐτάχθησαν, ἐπιστάμενοι τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονήματα ὡς ἄλλα φρονεόντων καὶ ἄλλα λεγόντων· ὡς δὲ ἐκινήθη τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔπεμπον σφέων ἱππέα ὀψόμενόν τε εἰ πορεύεσθαι ἐπιχειρέοιεν οἱ Σπαρτιῆται, εἴτε καὶ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διανοεῦνται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, ἐπειρέσθαι τε Παυσανίην τὸ χρεὸν εἴη ποιέειν.

55. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ὁ κῆρυξ ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥρα τε σφέας κατὰ χώρην τεταγμένους καὶ ἐς νείκεα ἀπιγμένους αὐτῶν τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς γὰρ δὴ παρηγορέοντο τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὅ τε Εὐρυάναξ καὶ ὁ Παυσανίης μὴ κινδυνεύειν μένοντας μούνους Λακεδαιμονίων, οὔ κως ἔπειθον, ἐς ὃ

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of the Pitanate[1] battalion, refused to flee from the strangers or (save by compulsion) bring shame on Sparta; the whole business seemed strange to him, for he had not been present in the council lately held. Pausanias and Euryanax liked little enough that Amompharetus should disobey them; but they misliked yet more that his refusing should compel them to abandon the Pitanate battalion; for they feared that if they fulfilled their agreement with the rest of the Greeks and abandoned him, Amompharetus and his men would be left behind to perish. Thus considering, they held the Laconian army unmoved, and strove to persuade Amompharetus that he did not aright.

54. So they reasoned with Amompharetus, he being the only man left behind of all the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans. As for the Athenians, they stood unmoved at their post, well knowing that the purposes and the promises of Lacedaemonians were not alike. But when the army removed from its place, they sent a horseman of their own who should see if the Spartans were essaying to march or if they were wholly without any purpose of departure, and should ask Pausanias withal what the Athenians must do.

55. When the messenger was come to the Lacedaemonians, he saw them arrayed where they had been, and their chief men by now in hot dispute. For though Euryanax and Pausanias reasoned with Amompharetus, that the Lacedaemonians should not be imperilled by abiding there alone, they could in no

[1] Thucydides (1. 20) denies the existence of a Πιτανάτης λόχος as a formal part of the Spartan army; it is not clear what Herodotus means. For Pitana *v.* iii. 55.

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ἐς νείκεά τε συμπεσόντες ἀπίκατο καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρίστατό σφι ἀπιγμένος. νεικέων δὲ ὁ Ἀμομφάρετος λαμβάνει πέτρον ἀμφοτέρῃσι τῇσι χερσὶ καὶ τιθεὶς πρὸ ποδῶν τῶν Παυσανίεω ταύτῃ τῇ ψήφῳ ψηφίζεσθαι ἔφη μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς ξείνους, λέγων τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὃ δὲ μαινόμενον καὶ οὐ φρενήρεα καλέων ἐκεῖνον, πρὸς τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κήρυκα ἐπειρωτῶντα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα λέγειν ὁ Παυσανίης ἐκέλευε τὰ παρεόντα σφι πρήγματα, ἐχρήιζέ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσχωρῆσαί τε πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς καὶ ποιέειν περὶ τῆς ἀπόδου τά περ ἂν καὶ σφεῖς.

56. Καὶ ὃ μὲν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· τοὺς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀνακρινομένους πρὸς ἑωυτοὺς ἠὼς κατελάμβανε, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κατήμενος ὁ Παυσανίης, οὐ δοκέων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον λείψεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστειχόντων, τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο, σημήνας ἀπῆγε διὰ τῶν κολωνῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας· εἵποντο δὲ καὶ Τεγεῆται. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ταχθέντες ἤισαν τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν τε ὄχθων ἀντείχοντο καὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος φοβεόμενοι τὴν ἵππον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κάτω τραφθέντες ἐς τὸ πεδίον.

57. Ἀμομφάρετος δὲ ἀρχήν γε οὐδαμὰ δοκέων Παυσανίην τολμήσειν σφέας ἀπολιπεῖν, περιείχετο αὐτοῦ μένοντας μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν· προτερεόντων δὲ τῶν σὺν Παυσανίῃ, καταδόξας αὐτοὺς ἰθέῃ τέχνῃ ἀπολείπειν αὐτόν, ἀναλαβόντα τὸν

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wise prevail with him; and at the last, when the Athenian messenger came among them, hot words began to pass; and in this wrangling Amompharetus took up a stone with both hands and cast it down before Pausanias' feet, crying that it was his pebble wherewith he voted against fleeing from the strangers (meaning thereby the foreigners). Pausanias called him a madman and distraught; then the Athenian messenger putting the question wherewith he was charged, he bade the man tell the Athenians of his present condition, and prayed them to join themselves to the Lacedaemonians and do as they did in respect of departure.

56. So the messenger went back to the Athenians. But when dawn found the dispute still continuing, Pausanias having all this time held his army halted, now gave the word and led all the rest away between the hillocks, the Tegeans following; for he supposed that Amompharetus would not stay behind when the rest of the Lacedaemonians left him; and indeed such was the event. The Athenians set themselves in array and marched, but not by the same way as the Lacedaemonians, who clung close to the broken ground and the lower slopes of Cithaeron, to escape from the Persian horse, but the Athenians marched down into the plain instead.

57. Now Amompharetus at first supposed that Pausanias would never have the heart to leave him and his men, and he was instant that they should remain where they were and not quit their post; but when Pausanias' men went forward on their way, he deemed that they had left him in good earnest, and so bidding his battalion take up its

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λόχον τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε βάδην πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στῖφος· τὸ δὲ ἀπελθὸν ὅσον τε δέκα στάδια ἀνέμενε τὸν Ἀμομφαρέτου λόχον, περὶ ποταμὸν Μολόεντα ἱδρυμένον Ἀργιόπιόν τε χῶρον καλεόμενον, τῇ καὶ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρὸν ἦσται. ἀνέμενε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα ἢν μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο ὁ Ἀμομφάρετός τε καὶ ὁ λόχος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένωσι, βοηθέοι ὀπίσω παρ' ἐκείνους. καὶ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον παρεγίνοντό σφι καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἡ τῶν βαρβάρων προσέκειτο πᾶσα. οἱ γὰρ ἱππόται ἐποίευν οἷον καὶ ἐώθεσαν ποιέειν αἰεί, ἰδόντες δὲ τὸν χῶρον κεινὸν ἐν τῷ ἐτετάχατο οἱ Ἕλληνες τῇσι προτέρῃσι ἡμέρῃσι, ἤλαυνον τοὺς ἵππους αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἅμα καταλαβόντες προσεκέατό σφι.

58. Μαρδόνιος δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀποιχομένους ὑπὸ νύκτα εἶδέ τε τὸν χῶρον ἔρημον, καλέσας τὸν Ληρισαῖον Θώρηκα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Θρασυδήιον ἔλεγε "Ὦ παῖδες Ἀλεύεω, ἔτι τί λέξετε τάδε ὁρῶντες ἔρημα; ὑμεῖς γὰρ οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἐλέγετε Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φεύγειν ἐκ μάχης, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας εἶναι τὰ πολέμια πρώτους· τοὺς πρότερόν τε μετισταμένους ἐκ τῆς τάξιος εἴδετε, νῦν τε ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα καὶ οἱ πάντες ὁρῶμεν διαδράντας· διέδεξάν τε, ἐπεί σφεας ἔδεε πρὸς τοὺς ἀψευδέως ἀρίστους ἀνθρώπων μάχῃ διακριθῆναι, ὅτι οὐδένες ἄρα ἐόντες ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι ἐοῦσι Ἕλλησι ἐναπεδεικνύατο. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἐοῦσι Περσέων ἀπείροισι πολλὴ ἔκ γε ἐμεῦ ἐγίνετο συγγνώμη, ἐπαινεόντων τούτους τοῖσί τι καὶ συνῃδέατε· Ἀρταβάζου δὲ θῶμα καὶ μᾶλλον ἐποιεύμην τὸ καὶ καταρρωδῆσαι

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arms he led it at a foot's pace after the rest of the column; which having gone as far as ten furlongs away was waiting for Amompharetus, halting by the stream Moloïs and the place called Argiopium, where is set a shrine of Eleusinian Demeter. The reason of their waiting was that, if Amompharetus and his battalion should not leave the place where it was posted but abide there still, they might return and succour him. No sooner had Amompharetus' men come up than the foreigners' cavalry attacked the army; for the horsemen did according as they had ever been wont, and when they saw no enemy on the ground where the Greek array had been on the days before this, they rode ever forward and attacked the Greeks as soon as they overtook them.

58. When Mardonius learnt that the Greeks had departed under cover of night, and saw the ground deserted, he called to him Thorax of Larissa and his brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeïus, and said: "What will you now say, sons of Aleuas! when you see this place deserted? for you, who are their neighbours, ever told me that Lacedaemonians fled from no battlefield and were surpassing masters of war; yet these same men you lately saw changing from their post, and now you and all of us see that they have fled away in the night that is past; no sooner must they measure themselves in battle with those that are in very truth the bravest on earth, than they plainly showed that they are men of no account, and all other Greeks likewise. Now you for your part were strangers to the Persians, and I could readily pardon you for praising these fellows, who were in some sort known to you; but I marvelled much more at Artabazus, that he should be

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Λακεδαιμονίους καταρρωδήσαντά τε ἀποδέξασθαι γνώμην δειλοτάτην, ὡς χρεὸν εἴη ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων ἄστυ πολιορκησομένους· τὴν ἔτι πρὸς ἐμεῦ βασιλεὺς πεύσεται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἑτέρωθι ἔσται λόγος. νῦν δὲ ἐκείνοισι ταῦτα ποιεῦσι οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέα ἐστί, ἀλλὰ διωκτέοι εἰσὶ ἐς ὃ καταλαμφθέντες δώσουσι ἡμῖν τῶν δὴ ἐποίησαν Πέρσας πάντων δίκας."

59. Ταῦτα εἴπας ἦγε τοὺς Πέρσας δρόμῳ διαβάντας τὸν Ἀσωπὸν κατὰ στίβον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς δὴ ἀποδιδρησκόντων, ἐπεῖχέ τε ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους· Ἀθηναίους γὰρ τραπομένους ἐς τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχθων οὐ κατώρα. Πέρσας δὲ ὁρῶντες ὁρμημένους διώκειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν τελέων ἄρχοντες αὐτίκα πάντες ἤειραν τὰ σημήια, καὶ ἐδίωκον ὡς ποδῶν ἕκαστοι εἶχον, οὔτε κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ κοσμηθέντες οὔτε τάξι.

60. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν βοῇ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ ἐπήισαν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας· Παυσανίης δέ, ὡς προσέκειτο ἡ ἵππος, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱππέα λέγει τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγῶνος μεγίστου προκειμένου ἐλευθέρην εἶναι ἢ δεδουλωμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προδεδόμεθα ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἡμεῖς τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ τὴν παροιχομένην νύκτα διαδράντων. νῦν ὦν δέδοκται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν τὸ ποιητέον ἡμῖν· ἀμυνομένους γὰρ τῇ δυνάμεθα ἄριστα περιστέλλειν ἀλλήλους. εἰ μέν νυν ἐς ὑμέας ὥρμησε ἀρχὴν ἡ ἵππος, χρὴν δὴ ἡμέας τε καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἡμέων τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐ προδιδόντας Τεγεήτας βοηθέειν ὑμῖν· νῦν δέ, ἐς ἡμέας γὰρ ἅπασα κεχώ-

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so sore affrighted by the Lacedaemonians as to give us a craven's advice to strike our camp, and march away to be beleaguered in Thebes; of which advice the king shall yet learn from me. This shall be matter for speech elsewhere; but now, we must not suffer our enemies to do as they desire; they must be pursued till they be overtaken and pay the penalty for all the harm they have wrought the Persians."

59. With that, he led the Persians at speed across the Asopus in pursuit of the Greeks, supposing that they were in flight; it was the army of Lacedaemon and Tegea alone that was his goal; for the Athenians marched another way over the broken ground, and were out of his sight. Seeing the Persians setting forth in pursuit of the Greeks, the rest of the foreign battalions straightway raised their standards and pursued likewise, each at the top of his speed, no battalion having order in its ranks nor place assigned in the line.

60. So they ran pell-mell and shouting, as though they would utterly make an end of the Greeks; but Pausanias, when the cavalry attacked him, sent a horseman to the Athenians, with this message: "Men of Athens, in this great issue which must give freedom or slavery to Hellas, we Lacedaemonians and you Athenians have been betrayed by the flight of our allies in the night that is past. Now therefore I am resolved what we must forthwith do; we must protect each other by fighting as best we can. If the cavalry had attacked you first, it had been for us and the Tegeans with us, who are faithful to Hellas, to succour you; but now, seeing that the whole

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ρηκε, δίκαιοι ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς πρὸς τὴν πιεζομένην μάλιστα τῶν μοιρέων ἀμυνέοντες ἰέναι. εἰ δ' ἄρα αὐτοὺς ὑμέας καταλελάβηκε ἀδύνατόν τι βοηθέειν, ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς τοξότας ἀποπέμψαντες χάριν θέσθε. συνοίδαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ὑπὸ τὸν παρεόντα τόνδε πόλεμον ἐοῦσι πολλὸν προθυμοτάτοισι, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα ἐσακούειν."

61. Ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὁρμέατο βοηθέειν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαμύνειν· καί σφι ἤδη στείχουσι ἐπιτίθενται οἱ ἀντιταχθέντες Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος γενομένων, ὥστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι βοηθῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ προσκείμενον σφέας ἐλύπεε. οὕτω δὴ μουνωθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Τεγεῆται, ἐόντες σὺν ψιλοῖσι ἀριθμὸν οἳ μὲν πεντακισμύριοι Τεγεῆται δὲ τρισχίλιοι (οὗτοι γὰρ οὐδαμὰ ἀπεσχίζοντο ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων), ἐσφαγιάζοντο ὡς συμβαλέοντες Μαρδονίῳ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ παρεούσῃ. καὶ οὐ γάρ σφι ἐγίνετο τὰ σφάγια χρηστά, ἔπιπτον δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ καὶ πολλῷ πλεῦνες ἐτρωματίζοντο· φράξαντες γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπίεσαν τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλὰ ἀφειδέως, οὕτω ὥστε πιεζομένων τῶν Σπαρτιητέων καὶ τῶν σφαγίων οὐ γινομένων ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν Παυσανίην πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ Πλαταιέων ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὴν θεόν, χρηίζοντα μηδαμῶς σφέας ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος.

62. Ταῦτα δ' ἔτι τούτου ἐπικαλεομένου προεξαναστάντες πρότεροι οἱ Τεγεῆται ἐχώρεον ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι αὐτίκα

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brunt of their assault falls on us, it is right that you should come to the aid of that division which is hardest pressed. But if, as may be, aught has befallen you whereby it is impossible that you should aid us, yet do us the service of sending us your archers. We are assured that you will hearken to us, as knowing that you have been by far more zealous than all others in this present war."

61. When the Athenians heard that, they essayed to succour the Lacedaemonians and defend them with all their might; but when their march was already begun they were set upon by the Greeks posted over against them, who had joined themselves to the king; wherefore they could now send no aid, being troubled by the foe that was closest. Thus it was that the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans stood alone; men-at-arms and light-armed together, there were of the Lacedaemonians fifty thousand and of the Tegeans, who had never been parted from the Lacedaemonians, three thousand; and they offered sacrifice, the better to join battle with Mardonius and the army that was with him. But as they could get no favourable omen from their sacrifices, and in the meanwhile many of them were slain and by far more wounded (for the Persians set up their shields for a fence, and shot showers of arrows innumerable), it was so, that, the Spartans being hard pressed and their sacrifices of no avail, Pausanias lifted up his eyes to the temple of Here at Plataeae and called on the goddess, praying that they might nowise be disappointed of their hope.

62. While he yet prayed, the men of Tegea leapt out before the rest and charged the foreigners; and immediately after Pausanias' prayer the sacrifices of

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μετὰ τὴν εὐχὴν τὴν Παυσανίεω ἐγίνετο θυομένοισι τὰ σφάγια χρηστά· ὡς δὲ χρόνῳ κοτὲ ἐγένετο, ἐχώρεον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀντίοι τὰ τόξα μετέντες. ἐγίνετο δὲ πρῶτον περὶ τὰ γέρρα μάχη. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεπτώκεε, ἤδη ἐγίνετο ἡ μάχη ἰσχυρὴ παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἐς ὃ ἀπίκοντο ἐς ὠθισμόν· τὰ γὰρ δόρατα ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι κατέκλων οἱ βάρβαροι. λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐκ ἥσσονες ἦσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν καὶ οὐκ ὅμοιοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην, προεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα, καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας καὶ διεφθείροντο.

