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Author: W. W. How  
J. Wells

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# A COMMENTARY ON HERODOTUS

With Introduction and Appendixes

By W. W. How (Fellow and Tutor Of Merton College) and  
J. Wells (Warden of Wadham College, 1913–1927)

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## Note to the Electronic Edition

*A Commentary on Herodotus* was originally published in 1912 in two volumes by Oxford University Press, and was revised, with additional notes, in 1928. It is an extraordinary work of scholarship, and still the only complete English language commentary on Herodotus. Although it is undeniably out-of-date in places, it just as undeniably continues to be the essential companion for the study of Herodotus' *Histories*.

My goal in creating this electronic edition was to provide readers with a version which is complete, accurate, and easy to use. Portions of the underlying text were derived from the incomplete electronic edition developed by the Perseus Project, to which I am grateful. (The Perseus edition is available under a Creative Commons 2.5 Generic, Non-Commercial, "Share Alike" license.) The remainder of the running text was scanned and converted to text using Abby FineReader software, while the various tables, charts, and diagrams were recreated manually.

The resulting text was then proofread line by line against the Oxford and the Perseus editions, enabling me to identify and correct errors originating in the earlier texts along with any new errors from my digitization. To enhance the usability of the new text, it was reformatted, and the inconsistent systems for enumeration, citation, and abbreviation were standardized. A list of the cited ancient authors and works, along with their abbreviations, has been added to the prefatory matter. To aid in navigation, the text is bookmarked by the book and chapter number of the *Histories*, or by appendix and section. To insure a readable and consistent appearance, I chose a standard Microsoft font, Palatino Linotype, which contains a full set of polytonic Greek characters in all styles, including bold and italic. For a handful of ancient Phoenician characters, I have used the Alphetum font developed by classicist Juan-José Marcos, which is the most complete Unicode font available for classical languages.

Two elements of the printed edition have not been reproduced. The first is the maps, omitted because they do not scan well, and because better versions are readily available online as well as in a variety of inexpensive historical atlases—and especially in the forthcoming *Landmark Herodotus*, edited by Robert Strassler (Pantheon). The second missing element is the original index, omitted because it is

not thorough (as the authors acknowledged), and because it locates entries by reference to the page number of the printed edition, rather than by reference to the book and chapter of the *Histories*. I hope that the capability of full text search will more than offset this omission.

Undoubtedly, despite my care, there are still errors and inconsistencies in this new edition. I will be grateful if you report these to me, so that I may correct them. Also, I can provide the complete text in Microsoft Word .DOC or .DOCX formats, with style tags, to anyone who wishes to create a yet better edition for future readers—who I hope will continue to find both enlightenment and delight in the Father of History.

—Chuck Bennett, San Clemente, October 2007

contact: [clbennett@cox.net](mailto:clbennett@cox.net)

## Preface 1912

This commentary on Herodotus was planned and begun by Mr. H. D. Leigh, of Corpus Christi, in conjunction with Mr. How, more than ten years ago. At the time of his too early death, Mr. Leigh had written notes and excursuses on the first book; but unfortunately they were found to be on too large a scale for the present work, although the material collected in them was most valuable, and was largely used. Thus for the book as it now is we are entirely responsible. We have been frequently interrupted by more pressing duties, and we fear that in a work the composition of which has thus been spread over many years, some inconsistencies may have crept in undetected. The readers of the Clarendon Press have earned our sincere gratitude by their zeal and care in removing blemishes of form, but for any graver faults that remain we can only ask indulgence.

The commentary on books i–iv, with the corresponding appendixes, has been written by Mr. Wells, that on books v–ix, also with the appendixes, by Mr. How. We have each read and re-read the other's work, but the ultimate responsibility for the views expressed rests in the first volume with Mr. Wells, in the second with Mr. How.

Since the book is intended principally for the use of undergraduates, we have prefixed short summaries of the subject-matter to the various sections of the notes, and for the same reason we have, where possible, quoted English translations of foreign works, and have referred to antiquities readily accessible in museums at Oxford and in London. But we have not hesitated to add many references to foreign works and periodicals, in the hope that they may be of use to more advanced students and to teachers.

A commentary is of necessity to a large extent a selection from the work of others, and on every page our debt to our predecessors is manifest. Here we can only acknowledge our principal obligations. Of commentators, Stein and, in the later

books, Macan have been of the greatest assistance to us; Rawlinson has also been of use in a less degree.

In the Oriental history we owe very much to Maspero, and in the history of the Persian War to Grundy and to Munro. Throughout we have derived much benefit from the learned labours of Busolt, and still more from the masterly and comprehensive history of E. Meyer. Nor must we forget our large debt in anthropology and antiquities to the untiring industry of Frazer.

The plans of Thermopylae and Plataea are based on those in *The Great Persian War*, by the kind permission of Dr. Grundy and Mr. John Murray. So many friends in Oxford have given us help on particular points that to give a catalogue of such obligations might be tedious, but special mention must be made of the kindness of Mr. H. R. Hall, of the British Museum, who read through the whole of the notes on book ii and appendixes ix, x, and made many valuable suggestions and corrections. He cannot, however, be held responsible for any of the views finally expressed.

It will be seen that our notes are almost entirely on the subject matter of Herodotus. We have accepted Hude's text, only discussing critical problems where they seriously affected the sense. As to points of grammar and translation, such notes only have been given as seemed necessary to help an ordinary scholar to understand the text.

In the spelling of names we have adopted definitely the old system. It is less correct, at least in appearance; but so many names, such as "Croesus," "Cyrus," and "Lycurgus," have by their use in literature become English that consistency is impossible, or at any rate would be too dearly bought.

The index is not an index to the text, a want already supplied by Stein and by Hude, but to the commentary. As it is supplemented by many cross-references, only the more important notes have been indexed.

### **Preface 1928**

Owing to the high cost of making changes on stereotyped plates we have only been able in this second impression to correct a few obvious errors and to append some additional notes (to which references are given) dealing with work done since 1912, and one longer essay on "Arms, Tactics, and Strategy." For permission to reprint this from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1923) we have to thank the Council of the Society.

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[Integrated at the end of appendix xv.]

Notes to Vol. 2

[The short additional notes for vol. 2 are not lettered, and are all integrated into the text of the commentary at the relevant places.]

### List of Ancient Authorities

Ael.	Aelian	
N.A.	<i>De Natura Animalium</i>	<i>On the Nature of Animals</i>
V.H.	<i>Varia Historia</i>	<i>Miscellany</i>
Aen. Tact.	Aeneas Tacticus	
Aesch.	Aeschylus	
Ag.	<i>Agamemnon</i>	
Cho.	<i>Choephoroe</i>	<i>Libation Bearers</i>

	<i>Eleusinioi</i>	
<i>Eum.</i>	<i>Eumenides</i>	
<i>Pers.</i>	<i>Persae</i>	<i>Persians</i>
<i>P.V.</i>	<i>Prometheus Vinc-tus</i>	<i>Prometheus Bound</i>
<i>Sept.</i>	<i>Septem contra Thebas</i>	<i>Seven Against Thebes</i>
<i>Supp.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>	<i>Suppliants</i>
<i>Aeschin.</i>	<i>Aeschines</i>	
<i>In Ctes.</i>	<i>In Ctesiphon</i>	<i>Against Ctesiphon</i>
<i>In Tim.</i>	<i>In Timarchus</i>	<i>Against Timarchus</i>
<i>De Fals. Leg.</i>	<i>De Falsa Legatione</i>	<i>On the False Embassy</i>
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Athenaion Politeia</i>	<i>Constitution of Athens</i>
<i>Alcm.</i>	<i>Alcman</i>	
<i>Ammon.</i>	<i>Ammonius grammaticus</i>	
<i>Diff.</i>	<i>De Adfinium Vocabulorum Differentia</i>	
<i>Andoc.</i>	<i>Andocides</i>	
	<i>De Pace</i>	<i>On the Peace with Sparta</i>
<i>De Myst.</i>	<i>De Mysteriis</i>	<i>On the Mysteries</i>
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>	
<i>Anth. Plan.</i>	<i>Anthologia Planudea</i>	
<i>Antiph.</i>	<i>Antiphon</i>	
<i>Tetr.</i>	<i>Tetralogiae</i>	<i>Tetralogies</i>
<i>Ap. Rhod.</i>	<i>Apollonius Rhodius</i>	
<i>Apollod.</i>	<i>Apollodorus mythographus</i>	
<i>App.</i>	<i>Appian</i>	
<i>B. Civ.</i>	<i>Bella Civilia</i>	<i>Civil Wars</i>
<i>Mith.</i>		<i>The Mithridatic Wars</i>
<i>Syr.</i>		<i>The Syrian Wars</i>
<i>Apul.</i>	<i>Apuleius</i>	
<i>Flor.</i>	<i>Florida</i>	
<i>Ar.</i>	<i>Aristophanes</i>	
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Acharnenses</i>	<i>Acharnians</i>
<i>Av.</i>	<i>Aves</i>	<i>Birds</i>

<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Ecclesiazusae</i>	<i>Assembly Women</i>
<i>Eq.</i>	<i>Equites</i>	<i>Knights</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>	
<i>Nub.</i>	<i>Nubes</i>	<i>Clouds</i>
<i>Pax</i>	<i>Pax</i>	<i>Peace</i>
<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Plutus</i>	<i>Wealth</i>
<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Ranae</i>	<i>Frogs</i>
<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Thesmophoriazusae</i>	
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespae</i>	<i>Wasps</i>
Archil.	Archilochus	
Arist.	Aristotle	
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Athenaion Politeia</i>	<i>Constitution of Athens</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Ethica Nicomachea</i>	<i>Nicomachean ethics</i>
<i>Gen. An.</i>	<i>De Generatione Animalium</i>	
<i>Hist. An.</i>	<i>Historia Animalium</i>	
<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysica</i>	<i>Metaphysics</i>
<i>Meteor.</i>	<i>Meteorologica</i>	
<i>Mir. Ausc.</i>	<i>De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus</i>	
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomica</i>	
<i>Poet.</i>	<i>Poetica</i>	<i>Poetics</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politica</i>	<i>Politics</i>
<i>Pr.</i>	<i>Problematica</i>	<i>Problems</i>
<i>Rhet</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>	<i>Rhetoric</i>
<i>Vent.</i>	<i>De Ventis</i>	
Aristid.	Aristides [citations are to Dindorf edition, 1829]	
<i>Panath.</i>	<i>Panathenaicus</i>	<i>Panathenaic Oratation</i>
Arr.	Arrian	
<i>Anab.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>	
<i>Peripl.</i>	<i>Periplus Maris Euxini</i>	
<i>Ind.</i>	<i>Indica</i>	<i>India</i>
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Athenaion Politeia</i>	<i>Constitution of Athens</i>
Athen.	Athenaeus	

Athenag.	Athenagoras	
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Legatio pro Christianis</i>	
Bacchyl.	Bacchylides	
B.I.	The Behistun Inscription	
Caes.	Caesar	
<i>B. Afr.</i>	<i>Bellum Africum</i>	
<i>B. Civ.</i>	<i>Bellum Civile</i>	
<i>B. Gall.</i>	<i>Bellum Gallicum</i>	
Callim.	Callimachus	
<i>Hymn 4</i>		<i>Hymn to Delos</i>
C.C.	The Cyrus Cylinder	
Cic.	Cicero (Marcus Tullius)	
<i>Amic.</i>	<i>(Laelius) De Amicitia</i>	<i>On Friendship</i>
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>	<i>Letters to Atticus</i>
<i>Div.</i>	<i>De divinatione</i>	<i>On Divination</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>De Domo Sua</i>	<i>On His House</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>De Legibus</i>	<i>On the Laws</i>
<i>Nat. D.</i>	<i>De Natura Deorum</i>	<i>On the Nature of the Gods</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>De Officiis</i>	<i>On Duties</i>
<i>Sen.</i>	<i>(Cato Maior) De Senectute</i>	<i>On Old Age</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>Somnium Scipionis</i>	<i>Dream of Scipio</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i>	<i>Tusculan Disputations</i>
<i>Verr.</i>	<i>In Verrem</i>	<i>Against Verres</i>
Claud.	Claudianus	Claudian
<i>Cons. Stil.</i>	<i>De Consulatu Stilichonis</i>	<i>On the Consulship of Stilicho</i>
Clem. Alex.	Clemens Alexandrinus	Clement of Alexandria
	<i>Stromateis</i>	
Conon	Conon Mythographus	
Ctes.	Ctesias	
	<i>Assyrica</i>	<i>Assyria</i>
	<i>Indica</i>	<i>India</i>
	<i>Persica</i>	<i>Persia</i>

Dem.	Demosthenes	
<i>Aristoc.</i>	<i>Against Aristocrates</i>	
<i>Aristogit.</i>	<i>Against Aristogiton</i>	
<i>De Cor.</i>	<i>De Corona</i>	<i>On the Crown</i>
<i>De Fals. Leg.</i>	<i>De Falsa Legatione</i>	<i>On the False Embassy</i>
<i>De Halon.</i>	<i>On the Halonessus</i>	
<i>De Rhod.</i>	<i>On the Liberty of the Rhodians</i>	
<i>De Sym.</i>	<i>Oratione de Symmoriis</i>	<i>On the Navy</i>
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitaphius</i>	<i>Funeral Oration</i>
<i>Eubul.</i>	<i>In Eubulides</i>	<i>Against Eubulides</i>
<i>Lept.</i>	<i>In Leptines</i>	<i>Against Leptines</i>
<i>Meid.</i>	<i>In Meidias</i>	<i>Against Meidias</i>
<i>Phil. 3</i>		<i>Third Philippic</i>
<i>Timoc.</i>	<i>In Timocrates</i>	<i>Against Timocrates</i>
<i>Timoth.</i>	<i>In Timotheus</i>	<i>Against Timotheus</i>
Dio Cass.	Dio Cassius	
Dio Chrys.	Dio Chrysostom	
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>	<i>Speeches</i>
Diod.	Diodorus Siculus	
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius	
Dion. Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>	
<i>De Praec. Hist.</i>		
<i>Dem.</i>	<i>De Demosthene</i>	
<i>Dinarch.</i>	<i>De Dinarcho</i>	
<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Pompeium Geminum</i>	
E.I.H.	The East India House Inscription	
Erot.	Erotian	
<i>Voc. Hipp.</i>	<i>Vocum Hippocraticarum</i>	
Eur.	Euripides	
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>	
<i>Andr.</i>	<i>Andromache</i>	

<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	
<i>Erechth.</i>	<i>Erechtheus</i>	
<i>Hec.</i>	<i>Hecuba</i>	
<i>Heracl</i>	<i>Heraclidae</i>	
<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>	
<i>Hyps.</i>	<i>Hypsipyle</i>	
<i>I.A.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Aulidensis</i>	<i>Iphigeneia in Aulis</i>
<i>I.T.</i>	<i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>	<i>Iphigeneia in Tauris</i>
<i>Med.</i>	<i>Medea</i>	
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orestes</i>	
<i>Phoen.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>	<i>Phoenician Women</i>
<i>Supp.</i>	<i>Supplices</i>	<i>Suppliants</i>
<i>Tro.</i>	<i>Troades</i>	<i>Trojan Women</i>
Euseb.	Eusebius	
<i>Chron.</i>	<i>Chronica</i>	
<i>Praep. Evang.</i>	<i>Praeparatio Evangelica</i>	
Eust.	Eustathius	
Gal.	Galen	
	<i>In Hippocratis de Natura</i>	
	<i>Hominus Librum Commentarii, iii</i>	
Gell.	Aulus Gellius	
<i>N.A.</i>	<i>Noctes Atticae</i>	
Harp.	Harpocrates	
Hec.	Hecataeus of Miletus	
Hec. Abd.	Hecataeus of Abdera	
Hell.	Hellanicus Lesbios	
Heracl. Pont.	Heraclides Ponticus	
Hermog.	Hermogenes	
Herodian	Aelius Herodianus (and Pseudo-Herodian)	
Hes.	Hesiod	
	<i>Eoae</i>	
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Opera et Dies</i>	<i>Works and Days</i>