63. Τῇ δὲ ἐτύγχανε αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μαρδόνιος, ἀπ' ἵππου τε μαχόμενος λευκοῦ ἔχων τε περὶ ἑωυτὸν λογάδας Περσέων τοὺς ἀρίστους χιλίους, ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπίεσαν. ὅσον μέν νυν χρόνον Μαρδόνιος περιῆν, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον καὶ ἀμυνόμενοι κατέβαλλον πολλοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· ὡς δὲ Μαρδόνιος ἀπέθανε καὶ τὸ περὶ ἐκεῖνον τεταγμενον ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον ἔπεσε, οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐτράποντο καὶ εἶξαν τοῖσι Λακεδαιμονίοισι. πλεῖστον γὰρ σφέας ἐδηλέετο ἡ ἐσθὴς ἔρημος ἐοῦσα ὅπλων· πρὸς γὰρ ὁπλίτας ἐόντες γυμνῆτες ἀγῶνα ἐποιεῦντο.

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἥ τε δίκη τοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ἐπετελέετο, καὶ νίκην ἀναιρέεται καλλίστην ἁπασέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου τοῦ Ἀναξανδρίδεω· τῶν δὲ κατύπερθέ οἱ προγό-

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the Lacedaemonians grew to be favourable; which being at last vouchsafed to them, they too charged the Persians, and the Persians met them, throwing away their bows. And first they fought for the fence of shields; and when that was down, thereafter the battle waxed fierce and long about the temple of Demeter itself, till they grappled and thrust; for the foreigners laid hold of the spears and broke them short. Now the Persians were neither the less valorous nor the weaker; but they had no armour, and moreover they were unskilled and no match for their adversaries in craft; they would rush out singly and in tens or in groups great or small, hurling themselves on the Spartans and so perishing.

63. Where Mardonius was himself, riding a white horse in the battle and surrounded by a thousand picked men who were the flower of the Persians, there they pressed their adversaries hardest. So long as Mardonius was alive the Persians stood their ground and defended themselves, overthrowing many Lacedaemonians; but when Mardonius was slain and his guards, who were the strongest part of the army, fallen likewise, then the rest too yielded and gave ground before the men of Lacedaemon. For what chiefly wrought them harm was that they wore no armour over their raiment, and fought as it were naked against men fully armed.

64. On that day the Spartans gained from Mardonius their full measure of vengeance for the slaying of Leonidas, according to the oracle, and the most glorious of victories ever known to men was won by Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, who was the son of Anaxandrides. (I have named the

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νων τὰ οὐνόματα εἴρηται ἐς Λεωνίδην· ὡυτοὶ γάρ σφι τυγχάνουσι ἐόντες. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Μαρδόνιος ὑπὸ Ἀειμνήστου ἀνδρὸς ἐν Σπάρτῃ λογίμου, ὃς χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ ἔχων ἄνδρας τριηκοσίους συνέβαλε ἐν Στενυκλήρῳ πολέμου ἐόντος Μεσσηνίοισι πᾶσι, καὶ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ οἱ τριηκόσιοι.

65. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Πέρσαι ὡς ἐτράποντο ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔφευγον οὐδένα κόσμον ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἑωυτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ξύλινον τὸ ἐποιήσαντο ἐν μοίρῃ τῇ Θηβαΐδι. θῶμα δέ μοι ὅκως παρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος τὸ ἄλσος μαχομένων οὐδὲ εἷς ἐφάνη τῶν Περσέων οὔτε ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ τέμενος οὔτε ἐναποθανών, περί τε τὸ ἱρὸν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν τῷ βεβήλῳ ἔπεσον. δοκέω δέ, εἴ τι περὶ τῶν θείων πρηγμάτων δοκέειν δεῖ, ἡ θεὸς αὐτή σφεας οὐκ ἐδέκετο ἐμπρήσαντας τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀνάκτορον.

66. Αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ μάχη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ἐγένετο. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος αὐτίκα τε οὐκ ἠρέσκετο κατ' ἀρχὰς λειπομένου Μαρδονίου ἀπὸ βασιλέος, καὶ τότε πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύων οὐδὲν ἤνυε, συμβάλλειν οὐκ ἐῶν· ἐποίησέ τε αὐτὸς τοιάδε ὡς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖσι πρήγμασι τοῖσι ἐκ Μαρδονίου ποιευμένοισι. τῶν ἐστρατήγεε ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος (εἶχε δὲ δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τέσσερας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων περὶ ἑωυτόν), τούτους, ὅκως ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγίνετο, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος τὰ ἔμελλε ἀποβήσεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, ἦγε κατηρτημένως, παραγγείλας κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἰέναι πάντας τῇ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐξηγέηται, ὅκως ἂν αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι σπουδῆς ἔχοντα. ταῦτα παραγγείλας ὡς

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rest of Pausanias' ancestors in the lineage of Leonidas; for they are the same for both.) As for Mardonius, he was slain by Aeimnestus, a Spartan of note; who long after the Persian business did in time of war lead three hundred men to battle at Stenyclerus against the whole army of Messenia, and was there slain, he and his three hundred.

65. But at Plataeae, the Persians being routed by the Lacedaemonians fled in disorder to their own camp and within the wooden walls that they had made in the lands of Thebes. And herein is a marvellous thing, that though the battle was hard by the grove of Demeter there was no sign that any Persian had been slain in the precinct, or entered into it; most of them fell near the temple in unconsecrated ground; and I judge—if it be not a sin to judge of the ways of heaven—that the goddess herself denied them entry, for that they had burnt her temple, the shrine at Eleusis.

66. Thus far then went this battle. But Artabazus son of Pharnaces had from the very first misliked the king's leaving Mardonius, and now all his counselling not to join battle had been of no avail; and in his displeasure at what Mardonius was doing he himself did as I will show. He had with him a great army, even as many as forty thousand men; knowing well what would be the event of the battle, no sooner had the Greeks and Persians met than he led these with purpose fixed, bidding them follow him all together whither he should lead them, according to whatsoever they should see to be his intent; and with that command he made pretence

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ἐς μάχην ἦγε δῆθεν τὸν στρατόν. προτερέων δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὥρα καὶ δὴ φεύγοντας τοὺς Πέρσας· οὕτω δὴ οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν κόσμον κατηγέετο, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχίστην ἐτρόχαζε φεύγων οὔτε ἐς τὸ ξύλινον οὔτε ἐς τὸ Θηβαίων τεῖχος ἀλλ' ἐς Φωκέας, ἐθέλων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπικέσθαι.

67. Καὶ δὴ οὗτοι μὲν ταύτῃ ἐτράποντο· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν μετὰ βασιλέος ἐθελοκακεόντων Βοιωτοὶ Ἀθηναίοισι ἐμαχέσαντο χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνόν. οἱ γὰρ μηδίζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων, οὗτοι εἶχον προθυμίην οὐκ ὀλίγην μαχόμενοί τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθελοκακέοντες, οὕτω ὥστε τριηκόσιοι αὐτῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνθαῦτα ἔπεσον ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. ὡς δὲ ἐτράποντο καὶ οὗτοι, ἔφευγον ἐς τὰς Θήβας, οὐ τῇ περ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ὁ πᾶς ὅμιλος, οὔτε διαμαχεσάμενος οὐδενὶ οὔτε τι ἀποδεξάμενος, ἔφευγον.

68. Δηλοῖ τέ μοι ὅτι πάντα τὰ πρήγματα τῶν βαρβάρων ἤρτητο ἐκ Περσέων, εἰ καὶ τότε οὗτοι πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμμῖξαι τοῖσι πολεμίοισι ἔφευγον, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὥρων. οὕτω τε πάντες ἔφευγον πλὴν τῆς ἵππου τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίης· αὕτη δὲ τοσαῦτα προσωφέλεε τοὺς φεύγοντας, αἰεί τε πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄγχιστα ἐοῦσα ἀπέργουσά τε τοὺς φιλίους φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

69. Οἱ μὲν δὴ νικῶντες εἵποντο τοὺς Ξέρξεω διώκοντές τε καὶ φονεύοντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ γινομένῳ φόβῳ ἀγγέλλεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι τεταγμένοισι περὶ τὸ Ἥραιον καὶ ἀπογενομένοισι τῆς μάχης, ὅτι μάχη τε γέγονε καὶ

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of leading them to battle. But as he came farther on his way he saw the Persians already fleeing; whereat he led his men no longer in the same array, but took to his heels and fled with all speed not to the wooden fort nor to the walled city of Thebes, but to Phocis, that so he might make his way with all despatch to the Hellespont.

67. So Artabazus and his army turned that way. All the rest of the Greeks that were on the king's side fought of set purpose ill; but not so the Boeotians; they fought for a long time against the Athenians. For those Thebans that took the Persian part showed no small zeal in the battle, and had no will to fight slackly, insomuch that three hundred of their first and best were there slain by the Athenians. But at last the Boeotians too yielded; and they fled to Thebes, not by the way that the Persians had fled and all the multitude of the allies, a multitude that had fought no fight to the end nor achieved any feat of arms.

68. This flight of theirs ere they had even closed, because they saw the Persians flee, proves to me that it was on the Persians that all the fortune of the foreigners hung. Thus they all fled, save only the cavalry, Boeotian and other; which did in so far advantage the fleeing men as it kept ever between them and their enemies, and shielded its friends from the Greeks in their flight.

69. So the Greeks followed in victory after Xerxes' men, pursuing and slaying. In this rout that grew apace there came a message to the rest of the Greeks, who lay at the temple of Here and had kept away from the fight, that there had been a

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νικῷεν οἱ μετὰ Παυσανίεω· οἳ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, οὐδένα κόσμον ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κορινθίους ἐτράποντο διὰ τῆς ὑπωρέης καὶ τῶν κολωνῶν τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω ἰθὺ τοῦ ἱροῦ τῆς Δήμητρος, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μεγαρέας τε καὶ Φλειασίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τὴν λειοτάτην τῶν ὁδῶν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο οἱ Μεγαρέες καὶ Φλειάσιοι, ἀπιδόντες σφέας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππόται ἐπειγομένους οὐδένα κόσμον ἤλαυνον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους, τῶν ἱππάρχεε Ἀσωπόδωρος ὁ Τιμάνδρου, ἐσπεσόντες δὲ κατεστόρεσαν αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατήραξαν διώκοντες ἐς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα.

70. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἀπώλοντο· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος, ὡς κατέφυγον ἐς τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος, ἔφθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπικέσθαι, ἀναβάντες δὲ ἐφράξαντο ὡς ἠδυνέατο ἄριστα τὸ τεῖχος· προσελθόντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατεστήκεέ σφι τειχομαχίη ἐρρωμενεστέρη. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, οἳ δ' ἠμύνοντο καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἶχον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥστε οὐκ ἐπισταμένων τειχομαχέειν· ὡς δέ σφι Ἀθηναῖοι προσῆλθον, οὕτω δὴ ἰσχυρὴ ἐγίνετο τειχομαχίη καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν. τέλος δὲ ἀρετῇ τε καὶ λιπαρίῃ ἐπέβησαν Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ τείχεος καὶ ἤριπον· τῇ δὴ ἐσεχέοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. πρῶτοι δὲ ἐσῆλθον Τεγεῆται ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Μαρδονίου οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ διαρπάσαντες, τά τε ἄλλα ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν φάτνην τῶν ἵππων ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην πᾶσαν καὶ θέης ἀξίην. τὴν μέν νυν

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battle and that Pausanias' men were victorious; which when they heard, they set forth in no ordered array, they that were with the Corinthians keeping to the spurs of the mountain and the hill country, by the road that led upward straight to the temple of Demeter, and they that were with the Megarians and Phliasians following the levelest way over the plain. But when the Megarians and Phliasians were come near to the enemy, the Theban horsemen (whose captain was Asopodorus son of Timander) espied them approaching in haste and disorder, and rode at them; by which onfall they laid six hundred of them low, and pursued and swept the rest to Cithaeron.

70. So these perished, none regarding them. But when the Persians and the rest of the multitude had fled within the wooden wall, they made a shift to get them up on the towers before the coming of the Lacedaemonians, which done they strengthened the wall as best they could; and when the Athenians were now arrived there began a stiff battle for the wall. For as long as the Athenians were not there, the foreigners defended themselves, and had greatly the advantage of the Lacedaemonians, they having no skill in the assault of walls; but when the Athenians came up, the fight for the wall waxed hot and continued long. But at the last the Athenians did by valour and steadfast endeavour scale the wall and breach it, by which breach the Greeks poured in; the first to enter were the Tegeans, and it was they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from it beside all else the manger of his horses, that was all of bronze and a thing worth the beholding. The Tegeans dedicated

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φάτνην ταύτην τὴν Μαρδονίου ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης Τεγεῆται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς τὠυτο, ὅσα περ ἔλαβον, ἐσήνεικαν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἔτι στῖφος ἐποιήσαντο πεσόντος τοῦ τείχεος, οὐδέ τις αὐτῶν ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο, ἀλύκταζόν τε οἷα ἐν ὀλίγῳ χώρῳ πεφοβημένοι τε καὶ πολλαὶ μυριάδες κατειλημέναι ἀνθρώπων· παρῆν τε τοῖσι Ἕλλησι φονεύειν οὕτω ὥστε τριήκοντα μυριάδων στρατοῦ, καταδεουσέων τεσσέρων τὰς ἔχων Ἀρτάβαζος ἔφευγε, τῶν λοιπέων μηδὲ τρεῖς χιλιάδας περιγενέσθαι. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀπέθανον οἱ πάντες ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ εἷς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεητέων δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα.

71. Ἠρίστευσε δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων πεζὸς μὲν ὁ Περσέων, ἵππος δὲ ἡ Σακέων, ἀνὴρ δὲ λέγεται Μαρδόνιος· Ἑλλήνων δέ, ἀγαθῶν γενομένων καὶ Τεγεητέων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπερεβάλοντο ἀρετῇ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἄλλῳ μὲν οὐδενὶ ἔχω ἀποσημήνασθαι (ἅπαντες γὰρ οὗτοι τοὺς κατ' ἑωυτοὺς ἐνίκων), ὅτι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρότερον προσηνείχθησαν καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. καὶ ἄριστος ἐγένετο μακρῷ Ἀριστόδημος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὃς ἐκ Θερμοπυλέων μοῦνος τῶν τριηκοσίων σωθεὶς εἶχε ὄνειδος καὶ ἀτιμίην. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἠρίστευσαν Ποσειδώνιός τε καὶ Φιλοκύων καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ὁ Σπαρτιήτης. καίτοι γενομένης λέσχης ὃς γένοιτο αὐτῶν ἄριστος, ἔγνωσαν

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[1] These figures must refer to the ὁπλῖται alone, leaving out of account the Laconian περίοικοι and the rest of the light-

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this manger of Mardonius in the temple of Athene Alea; all else that they took they brought into the common stock, as did the rest of the Greeks. As for the foreigners, they drew no more to a head once the wall was down, but they were crazed with panic fear, as men hunted down in a narrow space where many myriads were herded together; and such a slaughter were the Greeks able to make, that of two hundred and sixty thousand, that remained after Artabazus had fled with his forty thousand, scarce three thousand were left alive. Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta there were slain in the battle ninety-one in all; of the Tegeans, seventeen; and of the Athenians, fifty-two.[1]

71. Among the foreigners they that fought best were the Persian foot and the horse of the Sacae, and of men, it is said, the bravest was Mardonius; among the Greeks, the Tegeans and Athenians bore themselves gallantly, but the Lacedaemonians excelled all in valour. Of this my only clear proof is (for all these vanquished the foes opposed to them) that the Lacedaemonians met the strongest part of the army, and overcame it. According to my judgment, he that bore himself by far the best was Aristodemus, who had been reviled and dishonoured for being the only man of the three hundred that came alive from Thermopylae;[2] and the next after him in valour were Posidonius and Philocyon and Amompharetus. Nevertheless when there was talk, and question who had borne himself

armed troops. Plutarch says that 60,300 Greeks fell at Plataea.

[2] Cp. vii. 231.

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οἱ παραγενόμενοι Σπαρτιητέων Ἀριστόδημον μὲν βουλόμενον φανερῶς ἀποθανεῖν ἐκ τῆς παρεούσης οἱ αἰτίης, λυσσῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλείποντα τὴν τάξιν ἔργα ἀποδέξασθαι μεγάλα, Ποσειδώνιον δὲ οὐ βουλόμενον ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ἀγαθόν· τοσούτῳ τοῦτον εἶναι ἀμείνω. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ φθόνῳ ἂν εἴποιεν· οὗτοι δὲ τοὺς κατέλεξα πάντες, πλὴν Ἀριστοδήμου, τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ τίμιοι ἐγένοντο· Ἀριστόδημος δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αἰτίην οὐκ ἐτιμήθη.

72. Οὗτοι μὲν τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ὀνομαστότατοι ἐγένοντο. Καλλικράτης γὰρ ἔξω τῆς μάχης ἀπέθανε, ἐλθὼν ἀνὴρ κάλλιστος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν τότε Ἑλλήνων, οὐ μοῦνον αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ὅς, ἐπειδὴ ἐσφαγιάζετο Παυσανίης, κατήμενος ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐτρωματίσθη τοξεύματι τὰ πλευρά. καὶ δὴ οἳ μὲν ἐμάχοντο, ὁ δ' ἐξενηνειγμένος ἐδυσθανάτεέ τε καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς Ἀρίμνηστον ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα οὐ μέλειν οἱ ὅτι πρὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποθνήσκει, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῇ χειρὶ καὶ ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστί οἱ ἀποδεδεγμένον ἔργον ἑωυτοῦ ἄξιον προθυμευμένου ἀποδέξασθαι.

73. Ἀθηναίων δὲ λέγεται εὐδοκιμῆσαι Σωφάνης ὁ Εὐτυχίδεω, ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν, Δεκελέων δὲ τῶν κοτὲ ἐργασαμένων ἔργον χρήσιμον ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ὡς αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάλαι κατὰ Ἑλένης κομιδὴν Τυνδαρίδαι

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most bravely, those Spartans that were there judged that Aristodemus had achieved great feats because by reason of the reproach under which he lay he plainly wished to die, and so pressed forward in frenzy from his post, whereas Posidonius had borne himself well with no desire to die, and must in so far be held the better man. This they may have said of mere jealousy; but all the aforesaid who were slain in that fight received honour, save only Aristodemus; he, because he desired death by reason of the reproach afore-mentioned, received none.

72. These won the most renown of all that fought at Plataeae. Callicrates is not among them; for he died away from the battle, he that, when he came to the army, was the goodliest Lacedaemonian, aye, or Greek, in the Hellas of that day. He, when Pausanias was offering sacrifice, was wounded in the side by an arrow where he sat in his place; and while his comrades were fighting, he was carried out of the battle and died a lingering death, saying to Arimnestus, a Plataean, that it was no grief to him to die for Hellas' sake; his sorrow was rather that he had struck no blow and achieved no deed worthy of his merit, for all his eager desire so to do.

73. Of the Athenians, Sophanes son of Eutychides is said to have won renown, a man of the township of Decelea; that Decelea whose people once did a deed that was for all time serviceable, as the Athenians themselves say. For of old when the sons of Tyndarus strove to win Helen[1] back and

[1] According to legend, the Dioscuri came to recover their sister Helen, who had been carried off to Aphidnae in Attica by Theseus and Pirithous.

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ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ἀττικὴν σὺν στρατοῦ πλήθεϊ καὶ ἀνίστασαν τοὺς δήμους, οὐκ εἰδότες ἵνα ὑπεξέκειτο ἡ Ἑλένη, τότε λέγουσι τοὺς Δεκελέας, οἳ δὲ αὐτὸν Δέκελον ἀχθόμενόν τε τῇ Θησέος ὕβρι καὶ δειμαίνοντα περὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀθηναίων χώρῃ, ἐξηγησάμενόν σφι τὸ πᾶν πρῆγμα κατηγήσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀφίδνας, τὰς δὴ Τιτακὸς ἐὼν αὐτόχθων καταπροδιδοῖ Τυνδαρίδῃσι. τοῖσι δὲ Δεκελεῦσι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀτελείη τε καὶ προεδρίη διατελέει ἐς τόδε αἰεὶ ἔτι ἐοῦσα, οὕτω ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ὕστερον πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτων γενόμενον Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοισι, σινομένων τὴν ἄλλην Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι.

74. Τούτου τοῦ δήμου ἐὼν ὁ Σωφάνης καὶ ἀριστεύσας τότε Ἀθηναίων διξοὺς λόγους λεγομένους ἔχει, τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ζωστῆρος τοῦ θώρηκος ἐφόρεε χαλκέῃ ἁλύσι δεδεμένην ἄγκυραν σιδηρέην, τὴν ὅκως πελάσειε ἀπικνεόμενος τοῖσι πολεμίοισι βαλλέσκετο, ἵνα δή μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος μετακινῆσαι μὴ δυναίατο· γινομένης δὲ φυγῆς τῶν ἐναντίων δέδοκτο τὴν ἄγκυραν ἀναλαβόντα οὕτω διώκειν. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω λέγεται, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν λόγων τῷ πρότερον λεχθέντι ἀμφισβατέων λέγεται, ὡς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος αἰεὶ περιθεούσης καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἀτρεμιζούσης ἐφόρεε ἄγκυραν, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ θώρηκος δεδεμένην σιδηρέην.

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broke with a great host into Attica, and were turning the townships upside down because they knew not where Helen had been hidden, then (it is said) the Deceleans (and, as some say, Decelus himself, because he was angered by the pride of Theseus and feared for the whole land of Attica) revealed the whole matter to the sons of Tyndarus, and guided them to Aphidnae, which Titacus, one of the country's oldest stock, betrayed to the Tyndaridae. For that deed the Deceleans have ever had and still have at Sparta freedom from all dues and chief places at feasts, insomuch that even as late as in the war that was waged many years after this time between the Athenians and Peloponnesians, the Lacedaemonians laid no hand on Decelea when they harried the rest of Attica.[1]

74. Of that township was Sophanes, who now was the best Athenian fighter in the battle; concerning which, two tales are told. By the first, he bore an anchor of iron made fast to the girdle of his cuirass with a chain of bronze; which anchor he would ever cast whenever he drew nigh to his enemies in onset, that so the enemies as they left their ranks might not avail to move him from his place; and when they were put to flight, it was his plan that he would weigh his anchor and so pursue them. So runs this tale; but the second that is told is at variance with the first, and relates that he bore no anchor of iron made fast to his cuirass, but that his shield, which he ever whirled round and never kept still, had on it an anchor for device.

[1] But in the later part of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedaemonians established themselves at Decelea and held it as a menace to Athens (413 B.C.).

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75. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Σωφάνεϊ λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἐξεργασμένον, ὅτι περικατημένων Ἀθηναίων Αἴγιναν Εὐρυβάτην τὸν Ἀργεῖον ἄνδρα πεντάεθλον ἐκ προκλήσιος ἐφόνευσε. αὐτὸν δὲ Σωφάνεα χρόνῳ ὕστερον τούτων κατέλαβε ἄνδρα γενόμενον ἀγαθόν, Ἀθηναίων στρατηγέοντα ἅμα Λεάγρῳ τῷ Γλαύκωνος, ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Ἠδωνῶν ἐν Δάτῳ περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τῶν χρυσέων μαχόμενον.

76. Ὡς δὲ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι κατέστρωντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐνθαῦτά σφι ἐπῆλθε γυνὴ αὐτόμολος· ἣ ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ Φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω, κοσμησαμένη χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἀμφίπολοι καὶ ἐσθῆτι τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν παρεουσέων, κιταβᾶσα ἐκ τῆς ἁρμαμάξης ἐχώρεε ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἐν τῇσι φονῇσι ἐόντας, ὁρῶσα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνα διέποντα Παυσανίην, πρότερόν τε τὸ οὔνομα ἐξεπισταμένη καὶ τὴν πάτρην ὥστε πολλάκις ἀκούσασα, ἔγνω τε τὸν Παυσανίην καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἱκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὤνησας, τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῴη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω· βίῃ δέ με λαβὼν ἐν Κῷ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. "Γύναι, θάρσεε καὶ ὡς ἱκέτις καὶ εἰ δὴ πρὸς τούτῳ τυγχάνεις ἀληθέα λέγουσα καὶ εἰς

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75. Another famous feat of arms Sophanes achieved: when the Athenians were beleaguering Aegina, he challenged and slew Eurybates the Argive, a victor in the Five Contests. But long after this Sophanes, who had borne himself thus gallantly, came by his death; being general of the Athenians with Leagrus, son of Glaucon, he was slain at Datus [1] by the Edonians in a battle for the gold-mines.

76. Immediately after the Greeks had laid low the foreigners at Plataeae, there came to them a woman, deserting from the enemy, who was the concubine of Pharandates, a Persian, son of Teaspis. She, learning that the Persians were destroyed and the Greeks victorious, decked herself (as did also her attendants) with many gold ornaments and the fairest raiment that she had, and so lighting from her carriage came to the Lacedaemonians while they were yet at the slaughtering; and seeing Pausanias ordering all that business, whose name and country she knew from her often hearing of it, she knew that it was he, and thus besought him, clasping his knees: "Save me, your suppliant, O king of Sparta from captive slavery; for you have done me good service till this hour, by making an end of yonder men, that regard not aught that is divine in heaven or earth. Coan am I by birth, daughter to Hegetorides, son of Antagoras; in Cos the Persian laid violent hands on me and held me prisoner." "Be of good cheer, lady," Pausanias answered, "for that you are my suppliant, and for your tale withal, if

[1] In the attempt to establish an Athenian settlement at Amphipolis in 465 (Thucyd. i. 100, v. 102). Datus was on the Thracian seaboard opposite Thasos.

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θυγάτηρ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Κῴου, ὃς ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος μάλιστα τυγχάνει ἐὼν τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χώρους οἰκημένων." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας τότε μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τῶν ἐφόρων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Αἴγιναν, ἐς τὴν αὐτὴ ἤθελε ἀπικέσθαι.

77. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπιξιν τῆς γυναικός, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπίκοντο Μαντινέες ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι· μαθόντες δὲ ὅτι ὕστεροι ἥκουσι τῆς συμβολῆς, συμφορὴν ἐποιεῦντο μεγάλην, ἄξιοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι σφέας ζημιῶσαι. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μήδους τοὺς μετὰ Ἀρταβάζου φεύγοντας, τούτους ἐδίωκον μέχρι Θεσσαλίης· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔων φεύγοντας διώκειν. οἱ δὲ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῶν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς στρατιῆς ἐδίωξαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς. μετὰ δὲ Μαντινέας ἧκον Ἠλεῖοι, καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τοῖσι Μαντινεῦσι συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσοντο· ἀπελθόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐδίωξαν. τὰ κατὰ Μαντινέας μὲν καὶ Ἠλείους τοσαῦτα.

78. Ἐν δὲ Πλαταιῇσι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἦν Λάμπων Πυθέω, Αἰγινητέων ἐὼν τὰ πρῶτα· ὃς ἀνοσιώτατον ἔχων λόγον ἵετο πρὸς Παυσανίην, ἀπικόμενος δὲ σπουδῇ ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὦ παῖ Κλεομβρότου, ἔργον ἔργασταί τοι ὑπερφυὲς μέγαθός τε καὶ κάλλος, καί τοι θεὸς παρέδωκε ῥυσάμενον τὴν Ἑλλάδα κλέος καταθέσθαι μέγιστον Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. σὺ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοισι ποίησον, ὅκως λόγος τε σὲ ἔχῃ ἔτι μέζων καί τις ὕστερον φυλάσσηται τῶν βαρβάρων μὴ ὑπάρχειν ἔργα ἀτάσθαλα ποιέων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Λεωνίδεω

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you be verily daughter to Hegetorides of Cos, for he is my closest friend, of all that dwell in those lands." Thus saying, he gave her for the nonce in charge to those of the ephors who were present, and thereafter sent her to Aegina, whither she herself desired to go.

77. Immediately after the coming of this woman, came the men of Mantinea, when all was over; who, learning that they were come too late for the battle, were greatly distressed, and said that they deserved to punish themselves therefor. Hearing that the Medes with Artabazus were fleeing, they would have pursued after them as far as Thessaly; but the Lacedaemonians would not suffer them to pursue fleeing men; and returning to their own land the Mantineans banished the leaders of their army from the country. After the Mantineans came the men of Elis, who also went away sorrowful in like manner as the Mantineans, and after their departure banished their leaders likewise. Such were the doings of the Mantineans and Eleans.

78. Now there was at Plataeae in the army of the Aeginetans one Lampon, son of Pytheas, a leading man of Aegina; he sought Pausanias with most unrighteous counsel, and having made haste to come said to him: "Son of Cleombrotus, you have done a deed of surpassing greatness and glory; by heaven's favour you have saved Hellas, and thereby won greater renown than any Greek known to men. But now you must finish what remains to do, that your fame may be yet the greater, and that no foreigner may hereafter make bold unprovoked to wreak his mad and wicked will on the Greeks. When Leonidas

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γὰρ ἀποθανόντος ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι Μαρδόνιός τε καὶ Ξέρξης ἀποταμόντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνεσταύρωσαν· τῷ σὺ τὴν ὁμοίην ἀποδιδοὺς ἔπαινον ἕξεις πρῶτα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων Σπαρτιητέων, αὖτις δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· Μαρδόνιον γὰρ ἀνασκολοπίσας τετιμωρήσεαι ἐς πάτρων τὸν σὸν Λεωνίδην."

79. Ὁ μὲν δοκέων χαρίζεσθαι ἔλεγε τάδε, ὁ δ' ἀνταμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "Ὦ ξεῖνε Αἰγινῆτα, τὸ μὲν εὐνοέειν τε καὶ προορᾶν ἄγαμαί σευ, γνώμης μέντοι ἡμάρτηκας χρηστῆς· ἐξαείρας γάρ με ὑψοῦ καὶ τὴν πάτρην καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐς τὸ μηδὲν κατέβαλες παραινέων νεκρῷ λυμαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἦν ταῦτα ποιέω, φὰς ἄμεινόν με ἀκούσεσθαι· τὰ πρέπει μᾶλλον βαρβάροισι ποιέειν ἤ περ Ἕλλησι· καὶ ἐκείνοισι δὲ ἐπιφθονέομεν. ἐγὼ δ' ὦν τούτου εἵνεκα μήτε Αἰγινήτῃσι ἄδοιμι μήτε τοῖσι ταῦτα ἀρέσκεται, ἀποχρᾷ δέ μοι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἀρεσκόμενον ὅσια μὲν ποιέειν, ὅσια δὲ καὶ λέγειν. Λεωνίδῃ δέ, τῷ με κελεύεις τιμωρῆσαι, φημὶ μεγάλως τετιμωρῆσθαι, ψυχῇσί τε τῇσι τῶνδε ἀναριθμήτοισι τετίμηται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι τελευτήσαντες. σὺ μέντοι ἔτι ἔχων λόγον τοιόνδε μήτε προσέλθῃς ἔμοιγε μήτε συμβουλεύσῃς, χάριν τε ἴσθι ἐὼν ἀπαθής."

80. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀπαλλάσσετο. Παυσανίης δὲ κήρυγμα ποιησάμενος μηδένα ἅπτεσθαι τῆς λῃίης, συγκομίζειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς εἵλωτας τὰ χρήματα. οἱ δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον σκιδνάμενοι εὕρισκον σκηνὰς κατεσκευασμένας χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ

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was slain at Thermopylae, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head and set it on a pole; make them a like return, and you will win praise from all Spartans, and the rest of Hellas besides; for if you impale Mardonius you will be avenged for your father's brother Leonidas."

79. So said Lampon, thinking to please. But Pausanias answered him thus: "Sir Aeginetan, I thank you for your goodwill and forethought; but you have missed the mark of right judgment; for first you exalt me on high and my fatherland and my deeds withal, yet next you cast me down to mere nothingness when you counsel me to insult the dead, and say that I shall win more praise if I so do; but that were an act more proper for foreigners than for Greeks, and one that we deem matter of blame even in foreigners. Nay, for myself, I would fain in this business find no favour either with the people of Aegina or whoso else is pleased by such acts; it is enough for me if I please the Spartans by righteous deed and righteous speech. As for Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, I hold that he has had full measure of vengeance; the uncounted souls of these that you see have done honour to him and the rest of those who died at Thermopylae. But to you this is my warning, that you come not again to me with words like these nor give me such counsel; and be thankful now that you go unpunished."