<i>Sc.</i>	<i>Scutum</i>	<i>Shield</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia</i>	<i>Theogony</i>
Hesych.	Hesychius (of Alexandria)	
Himer.	Himerius	
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogae</i>	
Hippoc.	Hippocrates	
<i>Aer.</i>	<i>De Aera, Aquis, Locis</i>	<i>On Airs, Waters, and Places</i>
<i>Aph.</i>	<i>Aphorismi</i>	<i>Aphorisms</i>
<i>Morb.</i>	<i>De Morbis Popularibus</i>	<i>On Epidemics</i>
<i>Morb. Sacr.</i>	<i>De Morbo Sacro</i>	<i>On the Sacred Disease</i>
Hom.	Homer	
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>	
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>	
Hor.	Horace	
	<i>Carmina</i>	<i>Odes</i>
Hyg.	Hyginus	
<i>Fab.</i>	<i>Fabulae</i>	
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ap.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Apollinem</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Apollo</i>
<i>Hymn. Hom. Dem.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Demeter</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Demeter</i>
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ven.</i>	<i>Hymnus Homericus ad Venerum</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite</i>
Hyp.	Hyperides	
<i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitaphius</i>	<i>Funeral Speech</i>
Isoc.	Isocrates	
<i>Aeropag.</i>	<i>Aeropagiticus</i>	
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Archidamus</i>	
<i>Antid.</i>	<i>Antidosis</i>	
<i>Bus.</i>	<i>Busiris</i>	
<i>Demon.</i>	<i>Ad Demonicum</i>	
	<i>De Bigis</i>	<i>On the Chariot Team</i>
<i>De Perm.</i>		

Nic.	Nicocles	
Panath.	Panathenaicus	Panathenaic Oration
Paneg.	Panegyricus	Panegyric
Philip.	Philippus	
Plataic.	Plataicus	
Itin. Anton.	Antonini Itinerarium	Antonine Itinerary
Jer.	Jerome	
Joseph.	Josephus	
A.J.	Antiquitates Judaicae	Jewish Antiquities
Ap.	Contra Apionem	Against Apion
B.J.	Bellum Judaicum	Jewish War
Jul. Pollux	Julius Pollux (s.v. Pollux)	
Justin	Justin Martyr	
Juv.	Juvenal	
Livy	Livy	
Epit.	Epitomae	Epitomes
Longin.	(Dionysius) Longinus	
De Subl.	De Sublimitate	On the Sublime
Lucian	Lucian	
Bis Accus.	Bis Accusatus sive Tribunalia	
Demon.	Demonax	
Dial. Mar.	Dialogi Marini	
Dial. Mort.	Dialogi Mortuorum	Dialogues of the Dead
Her.	Herodotus	
Luct.	De Luctu	On Funerals
Pisc.	Revivescens sive Piscator	
Lucret.	Lucretius	
Lycurg.	Lycurgus	
Leoc.	In Leocratem	Against Leocrates
Lys.	Lysias	
Alc.	In Alcibiades	Against Alcibiades
Epitaph.	Epitaphius	Funeral Oration

	<i>Peri Sēkou</i>	<i>On the Sacred Olive</i>
Macrob.	Macrobius	
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>	
<i>Marm. Par.</i>	<i>Marmor Parium</i>	The Parian Marble
Mela	Pomponius Mela	
Men.	Menander	
Nep.	Cornelius Nepos	
<i>Milt.</i>	<i>Miltiades</i>	
<i>Them.</i>	<i>Themistocles</i>	
<i>Hann.</i>	<i>Hannibal</i>	
Nic. Damasc.	Nicolaus Damascenus	
Ov.	Ovid	
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>	
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>	<i>Heroines</i>
<i>Ib.</i>	<i>Ibis</i>	
<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>	<i>Letters from Pontus</i>
<i>Tr.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>	<i>Sorrows</i>
<i>Oxyr. Pap.</i>	<i>Oxyrhyncus Papyri</i>	
Paus.	Pausanias	
Petron.	Petronius	
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satyrica</i>	<i>Satyricon</i>
Philoch.	Philochorus	
Philostr.	Philostratus	
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroicus</i>	
V.A.	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>	<i>Life of Apollonius</i>
Phot.	Photius	
<i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>	
Pind.	Pindar	
<i>Isthm.</i>	<i>Isthmian Odes</i>	
<i>Nem.</i>	<i>Nemean Odes</i>	
<i>Ol.</i>	<i>Olympian Odes</i>	
<i>Pae.</i>	<i>Paeans</i>	

	<i>Pyth.</i>	<i>Pythian Odes</i>	
Pl.		Plato	
	<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcibiades</i>	
	<i>Ap.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>	<i>Apology</i>
	<i>Ax.</i>	<i>Axiochus</i>	
	<i>Charm.</i>	<i>Charmides</i>	
	<i>Crat.</i>	<i>Cratylus</i>	
	<i>Crit.</i>	<i>Critias</i>	
	<i>Euthd.</i>	<i>Euthydemus</i>	
	<i>Grg.</i>	<i>Gorgias</i>	
	<i>Hipparch.</i>	<i>Hipparchus</i>	
	<i>Hipp. Maj.</i>	<i>Hippias maior</i>	<i>Hippias the Elder</i>
	<i>Lach.</i>	<i>Laches</i>	
	<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Leges</i>	<i>Laws</i>
	<i>Menex.</i>	<i>Menexenus</i>	
	<i>Phdr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>	
	<i>Plt.</i>	<i>Politicus</i>	<i>Statesman</i>
	<i>Prt.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>	
	<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica</i>	<i>Republic</i>
	<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>	
	<i>Theag.</i>	<i>Theages</i>	
	<i>Tim.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>	
Plin.		Pliny (the Elder)	
	<i>H.N.</i>	<i>Naturalis Historia</i>	<i>Natural History</i>
Plin.		Pliny (the Younger)	
	<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Letters</i>
Plut.		Plutarch	
	<i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>	
	<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Alexander</i>	
	<i>Arist.</i>	<i>Aristides</i>	
	<i>Artax.</i>	<i>Artaxerxes</i>	
	<i>Cam.</i>	<i>Camillus</i>	

<i>Cat. Mai.</i>	<i>Cato Maior</i>	<i>Cato the Elder</i>
<i>Cat. Min.</i>	<i>Cato Minor</i>	<i>Cato the Younger</i>
<i>Cic.</i>	<i>Cicero</i>	
<i>Cim.</i>	<i>Cimon</i>	
<i>Consol. ad Apoll.</i>		
<i>Conv. Sept.</i>	<i>Convivium Septem</i>	<i>The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men</i>
<i>Sap.</i>	<i>Sapientium</i>	
<i>Crass.</i>	<i>Crassus</i>	
<i>De Def. Or.</i>	<i>De Defectu Oraculorum</i>	<i>On the Failure of Oracles</i>
<i>De Glor. Ath.</i>	<i>De Gloria Atheniensium</i>	<i>On the Glory of the Athenians</i>
<i>De Is. et Os.</i>	<i>De Iside et Osiride</i>	<i>On Isis and Osiris</i>
<i>De Mal.</i>	<i>De Malignitate Herodoti</i>	<i>On the Malice of Herodotus</i>
<i>De sera</i>	<i>De sera Numinis Vindicta</i>	<i>On the Delays of Divine Vengeance</i>
<i>Lyc</i>	<i>Lycurgus</i>	
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysander</i>	
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>	
<i>Pel.</i>	<i>Pelopidas</i>	
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Pericles</i>	
<i>Reg et Imp. Aph.</i>		
<i>Quaest. Graec.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Graecae</i>	<i>Greek Questions</i>
<i>Quaest. Rom.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Romanae</i>	<i>Roman Questions</i>
<i>Quaest. Conv.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Convivales</i>	<i>Table Talk</i>
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Solon</i>	
<i>Them.</i>	<i>Themistocles</i>	
<i>Thes.</i>	<i>Theseus</i>	
<i>Poll.</i>	<i>Julius Pollux</i>	
<i>Onom.</i>	<i>Onomasticon</i>	
<i>Polyaen.</i>	<i>Polyaenus</i>	
<i>Strat.</i>	<i>Strategemata</i>	<i>Stratagems</i>
<i>Polyb.</i>	<i>Polybius</i>	
<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Pomponius Mela</i>	
<i>Porph.</i>	<i>Porphyry</i>	

<i>Abst.</i>	<i>De abstinentia</i>	<i>On Abstinence</i>
<i>V. Pyth.</i>		<i>Life of Pythagoras</i>
Procl.	Proclus	
	<i>Eudemian Summary</i>	
Procop.	Procopius	
<i>Goth.</i>	<i>De Bello Gothico</i>	
Pseudo-Scylax		
<i>Perip.</i>	<i>Periplus</i>	
Ptol.	Ptolemy (mathematicus)	
<i>Geog.</i>	<i>Geographia</i>	<i>Geography</i>
Sall.	Sallust	
<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Bellum Catilinae or De Catilinae Coniuratione</i>	<i>War with Catiline or On the Catilinarian Conspiracy</i>
<i>Iug.</i>	<i>Bellum Iugurthinum</i>	<i>Jugurthine War</i>
Scym.	Scymnus (of Chios)	
Sen.	Seneca (the Younger)	
	<i>De Ira</i>	<i>On Anger</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>	<i>Letters</i>
<i>Q. Nat.</i>	<i>Quaestiones Naturales</i>	<i>Natural Questions</i>
Serv.	Servius	
	<i>In Tria Virgilii Opera Exposito</i>	<i>Commentary on Virgil</i>
Sext. Emp.	Sextus Empiricus	
<i>Math.</i>	<i>Adversus Mathematicus</i>	<i>Against the Professors</i>
Soph.	Sophocles	
<i>Aj.</i>	<i>Ajax</i>	
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antigone</i>	
<i>El.</i>	<i>Electra</i>	
<i>O.C.</i>	<i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	<i>Oedipus at Colonus</i>
<i>O.T.</i>	<i>Oedipus Tyrannus</i>	<i>Oedipus the King</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philoctetes</i>	
<i>Trach.</i>	<i>Trachiniae</i>	

Steph. Byz.	Stephanus Byzantius	
Stob.	Stobaeus	
Strabo		
Suet.	Suetonius	
<i>Aug.</i>	<i>Divus Augustus</i>	<i>Divine Augustus</i>
<i>Calig.</i>	<i>Gaius Caligula</i>	
Tac.	Tacitus	
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>	<i>Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>	<i>Annals</i>
<i>Germ.</i>	<i>Germania</i>	<i>Germany</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>	<i>Histories</i>
Theoc.	Theocritus	
<i>Id.</i>		<i>Idylls</i>
Theophr.	Theophrastus	
<i>Char.</i>	<i>Characteres</i>	<i>Characters</i>
<i>Hist. Pl.</i>	<i>Historia Plantarum</i>	<i>History of Plants</i>
Theopomp.	Theopompus Historicus	
Theogn.	Theognis	
Thuc.	Thucydides	
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus	
Varro		
<i>Rust.</i>	<i>De re rustica</i>	<i>On Rustic Affairs</i>
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus	
Verg.	Virgil	
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>	
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>Eclogues</i>	
<i>Geor.</i>	<i>Georgics</i>	
Xen.	Xenophon	
<i>Ages.</i>	<i>Agesilaus</i>	
<i>An.</i>	<i>Anabasis</i>	
<i>Ath. Pol.</i>	<i>Respublica Atheniensium</i>	<i>Constitution of the Athenians</i>
<i>Cyr.</i>	<i>Cyropaedia</i>	<i>The Education of Cyrus</i>

<i>Eq.</i>	<i>De Equitandi Ratione</i>	<i>On the Art of Horsemanship</i>
<i>Hell.</i>	<i>Hellenica</i>	
<i>Hier.</i>	<i>Hiero</i>	
<i>Lac.</i>	<i>Respublica Lacedaemoniorum</i>	<i>Constitution of the Lacedaemonians</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Memorabilia</i>	
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>Oeconomicus</i>	<i>Economics</i>
<i>Vect.</i>	<i>De Vectigalibus</i>	<i>On Taxes</i>
<i>Zenob.</i>	<i>Zenobius</i>	

### List of Principal Modern Authorities

[N.B.— The works most frequently used have been quoted simply by their authors' names; in other cases the titles have been abbreviated, as given in this list. Where a book has been used only once or twice, the title has been usually given either in full or at least with sufficient fullness for the reference to be traced. See also i. 155, 302, and the first or last paragraphs of the appendixes, for books used on special parts of H.'s work.]

<i>H.</i>	Abbott, E.	<i>Herodotus</i> V, VI. 1893.
	Bähr, I. C. F.	<i>Herodotus</i> . 4 vols. 2nd edit., 1856–61.
	Ball, C. J.	<i>Light from the East</i> .
<i>W.</i>	Barth, H.	<i>Wanderungen durch die Küstenländer des Mittelmeeres</i> . 1849.
	Beloch, J.	<i>Griechische Geschichte</i> . vol. i. 1893.
<i>B. or Bevölkerung</i>	—.	<i>Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt</i> .
	Berger, H.	<i>Erdkunde der Griechen</i> . 2nd edit., 1903.
<i>P.L.G.</i>	Bergk.	<i>Poetae Lyrici Graeci</i> . 3rd edit. or 4th.
	Blakesley, J. W.	<i>Herodotus</i> . 2 vols.
<i>Kl. Sch.</i>	Boeckh, A.	<i>Kleine Schriften</i> .
	—.	<i>Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener</i> . 3rd edit., 1886.
	Bury, J. B.	<i>Greek History</i> . 2 vols. (the smaller edition in one vol. is quoted by page only).
<i>A.G.H.</i>	—.	<i>Ancient Greek Historians</i> .

	Busolt, G.	<i>Griechische Geschichte</i> . 2nd edit., 1893 and later.
<i>Griech. Staats.</i>	—.	<i>Griechische Staatskunde</i> . 2 vols. and index, 1920–6.
	Curtius, E.	<i>History of Greece</i> . 5 vols., 1868–73.
Dind.	Dindorf, W.	<i>Aristides</i> . 1829.
	Dittenberger.	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 2nd edit.
	Duncker, M.	<i>History of Antiquity</i> , translated by E. Abbott. 6 vols. (vol. vii in the German original).
G.C.	Farnell, L. R.	<i>Cults of Greek States</i> . 5 vols., 1907, 1909.
<i>P. or Paus.</i>	Frazer, J. G.	<i>Pausanias</i> . 6 vols., 1898.
G.B.	—.	<i>Golden Bough</i> (usually 2nd edit.).
<i>S. or Sicily.</i>	Freeman.	<i>History of Sicily</i> .
<i>Athens.</i>	Gardner, E. A.	<i>Ancient Athens</i> .
G.S.	—	<i>Handbook of Greek Sculpture</i> .
<i>N.C.G.H.</i>	Gardner, P.	<i>New Chapters on Greek History</i> . 1892.
<i>Hist. Coin.</i>	—.	<i>A History of Ancient Coinage, 700–300 B.C.</i> 1918.
<i>G.C.A. or Gr. St.</i>	Gilbert.	<i>Greek Constitutional Antiquities</i> . 1895 (vol. ii in the German original).
	Goodwin.	<i>Greek Moods and Tenses</i> . 2nd edit.
	Grote, G.	<i>A History of Greece</i> . 12 vols., 1869.
<i>G.P.W.</i>	Grundy, G. B.	<i>Great Persian War</i> .
<i>Thuc.</i>	—.	<i>Thucydides</i> . 1911.
	Hamilton, W. J.	<i>Asia Minor</i> .
<i>Athens</i>	Harrison, J.	<i>Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens</i> .
<i>Prolegomena</i>	—.	<i>Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion</i> .
<i>Dict. Bib.</i>	Hastings, J.	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> . 4 vols.
	Hauvette, A.	<i>Hérodote historien des guerres médiques</i> .
<i>H.N.</i>	Head, B. V.	<i>Historia Numorum</i> . 2nd edit. 1911.
Hicks.	Hicks, E. L.	<i>A Manual of Greek Inscriptions</i> , by E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill. 2nd edit. (unless stated).
<i>G.C. or H.G.C.</i>	Hill, G. F.	<i>Historical Greek Coins</i> . 1906.
<i>G. and R.C.</i>	—.	<i>Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins</i> . 1899.

	Hermann.	<i>Handbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten.</i>
A.A.L.	Hogarth, D. G.	<i>Accidents of an Antiquary's Life.</i> 1910.
A. and A.	—.	<i>Authority and Archaeology.</i> 1899
E. or Ephesus.	—.	<i>Excavations at Ephesus.</i> 1908.
I. and E.	—.	<i>Ionia and the East.</i> 1909.
	Holm.	<i>History of Greece,</i> vols. i and ii. 1895.
G.S.	—.	<i>Geschichte Siciliens.</i>
Jacoby.	Jacoby, F.	Pauly-Wissowa, VIII. Supplemt.-Bd., 379f.
	Kiepert, H.	<i>Formae Orbis Antiqui.</i> (New edition.)
	King and Hall.	<i>Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries.</i> 1907.
	Krüger, K. W.	<i>Herodotus.</i>
I.A.	Lassen, C.	<i>Indische Alterthumskunde.</i> 1847 seq.
A.M.	Leake, W. M.	<i>Asia Minor.</i>
N.G.		<i>Northern Greece.</i>
	Macan, R. W.	<i>Herodotus</i> IV–VI. 1895.
		<i>Herodotus</i> VII–IX. 1908.
Gk. Lit.	Mahaffy, J. P.	<i>Greek Literature.</i> 2 vols.
S.L.	—.	<i>Social Life in Greece.</i>
	Marco Polo.	Yule's edition, edited by Cordier. 2 vols., 1903.
	Maspero, G.	<i>Histoire ancienne de l'Orient.</i> 3 vols., 1895. (The abridged form of this book in one volume (6th edit., 1904) is quoted by page only.)
C. or Caus.	—.	<i>Causeries.</i>
	Meyer, E.	<i>Geschichte des Alterthums</i> (vol. i, 2nd edit., unless stated). 4 vols.
F.	—.	<i>Forschungen zur alten Geschichte.</i>
D.A.	Müllenhoff.	<i>Deutsche Alterthumskunde.</i> 3 vols.
	Mure, W.	<i>History of Greek Literature.</i> 5 vols., 1859.
G.S.	Murray, A. S.	<i>History of Greek Sculpture.</i> 1880.
A. and C.	Myres, J. L.	<i>Anthropology and the Classics.</i>
It. or Ital.	Nissen.	<i>Italische Landeskunde.</i>

	Perrot et Chipiez.	<i>Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité.</i>
	Prášek, J.	<i>Geschichte der Meder und Perser.</i> 1906.
	Preller.	<i>Griechische Mythologie.</i> 4th edit.
C.B.	Ramsay, W. M.	<i>Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.</i>
H.G. or A.M.	—.	<i>Historical Geography of Asia Minor.</i> 1890.
	Rawlinson, G.	<i>Herodotus.</i> 4 vols. 3rd edit. 1875.
	Reclus.	<i>Géographie Universelle.</i>
Gk. Epig.	Roberts, E. S.	<i>Greek Epigraphy,</i> vol. i.
	Rohlf, G.	<i>Kufra.</i> 1881.
Rosch.	Roscher, W. H.	<i>Lexicon of Greek and Roman Mythology</i>
	St. Martin, V.	<i>Le Nord de l'Afrique dans l'Antiquité.</i>
Rel. Sem.	Smith, W. Robertson.	<i>Religion of the Semites.</i> 2nd edit.
Kinship.	—.	<i>Kinship in Ancient Arabia.</i> 2nd edit.
	Stein, H.	<i>Herodotus.</i>
A.S.	Torr, C.	<i>Ancient Ships.</i>
A.G.	Tozer, H. F.	<i>History of Ancient Geography.</i> 1897.
Is. Aeg.	—.	<i>Islands of the Aegean.</i>
P.C.	Tylor, E. B.	<i>Primitive Culture.</i> 2 vols. 4th edit.
E.H.M.	—.	<i>Early History of Mankind.</i>
	Westermarck.	<i>History of Human Marriage.</i> 3rd edit. 1901.
A. und A.	Wilamowitz- Moellendorff.	<i>Aristoteles und Athen.</i>
Phil. U.	—.	<i>Philologische Untersuchungen.</i>
A.F.	Winckler, H.	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen.</i> 2 vols.

### List of Other References

AEG	<i>Annuaire des Études Grecques.</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
Br. Mus.	British Museum.

BMG	<i>British Museum Guide</i> . (Assyrian Antiquities, 1908; Egyptian Collections, 1909).
BPW	<i>Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift</i> .
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School of Athens</i> .
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> .
CIA	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> .
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. Boeckh, etc. 4 vols.
CQ	<i>Classical quarterly</i> .
CR	<i>Classical Review</i> .
D. of A.	<i>Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities</i> . 3rd edit.
EB	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> . 11th edit. (unless otherwise indicated, e.g., thus, EB <sup>9</sup> ).
Enc. Bib.	<i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i> .
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . 4 vols., ed. C. Muller. 1885.
GGM	<i>Geographici Graeci Minores</i> . 2 vols., ed. C. Muller. 1853.
GJ	<i>Geographical Journal</i> .
IGA	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae</i> . ed. Röhl, 1882.
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> .
JP	<i>Journal of Philology</i> .
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i> .
RGS	<i>Journal of Royal Geographical Society</i> (see above for <i>Geographical Journal</i> ).
Liddell & Scott	Liddell and Scott, <i>Greek Lexicon</i> . 8th edit.
MAI	<i>Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts</i> (Athenische Abtheilung).
PG	<i>Paroemiographi Graeci</i> . 2 vols., ed. Leutsch and Schneidewin. 1839.
PLG	<i>Poetae Lyrici Graeci</i> . 3 vols., ed. Bergk, 3rd or 4th edit. 1878.
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopaedie</i> (new edit. now appearing).
QR	<i>Quarterly Review</i> .
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i> . Jan. 1912.
RE	<i>Revue Égyptologique</i> .

REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques.</i>
RM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</i>
RP <sup>1</sup>	<i>Records of the Past (First Series).</i>
RP <sup>2</sup>	<i>Records of the Past (Second Series).</i>
SBE	<i>Sacred Books of the East.</i>
SBA	<i>Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.</i>
WKP	<i>Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.</i>

### **Additional Abbreviations and Annotations**

ad : at, on, for

ad fin. = *ad finem*: at the end

ad init. = *ad initium*: at the beginning

ad loc. = *ad locum*: at (or to) the place

al. = *alii* or *alibi*: elsewhere (in same author)

ap. = *apud*: at, in, quoted in

app. = appendix

Ass. = Assyrian (language)

ca. = *circa*: around, about or approximately (referring to a date)

E.T. = English translation (referring to an edition)

Heb. = Hebrew (language)

hod. = *hodie*: today, now (often referring to a place name)

inf. = *infra*: below

l.c. or loc. cit. = *loco citato*: at the place cited

Pers. = Persian (language)

pl. = plate

q.v. = *quod vide*: which see

Semit. = Semitic (language)

sup. = *supra*: above

u.s. or ut sup. = *ut supra*: as [shown or stated] above

v.i. = *vide infra*: see below

v.l. = *varia lecto*: variant reading

v.s. = *vide supra*: see above

<p. xx> marks the original pagination of the Oxford printed edition

## Introduction

[The Life by Rawlinson (vol. i), or the *De vita et scriptis Hdt.* of Bähr (vol. iv), is still worth looking at, as giving the evidence and the older views. A good criticism of modern theories will be found in Hauvette, *Hérodote* (Paris, 1894). The best general estimate is perhaps that of A. Croiset, *Hist. de Litt. Grecque*, vol. ii (2nd ed.).]

### § 1

**The life of Herodotus in tradition.** The main source of our information as to H., apart from his works, is the notice in Suidas<sup>1</sup> (s.v.): "H., the son of Lyxes and Dryo, a man of Halicarnassus, was born of parents in good position, and had a brother, Theodorus; he migrated and took up his abode in Samos, because of Lygdamis, who was tyrant of Halicarnassus next but one after Artemisia; for Pisendelis was the son of Artemisia, and Lygdamis of Pisendelis. At Samos then he both became familiar with the Ionic dialect and wrote a history in nine books, beginning with Cyrus the Persian and Candaules king of the Lydians. He returned to Halicarnassus and expelled the tyrant, but when later he saw himself disliked by his countrymen, he went as a volunteer to Thurium, when it was being colonized by the Athenians. There he died and lies buried in the market-place. But some say that he died at Pella. His books bear the title of the Muses."

To this notice must be added the statements in Suidas (s.v. Panyasis) that he was the nephew or the cousin of Panyasis, the epic poet and "marvel-seer" (τερατοσκοπός), and that Panyasis was also of Halicarnassus, and was put to death <p. 2> by Lygdamis (see also § 3). Finally there is the familiar date of his birth, 484 B.C., given by Gellius.<sup>2</sup>

Some of these statements are demonstrably incorrect, e.g., that H. wrote his history in Samos, and that he learned the Ionic dialect there,<sup>3</sup> and it has been maintained that all the account of Suidas is based on mere inference, not on definite evidence, and was made up by the Alexandrine scholars of the third century B.C., out of combinations from H.'s own book. It is unlikely, however, that there was no genuine tradition as to an author whose work at once became so widely famous (see § 29).

We may then assume as accurate the following traditional facts, confirmed as they are by the indications of his work.

### § 2

**Facts that are fairly certain.**

- (1) That H. was well born and a native of Halicarnassus.<sup>4</sup>
- (2) That he was connected with Panyasis, who was the poet of Hercules and of the story of Ionian colonization; his <p. 3> influence may be traced in H.'s history (cf. especially ii. 43–5, iv. 8–10, and i. 142–150 respectively).

(3) That he lived for part of his early life in Samos, a fact which is borne out by his special familiarity with, and favour for, that island (cf. iii. 60 and passim).

(4) That he took part in the colonization of Thurii, and that he died there. This latter point is disputed, e.g. by Meyer (F. i. 199), but may be accepted for the following reasons:

(a) The famous epitaph in Steph. Byz. (s.v. Θούριοι) on his tomb in the market-place—

Ἡρόδοτον Λύξεω κρύπτει κόνις ἦδε θανόντα  
Ἰάδος ἀρχαίης ἱστορίας πρύτανιν,  
Δωριέων βλαστόντα πάτρης ἄττο, τῶν γὰρ ἄτλητον  
μῶμον ὑπεκπροφυγῶν Θούριον ἔσχε πάτριν.

—is itself later, but raises a presumption that he died at Thurii.

(b) It is difficult to understand the prevalence of the name, “the Thurian” (cf. i. 1. 1 n.) unless H. died and was buried there.

(5) The most important fact of all recorded by tradition is the date of H.’s birth; this may be accepted, as being entirely in agreement with his own testimony; he never speaks as a contemporary of the events he describes, but he always implies that he knew personally those who were contemporary. He stood to the men of Salamis and Plataea exactly as Thackeray (born in 1811) stood to the heroes of Waterloo, when he wrote *Vanity Fair* in 1848.

### § 3

**Herodotus and the tyrant of Halicarnassus.** One important point in the traditions has so far not been dealt with, that H. was expelled by Lygdamis and that in turn he took part in the expulsion of the tyrant. These statements might well be mere inferences from the dislike of tyrants shown throughout his work (app. xvi), but it is more natural to accept them as facts and to connect them with the <p. 4> state of things indicated in the contemporary inscription from Halicarnassus (ut sup.). There we find recorded an agreement between Lygdamis and his subjects, in which, apparently after political troubles, a compromise<sup>5</sup> is arrived at whereby the tyrant is continued in authority alongside of the popular assembly.

The name of Panyasis occurs in this inscription (l. 16). Its exact date is uncertain; but the compromise did not last, as we find Halicarnassus free (with no despot mentioned, *CIA* i. 226; Hicks 33) in the first Athenian quota-list of 454 B.C.

Various combinations are made of the traditional facts and of inferences from the inscription; perhaps the easiest is to suppose that H. was banished in the troubles<sup>6</sup> which preceded the reconciliation thus recorded, and that he had his revenge in expelling the tyrant later.

### § 4

**The evidence for Herodotus’ life from his history.** There are two other pieces of traditional evidence which are important, but they must be discussed in

connection with the two great problems as to H.'s life which are raised by his work. These problems are: (1) The dates of his travels; (2) The date of the composition of his work.

To some extent these problems are themselves connected, but not entirely. In discussing them, the assumption will be made that H. speaks the truth, and that his indications as to his own movements may be trusted.<sup>7</sup> <p. 5>

*His travels.* (1) *Egypt.* What information then does H. give us as to his movements? The first group of inferences is as to his Egyptian visit.<sup>8</sup> This may be dated almost certainly after 449 B.C., how much later must be discussed presently. It may also be inferred with some confidence that H. had been in the Euphrates valley before he was in Egypt, for (ii. 150. 1 n.) he uses a story as to Nineveh to confirm his information as to Lake Moeris.

(2) *Scythia.* The next inference that we can form as to H.'s travels concerns Scythia. He speaks (iv. 76. 6) of conversing with Tymnes, the "agent of king Ariapeithes." As Ariapeithes succeeded Idanthyrsus, the enemy of Darius (ca. 512 B.C.), and as his own life ended by violence (iv. 78. 2), his reign is not likely to have lasted after 460. Probably, therefore, the Scythian voyage is the earliest distant one of H.,<sup>9</sup> a conjecture which is the more probable since there was a close commercial connection between the Aegean and the Pontus. If we might trust the restored text of Suidas (s.v. Ἑλλάνικος) that Hellanicus διέτρουψε σὺν Ἡροδότῳ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ, we should have a confirmation of this early date<sup>10</sup>; for Alexander died ca. 454 B.C. H. might then have visited Macedonia on his way to or from Scythia.

(3) *Cyrene.* The commercial connections of Samos especially extended to Cyrene (cf. iv. 163 n.), and so we should naturally connect H.'s visit to Cyrene with his Samian period. A slight indication of the date of this visit has been seen in <p. 6> the oracle which limits the number of the Battiad kings to eight (iv. 163. 2 n.). This must have been forged after the death of Arcesilaus IV, i.e., not earlier than about 460 B.C. But H. may well have heard the oracle later, and no certain inference is possible.

## § 5

**Herodotus at Athens.** (1) *His recitations.* So far there has been no trace of H. *in Greece proper*, or Athens. But that he was familiar with this city and must have lived some time there, is evident both from constant allusions in his works and from traditional evidence. This, so far as it bears on his migration to Thurii, has been already noticed; the other two points in it omitted above must now be discussed.