80. With that answer Lampon departed. Then Pausanias made a proclamation, that no man should touch the spoil, and bade the helots gather all the stuff together. They, scattering all about the camp, found there tents adorned with gold and silver, and couches gilded and silver-plated, and golden bowls

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ἐπαργύρους, κρητῆράς τε χρυσέους καὶ φιάλας τε καὶ ἄλλα ἐκπώματα· σάκκους τε ἐπ' ἁμαξέων εὕρισκον, ἐν τοῖσι λέβητες ἐφαίνοντο ἐνεόντες χρύσεοί τε καὶ ἀργύρεοι· ἀπό τε τῶν κειμένων νεκρῶν ἐσκύλευον ψέλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἐόντας χρυσέους, ἐπεὶ ἐσθῆτός γε ποικίλης λόγος ἐγίνετο οὐδείς. ἐνθαῦτα πολλὰ μὲν κλέπτοντες ἐπώλεον πρὸς τοὺς Αἰγινήτας οἱ εἵλωτες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν, ὅσα αὐτῶν οὐκ οἷά τε ἦν κρύψαι· ὥστε Αἰγινήτῃσι οἱ μεγάλοι πλοῦτοι ἀρχὴν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένοντο, οἳ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅτε ἐόντα χαλκὸν δῆθεν παρὰ τῶν εἰλώτων ὠνέοντο.

81. Συμφορήσαντες δὲ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ θεῷ ἐξελόντες, ἀπ' ἧς δεκάπηχυν χάλκεον Διὰ ἀνέθηκαν, καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ἑπτάπηχυς χάλκεος Ποσειδέων ἐξεγένετο, ταῦτα ἐξελόντες τὰ λοιπὰ διαιρέοντο, καὶ ἔλαβον ἕκαστοι τῶν ἄξιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα τε καὶ ὑποζύγια. ὅσα μέν νυν ἐξαίρετα τοῖσι ἀριστεύσασι αὐτῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐδόθη, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν, δοκέω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τούτοισι δοθῆναι· Παυσανίῃ δὲ πάντα δέκα ἐξαιρέθη τε καὶ ἐδόθη, γυναῖκες ἵπποι τάλαντα κάμηλοι, ὡς δὲ αὕτως καὶ τἆλλα χρήματα.

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[1] The bronze three-headed serpent supporting the cauldron was intended apparently to commemorate the whole Greek alliance against Persia. The serpent pedestal still exists,

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and cups and other drinking-vessels; and sacks they found on wains, wherein were seen cauldrons of gold and silver; and they stripped from the dead that lay there their armlets and torques, and daggers of gold; as for many-coloured raiment, it was nothing regarded. Much of all this the helots showed, as much as they could not conceal; but much they stole and sold to the Aeginetans; insomuch that the Aeginetans thereby laid the foundation of their great fortunes, by buying gold from the helots as though it were bronze.

81. Having brought all the stuff together they set apart a tithe for the god of Delphi, whereof was made and dedicated that tripod that rests upon the bronze three-headed serpent,[1] nearest to the altar; another they set apart for the god of Olympia, whereof was made and dedicated a bronze figure of Zeus, ten cubits high; and another for the god of the Isthmus, whereof came a bronze Poseidon seven cubits high; all which having set apart they divided the remnant, and each received according to his desert of the concubines of the Persians, and the gold and silver, and all the rest of the stuff, and the beasts of burden. How much was set apart and given to those who had fought best at Plataeae, no man says; but I think that they also received gifts; but tenfold of every kind, women, horses, talents, camels, and all other things likewise, was set apart and given to Pausanias.

in the Atmeidan (formerly Hippodrome) at Constantinople, whither it was transported by Constantine; it has been fully exposed and its inscription deciphered since 1856. The names of thirty-one Greek states are incised on eleven spirals, from the third to the thirteenth. For a fuller account see How and Wells' note *ad loc.*

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82. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε γενέσθαι, ὡς Ξέρξης φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Μαρδονίῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν καταλίποι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· Παυσανίην ὦν ὁρῶντα τὴν Μαρδονίου κατασκευὴν χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ παραπετάσμασι ποικίλοισι κατεσκευασμένην, κελεῦσαι τούς τε ἀρτοκόπους καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθὼς Μαρδονίῳ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ κελευόμενοι οὗτοι ἐποίευν ταῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Παυσανίην ἰδόντα κλίνας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας εὖ ἐστρωμένας καὶ τραπέζας τε χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας καὶ παρασκευὴν μεγαλοπρεπέα τοῦ δείπνου, ἐκπλαγέντα τὰ προκείμενα ἀγαθὰ κελεῦσαι ἐπὶ γέλωτι τοὺς ἑωυτοῦ διηκόνους παρασκευάσαι Λακωνικὸν δεῖπνον. ὡς δὲ τῆς θοίνης ποιηθείσης ἦν πολλὸν τὸ μέσον, τὸν Παυσανίην γελάσαντα μεταπέμψασθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς στρατηγούς, συνελθόντων δὲ τούτων εἰπεῖν τὸν Παυσανίην, δεικνύντα ἐς ἑκατέρην τοῦ δείπνου παρασκευήν, "Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἐγὼ ὑμέας συνήγαγον, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν τοῦδε τοῦ Μήδων ἡγεμόνος τὴν ἀφροσύνην δέξαι, ὃς τοιήνδε δίαιταν ἔχων ἦλθε ἐς ἡμέας οὕτω ὀϊζυρὴν ἔχοντας ἀπαιρησόμενος." ταῦτα μὲν Παυσανίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

83. Ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων εὗρον συχνοὶ θήκας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων. ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ τόδε ὕστερον τούτων ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν περιψιλωθέντων τὰς σάρκας· συνεφόρεον γὰρ τὰ ὀστέα οἱ Πλαταιέες ἐς ἕνα χῶρον· εὑρέθη κεφαλὴ οὐκ ἔχουσα ῥαφὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐοῦσα

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82. This other story is also told. Xerxes in his flight from Hellas, having left to Mardonius his own establishment, Pausanias, seeing Mardonius' establishment with its display of gold and silver and gaily-coloured tapestry, bade the bakers and the cooks to prepare a dinner in such wise as they were wont to do for Mardonius. They did his bidding; whereat Pausanias, when he saw golden and silvern couches richly covered, and tables of gold and silver, and all the magnificent service of the banquet, was amazed at the splendour before him, and for a jest bade his own servants prepare a dinner after Laconian fashion. When that meal was ready and was far different from the other, Pausanias fell a-laughing, and sent for the generals of the Greeks. They being assembled, Pausanias pointed to the fashion after which either dinner was served, and said: "Men of Hellas, I have brought you hither because I desired to show you the foolishness of the leader of the Medes; who, with such provision for life as you see, came hither to take away from us ours, that is so pitiful." Thus, it is said, Pausanias spoke to the generals of the Greeks.

83. But in later days many of the Plataeans also found chests full of gold and silver and all else. Moreover there were sights to see among these dead, when their bones (which the Plataeans gathered into one place) were laid bare of flesh: there was found a skull whereof the bone was all

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ὀστέου, ἐφάνη δὲ καὶ γνάθος κατὰ τὸ ἄνω[1] τῆς γνάθου ἔχουσα ὀδόντας μουνοφυέας ἐξ ἑνὸς ὀστέου πάντας τούς τε προσθίους καὶ γομφίους, καὶ πενταπήχεος ἀνδρὸς ὀστέα ἐφάνη.

84. Ἐπείτε δὲ[2] Μαρδονίου δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ νεκρὸς ἠφάνιστο, ὑπὸ ὅτευ μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀτρεκὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἤδη καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἤκουσα θάψαι Μαρδόνιον, καὶ δῶρα μεγάλα οἶδα λαβόντας πολλοὺς παρὰ Ἀρτόντεω τοῦ Μαρδονίου παιδὸς διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον· ὅστις μέντοι ἦν αὐτῶν ὁ ὑπελόμενός τε καὶ θάψας τὸν νεκρὸν τὸν Μαρδονίου, οὐ δύναμαι ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἔχει δὲ τινὰ φάτιν καὶ Διονυσοφάνης ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος θάψαι Μαρδόνιον. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐτάφη.

85. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὴν ληίην διείλοντο, ἔθαπτον τοὺς ἑωυτῶν χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν τριξὰς ἐποιήσαντο θήκας· ἔνθα μὲν τοὺς ἱρένας ἔθαψαν, τῶν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος καὶ Ἀμομφάρετος ἦσαν καὶ Φιλοκύων τε καὶ Καλλικράτης. ἐν μὲν δὴ ἑνὶ τῶν τάφων ἦσαν οἱ ἱρένες, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ οἱ ἄλλοι Σπαρτιῆται, ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ οἱ εἵλωτες. οὗτοι μὲν οὕτω ἔθαπτον, Τεγεῆται δὲ χωρὶς πάντας ἁλέας, καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ὁμοῦ, καὶ Μεγαρέες τε καὶ Φλειάσιοι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς ἵππου διαφθαρέντας. τούτων μὲν δὴ πάντων πλήρεες ἐγένοντο οἱ τάφοι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσοι καὶ φαίνονται ἐν Πλαταιῇσι ἐόντες

[1] MS. καὶ τὸ ἄνω; Stein suggests κατά, which is here adopted.

[2] MS. ἔπειτε δέ, introducing a protasis which has no apodosis; Stein's suggested ἐπεί γε δή (= for as to Mardonius, etc.) seems preferable.

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one without suture, and a jawbone wherein the teeth of the upper jaw were one whole, a single bone, front teeth and grinders; and there were to be seen the bones of a man of five cubits' stature.

84. As for the body of Mardonius, it was made away with on the day after the battle; by whom, I cannot with exactness say; but I have heard of very many of all countries that buried Mardonius, and I know of many that were richly rewarded for that act by Mardonius' son Artontes; but which of them it was that stole away and buried the body of Mardonius I cannot learn for a certainty, albeit some report that it was buried by Dionysophanes, an Ephesian. Such was the manner of Mardonius' burial.

85. But the Greeks, when they had divided the spoil at Plataeae, buried their dead each severally in their place. The Lacedaemonians made three vaults; there they buried their "irens,"[1] among whom were Posidonius and Amompharetus and Philocyon and Callicrates. In one of the tombs, then, were the "irens," in the second the rest of the Spartans, and in the third the helots. Thus the Lacedaemonians buried their dead; the Tegeans buried all theirs together in a place apart, and the Athenians did likewise with their own dead; and so did the Megarians and Phliasians with those who had been slain by the horsemen. All the tombs of these peoples were filled with dead; but as for the rest of the states whose tombs are to be seen at Plataeae,

[1] Spartan young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.

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τάφοι, τούτους δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἐπαισχυνομένους τῇ ἀπεστοῖ τῆς μάχης ἑκάστους χώματα χῶσαι κεινὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων εἵνεκεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπεὶ καὶ Αἰγινητέων ἐστὶ αὐτόθι καλεόμενος τάφος, τὸν ἐγὼ ἀκούω καὶ δέκα ἔτεσι ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα δεηθέντων τῶν Αἰγινητέων χῶσαι Κλεάδην τὸν Αὐτοδίκου ἄνδρα Πλαταιέα, πρόξεινον ἐόντα αὐτῶν.

86. Ὡς δ' ἄρα ἔθαψαν τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν Πλαταιῇσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτίκα βουλευομένοισί σφι ἐδόκεε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας καὶ ἐξαιτέειν αὐτῶν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐν πρώτοισι δὲ αὐτῶν Τιμηγενίδην καὶ Ἀτταγῖνον, οἳ ἀρχηγέται ἀνὰ πρώτους ἦσαν· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἐκδιδῶσι, μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος πρότερον ἢ ἐξέλωσι. ὡς δέ σφι ταῦτα ἔδοξε, οὕτω δὴ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τῆς συμβολῆς ἀπικόμενοι ἐπολιόρκεον Θηβαίους, κελεύοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας· οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐκδιδόναι, τήν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἔταμνον καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.

87. Καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύοντο σινόμενοι, εἰκοστῇ ἡμέρῃ ἔλεξε τοῖσι Θηβαίοισι Τιμηγενίδης τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, ἐπειδὴ οὕτω δέδοκται τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, μὴ πρότερον ἀπαναστῆναι πολιορκέοντας ἢ ἐξέλωσι Θήβας ἢ ἡμέας αὐτοῖσι παραδῶτε, νῦν ὧν ἡμέων εἵνεκα γῆ ἡ Βοιωτίη πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήσῃ, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν χρημάτων χρηίζοντες πρόσχημα ἡμέας ἐξαιτέονται, χρήματά σφι δῶμεν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ (σὺν γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμηδίσαμεν οὐδὲ μοῦνοι ἡμεῖς), εἰ δὲ ἡμέων ἀληθέως δεόμενοι πολιορκέουσι, ἡμεῖς ἡμέας αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀντιλογίην

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their tombs are but empty barrows that they built for the sake of men that should come after, because they were ashamed to have been absent from the battle. In truth there is one there that is called the tomb of the Aeginetans, which, as I have been told, was built as late as ten years after, at the Aeginetans' desire, by their patron and protector Cleades son of Autodicus, a Plataean.

86. As soon as the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataeae, they resolved in council that they would march against Thebes and demand surrender of those who had taken the Persian part, but specially of Timagenidas and Attaginus, who were chief among their foremost men; and that, if these men were not delivered to them, they would not withdraw from before the city till they should have taken it. Being thus resolved, they came with this intent on the eleventh day after the battle and laid siege to the Thebans, demanding the surrender of the men; and the Thebans refusing this surrender, they laid their lands waste and assaulted the walls.

87. Seeing that the Greeks would not cease from their harrying, when nineteen days were past, Timagenidas thus spoke to the Thebans: "Men of Thebes, since the Greeks have so resolved that they will not raise the siege till Thebes be taken or we be delivered to them, now let not the land of Boeotia increase the measure of its ills for our sake; nay, if it is money they desire and their demand for our surrender is but a pretext, let us give them money out of our common treasury (for it was by the common will and not ours alone that we took the Persian part); but if they be besieging the town for no other cause save to have us, then we will give

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παρέξομεν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε εὖ λέγειν καὶ ἐς καιρόν, αὐτίκα τε ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο πρὸς Παυσανίην οἱ Θηβαῖοι θέλοντες ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

88. Ὡς δὲ ὡμολόγησαν ἐπὶ τούτοισι, Ἀτταγῖνος μὲν ἐκδιδρήσκει ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπαχθέντας Παυσανίης ἀπέλυσε τῆς αἰτίης, φὰς τοῦ μηδισμοῦ παῖδας οὐδὲν εἶναι μεταιτίους. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐξέδοσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, οἳ μὲν ἐδόκεον ἀντιλογίης τε κυρήσειν καὶ δὴ χρήμασι ἐπεποίθεσαν διωθέεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὡς παρέλαβε, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑπονοέων τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ἅπασαν ἀπῆκε καὶ ἐκείνους ἀγαγὼν ἐς Κόρινθον διέφθειρε. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ Θήβῃσι γενόμενα.

89. Ἀρτάβαζος δὲ ὁ Φαρνάκεος φεύγων ἐκ Πλαταιέων καὶ δὴ πρόσω ἐγίνετο. ἀπικόμενον δὲ μιν οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ παρὰ σφέας ἐπί τε ξείνια ἐκάλεον καὶ ἀνειρώτων περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἄλλης, οὐδὲν ἐπιστάμενοι τῶν ἐν Πλαταιῇσι γενομένων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος γνοὺς ὅτι εἰ ἐθέλει σφι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν ἀγώνων εἰπεῖν, αὐτός τε κινδυνεύσει ἀπολέσθαι καὶ ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατός· ἐπιθήσεσθαι γάρ οἱ πάντα τινὰ οἴετο πυνθανόμενον τὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα ἐκλογιζόμενος οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Φωκέας ἐξηγορευε οὐδὲν πρός τε τοὺς Θεσσαλοὺς ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἐγὼ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Θεσσαλοί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ἐπείγομαί τε κατὰ τάχος ἐλῶν ἐς Θρήικην καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχω, πεμφθεὶς κατά τι πρῆγμα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου μετὰ τῶνδε· αὐτὸς δὲ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, οὗτος κατὰ πόδας ἐμεῦ ἐλαύνων προσδόκιμος ἐστί.

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ourselves up to be tried by them." This seeming to be very well and seasonably said, the Thebans immediately sent a herald to Pausanias, offering to surrender the men.

88. On these terms they made an agreement; but Attaginus escaped out of the town; his sons were seized, but Pausanias held them free of guilt, saying that the sons were nowise accessory to the treason. As for the rest of the men whom the Thebans surrendered, they supposed that they would be put on their trial, and were confident that they would defeat the impeachment by bribery; but Pausanias had that very suspicion of them, and when they were put into his hands he sent away the whole allied army, and carried the men to Corinth, where he put them to death. Such were the doings at Plataeae and Thebes.