The first of these is as to his recitations at Athens. Syncellus, the chronologer, definitely states that H. ἐτιμήθη παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηναίων βουλῆς ἐπαναγνοῦς αὐτοῖς τὰς βίβλους. This event is dated by Jerome in 445 B.C., by the Armenian version 446. There is no reason to doubt this fact, which is partly confirmed by the statement of the fourth-century Athenian historian, Diyllus, that H. δέκα τάλαντα

δωρεάν ἔλαβεν Ἀθηνῶν Ἀνύτου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος.<sup>11</sup> Such recitations would be the natural method for H. to publish the results of his labours, and they seem to be clearly referred to <p. 7> in the words of Thucydides (i. 22. 4); he contemptuously says that his own history is not composed as an ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρημα ἀκούειν and may lack charm ἐς ἀκρόασιν, owing to “the absence of the mythical elements.” The date 446–445<sup>12</sup> is fully consistent with all we know of H.’s life. We may therefore accept the fact of H.’s Athenian recitations at this period.

## § 6

(2) *His friendship with Sophocles.* The second traditional fact which has been so far omitted is the supposed intimacy of H. with Sophocles. The evidence for this is partly the poem<sup>13</sup> addressed to H. by the poet about 445 B. C., partly the correspondences<sup>14</sup> in the works of the historian and the tragedian. Certainly these are much more than accidental in two passages at least, if the texts in their present form are original, and the friendship of the two great writers may well be a fact.

## § 7

**His visit to Thurii.** H., however, whatever his relations with leading Athenians, was not in sympathy with the dominant tendencies of the Athens of his day. His interest was in the wide world of the East; the Athenians were devoting themselves to the politics of Greece proper; his enemy was the barbarian, theirs the Lacedaemonian and the Corinthian; his sympathies were for ἰσηγορίη in the old sense, theirs for democracy in the new sense, his belief was in the <p. 8> religion of the past, theirs in the philosophy of the present; his very style was different in dialect and structure. Hence it is not surprising that H. did not remain permanently in Athens; if for no other reason, so great a traveller was not likely to be willing to remain quiet. But we can fix with some definiteness the date of his leaving Athens, and at the same time suggest a plausible reason for his departure for the West. In iii. 160. 2<sup>15</sup> he mentions the desertion of the Persian prince of the royal blood, Zopyrus, to Athens; his arrival seems to have happened early in 440. He died in the following year, but H. never mentions this, though it is his habit to complete the story of his incidental characters in this way. The omission is most naturally to be explained by his own departure for the West, where he never heard of the Persian’s death. And the quarrel between Athens and Samos, the two cities to which H. was most attached, may well have been the deciding motive which made him start on his travels once more. How long H. was in the West is one of the uncertain points of his history, as is also the question whether part of his Eastern travels, and especially his Egyptian visit, fall after 440 B.C. These points will be touched on in answering the question, “Where did H. write his history?” But there is one more point as to his life which is important.

## § 8

**His probable return to Greece proper.** Did Herodotus return to Greece proper and to Athens after his departure for Thurii? The usual view is that he did so return,<sup>16</sup> and the following reasons may be given for it:

(1) He refers, evidently as an eye-witness (v. 77. 4), to a brazen quadriga which stood at the entrance to the Athenian Propylaea; if this could be identified with the famous building <p. 9> of Mnesicles, we should infer with certainty that his return was after 432 (but cf. v. 77. 4 nn.).

(2) There are in his later books a number of references to comparatively unimportant facts,<sup>17</sup> which would hardly have been known to him had he not returned to Athens.

Hence we may fairly assume that H. was in Athens in 431–430 B.C., even if we believe him to have returned to Thurii later.

## § 9

**The date of his death.** The date of his death must remain uncertain, but in view of the fact that he mentions no event which can certainly be dated after 430, and that he seems not to have heard of the destruction of the Aeginetans in Thyrea (424 B.C.),<sup>18</sup> it is natural to place his death in the first five years of the Peloponnesian War. Certainly that war was a death-blow to the ideals that H. embodied in, and sought to commend by, his History.<sup>19</sup>

## § 10

**Where did Herodotus write his history?** To turn now to the question, Where did Herodotus write his history? The traditional accounts, that he wrote it at Samos <p. 10> (Suidas, ut sup.) or at Thurii,<sup>20</sup> have long been given up. A new method of investigation was employed in Kirchhoff's famous paper read before the Berlin Academy in 1868. This laid stress on two principles: (1) that H.'s work was not composed at one time, a point which had been already recognized (e.g., Rawlinson, i. 24 seq.); (2) that the indications of H.'s own work are the best evidence for settling the question.

(1) *Kirchhoff's theory.* It will be well therefore to summarize Kirchhoff's argument, since it marks a new departure, although it must be added that his results have been accepted by many with a confidence which they are very far from deserving. His main points were (pp. 26–7)<sup>21</sup>:

(a) H.'s history was written in the order in which it at present stands.

(b) The first two books, and bk. iii as far as chap. 118, were written in Athens.

(c) The next section, to some point in bk. v before chap. 77, was written in Italy.

(d) H. finished his work, as we have it, after his return to Athens late in 431, and was interrupted, perhaps by death, while he was still writing it, about 428 B.C.

Kirchhoff lays stress on the fact that there are no allusions to the West in the first part of H.; but he overlooks the important passage i. 163 seq. (this of course might be a later addition). The most that can be said is that there is a presumption that the present order of the History was original.

In support of his second point, the break in bk. iii, he argues:

(i) H., in i. 106. 2, 184, makes promises which are never fulfilled; these would naturally have been fulfilled after iii. 160. Again, in i. 130. 2, H. refers to a Median revolt which would naturally have been described in the latter part of bk. iii, but is not. The inconsistencies need explanation, and Kirchhoff (pp. 6, 13) maintains that this may be found in H.'s migration <p. 11> to Thurii, which made him forget his promises and previous intentions.

(ii) The frequent references to Athens in the first two books point to that city as their place of composition (e.g., i. 29. 1, 98. 5; ii. 7.1 seq),<sup>22</sup> and H. is proved by i. 51. 4 (see nn.), and by tradition (ut sup.), to have been in Greece proper between 450 and 440.

(iii) The gap in the history must be placed after iii. 119, because of the correspondence between that chapter and the *Antigone* of Sophocles, which was produced in the spring of 441 (pp. 8–9), while the chapters which follow, with the story of Democedes (iii. 125, 129 seq.), are clearly full of Western elements.

As to all these arguments it will be sufficient to point out that unfulfilled promises<sup>23</sup> are found in many writers, and that there is no need to postulate a change of abode to explain them.

The references to Athens are far from proving residence there, and the passage of the *Antigone* is gravely suspected of being a later interpolation (cf. iii. 119 nn.).

With regard to Kirchhoff's third point, the Western origin of the middle part of H.'s work, there is no doubt that iv. 99 was (in part at any rate) written in the West, while other passages, e.g., iv. 15, imply residence in the West at some time; but all these might be later additions, and the bulk of bks. iv and v might have been written anywhere.

Kirchhoff's fourth point, the return to Athens, is supposed to be proved by v. 77. 4 (ut sup.), and to be exactly dated (pp. 18–9) by the fact that H. never heard of the earthquake of Delos which happened in the spring of 431 (Thuc. ii. 8. 3; cf. H. vi. 98). <p. 12> This date is confirmed by the quotation from Pericles in vii. 162 (but see nn.).<sup>24</sup>

Finally, Kirchhoff thinks that we can see H. at work in 428, for he refers to the sparing of Decelea when Attica was ravaged, in ix. 73. 3, though he had previously failed to mention this in connection with Decelea in ix. 15 (pp. 20–2). This ravaging Kirchhoff identifies with that of 428 B.C., and dates the two chapters by reference to it.

Kirchhoff's theory is ingenious in method, but it assumes the most important point it sets out to prove, viz., the present order of the work, and it is far too absolute in details; its further argument that H.'s work is unfinished will be discussed later.

(2) *Bauer's theory.* The theory of A. Bauer<sup>25</sup> is the opposite of Kirchhoff's. He holds (p. 171) that H.'s work was originally composed in parts, of which the account of the campaign of Xerxes (bks. vii–ix), though not necessarily the earliest, was composed at Athens about 445 B.C. From Athens he travelled to Scythia and then composed his Scythian history; finally (about 440) he went to Egypt, and published bk. ii on his return, which made him so unpopular,<sup>26</sup> owing to its frank criticism of Greek ideas (see below), that he had to leave Athens for Thurii. Here he conceived the plan of uniting the existing λόγοι into one general work (p. 173); at Thurii he carried out this as far as the middle of bk. v, and then returned to Athens and completed the revision.

The minute proofs by which this order is established, it is impossible to follow in detail, nor are they very convincing. Broadly speaking, they are of two kinds :

(a) H. in his later books mentions persons and places already mentioned in the earlier books as if they were <p. 13> unfamiliar; e.g., in bk. vii, Darius, Mardonius, Demaratus are formally introduced to the reader (p. 129 seq.).<sup>27</sup>

(b) In the earlier books, topics dealt with in the later books are described with the fulness of additional and sometimes inconsistent knowledge: e.g., the Aethiopians in vii. 70 are simply the Aethiopians of Homer: in ii. 29, iii. 17 seq. H. has much fuller information about them (p. 44).

It must be said, however, that a large part of the inconsistencies which Bauer notes<sup>28</sup> are trifling and such as could easily be paralleled in many long books, even in the present day, or that they are not inconsistencies at all, but simply differences of treatment, due to difference of context.

Against all definite theories such as those of Kirchhoff and Bauer, it cannot be too strongly urged that they are based on the quite misleading analogy of modern book production. An ancient prose work was never published in our sense; an author might leave off writing it and allow his friends to have copies made: if he chose to rehandle or expand any part of his work, he could at any time do so without the formality of a new edition. This is an obvious truism, but it is neglected in such arguments as those summarized above.<sup>29</sup>

[*Additional Note A (1928): The Composition of H.'s Work.* Professor Jacoby (in *PW* viii, Supp.-Band 379f.) puts forward an elaborate theory as to the composition of the work of H. He argues:

(1) That H. originally intended to write a Γῆς Περίοδος after the manner of Hecataeus.

(2) That he borrowed from Hecataeus the form of his λόγοι, which were made up of four parts, discussing for each nation (a) the land, (b) the history, (c) marvels, (d) laws. (But J. himself has to admit that the form of the λόγοι is most varied.)

(3) That these λόγοι were delivered by H. as ἐπιδείξεις in various parts of Greece. (An unhappy suggestion, for most of the λόγοι, as we have them, are quite unsuited for popular delivery.)

(4) That H. then came to Athens, and, under the influence of the Periclean circle, and probably of Pericles himself, became an "Athenian by adoption" (a Wähl-Athener), and set to work to make up his λόγοι into a history, glorifying the Athenian empire and especially the Alcmaeonidae.

(5) That he began this work comparatively late, and left it unfinished, and that he died at Thurii; J. even doubts if H. returned to Athens about 430. It is obvious that this elaborate framework is a matter of inference. Two of the arguments for it may be quoted:

(1) J. thinks (p. 338f.) that in his account of Lydia in bk. i H. is combining two independent λόγοι, one on "Croesus," the other on "Lydia generally." He points out that while Croesus in i. 6 is spoken of as the first conqueror of Greeks, his conquests have only one vague chapter given to them (chap. 26), while the exploits of earlier kings are told at some length. J. also claims that there are three distinct endings (chap. 91. 6, chap. 92. 4, and chap. 94. 7 (p. 339)) to the Lydian section; the argument is ingenious, but unconvincing. It is clear that there is some inconsistency in H.'s arrangement, but surely many other explanations can be given of this as likely as J.'s and much less revolutionary.

(2) J. thinks (p. 444) that in the excursus in bk. vi on the Alcmaeonidae, two different sources may be traced: chaps. 121–4 come direct from the informant, almost verbally; chaps. 125–31 are H.'s own composition. There is an obvious difference of style in these two passages, but equally obviously it is due to difference of subject not of source. An ingenious refutation of J.'s views about the work of H. being unfinished and his partiality for Athens (pp. 27f.) will be found in F. Focke, *Herodot als Historiker* (1927, pp. 27f.). Speaking generally, the most valuable part of Jacoby's 315 pages on H. is the criticism of his "style" (§ 31, pp. 486 f.). J. well says, "H. is the earliest great champion in the contest which established decisively the supremacy of prose in the Greek literature of the future."]

## § 11

**Peculiar tone of bk. ii.** There is, however, one <p. 14> part of Bauer's argument which seems fairly convincing; he lays great stress (pp. 46–54) on the anti-Hellenic attitude which H. takes up in bk. ii.<sup>30</sup> In that book the ordinary story of the Iliad is set aside as a μάταιος λόγος (118. 1); the dependence of Greek religion on Egypt is emphasized (50. 1), even the management of the Olympic games is treated with scarcely veiled irony (160. 1). This list might be extended almost indefinitely. But if the tone of bk. ii is really different from that of the rest of H.'s work, this fact may well be connected with another obvious difficulty as to it. It is hard to conceive an author possessed of the literary skill and sense of form which H. undoubtedly had, deliberately composing it in its present place on its present scale. If, on the

other hand, we suppose that it was written by itself when the rest of the history was practically finished,<sup>31</sup> and then introduced into its present place later, both the difference of tone and the difference of scale explain themselves. It seems not unlikely, therefore, that bk. ii is the latest part of the work of H.

## § 12

**Priority of books vii–ix.** One more view of Bauer's may be accepted with some confidence, viz., that the last three books were the earliest composed. This point has been elaborately re-argued by Macan.<sup>32</sup> Apart from the consideration of the separate passages, he points out a striking peculiarity in the references to events later than the battles of Plataea and Mycale; of these, in the last three books, the great majority refer to events before 456 B.C., three or four to the years 431–430, while only one (vii. 151) falls in the interval.<sup>33</sup> <p. 15> The most natural explanation of this curious distribution is that H. was composing the story of the invasion of Xerxes before 445 B.C., and probably before 450, that he came to Greece, and gave recitations from this part of his history at Athens, and then laid his work aside.

## § 13

**Conclusions as to order of composition.** If this theory is adopted, we have three fixed points for the composition of H.'s history: (1) The priority of vii–ix, written before 445, and perhaps a little earlier; (2) The lateness of bk. ii; (3) A revision—at any rate of the later books—at Athens during the early years of the Peloponnesian War. Beyond this it is impossible to go, though it is tempting to connect bk. iv especially with the stay in the West (ut sup.). North Africa concerned the inhabitants of Italy and Sicily more than it did those of Greece proper; and it might even be suggested that it was the Pythagoreanism of Croton<sup>34</sup> which sent H. back to the East to study these doctrines at their source.

[*Note.* — The present division of the books of H. dates from Alexandrian times: it is first used by Lucian (*Her.* chap. 1, i. 833). For H.'s own divisions of his work cf. v. 36. 2 n.; also i. 75 and 107 f., and vii. 93. The whole subject is well discussed by Mure IV. 474 f. and V. 623 f.]

## § 14

**Is Herodotus' work finished?** Part of Kirchhoff's theory which he has since re-stated<sup>35</sup> was the adoption of the old view that the work of H. was unfinished. This has been maintained on two grounds: (1) There are in H.'s work three unfulfilled promises<sup>36</sup>: i. 106. 2, 184, and vii. 213. 3. (2) The capture of Sestos is no real end to the Persian Wars; this must be found in the battle of the Eurymedon, if not in the "Peace of Callias."

But these arguments really prove nothing. Two of the unfulfilled promises refer to the *Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι*; perhaps these were actually written as an independent work and have perished (cf. app. ii, § 6); but even if this is not the case, the fuller <p. 16> accounts would certainly have been introduced somewhere in the first three

books; they could have had nothing to do with events after 479 B.C. The third instance—the promised story as to Ephialtes—might have been introduced in many places in the history, and its omission is a mere oversight.<sup>37</sup> Whether 479 B.C. is a good ending to H.'s history is an arguable question. It might fairly be said that as the year of the last campaign of united Greece, and of the last defensive campaign,<sup>38</sup> it is the natural point at which to stop. But such *a priori* arguments are unnecessary. There is no doubt that both H. and Thucydides looked on the events of 480–479 (τὰ Μηδικά) as distinct from the following struggle.<sup>39</sup> To ignore this recognized distinction, and to suggest that H. breaks off in 479 merely by accident, is simply to encumber a subject, already difficult enough, with an unnecessary hypothesis.

## § 15

**The travels of Herodotus.** Few points in the narrative of H. are more interesting than his travels, which have made him in some ways the father of Geography, as well as of History. He may with good reason be called the Marco Polo of Antiquity. It is unnecessary here to describe in detail the journeys of H.<sup>40</sup> Certain points as to their date have already been indicated. Here, then, it will be sufficient to discuss briefly their probable motive, the indications in H. by which we can determine their extent, their main outlines, and their characteristics. <p. 17>

*Motive.* As to their motive, it is plausible to suggest that H. travelled as a merchant, at any rate in the North and the East. The following points may be noticed:

(1) He is careful to mention articles of commerce, not only the more exciting cassia and cinnamon (iii. 110–1, but ordinary wares, e.g., different kinds of linen (ii. 105), hempen garments and horns in Thrace (iv. 74; vii. 126), salt fish in South Russia (iv. 53. 3), sweetmeats at Callatebus (vii. 31).

(2) He is fond of describing methods of transport, e.g., the boats on the Euphrates and on the Nile (i. 194, ii. 96), and specially mentions their freight capacity. So too he is familiar with all the apparatus of a seaman's life, e.g., the plummet (ii. 5, 2), the pitch of Pieria (iv. 195. 3).

(3) He notes how far a river is navigable, e.g., Euphrates, i. 194. 5; Nile, ii. 96. 3 (cf. also chap. 29); Dnieper, iv. 53. 4.

(4) He mentions curious forms of trade, e.g., iv. 24, the "seven interpreters" of the Trans-steppe caravan route; iv. 196, the "dumb commerce" of West Africa.

(5) He uses what seem to be trade terms, e.g., the "Lesbian bowls" (iv. 61. 1), the "Argolic bowl" (iv. 152. 4)

Such indications may be merely accidental; whether H. like Solon (Plut. *Sol.* 2) began life as an ἔμπορος it is impossible to decide; what is certain and important is that his attitude to trade and commerce is that of older Greece, not that of the Periclean circle. "The Greeks have learned to despise handicraft" (ii. 167. 2) he notes; but this is not his own point of view.

## § 16

**Criteria of extent.** The evidence by which the extent of H.'s travels will be determined will be differently estimated by different interpreters :

(1) The places which he tells us definitely he has visited are few, and the mention of them is largely accidental, just as is the mention of personal informants; the most important are Elephantine (ii. 29), Tyre (ii. 44), the Arabian frontier of Egypt (ii. 75). <p. 18>

(2) To these must be added the places where he implies that he speaks as an eyewitness, e.g., the Euphrates valley (i. 183. 3, 193. 4), Exampaeus on the Dnieper (iv. 81. 1).

So far there can be no doubt for those who believe in H.'s veracity; but—

(3) the third class of evidence for H.'s presence will be interpreted variously, i.e., the vividness and accuracy of his descriptions. To take two instances: a visit to Cyrene may be inferred with fair certainty from the account of the threefold harvest (iv. 199 n.) and from the minuteness of the account of the statute of Ladice (ii. 181. 5); so too the evidence for a visit to Susa is (apart from H.'s vivid description of Persian customs and dress, cf. i. 131–40 and especially vii. 61 nn.) the minute account of the Eretrians at Ardericca (vi. 119. 2, 3).

(4) Of Cyrene and of Ardericca H. uses the phrases (frequent also elsewhere) ἐς ἐμέ and μέχρῃ ἐμεῦ<sup>41</sup>; but these do not always imply the eyewitness; no one would now conclude that he had been in Bactria, though he speaks of the Barcaean exiles there ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ.

## § 17

**The most important journeys.** Assuming then the accuracy of these criteria, we find that the most important journeys of H. are the following (H.'s journeys in Greece and the Aegean islands are assumed):

(1) In Asia Minor his visit or visits to Sardis. He had travelled from Ephesus to Sardis (as we can judge from his elaborate account of the tomb of Alyattes (ut sup.)), and back to <p. 19> Smyrna. He had also perhaps been as far east as Celaenae (but see vii. 26. 3 n.), and had reached the Royal Road by another route from the Maeander valley by Cydrara (vii. 30–1).

(2) He had travelled by ship from the west to the east of the Black Sea (iv. 86) and had been in Colchis (ii. 104. 1); this voyage would have been along the south coast. Probably it would have been a different coasting voyage which gave him his familiarity with the southeast and east of Thrace shown in iv. 89–93, and brought him to Olbia. Whether it was on the same voyage that he visited Thasos (vi. 47. 2) and took the opportunity of a journey inland to the dwellings on Lake Prasias (v. 16), it is impossible to say. From Olbia he saw Exampaeus (iv. 81. 2) and a Scythian royal tomb (ibid. 71–2 nn.), though probably not among the Gerrhi.

(3) It is probable that H. had not himself traversed the Royal Road (v. 53); the measurements he gives are Persian, and he speaks from hearsay (viii. 98. 1) of the Persian post. Nor is there any proof that H. was ever north of Mount Taurus. On the other hand we can conjecture his starting-point for his overland journey to the Euphrates; the importance he gives to the Mariandynian Gulf (iv. 38. 2), and his details as to Poseideum (iii. 91. i, vii. 91) point to this town as being familiar to him. Once the Euphrates was reached, he was again on a definite trade route (i. 194), and his course to Babylon was easy; his descriptions, however, are, to speak mildly, confused (i. 185 nn.).

(4) It is natural to suppose that from Babylon H. continued his journey to Susa (cf. vi. 119. 2, 3); that he went thence north to Ecbatana is not likely, though some see the αὐτόπτης in i. 98. 5, 6.

(5) H. had entered Egypt both by sea and by land; this at least is the natural inference from ii. 5. 2 and iii. 5, 6. As he himself tells us that he went to Tyre to inquire about the Egyptian Hercules (ii. 44. 1), it is probable that he returned <p. 20> to Egypt by the land-route along the coast of Syria. Here we can trace him in the neighbourhood of Beyrout (ii. 106. 1 n.), at Cadytis (iii. 5. 2 n.), and at Papremis (iii. 12. 4). For his travels in Egypt itself cf. app. ix.<sup>42</sup>

(6) That H. had been to Cyrene is almost certain from the fullness and accuracy of his knowledge of North Africa. He seems to have sailed along the coast from Tripoli at any rate to the Cinyps (iv. 192.) But his description of an oasis (iv. 181. 2) does not show the eyewitness, and there is no evidence that he had seen Carthage.

(7) H.'s personal familiarity with the West was probably limited to South Italy and Sicily; no doubt it was on his way there that he saw the pitch-wells of Zacynthus (iv. 195. 2). The chief places where we seem to trace the traveller are (besides Thurii), Croton (v. 45), Metapontum (iv. 15, 18–20), Tarentum (iv. 99. 5), and in Sicily, Syracuse, Gela (vii. 153), and Egesta (v. 47. 2).

The travels of H. are those of a true Greek; he goes as a rule by water, and does not under ordinary circumstances quit the coast. He travels, too, under the protection of the order<sup>43</sup> established by the Persian Empire, and draws his information from his own countrymen, settled in the dominions of the Great King.

## § 18

**Written evidence.** The evidence used by Herodotus may be classified under three heads, Written, Oral, and <p. 21> Archaeological: each of these kinds must be considered separately. The travels of H. are specially interesting as having enabled him to collect the materials of his history from the most various oral sources, and to some extent to use his eyes in seeing the scenes of the events he describes. But it is certain also that he had some written evidence; poetry is continually quoted by him; he knew his Homer as an Englishman used to know his Bible<sup>44</sup>; he not only quotes most of the poets,<sup>45</sup> but says confidently<sup>46</sup> that the Lacedaemonians in their account of their royal house (vi. 52. 1) are ὁμολογέοντες οὐδενὶ ποιητῆ.

In one case the obligations of H. to a poet are really important. Whether he used the Μιλήτου ἄλωσις of Phrynichus cannot be proved, as no fragment of it survives, but he certainly used the *Persae* of Aeschylus.<sup>47</sup> Unfortunately the historian borrows from the tragedian not the description of the battle, in which Aeschylus was a combatant, but the scenes in the Persian court, where his story is imaginary. One mistake of the poet, however, is avoided by the historian; the counsels of moderation put by Aeschylus inappropriately in the mouth of Darius, are more suitably given by H. to Artabanus and Artemisia.

When H. so continually uses poetic evidence, it is certainly <p. 22> curious that he quotes only one prose-writer by name, Hecataeus (vi. 137. 1). This solitary mention does not prove that H. used no other prose-writer; it might as well be argued that H. had only six (?) personal informants, because he mentions no others (see below). It is natural to suppose that the discussion and refutation of various views as to the Nile flood (ii. 20 seq.) are directed against written errors. But at any rate the silence of H. as to prose-writers raises a presumption that he was largely independent of their help, and this is confirmed by general probability; without adopting the ultra-sceptical views of Paley,<sup>48</sup> who holds that “Thucydides did not know of any written history,” it may be affirmed that the generation to which H. belonged itself marked the transition from a public educated on poetry to one in which prose began to assume almost an equal share in culture.

## § 19

**Herodotus and previous prose-writers.** This, however, is hardly the prevalent view; H.’s debt to literary sources, not only poetical but in prose, is now thought to be considerable.<sup>49</sup> It is worthwhile therefore to consider the testimony of ancient writers, and to test their evidence, so far as is possible, by the surviving fragments of the works of H.’s predecessors.

There are four main testimonies as to H.’s obligation to other prose-writers:

(1) Ephorus (frag. 102, *FHG* i. 262) μνημονεύει (Ξάνθου) ὡς παλαιότερου ὄντος καὶ Ἡροδότῳ τὰς ἀφορμὰς δεδωκότος.

(2) Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Praec. Hist.* vi. 769) writes: Ἡ. τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων γενομένων, Ἑλλανίκου τε καὶ Χάρωνος, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν προεκδεδωκότων, οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἀλλ’ ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῶν κρεῖσσόν τι ἐξοίσειν.

(3) Porphyry (ap. Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* x. 3; *FHG* i. 21) says that H. in his second book πολλὰ Ἐκαταίου τοῦ <p. 23> Μιλησίου κατὰ λέξιν μετήνεγκεν ἐκ τῆς περιηγήσεως βραχέα παραποιήσας, and goes on to quote H.’s accounts of the phoenix, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile-hunting (ii. 73, 71, 70).

(4) Suidas (s.v. Ἐκαταῖος) says that H. “profited by” Hecataeus, a statement also found in Hermogenes (*De Gen. Dicendi*, ii. 12).

It will be noticed that all these statements, except that of Ephorus, are very late,<sup>50</sup> and belong to a period when forgers had been busy with the older names of Greek literature.<sup>51</sup> We are therefore confronted with the double difficulty: (i) The works of the predecessors of H. have survived, if at all, only in the scantiest fragments, and (ii) we have no guarantee that these really come from sixth-century authors, and are not late forgeries.

Bearing these difficulties in mind, we may proceed to compare the work of H. with the authors from whom he is said to have borrowed.

(1) *Xanthus*. So far as Xanthus is concerned, there is clear evidence that H. was largely independent of him; Dion. Hal. (*Ant. Rom.* i. 28) distinctly says that Xanthus made no mention of the Tyrrhenian migration to Italy (H. i. 94 n.). and that he called the son of Atys, "Torrhebus" not "Tyrrhenus." It is probable too that the story of Gyges in Xanthus was different (cf. app. i, § 8). So, though there may have been resemblances between him and H., we quite fail to trace them.

(2) *Charon*. The same is true as to Charon of Lampsacus. He is quoted twice by Plutarch (*De Mal.* <p. 24> chaps. 20, 24) to refute the stories of H. as to Pactyas (i. 160. 3 n.) and as to the capture of Sardis (v. 102 n.). Tertullian also quotes him as telling the same story as H. about Astyages (i. 107).<sup>52</sup>

On the other hand, H. was obviously unfamiliar with his work on Lampsacus (cf. vi. 37 n.). Possibly there is a reference to him in vi. 55, where H. says that he will not speak of the way in which the Heraclidae obtained kingship at Sparta; but even so the passage would only prove that H. had not used him there.

(3) *Hellanicus*. Of the other writers mentioned in the quotations above, Hellanicus may be dismissed as being probably junior to H.; at any rate he was still writing in 406 B.C.<sup>53</sup> The most obvious resemblance between him and H. is frag. 173 as to Salmoxis (cf. H. iv. 93); but there it is clear that either Hellanicus, or more probably a forger, has stolen a Herodotean story wholesale.

## § 20

**Hecataeus.** There remains, however, the crucial instance, Hecataeus, in whose case the charge of plagiarism against H. is definitely made.<sup>54</sup> It is worth while, therefore, to collect the passages which bear on the relations of H. and Hecataeus. These fall into three classes:

(1) Passages where Hecataeus is mentioned by name: vi. 137. 1 (as a writer from whom H. differs); ii. 143. 1 (as a somewhat vain and ignorant traveller); v. 36. 2, 125 (as a prudent statesman). <p. 25>

(2) Passages where views attributed by ancient writers to Hecataeus are mentioned for censure: ii. 21 (the circumambient Ocean, frag. 278); iv. 36 (the same point, and the Hyperboreans); probably ii. 15–6 (the opinion of the Ionians that the Delta only is Egypt.<sup>55</sup> In ii. 5. 1 ("Egypt, the gift of the river"), and ii. 156. 2 (the floating island of Chemmis, frag. 284), there is a tone of self-assertion on the part of H., but not of censure.

(3) Finally, there are the passages quoted above as “transferred” by H.

*Diels’ theory.* The view now usually held as to these is probably that of Diels (*Hermes*, xxii), which may be summarized as follows:

- (1) Hecataeus as a traveller and geographer had a wider range than H.
- (2) H. on his travels used the Περίοδος Γῆς of Hecataeus freely as a guide-book, testing his sources wherever possible.
- (3) When H. read parts of his work at Athens, he introduced quotations from his guide-book; some of these were afterwards rewritten, but some (e.g., those quoted by Porphyry) remained in the original form.
- (4) There is no question of plagiarism. Aristotle quotes verbally these very passages from H., without mentioning his name, and only correcting a few of the mistakes (see ii. 70. 71 nn.). (It may be remarked, however, that the quotations of Aristotle are not a parallel case, for he was writing a book of a completely different kind from that of H.)

Diels points out that H.’s own words, especially ii. 5. 1, imply that he was following some previous source. He adds that the forms of the Egyptian words in Hecataeus are more correct (e.g., Χέμβις, ii. 156. 1; see n.) than those in H.