89. Artabazus the son of Pharnaces was by now far on his way in his flight from Plataeae. The Thessalians, when he came among them, entertained him hospitably and inquired of him concerning the rest of the army, knowing nothing of what had been done at Plataeae. Artabazus understood that if he told them the whole truth about the fighting, he would imperil his own life and the lives of all that were with him; for he thought that every man would set upon him if they heard the story; wherefore, thus reasoning, even as he had revealed nothing to the Phocians so he spoke thus to the Thessalians: "I myself, men of Thessaly, am pressing on with all speed and diligence to march into Thrace, being despatched from the army for a certain purpose with these whom you see; and you may look to see Mardonius and that host of his yonder, marching

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τοῦτον καὶ ξεινίζετε καὶ εὖ ποιεῦντες φαίνεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐς χρόνον ταῦτα ποιεῦσι μεταμελήσει." ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπήλαυνε σπουδῇ τὴν στρατιὴν διὰ Θεσσαλίης τε καὶ Μακεδονίης ἰθὺ τῆς Θρηίκης, ὡς ἀληθέως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τάμνων τῆς ὁδοῦ. καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Βυζάντιον, καταλιπὼν τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ συχνοὺς ὑπὸ Θρηίκων κατακοπέντας κατ' ὁδὸν καὶ λιμῷ συστάντας καὶ καμάτῳ· ἐκ Βυζαντίου δὲ διέβη πλοίοισι. οὗτος μὲν οὕτω ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην.

90. Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρης τῆς περ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι τὸ τρῶμα ἐγένετο, συνεκύρησε γενέσθαι καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ τῆς Ἰωνίης. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Δήλῳ κατέατο οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ ἅμα Λευτυχίδῃ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ ἀπικόμενοι, ἦλθόν σφι ἄγγελοι ἀπὸ Σάμου Λάμπων τε Θρασυκλέος καὶ Ἀθηναγόρης Ἀρχεστρατίδεω καὶ Ἡγησίστρατος Ἀρισταγόρεω, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Σαμίων λάθρῃ τῶν τε Περσέων καὶ τοῦ τυράννου Θεομήστορος τοῦ Ἀνδροδάμαντος, τὸν κατέστησαν Σάμου τύραννον οἱ Πέρσαι. ἐπελθόντων δὲ σφέων ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔλεγε Ἡγησίστρατος πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα, ὡς ἢν μοῦνον ἴδωνται αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἴωνες ἀποστήσονται ἀπὸ Περσέων, καὶ ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι· ἢν δὲ καὶ ἄρα ὑπομείνωσι, οὐκ ἑτέρην ἄγρην τοιαύτην εὑρεῖν ἂν αὐτούς· θεούς τε κοινοὺς ἀνακαλέων προέτραπε αὐτοὺς ῥύσασθαι ἄνδρας Ἕλληνας ἐκ δουλοσύνης καὶ ἀπαμῦναι τὸν βάρβαρον· εὐπετές τε αὐτοῖσι ἔφη ταῦτα γίνεσθαι· τάς τε γὰρ νέας αὐτῶν κακῶς πλέειν καὶ οὐκ ἀξιομάχους κείνοισι εἶναι. αὐτοί τε, εἴ τι ὑποπτεύουσι

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close after me. It is for you to entertain him, and show that you do him good service; for if you so do, you will not afterwards repent of it." So saying, he used all diligence to lead his army away straight towards Thrace through Thessaly and Macedonia, brooking in good sooth no delay and following the shortest inland road. So he came to Byzantium, but he left behind many of his army, cut down by the Thracians or overcome by hunger and weariness; and from Byzantium he crossed over in boats. In such case Artabazus returned into Asia.

90. Now on the selfsame day when the Persians were so stricken at Plataeae, it so fell out that they suffered a like fate at Mycale in Ionia. For the Greeks who had come in their ships with Leutychides the Lacedaemonian being then in quarters at Delos, there came to them certain messengers from Samos, to wit, Lampon son of Thrasycles, Athenagoras son of Archestratides, and Hegesistratus son of Aristagoras; these the Samians had sent, keeping their despatch secret from the Persians and the despot Theomestor son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made despot of Samos. When they came before the generals, Hegesistratus spoke long and vehemently: "If the Ionians but see you," said he, "they will revolt from the Persians; and the foreigners will not stand; but if perchance they do stand, you will have such a prey as never again"; and he prayed them in the name of the gods of their common worship to deliver Greeks from slavery and drive the foreigner away. That, said he, would be an easy matter for them; "for the Persian ships are unseaworthy and no match for yours; and if you

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μὴ δόλῳ αὐτοὺς προάγοιεν, ἕτοιμοι εἶναι ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῇσι ἐκείνων ἀγόμενοι ὅμηροι εἶναι.

91. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸς ἦν λισσόμενος ὁ ξεῖνος ὁ Σάμιος, εἴρετο Λευτυχίδης, εἴτε κληδόνος εἵνεκεν θέλων πυθέσθαι εἴτε καὶ κατὰ συντυχίην θεοῦ ποιεῦντος, "Ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε, τί τοι τὸ οὔνομα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἡγησίστρατος." ὁ δὲ ὑπαρπάσας τὸν ἐπίλοιπον λόγον, εἴ τινα ὅρμητο λέγειν ὁ Ἡγησίστρατος, εἶπε "Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνὸν τὸν Ἡγησιστράτου, ὦ ξεῖνε Σάμιε. σὺ δὲ ἡμῖν ποίεε ὅκως αὐτός τε δοὺς πίστιν ἀποπλεύσεαι καὶ οἱ σὺν σοὶ ἐόντες οἵδε, ἢ μὲν Σαμίους ἡμῖν προθύμους ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους."

92. Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἠγόρευε καὶ τὸ ἔργον προσῆγε· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ Σάμιοι πίστιν τε καὶ ὅρκια ἐποιεῦντο συμμαχίης πέρι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες οἳ μὲν ἀπέπλεον· μετὰ σφέων γὰρ ἐκέλευε πλέειν τὸν Ἡγησίστρατον, οἰωνὸν τὸ οὔνομα ποιεύμενος.

93. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπισχόντες ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἐκαλλιερέοντο, μαντευομένου σφι Δηιφόνου τοῦ Εὐηνίου ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιήτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ. τούτου τὸν πατέρα Εὐήνιον κατέλαβε πρῆγμα τοιόνδε. ἔστι ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ ταύτῃ ἱρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα, τὰ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας βόσκεται παρὰ Χῶνα ποταμόν, ὃς ἐκ Λάκμονος ὄρεος ῥέει διὰ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίης χώρης ἐς θάλασσαν παρ' Ὤρικον λιμένα, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀραιρημένοι ἄνδρες οἱ πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένεϊ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν ἀστῶν, οὗτοι φυλάσσουσι ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστος· περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦνται

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have any suspicion that we may be tempting you guilefully, we are ready to be carried in your ships as hostages."

91. This Samian stranger being so earnest in entreaty, Leutychides asked him (whether it was that he desired to know for the sake of a presage, or that heaven happily prompted him thereto), "Sir Samian, what is your name?" "Hegesistratus,"[1] said he. Then Leutychides cut short whatever else Hegesistratus had begun to say, and cried: "I accept the omen of your name, Sir Samian; now do you see to it that ere you sail hence you and these that are with you pledge yourselves that the Samians will be our zealous allies."

92. Thus he spoke, and then and there added the deed thereto; for straightway the Samians bound themselves by pledge and oath to alliance with the Greeks. This done, the rest sailed away, but Leutychides bade Hegesistratus take ship with the Greeks, for the good omen of his name.

93. The Greeks waited through that day, and on the next they sought and won favourable augury; their diviner was Deïphonus son of Evenius, a man of that Apollonia which is in the Ionian gulf. This man's father Evenius had once fared as I will now relate. There is at the aforesaid Apollonia a certain flock sacred to the Sun, which in the day-time is pastured beside the river Chon, which flows from the mountain called Lacmon through the lands of Apollonia and issues into the sea by the haven of Oricum; by night, those townsmen who are most notable for wealth or lineage are chosen to watch it, each man serving for a year; for the people of

[1] Hegesistratus = Army-leader.

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Ἀπολλωνιῆται τὰ πρόβατα ταῦτα ἐκ θεοπροπίου τινός· ἐν δὲ ἄντρῳ αὐλίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκάς. ἔνθα δὴ τότε ὁ Εὐήνιος οὗτος ἀραιρημένος ἐφύλασσε. καὶ κοτὲ αὐτοῦ κατακοιμήσαντος φυλακὴν παρελθόντες λύκοι ἐς τὸ ἄντρον διέφθειραν τῶν προβάτων ὡς ἑξήκοντα. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐπήισε, εἶχε σιγῇ καὶ ἔφραζε οὐδενί, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων ἀντικαταστήσειν ἄλλα πριάμενος. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθε τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιήτας ταῦτα γενόμενα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπύθοντο, ὑπαγαγόντες μιν ὑπὸ δικαστήριον κατέκριναν, ὡς τὴν φυλακὴν κατακοιμήσαντα, τῆς ὄψιος στερηθῆναι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὸν Εὐήνιον ἐξετύφλωσαν, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε πρόβατά σφι ἔτικτε οὔτε γῆ ἔφερε ὁμοίως καρπόν. πρόφαντα δέ σφι ἔν τε Δωδώνῃ καὶ ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐγίνετο, ἐπείτε ἐπειρώτων τοὺς προφήτας τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, οἳ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἔφραζον ὅτι ἀδίκως τὸν φύλακον τῶν ἱρῶν προβάτων Εὐήνιον τῆς ὄψιος ἐστέρησαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐπορμῆσαι τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πρότερόν τε παύσεσθαι τιμωρέοντες ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ δίκας δῶσι τῶν ἐποίησαν ταύτας τὰς ἂν αὐτὸς ἕληται καὶ δικαιοῖ· τούτων δὲ τελεομένων αὐτοὶ δώσειν Εὐηνίῳ δόσιν τοιαύτην τὴν πολλούς μιν μακαριεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντα.

94. Τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια ταῦτά σφι ἐχρήσθη, οἱ δὲ Ἀπολλωνιῆται ἀπόρρητα ποιησάμενοι προέθεσαν τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδράσι διαπρῆξαι. οἳ δέ σφι διέπρηξαν ὧδε· κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ ἐλθόντες οἱ παρίζοντο καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθεϊ· ταύτῃ δὲ ὑπάγοντες εἰρώτων τίνα δίκην ἂν ἕλοιτο,

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Apollonia set great store by this flock, being so taught by a certain oracle. It is folded in a cave far distant from the town. Now at the time whereof I speak, Evenius was the chosen watchman. But one night he fell asleep, and wolves came past his guard into the cave, killing about sixty of the flock. When Evenius was aware of it, he held his peace and told no man, being minded to restore what was lost by buying others. But this matter was not hid from the people of Apollonia; and when it came to their knowledge they haled him to judgment and condemned him to lose his eyesight for sleeping at his watch. So they blinded Evenius; but from the day of their so doing their flocks bore no offspring, nor did their land yield her fruits as aforetime; and a declaration was given to them at Dodona and Delphi, when they inquired of the prophets what might be the cause of their present ill: the gods told them by their prophets that they had done unjustly in blinding Evenius, the guardian of the sacred flock, "for we ourselves" (said they) "sent those wolves, and we will not cease from avenging him ere you make him such restitution for what you did as he himself chooses and approves; when that is fully done, we will ourselves give Evenius such a gift as will make many men to deem him happy."

94. This was the oracle given to the people of Apollonia. They kept it secret, and charged certain of their townsmen to carry the business through; who did so as I will now show. Coming and sitting down by Evenius at the place where he sat, they spoke of other matters, till at last they fell to commiserating his misfortune; and thus guiding the discourse they asked him what requital he would

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εἰ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀπολλωνιῆται δίκας ὑποστῆναι δώσειν τῶν ἐποίησαν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀκηκοὼς τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἵλετο εἴπας εἴ τις οἱ δοίη ἀγρούς, τῶν ἀστῶν ὀνομάσας τοῖσι ἠπίστατο εἶναι καλλίστους δύο κλήρους τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίῃ, καὶ οἴκησιν πρὸς τούτοισι τὴν ᾔδεε καλλίστην ἐοῦσαν τῶν ἐν πόλι· τούτων δὲ ἔφη ἐπήβολος γενόμενος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀμήνιτος εἶναι, καὶ δίκην οἱ ταύτην ἀποχρᾶν γενομένην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, οἱ δὲ πάρεδροι εἶπαν ὑπολαβόντες "Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα." ὁ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα δεινὰ ἐποίεε, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν πυθόμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐξαπατηθείς· οἱ δὲ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτημένων διδοῦσί οἱ τὰ εἵλετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἔμφυτον μαντικὴν εἶχε, ὥστε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς γενέσθαι.

95. Τούτου δὴ ὁ Δηίφονος ἐὼν παῖς τοῦ Εὐηνιου ἀγόντων Κορινθίων ἐμαντεύετο τῇ στρατιῇ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόδε ἤκουσα, ὡς ὁ Δηίφονος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Εὐηνίου οὐνόματος ἐξελάμβανε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔργα, οὐκ ἐὼν Εὐηνίου παῖς.

96. Τοῖσι δὲ Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐκαλλιέρησε, ἀνῆγον τὰς νέας ἐκ τῆς Δήλου πρὸς τὴν Σάμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο τῆς Σαμίης πρὸς Καλαμίσοισι, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὁρμισάμενοι κατὰ τὸ Ἥραιον τὸ ταύτῃ παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς ναυμαχίην, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι πυθόμενοι σφέας προσπλέειν ἀνῆγον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τὰς νέας τὰς ἄλλας, τὰς δὲ Φοινίκων ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. βουλευομένοισι γάρ σφι ἐδόκεε ναυμαχίην μὴ ποιέεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὢν

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choose, if the people of Apollonia should promise to requite him for what they had done. He, knowing nought of the oracle, said he would choose for a gift the lands of certain named townsmen whom he deemed to have the two fairest estates in Apollonia, and a house besides which he knew to be the fairest in the town; let him (he said) have possession of these, and he would forgo his wrath, and be satisfied with that by way of restitution. They that sat by him waited for no further word than that, and said: "Evenius, the people of Apollonia hereby make you that restitution for the loss of your sight, obeying the oracle given to them." At that he was very angry, for he learnt thereby the whole story and saw that they had cheated him; but they bought from the possessors and gave him what he had chosen; and from that day he had a natural gift of divination, so that he won fame thereby.

95. Deïphonus, the son of this Evenius, had been brought by the Corinthians, and practised divination for the army. But I have heard it said ere now, that Deïphonus was no son of Evenius, but made a wrongful use of that name, and wrought for wages up and down Hellas.

96. Having won favourable omens, the Greeks stood out to sea from Delos for Samos. When they were now near Calamisa in the Samian territory, they anchored there hard by the temple of Here that is in those parts, and prepared for a sea-fight; the Persians, learning of their approach, stood likewise out to sea and made for the mainland, with all their ships save the Phoenicians, whom they sent sailing away. It was determined by them in council that they would not do battle by sea; for they

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ἐδόκεον ὅμοιοι εἶναι. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπέπλεον, ὅκως ἔωσι ὑπὸ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν τὸν σφέτερον ἐόντα ἐν τῇ Μυκάλῃ, ὃς κελεύσαντος Ξέρξεω καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ Ἰωνίην ἐφύλασσε· τοῦ πλῆθος μὲν ἦν ἓξ μυριάδες, ἐστρατήγεε δὲ αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης κάλλεϊ καὶ μεγάθεϊ ὑπερφέρων Περσέων. ὑπὸ τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν στρατὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο καταφυγόντες οἱ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγοὶ ἀνειρύσαι τὰς νέας καὶ περιβαλέσθαι ἕρκος ἔρυμά τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν κρησφύγετον.

97. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι ἀνήγοντο. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίης ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεῳ τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν, ἐνθαῦτα τάς τε νέας ἀνείρυσαν καὶ περιεβάλοντο ἕρκος καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων, δένδρεα ἐκκόψαντες ἥμερα, καὶ σκόλοπας περὶ τὸ ἕρκος κατέπηξαν, καὶ παρεσκευάδατο ὡς πολιορκησόμενοι καὶ ὡς νικήσοντες, ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐπιλεγόμενοι γὰρ παρεσκευάζοντο,

98. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο οἰχωκότας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον, ἤχθοντο ὡς ἐκπεφευγότων ἀπορίῃ τε εἴχοντο ὅ τι ποιέωσι, εἴτε ἀπαλλάσσωνται ὀπίσω εἴτε καταπλέωσι ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου. τέλος δὲ ἔδοξε τούτων μὲν μηδέτερα ποιέειν, ἐπιπλέειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον. παρασκευασάμενοι ὦν ἐς ναυμαχίην καὶ ἀποβάθρας καὶ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔδεε, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τῆς

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deemed themselves overmatched; and the reason of their making for the mainland was, that they might lie under the shelter of their army at Mycale, which had been left by Xerxes' command behind the rest of his host to hold Ionia; there were sixty thousand men in it, and Tigranes, the goodliest and tallest man in Persia, was their general. It was the design of the Persian admirals to flee to the shelter of that army, and there to beach their ships and build a fence round them which should be a protection for the ships and a refuge for themselves.

97. With this design they put to sea. So when they came past the temple of the Goddesses[1] at Mycale to the Gaeson and Scolopoïs,[2] where is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter (which was built by Philistus son of Pasicles, when he went with Nileus son of Codrus to the founding of Miletus), there they beached their ships and fenced them round with stones and trunks of orchard trees that they cut down; and they drove in stakes round the fence, and prepared for siege or victory, making ready of deliberate purpose for either event.

98. When the Greeks learnt that the foreigners were off and away to the mainland, they were ill-pleased to think that their enemy had escaped them, and doubted whether to return back or make sail for the Hellespont. At the last they resolved that they would do neither, but sail to the mainland; and equipping themselves therefore with gangways and all else needful for a sea-fight, they

[1] Demeter and Persephone.

[2] The Gaeson was probably a stream running south of the hill called Mycale; Scolopoïs, a place on its east bank (How and Wells).

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Μυκάλης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετό σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων "Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, οἳ ὑμέων τυγχάνουσι ἐπακούοντες, μάθετε τὰ λέγω· πάντως γὰρ οὐδὲν συνήσουσι Πέρσαι τῶν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐντέλλομαι. ἐπεὰν συμμίσγωμεν, μεμνῆσθαι τινὰ χρὴ ἐλευθερίης μὲν πάντων πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ συνθήματος Ἥβης. καὶ τάδε ἴστω καὶ ὁ μὴ ἀκούσας ὑμέων πρὸς τοῦ ἀκούσαντος." ὡυτὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐὼν τυγχάνει νόος τοῦ πρήγματος καὶ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέος ὁ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ· ἢ γὰρ δὴ λαθόντα τὰ ῥήματα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔμελλε τοὺς Ἴωνας πείσειν, ἢ ἔπειτα ἀνενειχθέντα ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ποιήσειν ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.

99. Λευτυχίδεω δὲ ταῦτα ὑποθεμένου δεύτερα δὴ τάδε ἐποίευν οἱ Ἕλληνες· προσσχόντες τὰς νέας ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐτάσσοντο, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρασκευαζομένους ἐς μάχην καὶ τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραινέσαντας, τοῦτο μὲν ὑπονοήσαντες τοὺς Σαμίους τὰ Ἑλλήνων φρονέειν ἀπαιρέονται τὰ ὅπλα. οἱ γὰρ ὧν Σάμιοι ἀπικομένων Ἀθηναίων αἰχμαλώτων ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, τοὺς ἔλαβον ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν λελειμμένους οἱ Ξέρξεω, τούτους λυσάμενοι πάντας ἀποπέμπουσι ἐποδιάσαντες ἐς Ἀθήνας· τῶν εἵνεκεν οὐκ ἥκιστα ὑποψίην εἶχον, πεντακοσίας κεφαλὰς τῶν Ξέρξεω

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held their course for Mycale. When they came near to the camp and found none putting out to meet them, and saw the ships beached within the wall and a great host of men drawn up in array along the strand, Leutychides thereupon first coasted along in his ship, keeping as near to the shore as he could, and made this proclamation to the Ionians by the voice of a herald: "Men of Ionia, you that hear us, take heed of what I say! for in no case will the Persians understand aught of my charge to you: when we join battle, let a man remember first his freedom, and next the battle-cry 'Hebe': and let him that hears me not be told of this by him that hears." The purpose of this act was the same as Themistocles' purpose at Artemisium[1]; either the message would be unknown to the foreigners and would prevail with the Ionians, or if it were thereafter reported to the foreigners it would make them to mistrust their Greek allies.

99. After this counsel of Leutychides', the Greeks next brought their ships to land and disembarked on the beach, where they put themselves in array. But the Persians, seeing the Greeks prepare for battle and exhort the Ionians, first of all took away the Samians' armour, suspecting that they favoured the Greeks; for indeed when the foreigners' ships brought certain Athenian captives, who had been left in Attica and taken by Xerxes' army, the Samians had set them all free and sent them away to Athens with provision for the way; for which cause in especial they were held suspect, as having set free five hundred souls of Xerxes' enemies.

[1] Cp. viii. 22.

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πολεμίων λυσάμενοι. τοῦτο δὲ τὰς διόδους τὰς ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης φερούσας προστάσσουσι τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι φυλάσσειν ὡς ἐπισταμένοισι δῆθεν μάλιστα τὴν χώρην. ἐποίευν δὲ τοῦτο τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα ἐκτὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔωσι. τούτους μὲν Ἰώνων, τοῖσι καὶ κατεδόκεον νεοχμὸν ἄν τι ποιέειν δυνάμιος ἐπιλαβομένοισι, τρόποισι τοιούτοισι προεφυλάσσοντο οἱ Πέρσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνεφόρησαν τὰ γέρρα ἕρκος εἶναι σφίσι.

100. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεσκευάδατο τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, προσήισαν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἰοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκήιον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματώγης κείμενον· ἡ δὲ φήμη διῆλθέ σφι ὧδε, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατιὴν νικῷεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι. δῆλα δὴ πολλοῖσι τεκμηρίοισι ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα τῶν πρηγμάτων, εἰ καὶ τότε, τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συμπιπτούσης τοῦ τε ἐν Πλαταιῇσι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Μυκάλῃ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι τρώματος, φήμη τοῖσι Ἕλλησι τοῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσαπίκετο, ὥστε θαρσῆσαί τε τὴν στρατιὴν πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐθέλειν προθυμότερον κινδυνεύειν.

101. Καὶ τόδε ἕτερον συνέπεσε γενόμενον, Δήμητρος τεμένεα Ἐλευσινίης παρὰ ἀμφοτέρας τὰς συμβολὰς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταιίδι παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ Δημήτριον ἐγίνετο, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, ἡ μάχη, καὶ ἐν Μυκάλῃ ἔμελλε ὡσαύτως ἔσεσθαι. γεγονέναι δὲ νίκην τῶν μετὰ Παυσανίεω Ἑλλήνων ὀρθῶς σφι ἡ φήμη συνέβαινε ἐλθοῦσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν Πλαταιῇσι πρωὶ ἔτι τῆς ἡμέρης ἐγίνετο, τὸ δὲ ἐν Μυκάλῃ περὶ δείλην· ὅτι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης συνέβαινε

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Furthermore, they appointed the Milesians to guard the passes leading to the heights of Mycale, alleging that they were best acquainted with the country; but their true reason for so doing was, that the Milesians should be away from the rest of their army. In such manner did the Persians safeguard themselves from those Ionians who (they supposed) might turn against them if opportunity were given; for themselves, they set their shields close to make a barricade.

100. The Greeks, having made all preparation, advanced their line against the foreigners. As they went, a rumour sped all about the army, and a herald's wand was seen lying by the water-line; and the rumour that ran was to the effect that the Greeks were victors over Mardonius' army at a battle in Bœotia. Now there are many clear proofs of the divine ordering of things; seeing that at this time, the Persians' disaster at Plataeae falling on the same day as that other which was to befall them at Mycale, the rumour came to the Greeks at that place, whereby their army was greatly heartened and the readier to face danger.

101. Moreover there was this other coincidence, that there were precincts of Eleusinian Demeter on both battlefields; for at Plataeae the fight was hard by the temple of Demeter, as I have already said, and so it was to be at Mycale likewise. It so fell out that the rumour of victory won by the Greeks with Pausanias spoke truth; for the defeat of Plataeae happened while it was yet early in the day, and the defeat of Mycale in the afternoon. That the two fell on the same day of the same

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γίνεσθαι μηνός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ, χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ σφι ὕστερον δῆλα ἀναμανθάνουσι ἐγίνετο. ἦν δὲ ἀρρωδίη σφι, πρὶν τὴν φήμην ἐσαπικέσθαι, οὔτι περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν οὕτω ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσῃ ἡ Ἑλλάς. ὡς μέντοι ἡ κληδὼν αὕτη σφι ἐσέπτατο, μᾶλλόν τι καὶ ταχύτερον τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιεῦντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἔσπευδον ἐς τὴν μάχην, ὥς σφι καί αἱ νῆσοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἄεθλα προέκειτο.

102. Τοῖσι μέν νυν Ἀθηναίοισι καὶ τοῖσι προσεχέσι τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι, μέχρι κου τῶν ἡμισέων, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐγίνετο κατ' αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ἄπεδον χῶρον, τοῖσι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τούτοισι τεταγμένοισι κατά τε χαράδραν καὶ ὄρεα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιήισαν, οὗτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ κέρεϊ ἔτι καὶ δὴ ἐμάχοντο. ἕως μέν νυν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀρθὰ ἦν τὰ γέρρα, ἠμύνοντό τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλασσον εἶχον τῇ μάχῃ· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων ὁ στρατός, ὅκως ἑωυτῶν γένηται τὸ ἔργον καὶ μὴ Λακεδαιμονίων, παρακελευσάμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο προθυμότερον, ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ἑτεροιοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα. διωσάμενοι γὰρ τὰ γέρρα οὗτοι φερόμενοι ἐσέπεσον ἁλέες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἳ δὲ δεξάμενοι καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀμυνόμενοι τέλος ἔφευγον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι (οὕτω γὰρ ἦσαν ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοι) συνεπισπόμενοι συνεσέπιπτον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀραίρητο, οὔτ' ἔτι πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς φυγήν τε ὁρμέατο οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Περσέων· οὗτοι δὲ κατ' ὀλίγους γινόμενοι ἐμά-

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month was proved to the Greeks when they examined the matter not long afterwards. Now before this rumour came they had been faint-hearted, fearing less for themselves than for the Greeks with Pausanias, lest Mardonius should be the stumbling-block of Hellas; but when the report sped among them they grew stronger and swifter in their onset. So Greeks and foreigners alike were eager for battle, seeing that the islands and the Hellespont were the prizes of victory.

102. As for the Athenians and those whose place was nearest them, that is, for about half of the line, their way lay over the beach and level ground; for the Lacedaemonians and those that were next to them, through a ravine and among hills; and while the Lacedaemonians were making a circuit, those others on the other wing were already fighting. While the Persians' shields stood upright, they defended themselves and held their own in the battle; but when the Athenians and their neighbours in the line passed the word and went more zealously to work, that they and not the Lacedaemonians might win the victory, immediately the face of the fight was changed. Breaking down the shields they charged all together into the midst of the Persians, who received the onset and stood their ground for a long time, but at the last fled within their wall; and the Athenians and Corinthians and Sicyonians and Troezenians, who were next to each other in the line, followed hard after and rushed in together likewise. But when the walled place was won, the foreigners made no further defence, but took to flight, all save the Persians, who gathered themselves into bands of a few men and fought

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χοντο τοῖσι αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐσπίπτουσι Ἑλλήνων. καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Περσικῶν δύο μὲν ἀποφεύγουσι, δύο δὲ τελευτῶσι· Ἀρταΰντης μὲν καὶ Ἰθαμίτρης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγέοντες ἀποφεύγουσι, Μαρδόντης δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατηγὸς Τιγράνης μαχόμενοι τελευτῶσι.

103. Ἔτι δὲ μαχομένων τῶν Περσέων ἀπίκοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ συνδιεχείριζον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συχνοὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἄλλοι τε καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ στρατηγὸς Περίλεως· τῶν τε Σαμίων οἱ στρατευόμενοι ἐόντες τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ Μηδικῷ καὶ ἀπαραιρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, ὡς εἶδον αὐτίκα κατ' ἀρχὰς γινομένην ἑτεραλκέα τὴν μάχην, ἔρδον ὅσον ἐδυνέατο προσωφελέειν ἐθέλοντες τοῖσι Ἕλλησι. Σαμίους δὲ ἰδόντες οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες ἄρξαντας οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Περσέων ἐπέθεντο τοῖσι βαρβάροισι.

104. Μιλησίοισι δὲ προσετέτακτο μὲν ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὰς διόδους τηρέειν σωτηρίης εἵνεκά σφι, ὡς ἦν ἄρα σφέας καταλαμβάνῃ οἷά περ κατέλαβε, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας σώζωνται ἐς τὰς κορυφὰς τῆς Μυκάλης. ἐτάχθησαν μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ πρῆγμα οἱ Μιλήσιοι τούτου τε εἵνεκεν καὶ ἵνα μὴ παρεόντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τι νεοχμὸν ποιέοιεν· οἳ δὲ πᾶν τοὐναντίον τοῦ προστεταγμένου ἐποίεον, ἄλλας τε κατηγεόμενοί σφι ὁδοὺς φεύγουσι, αἳ δὴ ἔφερον ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τέλος αὐτοί σφι ἐγίνοντο κτείνοντες πολεμιώτατοι. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀπέστη.

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with whatever Greeks came rushing within the walls. Of the Persian leaders two escaped by flight and two were slain; Artaÿntes and Ithamitres, who were admirals of the fleet, escaped; Mardontes and Tigranes, the general of the land army, were slain fighting.

103. While the Persians still fought, the Lacedaemonians and their comrades came up, and finished what was left of the business. The Greeks too lost many men there, notably the men of Sicyon and their general Perilaus. As for the Samians who served in the Median army, and had been disarmed, they, seeing from the first that victory hung in the balance,[1] did what they could in their desire to aid the Greeks; and when the other Ionians saw the Samians set the example, they also thereupon deserted the Persians and attacked the foreigners.

104. The Persians had for their own safety appointed the Milesians to watch the passes, so that if haply aught should befall the Persian army such as did befall it, they might have guides to bring them safe to the heights of Mycale. This was the task to which the Milesians were appointed, for the aforesaid reason, and that they might not be present with the army and so turn against it. But they did wholly contrariwise to the charge laid upon them; they misguided the fleeing Persians by ways that led them among their enemies, and at last themselves became their worst enemies and slew them. Thus did Ionia for the second time revolt from the Persians.

[1] ἑτεραλκῆς here probably means "doubtful," giving victory to one side *or* other; cp. vii. 11; in Homer it means "decisive," giving victory to one *as opposed to* the other.

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105. Ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἑλλήνων ἠρίστευσαν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναίων Ἑρμόλυκος ὁ Εὐθοίνου, ἀνὴρ παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Ἑρμόλυκον κατέλαβε ὕστερον τούτων, πολέμου ἐόντος Ἀθηναίοισί τε καὶ Καρυστίοισι, ἐν Κύρνῳ τῆς Καρυστίης χώρης ἀποθανόντα ἐν μάχῃ κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ Γεραιστῷ. μετὰ δὲ Ἀθηναίους Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τροιζήνιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι ἠρίστευσαν.

106. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατεργάσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ φεύγοντας τῶν βαρβάρων, τὰς νέας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἅπαν, τὴν ληίην προεξαγαγόντες ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν, καὶ θησαυρούς τινας χρημάτων εὗρον· ἐμπρήσαντες δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς νέας ἀπέπλεον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Σάμον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ ἀναστάσιος τῆς Ἰωνίης, καὶ ὅκῃ χρεὸν εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατοικίσαι τῆς αὐτοὶ ἐγκρατέες ἦσαν, τὴν δὲ Ἰωνίην ἀπεῖναι τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἐφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἰώνων προκατῆσθαι φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον, καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἴωνας οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν. πρὸς ταῦτα Πελοποννησίων μὲν τοῖσι ἐν τέλεϊ ἐοῦσι ἐδόκεε τῶν μηδισάντων ἐθνέων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ ἐμπολαῖα ἐξαναστήσαντας δοῦναι τὴν χώρην Ἴωσι ἐνοικῆσαι, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ οὐκ ἐδόκεε ἀρχὴν Ἰωνίην γενέσθαι ἀνάστατον οὐδὲ Πελοποννησίοισι περὶ τῶν σφετερέων ἀποικιέων βουλεύειν· ἀντιτεινόντων δὲ τούτων προθύμως, εἶξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι.

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105. In that battle those of the Greeks that fought best were the Athenians, and the Athenian that fought best was one who practised the pancratium,[1] Hermolycus son of Euthoenus. This Hermolycus on a later day met his death in battle at Cyrnus in Carystus during a war between the Athenians and Carystians, and lay dead on Geraestus. Those that fought best next after the Athenians were the men of Corinth and Troezen and Sicyon.