*“Hecataeus” probably a forgery.* The whole point is <p. 26> of some importance, for, if H. borrowed freely without acknowledgement in bk. ii, he may well have borrowed elsewhere, and it is easy to conjecture obligations of H. to Hecataeus, though impossible to prove them.<sup>56</sup>

Many scholars, however, including the great Cobet, have held the view that the genuine Περίοδος Γῆς of Hecataeus perished early, and that the “borrowings” are borrowings not by H. but from H., on the part of a forger in the third century B.C. The following points may be urged:

- (1) Diels’ arguments quoted above prove nothing. A clever forger would introduce into his work any phrases or views which H. attacks or seems to attack, and, as he may well have been an Alexandrine, he would naturally correct, if he could, H.’s Egyptian transliteration (which sorely needed such correction).
- (2) It is difficult to conceive how passages such as are supposed to have been “borrowed” could have found place in a universal geography of two (or at most three) books. The Περίοδος of Hecataeus probably was a bald list of names like the work of Pseudo-Scylax.
- (3) If Hecataeus really wrote an important book of foreign travel, it is curious that Aristotle never refers to it, though that master of Greek knowledge refers to H. and to the earlier Ionians frequently.
- (4) We know that Callimachus considered the geographical work that passed under the name of Hecataeus, in the third century, to be a forgery, wholly or in part, although Eratosthenes, his successor in the Alexandrine library, believed in its genuineness.

The matter must be left uncertain,<sup>57</sup> but the *a priori* improbability remains that Herodotus, who had certainly travelled in Egypt, should have troubled to borrow from another a <p. 27> description of what he could as easily have seen for himself. Whatever we may think of the diffusion of prose literature in the fifth century, Diels' theory of Hecataeus as a "traveller's handbook" requires much more proof than can be given for it. The rolls, whether of papyrus or of parchment, would have been a bulky addition to the luggage of H.

## § 21

**Herodotus and written sources: summing up.** To sum up the whole question: If there were an easily accessible prose literature in fifth-century Athens or Samos, H. ought certainly to have studied it; perhaps he did so. But in view of his own silence, and of the uncertainty of the connections traced between him and his predecessors, it is more natural to conclude that he collected the mass of his information, apart from poetry, by word of mouth, when he could not use his own eyes. Had his sources been largely literary, we should have had clearer evidence of the fact. H. was too successful a writer to be popular; many would have been eager to point out his obligations.

*Foreign official documents.* There is, however, one kind of written evidence which H. certainly used. In some way that we cannot explain, he had obtained access to Persian official documents, which he incorporates in his history; of this character are the accounts of the Persian satrapies (iii. 89–97), of the Royal Road (v. 52–3), and of the Persian army list in bk. vii. This evidence is of the highest importance. It must, however, have come to H. through a Greek source, for he knew no language but his own<sup>58</sup>; there were many Greeks in the service of Persia, and we have one instance at least of a Persian grandee Hellenizing himself, Zopyrus (cf. iii. 160. 2 n.).

## § 22

**Oral tradition.** The dependence of H. on oral <p. 28> tradition for most of his evidence is usually accepted<sup>59</sup>; but the point is so important that his language on the subject must be carefully examined. He himself always uses the phraseology of "speaking" and "hearing," but this in itself is not decisive; for (1) he refers to his work as a λόγος and to different parts of it as λόγοι.<sup>60</sup> (2) He uses φημί and λέγω of evidence drawn from written works (e.g., vi. 137. 1, Hecataeus; iv. 13. 1, Aristas). (3) He makes not only inscriptions (iv. 91) and oracles (v. 60) "speak," but even a letter (i. 124. 1). (4) Hearsay (ἀκοή) is used for any report, written or verbal, as opposed to the author's own sight (ὄψις, ii. 29. 1).

The use of λέγω, ἀκούω and such words, however, raises a presumption that the sources of evidence were generally oral, and this presumption becomes stronger when these verbs are used in past tenses, which imply actual conversations. Moreover, H.'s narrative, though it rarely gives the names of his informants, continually implies that he is repeating a tradition heard on the spot (e.g., at Tyre, ii. 44. 2). It may be noticed, too, that the phraseology of "speaking" and "hearing"

occurs most frequently in those portions of the history where H. is least likely to have had written evidence (cf. especially bks. ii and iv, on Egypt and Scythia).

*Effect on his history.* The fact that his evidence was largely oral has a very important bearing on the character of the narrative; this represents the popular traditions of the past, whether the remote past of Egypt, as told in the streets of Memphis or in connection with the shrines of Ptah (cf. app. x, § 10), or the recent story of the Persian wars, as narrated by the Greek combatants to their children.

*Informants named by him.* H. himself on three occasions <p. 29> certainly gives us the names of his informants; these are Archias the Spartan (iii. 55. 2), Tymnes at Olbia (iv. 76. 6), and Thersander of Orchomenus (ix. 16. 1). It can hardly be fanciful to see in these, representatives of three different kinds of evidence—as to sixth-century Greece, as to foreign lands, and as to τὰ Μηδικὰ proper; but beyond this we cannot go, or even suggest why H. names these three especially.<sup>61</sup>

### § 23

**Archaeological evidence.** H. is much more free in mentioning the works of art or other objects from which he derived, or in connection with which he heard, the stories that make up his work, than in naming his actual informants. There is hardly a country within the wide range of his travels to whose monuments he does not refer. At Cyrene were statues sent by Amasis and Ladice (ii. 182. 1, 181. 5), at Metapontum one to Aristetas (iv. 15. 4). In Scythia tombs of the kings (iv. 71. 1), a great bowl at Exampaeus (iv. 81. 3), at Byzantium the bowl of Pausanias (ibid.) and inscriptions of Darius (iv. 87.1), in Thrace another such inscription (iv. 91. 1) and lake dwellings (v. 16). In Lydia, the tomb of Alyattes (i. 93), an inscribed boundary stone of Croesus (vii. 30. 2), and the supposed memorial of Sesostris at Kara-Bel (ii. 106). In Palestine, a similar monument (ibid.) and the temple of Melcarth at Tyre (ii. 44. 2). In Babylon the tomb of Nitocris (i. 187) and the temple of Bel (i. 181, 183). In Egypt we may mention—at Sais, the supposed memorials of Mycerinus' family (ii. 129f.), the genuine monuments of Amasis (ii. 175), and the tombs of Osiris and of the Saite kings (ii. 169, 170); near Memphis, the Pyramids (ii. 101. 2, 125–7, 134, 136, 149), and the <p. 30> Labyrinth and lake of Moeris (ii. 148–9). It must, however, be noted that H. could not read inscriptions in any foreign language, and was at the mercy of his guides (cf. ii. 125. 6 n.).

For Hellenic lands it is impossible to give a complete catalogue, but beside the long list of offerings at Delphi, Samos, and elsewhere noted below, we may add the following: At Tegea, Spartan fetters and the manger of Mardonius (i. 66. 4, ix. 70); at Aegina, prows of Samian ships (iii. 59. 3); at Thebes, offerings of Croesus (i. 52, 92) and three tripods inscribed with Cadmean letters (v. 59, 61); at Delos, tombs of Hyperborean maidens (iv. 34. 2, 35. 4); and in the temple of Ephesian Artemis, pillars offered by Croesus (i. 92. 1). These last, like the offerings of Micynthus at Olympia (vii. 170. 4 n.), and the trophies set up at Athens for a victory over Thebes and Chalcis (v. 77. 4 n.), have a special interest because fragments of them have been discovered by modern excavators.

It is worth while to notice three or four points as to this class of evidence.

*War monuments.* (1) The historian of the Persian War would naturally examine the monuments which commemorated the fallen (cf. vii. 225. 2, 228 for Thermopylae; ix. 85 for Plataea); it is therefore all the more strange that he does not mention the Σωγός at Marathon in vi. 117. Under this head come the trophies dedicated, e.g., three Phoenician triremes at the Isthmus, at Sunium, and at Salamis (viii. 121. 1), the statues of Poseidon at the Isthmus and of Zeus at Olympia (ibid.), and above all the famous tripod at Delphi (ix. 81. 1 n.).

## § 24

**Temples.** (2) It is a commonplace to say that the temples were the museums of the old world, but this fact has an important bearing on the sources of H.'s history; e.g., many facts were derived by him from the Samian Heraeum<sup>62</sup> and <p. 31> from the temple of Ptah at Memphis (cf. ii. 101. 2; 110. 1 nn.). Delphi especially furnished H. with many stories. He was familiar with the past history and the present arrangements of the oracle (cf. especially i. 50–1). His Lydian history is only the first of a series of narratives derived largely from this source.<sup>63</sup>

*Temples as record offices.* (3) It is difficult not to think that temples, especially oracular temples, were record offices as well as museums. Obviously the responses so eagerly sought would be carefully kept by those who gave them, if only in their own interest; and a collection of oracles would be a source from which the inquirer could write the history of the past, partly as it had been, still more as the keepers of the oracle wished men to think it had been.<sup>64</sup>

The following responses may have been taken from a Delphic collection, since they are quoted in full: those given to Croesus (i. 47, 55, 85), to the Spartans (i. 65. 2), to Miletus and Argos (vi. 18, 77. 2; vii. 148. 3), the warnings to Siphnos (iii. 57. 4), to Corinth (v. 92), and to Athens (vii. 140–1), and the series concerned with the colonization of Libya (iv. 150f.). The Pisistratidae left at Athens a collection of oracles (v. 90. 2); in their collection were some ascribed to Musaeus (vii. 6. 3). H. may have used some such work of Musaeus or Bacis; cf. viii. 77. 2, 96. 2 (Salamis), ix. 43. 2 (Plataea), viii. 20. 2 (Euboea).

*Lists of officials.* (4) Perhaps under this head may be put the lists of kings and priests which were the beginning of Greek secular official records. H. shows a knowledge of the list of <p. 32> the Spartan kings twice over (vii. 204; viii. 131. 2), but he only once (viii. 51. 1) uses these lists for the purpose of dating his events as Thucydides sometimes does (ii. 2, v. 25) those of archons and priestesses.

## § 25

**Herodotus' use of his evidence.** The manner in which H. uses his evidence varies greatly. With regard to the mythical period of Greek history, it is interesting to see that he has it all mapped out in his mind as the background of subsequent events. The traditions current later were already definitely formed; Greek history is represented as beginning with a period of great migrations (cf. viii. 73, and vii.

161. 3 for Athens as the exception); Greek civilization is due to foreign influences (ii. 52, Greek religion, and v. 58, the alphabet). The whole tradition of the "Return of the Heraclidae" is implicit in i. 56, viii. 43, 73 (cf. also vi. 52), while the ulterior results of this Dorian migration are given in i. 145–7, v. 76. Finally, to give one more instance, the history of mythical Athens is told in viii. 44.

All this H. accepts without question. Homer is to him a witness who does not "contradict himself" under ordinary circumstances.<sup>65</sup> Moreover the mythical history has already been spaced out chronologically in generations (cf. v. 59; ii. 44. 4; and app. xiv, § 2).

At the same time H. is conscious that there is a difference between historic and prehistoric periods; in iii. 122. 2 (see n.) he contrasts Minos and Polycrates as belonging to different categories; in this respect Thucydides is less scientific than H., for he, without any reserve, turns Minos into a prehistoric Pericles (i. 4).

## § 26

**Rationalization of myths.** In spite of his acceptance of the myths, however, even H. cannot escape the tendency to rationalize them, by changing the elements of the marvellous <p. 33> which they contain into commonplace matter of fact. This tendency was to be fully established in the next generation. A good example is ii. 57. 2, as to the priestesses of Dodona, who "chattered like doves." H. presents a curious instance of the mixture of the theological and the positive attitude when (in vii. 129. 4) he blends Poseidon and earthquakes in one geological theory.

Two or three other points as to H.'s treatment of the myths deserve notice:

(1) He confuses the mythology of Greece and of the East; he is ever ready to find an Oriental source for Greek beliefs and worships; e.g., ii. 43, the Egyptian origin of Hercules. This is characteristic of his whole attitude; he is one of those of whom it might be said, "If you've 'eard the East a callin', you won't ever 'eed naught else."

(2) He objects to his countrymen's habit of introducing themselves everywhere (iv. 96. 1, the story of Salmoxis); but he himself does this in his derivation of the names of the Persians and the Medes from Perseus and Medea respectively (vii. 61. 1).

(3) The clear division in his mind between the mythical and the historical period makes it easier for him to overlook the inconsistency of his Pelasgian views (see app. xv, § 3), and to hold that peoples, barbarians in his own day, were survivals of the general stock of the prehistoric Greeks (i. 57. 1).

## § 27

**The historical period.** Outside the mythical period, the procedure of H. is different. He sees that history is a matter of evidence; hence his anxiety to record accepted traditions, and where possible, the origin<sup>66</sup> of divergent accounts, and the reasons or proofs urged on either side (v. 45. 1). Above all, he at times distinguishes clearly the different kinds of evidence on which different parts of his

narrative rest. <p. 34> Thus, in speaking of Egypt, he distinguishes the description of the land and people, where he relies mainly on his own observation (ὄψις) and inquiry, from the past history, drawn principally from Egyptian report (ii. 99.1). Further, he shows a perception of the nature of evidence in discriminating between that part of Egyptian history which rests on the witness of the priests (ii. 142. 1) and the story of the Saite Kings, for which there is independent confirmatory testimony (ii. 147. 1), doubtless that of the Greek settlers. Finally, considerations of probability (cf. iii. 9. 2, 45. 3; viii. 8. 3) or the actual evidence adduced occasionally lead to a decision, express (iv. 12) or implied (cf. viii. 94), between two conflicting stories, though more often H. leaves the matter doubtful, refusing to judge between opposing authorities (cf. iv. 154; v. 85f.; vi. 14, 32f., 134, 137). These attempts at balancing evidence give him some title to be called the “first critical historian,” for he has grasped the principles that “eyewitnesses” are all-important (iii. 115), and that it is necessary to test and examine all evidence. However defective to us seem his criteria, the fact remains that he had criteria, and that his narrative was a critical one, as judged by the standard of his own day. It is necessary to emphasize this general point because it is often overlooked, while of necessity H.’s weaknesses must be set forth in detail. The most important of these weaknesses may be classified as follows:

## § 28

**Weaknesses of Herodotus as a critic of evidence.** (1) H. is more prepared to accept marvels in the accounts of remote ages and remote places. His principle of being guided by the evidence of eyewitnesses was obviously impossible for remote times, and for remote places H. seems unconsciously to relax his standard. So of the floating gold dust in West Africa (iv. 195. 2) he says, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράψω· εἴη δ’ ἄν πᾶν; and not unnaturally he is prepared to believe that the “ends of the world” have the most remarkable products (iii. 106 seq.). But even in describing these, he has still an indefinable instinct <p. 35> which makes him reject monstrosities (iv. 25. 1; 191. 4 n.); he is “the broker of traveller’s winnings, insatiate after some new thing, unerring by instinct rather than by experience to detect false coin.”<sup>67</sup>

(2) He is full, especially as to the periods that precede the fifth century, of stories which are amusing and instructive as to the ideas of his contemporaries, but of no historical value, at any rate in the strict sense of “historical.” Gyges and Periander, Psammetichus and Amasis are real persons; but they had become to the Greeks the centre of a cloud of fable, in which the real facts were obscured, if not lost.

The tendency to throw character into a story was an innate part of Greek dramatic genius.<sup>68</sup> It has been well said that the beginnings of the Greek novel are to be found in H., but interesting as this is from the literary point of view, the fact impairs the historical value of H.

(3) H.’s lack of a chronological framework involves him in inconsistencies, especially as to the sixth century. Owing to the absence of this, the historical

perspective of his story is frequently distorted. The most famous instance is the story of Solon and Croesus (i. 29 seq.); for others cf. app. xiv, § 6.

(4) Finally, H. was himself conscious that his criteria of truth were deficient. Hence the principle so definitely laid down by him in vii. 152. 3 ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαί γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω; this is repeated in ii. 123. 1 in different words. He himself gives this maxim a general application to his whole history, and emphasizes it by a curious antithetical style, very unlike his usual phraseology. The failure to remember this principle has often led to H. being charged with credulity, where he himself was incredulous (e.g., by Sayce, p. 28, as to ii. 29). But the meaning of the maxim has <p. 36> been entirely distorted in Nitzsch's<sup>69</sup> famous article, where it is maintained that H. did not venture to modify or blend different λόγοι, but set them down side by side regardless of their inconsistency. This theory makes H. a mere scissors-and-paste historian; but it is clear that he did his best to compare and combine, though naturally he was not always successful in uniting divergent traditions.