106. When the Greeks had made an end of most of the foreigners, either in battle or in flight, they brought out their booty on to the beach, and found certain stores of wealth; then they burnt the ships and the whole of the wall, which having burnt they sailed away. When they were arrived at Samos, they debated in council whether they should dispeople Ionia, and in what Greek lands under their dominion it were best to plant the Ionians, leaving the country itself to the foreigners; for it seemed to them impossible to stand on guard between the Ionians and their enemies for ever; yet if they should not so stand, they had no hope that the Persians would suffer the Ionians to go unpunished. In this matter the Peloponnesians that were in authority were for removing the people from the marts of those Greek nations that had sided with the Persians, and giving their land to the Ionians to dwell in; but the Athenians misliked the whole design of dispeopling Ionia, or suffering the Peloponnesians to determine the lot of Athenian colonies; and as they resisted hotly, the Peloponnesians

[1] The "pancratium" was a mixture of boxing and wrestling.

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καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας, οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο, πίστι τε καταλαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι ἐμμενέειν τε καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσεσθαι. τούτους δὲ καταλαβόντες ὁρκίοισι ἔπλεον τὰς γεφύρας λύσοντες· ἔτι γὰρ ἐδόκεον ἐντεταμένας εὑρήσειν. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου ἔπλεον.

107. Τῶν δὲ ἀποφυγόντων βαρβάρων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Μυκάλης κατειληθέντων, ἐόντων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐγίνετο κομιδὴ ἐς Σάρδις. πορευομένων δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν Μασίστης ὁ Δαρείου παρατυχὼν τῷ πάθεϊ τῷ γεγονότι τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἀρταΰντην ἔλεγε πολλά τε καὶ κακά, ἄλλα τε καὶ γυναικὸς κακίω φὰς αὐτὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα στρατηγήσαντα, καὶ ἄξιον εἶναι παντὸς κακοῦ τὸν βασιλέος οἶκον κακώσαντα. παρὰ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι γυναικὸς κακίω ἀκοῦσαι δέννος μέγιστος ἐστι. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ πολλὰ ἤκουσε, δεινὰ ποιεύμενος σπᾶται ἐπὶ τὸν Μασίστην τὸν ἀκινάκην, ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καί μιν ἐπιθέοντα φρασθεὶς Ξειναγόρης ὁ Πρηξίλεω ἀνὴρ Ἁλικαρνησσεὺς ὄπισθε ἑστεὼς αὐτοῦ Ἀρταΰντεω ἁρπάζει μέσον καὶ ἐξαείρας παίει ἐς τὴν γῆν· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ οἱ δορυφόροι οἱ Μασίστεω προέστησαν. ὁ δὲ Ξειναγόρης ταῦτα ἐργάσατο χάριτα αὐτῷ τε Μασίστῃ τιθέμενος καὶ Ξέρξῃ, ἐκσώζων τὸν ἀδελφεὸν τὸν ἐκείνου· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον Ξειναγόρης Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε δόντος βασιλέος. τῶν δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν πορευομένων οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις.

108. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐτύγχανε ἐὼν βασι-

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yielded. Thus it came about that they admitted to their alliance the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and all other islanders who had served with their armaments, and bound them by pledge and oaths to remain faithful and not desert their allies; who being thus sworn, the Greeks set sail to break the bridges, supposing that these still held fast. So they laid their course for the Hellespont.

107. The few foreigners who escaped were driven to the heights of Mycale, and made their way thence to Sardis. While they were journeying on the road, Masistes son of Darius, who had chanced to be present at the Persian disaster, reviled the admiral Artaÿntes very bitterly, telling him (with much beside) that such generalship as his proved him worse than a woman, and that no punishment was too bad for the hurt he had wrought to the king's house. Now it is the greatest of all taunts in Persia to be called worse than a woman. These many insults so angered Artaÿntes, that he drew his sword upon Masistes to kill him; but Xenagoras son of Praxilaus of Halicarnassus, who stood behind Artaÿntes himself, saw him run at Masistes, and caught him round the middle and lifted and hurled him to the ground; meanwhile Masistes' guards came between them. By so doing Xenagoras won the gratitude of Masistes himself and Xerxes, for saving the king's brother; for which deed he was made ruler of all Cilicia by the king's gift. They went then on their way without any outcome of the matter, and came to Sardis.

108. Now it chanced that the king had been at

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λεὺς ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου, ἐπείτε ἐξ Ἀθηνέων προσπταίσας τῇ ναυμαχίῃ φυγὼν ἀπίκετο. τότε δὴ ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι ἐὼν ἄρα ἤρα τῆς Μασίστεω γυναικός, ἐούσης καὶ ταύτης ἐνθαῦτα. ὡς δέ οἱ προσπέμποντι οὐκ ἐδύνατο κατεργασθῆναι, οὐδὲ βίην προσεφέρετο προμηθεόμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Μασίστην· τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο εἶχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· εὖ γὰρ ἐπίστατο βίης οὐ τευξομένη· ἐνθαῦτα δὴ Ξέρξης ἐργόμενος τῶν ἄλλων πρήσσει τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ, θυγατέρα τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης καὶ Μασίστεω, δοκέων αὐτὴν μᾶλλον λάμψεσθαι ἢν ταῦτα ποιήσῃ. ἁρμόσας δὲ καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα ποιήσας ἀπήλαυνε ἐς Σοῦσα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἠγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν γυναῖκα, οὕτω δὴ τῆς Μασίστεω μὲν γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἤρα τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου μὲν γυναικὸς Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ἦν Ἀρταΰντη.

109. Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος ἀνάπυστα γίνεται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐξυφήνασα Ἄμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνὴ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ ποικίλον καὶ θέης ἄξιον διδοῖ Ξέρξῃ. ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς περιβάλλεταί τε καὶ ἔρχεται παρὰ τὴν Ἀρταΰντην· ἡσθεὶς δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ ἐκέλευσε αὐτὴν αἰτῆσαι ὅ τι βούλεταί οἱ γενέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν αὐτῷ ὑπουργημένων· πάντα γὰρ τεύξεσθαι αἰτήσασαν. τῇ δὲ κακῶς γὰρ ἔδεε πανοικίῃ γενέσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε Ξέρξῃ "Δώσεις μοι τὸ ἄν σε αἰτήσω;" ὁ δὲ πᾶν μᾶλλον δοκέων κείνην αἰτῆσαι ὑπισχνέετο καὶ ὤμοσε. ἡ δὲ ὡς ὤμοσε ἀδεῶς αἰτέει τὸ φᾶρος. Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦναι, κατ' ἄλλο

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Sardis ever since he came thither in flight from Athens after his overthrow in the sea-fight. Being then at Sardis he became enamoured of Masistes' wife, who was also at that place. But as all his messages could not bring her to yield to him, and he would not force her to his will, out of regard for his brother Masistes (which indeed wrought with the woman also, for she knew well that no force would be used with her), Xerxes found no other way to his purpose than that he should make a marriage between his own son Darius and the daughter of this woman and Masistes; for he thought that by so doing he would be likeliest to get her. So he betrothed them with all due ceremony, and rode away to Susa. But when he was come thither and had taken Darius' bride into his house, he thought no more of Masistes' wife, but changed about, and wooed and won this girl Artaÿnte, Darius' wife and Masistes' daughter.

109. But as time went on the truth came to light, and in such manner as I will show. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wove and gave to him a great gaily-coloured mantle, wondrous to behold. Xerxes was pleased with it, and went wearing it to Artaÿnte; and being pleased with her too, he bade her ask for what she would have in return for her favours, for he would deny nothing at her asking. Thereat—for she and all her house were doomed to evil—she said to Xerxes, "Will you give me whatever I ask of you?" and he promised and swore it, supposing that she would ask anything but that; but when he had sworn, she asked boldly for his mantle. Xerxes strove hard to refuse her, for no cause save

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μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρήσσων· ἀλλὰ πόλις τε ἐδίδου καὶ χρυσὸν ἄπλετον καὶ στρατόν, τοῦ ἔμελλε οὐδεὶς ἄρξειν ἀλλ' ἢ ἐκείνη. Περσικὸν δὲ κάρτα ὁ στρατὸς δῶρον. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, διδοῖ τὸ φᾶρος. ἣ δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ δώρῳ ἐφόρεέ τε καὶ ἀγάλλετο.

110. Καὶ ἡ Ἄμηστρις πυνθάνεταί μιν ἔχουσαν· μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιεύμενον τῇ μὲν γυναικὶ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἶχε ἔγκοτον, ἣ δὲ ἐλπίζουσα τὴν μητέρα αὐτῆς εἶναι αἰτίην καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνην πρήσσειν, τῇ Μασίστεω γυναικὶ ἐβούλευε ὄλεθρον. φυλάξασα δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑωυτῆς Ξέρξην βασιλήιον δεῖπνον προτιθέμενον· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἡμέρῃ τῇ ἐγένετο βασιλεύς. οὔνομα δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ τούτῳ περσιστὶ μὲν τυκτά, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν τέλειον· τότε καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σμᾶται μοῦνον βασιλεὺς καὶ Πέρσας δωρέεται· ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡμέρην φυλάξασα ἡ Ἄμηστρις χρηίζει τοῦ Ξέρξεω δοθῆναί οἱ τὴν Μασίστεω γυναῖκα. ὁ δὲ δεινόν τε καὶ ἀνάρσιον ἐποιέετο τοῦτο μὲν ἀδελφεοῦ γυναῖκα παραδοῦναι, τοῦτο δὲ ἀναιτίην ἐοῦσαν τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου· συνῆκε γὰρ τοῦ εἵνεκεν ἐδέετο.

111. Τέλος μέντοι ἐκείνης τε λιπαρεούσης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος, ὅτι ἀτυχῆσαι τὸν χρηίζοντα οὔ σφι δυνατόν ἐστι βασιληίου δείπνου προκειμένου, κάρτα δὴ ἀέκων κατανεύει, καὶ παραδοὺς ποιέει ὧδε· τὴν μὲν κελεύει ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται, ὁ δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν λέγει τάδε. "Μασίστα, σὺ εἶς Δαρείου τε παῖς καὶ ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τούτοισι καὶ εἷς

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that he feared lest Amestris might have plain proof of his doing what she already guessed; and he offered her cities instead, and gold in abundance, and an army for none but herself to command. Armies are the properest of gifts in Persia. But as he could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.

110. Amestris heard that she had the mantle; but when she learnt the truth her anger was not with the girl; she supposed rather that the girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife that she plotted to destroy. She waited therefore till Xerxes her husband should be giving his royal feast. This banquet is served once a year, on the king's birthday; the Persian name for it is "tukta," which is in the Greek language "perfect"; on that day (and none other) the king anoints his head, and makes gifts to the Persians. Waiting for that day, Amestris then desired of Xerxes that Masistes' wife should be given to her. Xerxes held it a terrible and wicked act to give up his brother's wife, and that too when she was guiltless of the deed supposed; for he knew the purpose of the request.

111. Nevertheless, Amestris being instant, and the law constraining him (for at this royal banquet in Persia every boon asked must of necessity be granted), he did very unwillingly consent, and delivered the woman to Amestris; then, bidding her do what she would, he sent for his brother and thus spoke: "Masistes, you are Darius' son and my brother, yea, and a right good man; hear me then;

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ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός· γυναικὶ δὴ ταύτῃ τῇ νῦν συνοικέεις μὴ συνοίκεε, ἀλλά τοι ἀντ᾽ αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δίδωμι θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμήν. ταύτῃ συνοίκεε· τὴν δὲ νῦν ἔχεις, οὐ γὰρ δοκέει ἐμοί, μὴ ἔχε γυναῖκα." ὁ δὲ Μασίστης ἀποθωμάσας τὰ λεγόμενα λέγει τάδε. "Ὦ δέσποτα, τίνα μοι λόγον λέγεις ἄχρηστον, κελεύων με γυναῖκα, ἐκ τῆς μοι παῖδές τε νεηνίαι εἰσὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, τῶν καὶ σὺ μίαν τῷ παιδὶ τῷ σεωυτοῦ ἠγάγεο γυναῖκα, αὐτή τέ μοι κατὰ νόον τυγχάνει κάρτα ἐοῦσα· ταύτην με κελεύεις μετέντα θυγατέρα τὴν σὴν γῆμαι; ἐγὼ δὲ βασιλεῦ μεγάλα μὲν ποιεῦμαι ἀξιεύμενος θυγατρὸς τῆς σῆς, ποιήσω μέντοι τούτων οὐδέτερα. σὺ δὲ μηδαμῶς βιῶ πρήγματος τοιοῦδε δέομενος· ἀλλὰ τῇ τε σῇ θυγατρὶ ἀνὴρ ἄλλος φανήσεται ἐμεῦ οὐδὲν ἥσσων, ἐμέ τε ἔα γυναικὶ τῇ ἐμῇ συνοικέειν." ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιούτοισι ἀμείβεται, Ξέρξης δὲ θυμωθεὶς λέγει τάδε. "Οὕτω τοι, Μασίστα, πέπρηκται· οὔτε γὰρ ἄν τοι δοίην θυγατέρα τὴν ἐμὴν γῆμαι, οὔτε ἐκείνῃ πλεῦνα χρόνον συνοικήσεις, ὡς μάθῃς τὰ διδόμενα δέκεσθαι." ὁ δὲ ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσε, εἴπας τοσόνδε ἐχώρεε ἔξω "Δέσποτα, οὐ δή κώ με ἀπώλεσας."

112. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ διὰ μέσου χρόνῳ, ἐν τῷ Ξέρξης τῷ ἀδελφεῷ διελέγετο, ἡ Ἀμηστρις μεταπεμψαμένη τοὺς δορυφόρους τοῦ Ξέρξεω διαλυμαίνεται τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Μασίστεω· τούς τε μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα κυσὶ προέβαλε καὶ ῥῖνα καὶ ὦτα καὶ χείλεα καὶ γλῶσσαν ἐκταμοῦσα ἐς οἶκόν μιν ἀποπέμπει διαλελυμασμένην.

113. Ὁ δὲ Μασίστης οὐδέν κω ἀκηκοὼς τούτων, ἐλπόμενος δέ τί οἱ κακὸν εἶναι, ἐσπίπτει δρόμῳ ἐς

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you must live no longer with her who is now your wife. I give you my daughter in her place; take her for your own; but put away the wife that you have, for it is not my will that you should have her." At that Masistes was amazed; "Sire," he said, "what is this evil command that you lay upon me, bidding me deal thus with my wife? I have by her young sons and daughters, of whom you have taken a wife for your own son; and I am exceeding well content with herself; yet do you bid me put her away and wed your daughter? Truly, O king, I deem it a high honour to be accounted worthy of your daughter; but I will do neither the one nor the other. Nay, constrain me not to consent to such a desire; you will find another husband for your daughter as good as I; but suffer me to keep my own wife." Thus answered Masistes; but Xerxes was very angry, and said: "To this pass you are come, Masistes; I will give you no daughter of mine to wife, nor shall you longer live with her that you now have; thus shall you learn to accept that which is offered you." Hearing that, Masistes said nought but this: "Nay, sire, you have not destroyed me yet!" and so departed.

112. But in the meantime, while Xerxes talked with his brother, Amestris sent for Xerxes' guards and used Masistes' wife very cruelly; she cut off the woman's breasts and threw them to dogs, and her nose and ears and lips likewise, and cut out her tongue, and sent her home thus cruelly used.

113. Knowing nought as yet of this, but fearing evil, Masistes ran speedily to his house. Seeing the

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τὰ οἰκία. ἰδὼν δὲ διεφθαρμένην τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα συμβουλευσάμενος τοῖσι παισὶ ἐπορεύετο ἐς Βάκτρα σύν τε τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ υἱοῖσι καὶ δή κου τισὶ καὶ ἄλλοισι ὡς ἀποστήσων νομὸν τὸν Βάκτριον καὶ ποιήσων τὰ μέγιστα κακῶν βασιλέα· τά περ ἂν καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, εἴ περ ἔφθη ἀναβὰς ἐς τοὺς Βακτρίους καὶ τοὺς Σάκας· καὶ γὰρ ἔστεργόν μιν καὶ ἦν ὕπαρχος τῶν Βακτρίων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ξέρξης πυθόμενος ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατιὴν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ κατέκτεινε αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν ἐκείνου. κατὰ μὲν τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ξέρξεω καὶ τὸν Μασίστεω θάνατον τοσαῦτα ἐγένετο.

114. Οἱ δὲ ἐκ Μυκάλης ὁρμηθέντες Ἕλληνες ἐπ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ Λεκτὸν ὅρμεον, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἀπολαμφθέντες, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ἄβυδον καὶ τὰς γεφύρας εὗρον διαλελυμένας, τὰς ἐδόκεον εὑρήσειν ἔτι ἐντεταμένας, καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα εἵνεκεν ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπίκοντο. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἀμφὶ Λευτυχίδην Πελοποννησίοισι ἔδοξε ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Ξανθίππῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ ὑπομείναντας πειρᾶσθαι τῆς Χερσονήσου. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπέπλεον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου διαβάντες ἐς τὴν Χερσόνησον Σηστὸν ἐπολιόρκεον.

115. Ἐς δὲ τὴν Σηστὸν ταύτην, ὡς ἐόντος ἰσχυροτάτου τείχεος τῶν ταύτῃ, συνῆλθον, ὡς ἤκουσαν παρεῖναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἀλλέων τῶν περιοικίδων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐκ Καρδίης πόλιος Οἰόβαζος ἀνὴρ Πέρσης, ὃς τὰ ἐκ τῶν γεφυρέων ὅπλα ἐνθαῦτα ἦν κεκομικώς. εἶχον

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havoc made of his wife, straightway he took counsel with his children and set forth to journey to Bactra with his own sons (and others too, belike), purposing to raise the province of Bactra in revolt and work the king the greatest of harm; which he would have done, to my thinking, had he escaped up into the country of the Bactrians and Sacae; for they loved him well, and he was viceroy over the Bactrians. But it was of no avail; for Xerxes learnt his intent, and sent against him an army that slew him on his way, and his sons and his army withal. Such is the story of Xerxes' love and Masistes' death.

114. The Greeks that had set out from Mycale for the Hellespont first lay to off Lectum [1] under stress of weather, and thence came to Abydos, where they found the bridges broken which they thought would be still holding fast, and indeed these were the chief cause of their coming to the Hellespont. The Peloponnesians then who were with Leutychides thus resolved that they would sail away to Hellas, but the Athenians, with Xanthippus their general, that they would remain there and attack the Chersonesus. So the rest sailed away, but the Athenians crossed over to the Chersonesus and laid siege to Sestus.

115. Now when the Persians heard that the Greeks were at the Hellespont, they had come in from the neighbouring towns and assembled at this same Sestus, seeing that it was the strongest walled place in that region; among them there was come from Cardia a Persian named Oeobazus, and he had carried thither the tackle of the bridges. Sestus was held

[1] At the western end of the bay of Adramyttium.

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δὲ ταύτην ἐπιχώριοι Αἰολέες, συνῆσαν δὲ Πέρσαι τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων συχνὸς ὅμιλος.

116. Ἐτυράννευε δὲ τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ Ξέρξεω ὕπαρχος Ἀρταΰκτης, ἀνὴρ μὲν Πέρσης, δεινὸς δὲ καὶ ἀτάσθαλος, ὃς καὶ βασιλέα ἐλαύνοντα ἐπ' Ἀθήνας ἐξηπάτησε, τὰ Πρωτεσίλεω τοῦ Ἰφίκλου χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ὑπελόμενος. ἐν γὰρ Ἐλαιοῦντι τῆς Χερσονήσου ἐστὶ Πρωτεσίλεω τάφος τε καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτόν, ἔνθα ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ φιάλαι χρύσεαι καὶ ἀργύρεαι καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθῆς καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, τὰ Ἀρταΰκτης ἐσύλησε βασιλέος δόντος. λέγων δὲ τοιάδε Ξέρξην διεβάλετο. "Δέσποτα, ἔστι οἶκος ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐνθαῦτα, ὃς ἐπὶ γῆν σὴν στρατευσάμενος δίκης κυρήσας ἀπέθανε· τούτου μοι δὸς τὸν οἶκον, ἵνα καί τις μάθῃ ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν σὴν μὴ στρατεύεσθαι." ταῦτα λέγων εὐπετέως ἔμελλε ἀναπείσειν Ξέρξην δοῦναι ἀνδρὸς οἶκον, οὐδὲν ὑποτοπηθέντα τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐφρόνεε. ἐπὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν βασιλέος στρατεύεσθαι Πρωτεσίλεων ἔλεγε νοέων τοιάδε· τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν νομίζουσι ἑωυτῶν εἶναι Πέρσαι καὶ τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόθη, τὰ χρήματα ἐξ Ἐλαιοῦντος ἐς Σηστὸν ἐξεφόρησε, καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἔσπειρε καὶ ἐνέμετο, αὐτός τε ὅκως ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ἐλαιοῦντα ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ γυναιξὶ ἐμίσγετο. τότε δὲ ἐπολιορκέετο ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων οὔτε παρεσκευασμένος ἐς πολιορκίην οὔτε προσδεκόμενος τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀφύκτως δέ κως αὐτῷ ἐπέπεσον.

117. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιορκεομένοισί σφι φθινόπωρον ἐπεγίνετο, καὶ ἤσχαλλον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπό τε τῆς

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by the Aeolians of the country, but with him were Persians and a great multitude of their allies withal.

116. This province was ruled by Xerxes' viceroy Artaÿctes, a cunning man and a wicked; witness the deceit that he practised on the king in his march to Athens, how he stole away from Elaeus the treasure of Protesilaus[1] son of Iphiclus. This was the way of it: there is at Elaeus in the Chersonesus the tomb of Protesilaus, and a precinct about it, where was much treasure, with vessels of gold and silver, bronze, raiment, and other dedicated offerings; all of which Artaÿctes carried off, by the king's gift. "Sire," he said deceitfully to Xerxes, "there is here the house of a certain Greek, who met a just death for invading your territory with an army; give me this man's house, whereby all may be taught not to invade your territory." It was to be thought that this plea would easily persuade Xerxes to give him a man's house, having no suspicion of Artaÿctes' meaning; whose reason for saying that Protesilaus had invaded the king's territory was, that the Persians believe all Asia to belong to themselves and whosoever is their king. So when the treasure was given him, he carried it away from Elaeus to Sestus, and planted and farmed the precinct; and he would come from Elaeus and have intercourse with women in the shrine. Now, when the Athenians laid siege to him, he had made no preparation for it, nor thought that the Greeks would come, and he had no way of escape from their attack.

117. But the siege continuing into the late autumn, the Athenians grew weary of their absence

[1] The first Greek to fall in the Trojan war, νηὸς ἀποθρώσκων (Hom. *Il.* ii. 701).

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ἑωυτῶν ἀποδημέοντες καὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐξελεῖν τὸ τεῖχος, ἐδέοντό τε τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅκως ἀπάγοιεν σφέας ὀπίσω, οἳ δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὶν ἢ ἐξέλωσι ἢ τὸ Ἀθηναίων κοινόν σφεας μεταπέμψηται· οὕτω δὴ ἔστεργον τὰ παρεόντα.

118. Οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τείχεϊ ἐς πᾶν ἤδη κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι ἦσαν, οὕτω ὥστε τοὺς τόνους ἕψοντες τῶν κλινέων ἐσιτέοντο. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἔτι εἶχον, οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ νύκτα οἴχοντο ἀποδράντες οἵ τε Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ Ἀρταΰκτης καὶ ὁ Οἰόβαζος, ὄπισθε τοῦ τείχεος καταβάντες, τῇ ἦν ἐρημότατον τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, οἱ Χερσονησῖται ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐσήμηναν τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ τὰς πύλας ἄνοιξαν. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλεῦνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἶχον.

119. Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφεύγοντα ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην Θρήικες Ἀψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ, τοὺς δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἐφόνευσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταΰκτην ὕστεροι ὁρμηθέντες φεύγειν, καὶ ὡς κατελαμβάνοντο ὀλίγον ἐόντες ὑπὲρ Αἰγὸς ποταμῶν, ἀλεξόμενοι χρόνον ἐπὶ συχνὸν οἳ μὲν ἀπέθανον οἳ δὲ ζῶντες ἐλάμφθησαν. καὶ συνδήσαντες σφέας οἱ Ἕλληνες ἦγον ἐς Σηστόν, μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Ἀρταΰκτην δεδεμένον αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ.

120. Καί τεῳ τῶν φυλασσόντων λέγεται ὑπὸ Χερσονησιτέων ταρίχους ὀπτῶντι τέρας γενέσθαι

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from home and their ill success at taking the fortress, and entreated their generals to lead them away again; but the generals refused to do that, till they should take the place or be recalled by the Athenian state. Thereat the men endured their plight patiently.

118. But they that were within the walls were by now brought to the last extremity, insomuch that they boiled the thongs of their beds for food; but at the last even these failed them, and Artaÿctes and Oeobazus and all the Persians made their way down from the back part of the fortress, where their enemies were scarcest, and fled away at nightfall. When morning came, the people of the Chersonesus signified from their towers to the Athenians what had happened, and opened their gates; and the greater part of the Athenians going in pursuit, the rest stayed to hold the town.

119. Oeobazus made to escape into Thrace; but the Apsinthians of that country caught and sacrificed him after their fashion to Plistorus the god of their land; as for his companions, they slew them in another manner. Artaÿctes and his company had begun their flight later, and were overtaken a little way beyond the Goat's Rivers,[1] where after they had defended themselves a long time some of them were slain and the rest taken alive. The Greeks bound and carried them to Sestus, and Artaÿctes and his son likewise with them in bonds.

120. It is told by the people of the Chersonesus that a marvellous thing befell one of them that

[1] A roadstead opposite Lampsacus; the rivers were probably two small streams that flow into the sea there (How and Wells).

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τοιόνδε· οἱ τάριχοι ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ κείμενοι ἐπάλλοντό τε καὶ ἤσπαιρον ὅκως περ ἰχθύες νεοάλωτοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν περιχυθέντες ἐθώμαζον, ὁ δὲ Ἀρταΰκτης ὡς εἶδε τὸ τέρας, καλέσας τὸν ὀπτῶντα τοὺς ταρίχους ἔφη "Ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, μηδὲν φοβέο τὸ τέρας τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ σοὶ πέφηνε, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι Πρωτεσίλεως ὅτι καὶ τεθνεὼς καὶ τάριχος ἐὼν δύναμιν πρὸς θεῶν ἔχει τὸν ἀδικέοντα τίνεσθαι. νῦν ὦν ἄποινά μοι τάδε ἐθέλω ἐπιθεῖναι, ἀντὶ μὲν χρημάτων τῶν ἔλαβον ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα καταθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ, ἀντὶ δ' ἐμεωυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδώσω τάλαντα διηκόσια Ἀθηναίοισι περιγενόμενος." ταῦτα ὑπισχόμενος τὸν στρατηγὸν Ξάνθιππον οὐκ ἔπειθε· οἱ γὰρ Ἐλαιούσιοι τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ τιμωρέοντες ἐδέοντό μιν καταχρησθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ταύτῃ νόος ἔφερε. ἀπαγαγόντες δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐς τὴν Ξέρξης ἔζευξε τὸν πόρον, οἳ δὲ λέγουσι ἐπὶ τὸν κολωνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ Μαδύτου πόλιος, πρὸς σανίδας προσπασσαλεύσαντες ἀνεκρέμασαν· τὸν δὲ παῖδα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω κατέλευσαν.

121. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τά τε ἄλλα χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν γεφυρέων ὡς ἀναθήσοντες ἐς τὰ ἱρά. καὶ κατὰ το ἔτος τοῦτο οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτων ἐγένετο.

122. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρταΰκτεω τοῦ ἀνακρεμασθέντος προπάτωρ Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐστὶ ὁ Πέρσῃσι ἐξηγησάμενος λόγον τὸν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπολαβόντες

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guarded Artaÿctes: he was frying dried fishes, and these as they lay over the fire began to leap and writhe as though they were fishes newly caught. The rest gathered round, amazed at the sight; but when Artaÿctes saw the strange thing, he called him that was frying the fishes and said to him: "Sir Athenian, be not afraid of this portent; it is not to you that it is sent; it is to me that Protesilaus of Elaeus would signify that though he be dead and dry he has power given him by heaven to take vengeance on me that wronged him. Now therefore I offer a ransom, to wit, payment of a hundred talents to the god for the treasure that I took from his temple; and I will pay to the Athenians two hundred talents for myself and my son, if they spare us." But Xanthippus the general was unmoved by this promise; for the people of Elaeus entreated that Artaÿctes should be put to death in justice to Protesilaus, and the general himself likewise was so minded. So they carried Artaÿctes away to the headland where Xerxes had bridged the strait (or, by another story, to the hill above the town of Madytus), and there nailed him to boards and hanged him aloft; and as for his son, they stoned him to death before his father's eyes.

121. This done, they sailed away to Hellas, carrying with them the tackle of the bridges to be dedicated in their temples, and the rest of the stuff withal. And in that year nothing further was done.

122. This Artaÿctes who was crucified was grandson to that Artembares[1] who instructed the Persians in a design which they took from him and laid

[1] There is an Artembares in i. 114; but he is a Mede, and so can hardly be meant here.

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Κύρῳ προσήνεικαν λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἐπεὶ Ζεὺς Πέρσῃσι ἡγεμονίην διδοῖ, ἀνδρῶν δὲ σοὶ Κῦρε, κατελὼν Ἀστυάγην, φέρε, γῆν γὰρ ἐκτήμεθα ὀλίγην καὶ ταύτην τρηχέαν, μεταναστάντες ἐκ ταύτης ἄλλην σχῶμεν ἀμείνω. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλαὶ μὲν ἀστυγείτονες πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἑκαστέρω, τῶν μίαν σχόντες πλέοσι ἐσόμεθα θωμαστότεροι. οἰκὸς δὲ ἄνδρας ἄρχοντας τοιαῦτα ποιέειν· κότε γὰρ δὴ καὶ παρέξει κάλλιον ἢ ὅτε γε ἀνθρώπων τε πολλῶν ἄρχομεν πάσης τε τῆς Ἀσίης;" Κῦρος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ οὐ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον ἐκέλευε ποιέειν ταῦτα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖσι παραίνεε κελεύων παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς οὐκέτι ἄρξοντας ἀλλ' ἀρξομένους· φιλέειν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς γίνεσθαι· οὐ γάρ τι τῆς αὐτῆς γῆς εἶναι καρπόν τε θωμαστὸν φύειν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια. ὥστε συγγνόντες Πέρσαι οἴχοντο ἀποστάντες, ἐσσωθέντες τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Κύρου, ἄρχειν τε εἵλοντο λυπρὴν οἰκέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ πεδιάδα σπείροντες ἄλλοισι δουλεύειν.

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before Cyrus; this was its purport: "Seeing that Zeus grants lordship to the Persian people, and to you, Cyrus, among them, by bringing Astyages low, let us now remove out of the little and rugged land that we possess and take to ourselves one that is better. There be many such on our borders, and many further distant; if we take one of these we shall have more reasons for renown. It is but reasonable that a ruling people should act thus; for when shall we have a fairer occasion than now, when we are lords of so many men and of all Asia?" Cyrus heard them, and found nought to marvel at in their design; "Do so," said he; "but if you do, make ready to be no longer rulers, but subjects. Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil." Thereat the Persians saw that Cyrus reasoned better than they, and they departed from before him, choosing rather to be rulers on a barren mountain side than slaves dwelling in tilled valleys.

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(*"Xerxes' march" and "Xerxes' army" refer always to the invasion of Greece in* 480 B.C.)

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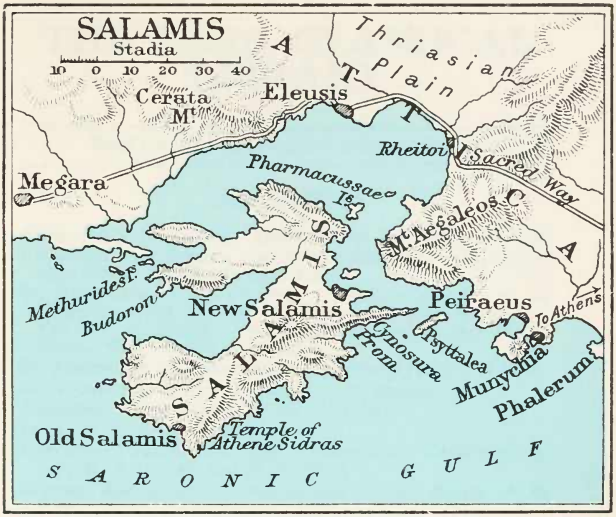

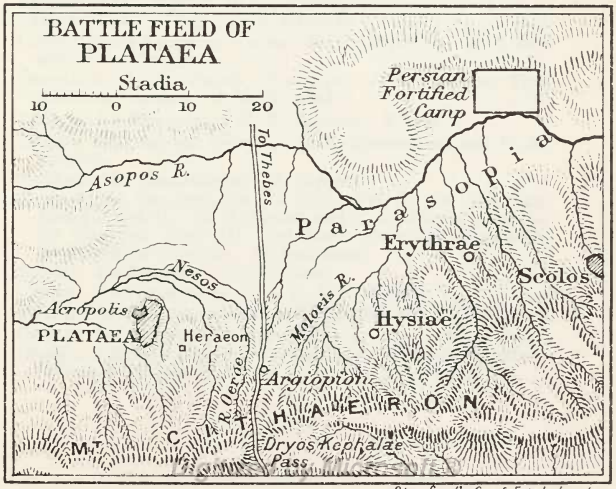

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