## § 29

**Success of the history of Herodotus.** The history of H. seems to have taken at once a leading place in Greek literature. Apart from the parodies of Aristophanes (cf. i. 4. 2 n.), which are good proof how familiar it was to an Athenian audience, the attitude of Thucydides is sufficient evidence. That the historian of the Peloponnesian War did not like his predecessor is clear;<sup>70</sup> it is also pretty clear that he underestimated him; but he wrote his own history to continue that of H., taking up the story at the capture of Sestos. Perhaps it was a literary fashion to write down predecessors; Hecataeus certainly did it, and H. in his turn depreciated Hecataeus. We have evidence of the same fact in the next generation; Ctesias, the Cnidian physician at the court of Persia,<sup>71</sup> wrote his *Persica*, professedly from native records, to contradict H., whom he calls ψεύστης καὶ λογοποιός. There may well have been some personal motive (they both came from Greek towns in Caria) to explain <p. 37> the virulence of Ctesias' mendacious attack. On the other hand, Xenophon pays H. the compliment of imitating his phrases.<sup>72</sup>

It is not necessary to illustrate the use of H. by Ephorus, Aeneas Tacticus, and others in the fourth century. It is sufficient to quote the great authority of Aristotle, who not only quotes H. seven times by name, but refers to him frequently without naming him, both in his works on natural history (cf. p. 25), and in his account of Athenian history in the *Ath. Pol.*

The fame of H. has continued to be a battle-ground ever since, wherever classical literature has been studied. Manetho,<sup>73</sup> the Egyptian priest, in the third century B.C., accused him of having πολλὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτιακῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον; Lucian, in his *Vera Historia*, puts him, with Ctesias and many others, among those who suffer the severest punishments in the Isle of the Wicked, because they did not write the truth. (*Ver. Hist.* ii. chap. 31; ii. p. 127.)

The reputation of H. has survived all these attacks; but his greatest admirers would admit that certain points have been fully established against him; these must now be stated. It is natural to speak first of the attacks on his impartiality.

### § 30

**The impartiality of Herodotus.** (1) *The Persians*. His general equity and candour should never have been questioned, though some critics have attributed to him the "malignity" exhibited in their own censure. A striking proof may be found in his fairness to foreigners and to enemies; he is free from the ordinary Greek contempt for barbarians; he extols the maritime and engineering skill of the Phoenicians (vii. 23. 3, 44, 99. 3), the monuments of Egypt and Babylon (i. 93. 2), the natural products of the ends of the earth (iii. 106–14). He derives the Greek alphabet from Phoenicia <p. 38> (v. 58), and coinage from Lydia (i. 94), measurement of time from Babylon (ii. 109. 3), and exaggerates the debt of Greece to Egypt (see § 26) and to Africa (iv. 180, 189). This freedom from national prejudice shows itself in his generous estimate of the Persians; he emphasizes their truth (i. 136. 2, 138. 1) and devoted loyalty (iii. 128. 4, 154f.; viii. 118. 3) and ascribes their defeat to inferiority in arms and discipline, not to lack of valour (ix. 62. 3). Even the Greek retainers of the great king, Demaratus and Artemisia, are depicted as counsellors whose foresight is justified by events (vii. 101f., 234f.; viii. 68f., 101f.).

(2) *The Greeks generally*. If Herodotus recognizes the merits of the enemy, he is equally clear-sighted in refusing to see a hero in every professed patriot. For this he has been bitterly attacked by Plutarch,<sup>74</sup> whose main thesis is that any stain on the fame of those who saved Hellas from the barbarian must be due to the "malignity" of the historian. No doubt Plutarch detects certain errors in Herodotus, and adds from his reading facts of value, but this unsound principle vitiates his whole method. He rejects any hint that the policy of Sparta was selfish or calculating (cf. chaps. 22, 25 with H. iii. 47, vi. 108), or that Argos was open to censure (chap. 28; cf. H. vii. 139 and below). Although Plutarch makes one or two good points against the treatment of Thebes and Corinth in H. (see below), yet the absurd accusation that he is too modest in his praise of Athens, diminishing the glory of Marathon by underestimating the number of the slain, and of Artemisium by representing it as a drawn battle, shows us the worthlessness of the critic's <p. 39> judgement. H. exercised discretion in recognizing the dissensions by which Greece was torn, and in rejecting the extravagant claims of local patriotism; the *De Malignitate*, in fact, is valuable if indirect testimony to H.'s good sense and fairness.

(3) *The Corinthians*. But if H. is not blinded by the glamour of patriotism, he does not wholly escape the influence of the political sympathies of his own day.<sup>75</sup> He felt warm gratitude to the cities which gave him a home, Samos and Athens, and at these he learned many of the traditions embodied in his work. His very simplicity predisposed him to place a ready confidence in his authorities and to accept as trustworthy the stories and beliefs current among the men with whom

he lived. This leads him to palliate the treachery of the Samians at Lade (vi. 13), and, more frequently, to become the mirror of Athenian prejudice. Among the states that fought at Salamis Corinth played no inglorious part, as was admitted on all hands (cf. viii. 94 nn.), and H. records this; yet he represents the Corinthian admiral, Adimantus, as having to be bribed by Themistocles to fight at Artemisium (viii. 5. 2), and also as his chief opponent in the Greek councils of war. But these dramatic scenes seem to owe their origin to a misinterpretation of the purpose of Themistocles' message to Xerxes, which was not to compel the Greek, but to induce the Persian, to give battle in the Straits of Salamis (cf. app. xxi, § 2). It would seem that Adimantus, whose pride in the part he played in the war is proved by the names of his children, as well as by his epitaph and other inscriptions (Plut. *De Mal.* 39), has had to suffer in the Attic tradition for the sins against Athens of his son Aristeas, who took a leading part in stirring up the Peloponnesian war (cf. vii. 137. 3 n.).

(4) *Thebes*. Yet more striking are the differences in the measure meted out to states that favoured the Mede. Thebes <p. 40> is assailed with peculiar bitterness. If she sends four hundred men to Thermopylae, they go and stay only under compulsion (vii. 222); though they surrender at the first opportunity, they are by Xerxes' orders branded as slaves (cf. 233. 2 n.). This curious method of encouraging partisans of Persia must surely be an invention of Attic spite (Plut. *De Mal.* 31, 33), sharpened by the (probably mistaken) tradition that the Theban leader at Thermopylae was Leontiades, father of the man who opened the Peloponnesian war by attacking Plataea. Nor will H. accept the plea, later urged by the Thebans, that their Medism was the work of a narrow clique (Thuc. iii. 62), not of the whole people; he makes the oligarchic leader (ix. 87) Timagenidas declare that the whole state Medized, and insists on the zeal of the Thebans for the Persians (ix. 40, 67).

(5) *Argos and Thessaly*. But with the faults of Thessaly and Argos H. deals tenderly; they had joined hands with Athens in 461 B.C., and might do so again.<sup>76</sup> Unquestionably the Thessalian princes had been foremost in inviting Persian intervention (vii. 6. 2, 130. 3; ix. 1), and the whole people had gone over when Xerxes reached their borders. Yet in their case H. admits a plea not allowed the Thebans; the betrayal of Greece is ascribed to the nobles alone, the people do but submit to necessity when the Greeks, by refusing to defend Tempe, surrender Thessaly to the Persian (vii. 172. 1, ix. 1). Yet more remarkable is the case of Argos. The Argives warned Mardonius of Pausanias' march against him (ix. 12. 2); indeed, their neutrality was, under the circumstances, a proof of Medism (viii. 73. 3). Yet H. inclines to accept the Argive apology, with its insistence on gloomy oracles and on the unjust claims of Sparta to hegemony (vii. 148.4), though the <p. 41> common report spread through Hellas, that Argos was in alliance with Xerxes, was confirmed by the reception accorded later by Artaxerxes to the Argive embassy at Susa (vii. 150. 1).

Yet though H. according to his principle (see § 28) records the pleas for Argos current at Athens, he does not conceal his opinion that the dealings of Argos with the Mede were a stain on the city's honour, only palliated by the misdoings of others (vii. 152, viii. 73). Nor does he paint the Thebans wholly black; he praises the valour of their horsemen at Plataea (ix. 67–9), and records a striking instance of self-sacrificing patriotism in their leader Timagenidas (ix. 87. 2). To the Corinthians moreover, except Adimantus, he is in general favourable; twice they foil unjust Spartan projects for the enslavement of Athens (v. 75, 92), once they reconcile Athens and Thebes (vi. 108. 6); in the Persian war they contribute large contingents both to the fleet (viii. 1. 1, 43) and army (ix. 28. 3), and at Mycale behave with distinguished gallantry (ix. 105).

(6) *Athens*. Herodotus does not wholly surrender his judgement to Athenian prejudices. He surely does right in extolling the "freedom" which encouraged her citizens to devote their whole energies to her service (v. 78), and in defending their claim to be considered the saviours of Hellas (vii. 139. 2 n.) Some exaggeration of their valour at Marathon (vi. 112. 3), heightened by contrast with the slowness of Sparta (viii. 40. 2; ix. 7), is easily pardoned. The most elaborate lauds of Athens (vii. 161. 3; ix. 27) would seem to be a reminiscence of the funeral orations in the Ceramicus,<sup>77</sup> and are suitably put into the mouth of Attic orators. But H. does not hesitate to censure as well as to praise; he represents the Athenian people as suffering tyranny gladly, and as gulled by the childish fraud of Pisistratus (i. 60. 3), or the glib tongue of Aristagoras (v. 97. 2); he condemns their cruelty to the Persian heralds (vii. 133. 2), and implicitly their retention of the Aeginetan hostages (vi. 86); he <p. 42> tells us that Athens set the example of appealing to Persia (v. 73), and admits that up to the day of Marathon there were waverers in her army and traitors within her walls (vi. 109. 5, 115 nn.).

### § 31

**Alcmaeonid tradition in Herodotus.** This recognition of Athenian shortcomings may be due in part to divergent traditions drawn by H. from the records of the two great rival houses, the Alcmaeonidae and the Philidae. The triumph of democracy and the ascendancy of Pericles had favoured the prevalence of the Alcmaeonid tradition, which is in the main followed. In two points, at least, it would seem to have led him into error; the attempt to clear the house of the guilt incurred by Megacles in the slaughter of Cylon's partisans, leads to a falsification of the early history of the Athenian constitution (cf. v. 71. 2 n.), and the supposed disproof of Alcmaeonid treachery at the time of Marathon will not bear examination (vi. 121f. n., app. xviii, § 6). Yet H. does not always accept the Alcmaeonid tradition; the victories of Cimon over the Mede had kept the memory of the Philaid Miltiades green, so that the stories<sup>78</sup> of his attempt to rid Hellas of the Persian king at the bridge (iv. 137), of the taking of Lemnos (vi. 136), and above all of the crowning glory at Marathon, have their place in the history of H.

*The character of Themistocles.* Both of these noble houses, Whig and Tory, united against the upstart democrat Themistocles (vii. 143. 1), and unless the almost unanimous verdict of antiquity is rejected, he was his own worst enemy by his vanity (Plut. *Them.* 22) and his greed (ibid. 25 ad fin.). Accordingly we find H. somewhat unfavourable to the most brilliant of Athenian statesmen. The creation of the great navy, and the plan of fighting at sea, could not be denied him, but the final resolve to fight at Salamis is ascribed (in part) to the advice of Mnesiphilus (viii. 57 n.), and the glory of the victory <p. 43> is dimmed by the victor's attempt to secure himself a refuge at the Persian court (viii. 109. 5). In fine, the ambition of a great leader is represented as mere self-seeking, his cleverness as cunning (viii. 110), while his greed for gain is exaggerated (viii. 4, 5, 112) and emphasized by contrast with the uprightness of Aristides. Thucydides does not deny the moral failings of Themistocles, but he has a juster appreciation of his originality as a statesman (i. 138).

We may sum up that, if now and then there are traces of malice and calumny in the work of H., they come from an over-faithful reproduction of the stories told him, and not from any native malignity; his own judgements are just and even generous; the bent of his mind is towards excess rather than defect of charity.

The question of the impartiality of H. is largely a moral one; the criticisms on his intellectual failings may be more briefly stated; four of these must be emphasized.

## § 32

**Intellectual defects in Herodotus.** (1) *His history is too theological.* It is written, at any rate in part, to point a moral, and is a sermon on the text, "pride goeth before a fall." His general views on religion will be discussed later; here it may be said that in his case the religious machinery is not, as with Livy's<sup>79</sup> "prodigies," a mere ornament introduced when any striking point is to be emphasized; it is essential to the narrative. And it is necessary to point out that H. is a man of his time, a contemporary of the pious Nicias and of the men who went mad at the mutilation of the Hermae. Moreover, the very nature of his sources (see p. 31) made emphasis of immediate divine action inevitable. When his evidence is good, H. is not afraid to suggest an alternative explanation for the accredited miracles of his day (cf. vii. 189. 3, 191. 2); but the fact remains that with H. the philosophy of history is wholly theological. <p. 44>

(2) *Fondness for the marvellous.* The second charge against H. is that he has a foolish fondness for the marvellous; even in his own day this was obviously a joke against him,<sup>80</sup> and it has always been so; he was certainly in Juvenal's mind when he wrote "Quidquid Graecia mendax Audet in historia" (Sat. x. 174). This charge is of course true, especially in the matter of numbers; H.'s estimate of the Persian army (vii. 185-6) is hopeless.<sup>81</sup> It is true that nothing is so difficult to estimate as the numbers of a crowd or an army, and figures to the ordinary man have little meaning or importance; but H.'s mistake is a deliberate one; though it does not invalidate his testimony as to the facts of the Persian war, it must always remain a

serious count against him as a historian. And, indeed, it must be frankly stated that H.'s attitude to the world of history and of nature is like that of the Elizabethan navigators. He and they had seen so many marvels which were real that they were quite prepared to accept other marvels on hearsay, which the superior knowledge of later times has shown not to be real. But modern science is much kinder to H. in this matter than was the "critical" attitude of the early Victorian scholars; Mure spends many pages (iv. 382–92) in enumerating the marvels of H., and concludes: "it could hardly fail that a man who believed such stories, would become the butt of humorous or malicious persons"; yet some of the very stories that he quotes with contempt are now used by anthropologists like Tylor and Westermarck as most valuable materials for reconstructing the primitive history of mankind.

(3) *Contradictions in the history.* Little need be said as to the contradictions in the work of H., of which some critics make much. They are bound to exist in a work drawn <p. 45> from many sources and written at many times and in many places; but their importance has been much exaggerated. The best known instance is perhaps vi. 112. 3. H. here is writing dramatically; he means just what Creasy<sup>82</sup> means when he writes: "(Marathon) broke the spell of Persian invincibility, which had paralysed men's minds"; neither statement is literally true; both give a correct impression. (Cf. also viii. 132. 3 n. and i. 71, contrasted with i. 126. 3–5.)

(4) *Failure to appreciate real causes of events.* The last and most serious charge that is brought against the work of H. is his weakness in tracing the real relation of events; he continually confuses the mere occasion and the cause<sup>83</sup>; he has nothing of the greatness of Aristotle, who knows that (*Pol.* v. 4. 1, 1303b) γίγνονται αἰστάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων. Hence H. is always laying stress on personal activity and motive, and understands little of the great movements of which persons are only the expression. The best instance perhaps is his treatment of Cleisthenes, the Athenian legislator (cf. v. 69 nn.); the measures which founded the first true democracy are put down to imitation of a maternal grandfather! It is only necessary to compare Aristotle's penetrating analysis of the same facts (*Pol.* vi. 4. 19, 1319b), an analysis as illuminating for modern Reform Bills as for ancient, to see the difference between the insight of the real historian and the uncertain vision of the childhood of history. Similarly the chief battles of the Persian war dissolve away into a series of isolated combats and romantic incidents, because H. has little grasp of tactics or strategy, though he appreciates two great causes of the Persians' defeat—the inferior arms of the land troops (vii. 211. 2; ix. 62. 3) and the overcrowding and consequent confusion in the fleet (viii. 16. 2, 86). <p. 46>

In fact, with H. everything is personal; this is illustrated by the dramatic way in which he tells his story. To him is first due the custom which prevailed so long in history, both ancient and modern, of putting imaginary speeches in the mouths of real persons. Such a method was natural to a Greek trained on poetry; it says

much for the conservatism of mankind that it prevailed so long after the conditions of its origin had disappeared.

### § 33

**Merits of Herodotus' history.** But to recognize H.'s weakness on this point is only to say that history with him was not born complete and at once. It may be claimed with confidence that his merits far outweigh his defects. Three points must be insisted on :

(1) As has been said, he really does attempt to test various kinds of evidence and to estimate their degrees of value. This is the foundation of history. Perhaps Hecataeus had done this before him; he certainly seems to adopt a critical attitude in the well-known opening of his history: τάδε γράφω ὡς μοι ἀληθέα δοκῆει εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοί τε καὶ γελοῖοι (frag. 332); but how far this claim was justified, we do not know. All we do know is that H. is the first writer who has survived to give us real history.

(2) Even if in this he were anticipated by Hecataeus, his second merit is all his own; he is the first to construct a long and elaborate narrative, in which many parts are combined in due subordination and arrangement to make one great whole. This is well brought out by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his contrast between H. and Thucydides (*Pomp.* chap. 3; vi. 774): συμβέβηκε τῷ μὲν (Thucydides) μίαν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντι, πολλὰ ποιῆσαι μέρη τὸ ἔσῶμα· τῷ δὲ (H.) τὰς πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκυίας ὑποθέσεις προελομένῳ σύμφωνον ἔσῶμα πεποιηκέναι; the whole comparison is worth reading, whatever we may think of the critic's preference for the elder historian. The elaborate structure of H.'s work and the skillful parallelism between its <p. 47> various parts have never been better shown than in Macan's analyses.

(3) So far we have dealt with H.'s claims on the student of history in the strict sense. But it is for another reason that the world generally values him most highly; he is one of the great story-tellers of mankind; to him, as to Tacitus or to Macaulay, all can be forgiven, for they are never dull. This gift looks the easiest of all for a historian; it is in reality the rarest. And in his case the merit is all the greater because he was a pioneer; to quote Dionysius again (*Thuc.* chap. 23; vi. 865), H. first gave prose the attractiveness of poetry, παρεσκεύασε τῇ κρατίστη ποιήσει τὴν πεζὴν φράσιν ὁμοίαν γενέσθαι.

### § 34

**Herodotus as a portrayer of character.** It is needless to illustrate the charm of his narrative. In his character sketches, however, the success is rather artistic than scientific. Often he shows inconsistency in his judgements; for instance, he never determines whether Cambyses and Cleomenes were insane by nature and throughout their lives, or were visited with madness as a punishment for impiety. Even of Xerxes H. does not give us a comprehensive judgement: he brings out individual traits, but does not combine them into a character. Xerxes shows a royal

liberality to those who have done him service (vii. 29. 2), a royal mercy to captured spies (vii. 146. 3), and surrendered heralds (vii. 136. 2). He recognizes the loyalty of those who give him frank (e.g., Artemisia, viii. 69; Demaratus, vii. 237), if unpalatable, advice; and though unable to brook opposition (vii. 11. 1), will after reflection apologize for his anger (vii. 13. 2) and acknowledge his error. But there is a dark side to the character of this typical sultan; his pretended courage (vii. 50. 1) fails him under defeat (viii. 103. 1); if he listens to the advice of counsellors, he never follows it unless it agrees with his own inclination. In spite of a fear of the supernatural (vii. 191. 2, 197. 4), which drives him even to human sacrifice (vii. 114. 1), he cannot refrain from insults to the gods (vii. 35. 2). Oriental barbarities <p. 48> are sparingly recorded (vii. 35, 38. 9), but there is no reason to doubt that incest and murder stained the Persian, like other Eastern courts (ix. 107). Rather it is to be feared that the noble traits in the character are fictitious; certainly the scenes where H. carries psychological portraiture furthest, the interviews with Artabanus and with Demaratus, are most open to suspicion; here if anywhere we have to do with dramatic invention, not tradition.<sup>84</sup>

Characters more remote from the historian's day are painted with a yet freer hand. In the case of Croesus, a certain epic unity had been given the tradition before it reached H.; he, in his interview with Solon, shows the overweening pride of a barbarian, but his sorrows teach him wisdom. Yet the change of character does not involve inconsistency; there is a trace of the old pride in his longing to taunt Apollo with perfidy, just as the later nobler Croesus is revealed in his forgiveness of Adrastus for his son's death. But this unity is not the result of adherence to historic fact, but rather the work of creative imagination.

### § 35

**Herodotus' theological attitude.** But it may well be said that literary art with H. is largely a means of religious teaching. The history of nations is but the grand stage on which may be seen the workings of Divine Providence. That H. was not unaffected by the questioning spirit of his age has been noticed above; he says that the whole scheme of the Greek Pantheon is the work of the poets (ii. 53. 2); he also seems to contrast Greek anthropomorphism unfavourably with Persian nature-worship (i. 131. 1), and he sees its impure elements, e.g., the rites of Dionysus (ii. 49, 1; iv. 79). But all this rationalistic criticism does not lead him to deny either the existence of the gods or their intervention in human affairs. Their appearance on earth is rare (vi. 105. 1), but the indication of their will by dreams, omens, and oracles is frequent and <p. 49> incontestable (viii. 77). The historian frankly craves pardon for anything that may seem to detract from the honour of the gods (ii. 45. 3).

### § 36

**His religious pessimism.** But while the manifestations of divine power are almost as frequent in H. as in Homer, the gods are further removed from men; there is more unity, less personal caprice, in their action. H. does not find it easy to trace

the principles of divine rule; in this he differs from the thinkers of the preceding generation, who had boldly "justified the ways of God to men"; every play of Aeschylus is a complete theodicy; but H. shares the half-conscious pessimism of the masses, who could not rise to the ethical conceptions of Aeschylus and Pindar, and who were oppressed by the apparent injustice of the world, by the riddles of life. H. then resigns himself to accept facts which are beyond mortal comprehension. In Nature, indeed, God appears as a principle of order (ii. 52.1), and Providence is kindly in the balance it maintains (iii. 108. 2), but this very principle of balance presses hard on the individual man. The doctrine of Nemesis is set forth in the story of Croesus in its crudest form; God will have none exalted but himself.<sup>85</sup>

It may seem strange that the piety of H. did not revolt from such a view of the Deity. But we must remember that while mere prosperity did in itself provoke divine jealousy, yet as a rule it was accompanied by pride and presumption (cf. i. 32. 1 nn., i. 34. 1), and frequently by guilt, personal or inherited (i. 91.1). And in the most striking cases, those of Croesus and Xerxes, the application of the doctrine had been already accepted by his countrymen as a historic fact. In these parts of his narrative (bks. i and vii–ix), H. uses the stronger and more human words φθόνος and νέμεσις, but vaguer and more abstract <p. 50> expressions, such as τίσις and δίκη in the story of the Scythian expedition or of the Ionian revolt.<sup>86</sup>

H., like Sophocles, saw that in this world the innocent suffer as well as the guilty, and refused to explain away what was inexplicable. Hence in both writers there is a profound sadness,<sup>87</sup> due not to weariness of life, but to a sense of the limitations of man's lot. In Periclean Athens there was still that religious faith which alone can produce great art, but it had lost the triumphant certainty of Aeschylus, and had not yet been re-established by Socrates and Plato.

*The doctrine of Nemesis.* The doctrine of Nemesis profoundly affected the history of H., it supplied a theological solution for moral and political problems, and so often prevented him from seeing the real springs of events. Thus he cannot be accounted a scientific or philosophical historian. His credulous piety, his love of anecdote and romance, his inaccuracy in statistics and chronology, above all, his lack of military knowledge and of political insight, made it impossible for him to forestall Thucydides. Yet if H. is something less than a historian he is also far more. He is the prince of biographers and story-tellers, he is a great geographer, and a still greater anthropologist. In spite of many mistakes in details, his panorama of the ancient civilization (bks. i–iii), and of the more primitive barbarism (bk. iv) of the world, remains among the most instructive as well as the most delightful of histories. If his account of the Persian wars is permeated with patriotic and religious feeling, yet we gain from its warmth and colour a deeper insight into the heart and mind of Hellas than if we had only the cold dry light of criticism to guide us. And throughout, the broad sympathies and the sterling honesty of an indefatigable seeker after truth more than compensate for defects in critical

acumen. To none of his many successors does History in the largest sense owe more than to its founder and father, Herodotus.

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### **Notes**

[Two additional notes were appended to the introduction in the print edition of 1928. The first of these is here integrated into note 33 below, and the second is integrated into the text at the end of § 13.]

1. Suidas' Lexicon contains notices of events as late as the eleventh century A.D., but no doubt much of it is far earlier in date.
2. *Noctes Atticae* 15. 23, on the authority of Pamphila, a learned lady of the time of Nero. Diels (*R.M.* 1876, xxxi. 1 seq.) argues that this and other literary dates probably depend on the calculations of Apollodorus, who reckoned a man's birth forty years before some famous event in his life. So H.'s birth (p. 49) is calculated from the foundation of Thurii (444–443 B.C.); Thucydides' (471 B.C.) from the beginning of the Peloponnesian War; that of Thales (624 B.C.) from the eclipse of 585. The argument is ingenious, but mainly important as emphasizing the fact that Greek chronology, especially so far as it concerns private persons, has always been a matter of calculation, not of definite record.
3. The two contemporary inscriptions of Halicarnassus (cf. Hicks, No. 27) are Ionic, not Doric (cf. i. 144. 3 n.). H., moreover, wrote his history in Ionic, because it was the established literary prose medium of his time; his contemporary, Hippocrates of Cos, also a Dorian, did the same. Hence his language is called by Hermogenes (*De Gen. Dic.* ii. 12) Ἴδς ποικίλη, i.e., it was a literary blend of the various Ionic dialects (for which cf. i. 142, 3, 4); it became, owing to the success of his work, Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανών (Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* chap. 3, vii. 775).
4. But cf. i. 1 n. Some have conjectured a relative of H. in "Herodotus the son of Basilides" (viii. 132. 2). But the name is a common one; Bähr (iv. 401–3) makes a list of about twenty.
5. Cf. the similar compromise at Cyrene, iv. 161–3.
6. Stein (pp. iii, ix) dates these 468–467, because the seventy-eighth Olympiad is mentioned in Suidas as important in the life of Panyasis, and Euseb. *Chron.* writes (under the year 468) Ἡρόδοτος Ἀλικαρνησσεύς ἱστοριογράφος ἐγνωρίζετο.
7. For the discussion of crucial instances as to H.'s veracity cf. his statements about Chaldea (i. 178 seq. nn.), and about Elephantine (ii. 29 nn.); it may be added at once that a belief in it does not imply a belief in his accuracy. The chief modern assailant of H. is Professor Sayce (*H.* i–iii. 1883). For answers to this attack cf. *Edinburgh Review*, April 1884 (Sir R. Jebb), and A. Croiset in *REG* vol. i (1888).
8. For the evidence cf. app. ix, § 1.
9. Duncker connects the visit to Scythia with the expedition of Pericles to the Pontus, perhaps in 444 B.C. (cf. Busolt, iii. 585). As H. makes not the shadow of an allusion to Athenians in the Pontus, the suggestion can hardly be called happy.
10. The MSS. read Ἀμύντα, and this seems to agree better with the following words, "in the times of Euripides and Sophocles."
11. *FHG* ii. 360, quoted by Plut. *De Mal.* chap. 26. This is obviously the origin of the fiction of Dio Chrys. *Or.* 37 (p. 456) that H. "rewrote" his history of the behaviour of the Corinthians at Salamis (cf. viii. 94 nn.) because the Corinthians would not "buy reputation" by paying him. A similar fiction is the legend that H. was

offended by not being allowed to open a school at Thebes (Plut. *ibid.* chap. 31). H.'s recitations have also given rise to the famous legend of his triumph at Olympia, when (Lucian, *Her.* 1–2) he recited his works to assembled Greece, became “better known than the Olympic winners,” and won the title of the Nine Muses for his books. Suidas (s.v. Θουκυδίδης) improves on this by making the boy Thucydides moved to tears, and complimented by H. because ὀργᾶ ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα. There is an amusing confutation of the whole story in Mure, *Gk. Lit.* iv. 258 seq.

12. Meyer (F. i. 200) rejects it as a false combination, and puts the date of the grant to H. about 430. His reason for this is that it was proposed by Anytus, whom he identifies with the accuser of Socrates; “his admiration for H. corresponds to his persecution of Socrates.” This is ingenious though not convincing; but Meyer’s further conjecture that “H. may have served Athens diplomatically, perhaps in negotiation with Persia,” is mere guessing of a most unlikely kind. The extravagant figure of “ten talents” weakens the value of the evidence of Diyllus.

13. Plut. *Mor.* 785, *An seni sit Resp. gerenda*, chap. 3.

14. The most important are between iii. 119. 6 and *Ant.* 904 seq.; and ii. 35. 2 and *O.C.* 337–41; cf. also i. 32. 5 and *O.T.* 1530; iv. 95. 4 and *El.* 62–4; i 31. 4, vii. 46. 3–4 and *O.C.* 1225 seq.

15. For the dates and for the importance of Zopyrus cf. iii. 160. 2 nn. and *JHS* xxvii, “The Persian friends of H.”

16. Hauvette ingeniously maintains the contrary (pp. 47 seq.) but he is not convincing.

17. These are, chronologically arranged,

(1) The attack of the Thebans on Plataea under Eurymachus in 431 (vii. 233. 2).

(2) The expulsion of the Aeginetans at the end of 431 (vi. 91. 1).

(3) The sparing of Decelea in the wasting of Attica (431 or 430) (ix. 73. 3).

(4) The execution of Aristetas and the Lacedaemonian envoys in 430 (vii. 137. 3).

The general reference to the evils due to the rivalry of the leading Greek states (vi. 98. 2) might have been written before the Peace of 445 and in any place.

18. Thuc. iv. 57. H. must surely have mentioned this in vi. 91 had he heard of it. It has been inferred from his language in vii. 235. 2 that he knew of Nicias' occupation of Cythera in 424 B.C. But this passage has also been taken to prove the exact contrary—and this is the more probable view.

19. The view that H. lived till the last decade of the fifth century is now generally given up. The best statement of it is in Mure, iv. 538–47. It is based on the facts referred to in i. 130. 2 and iii. 15. 3 (cf. ii. 140. 2) and on the wording of vi. 98. 2, vii. 137. 3, ix. 73. 3 (see nn.).

20. Plin. *H.N.* xii. 4. 18 “urbis nostrae CCCXmo anno auctor ille eam condidit Thuriis”; the exact date is amusing.

21. References are to 2nd ed., published 1878.

22. Other instances are i. 192. 3; ii. 156. 6, 177. 2.

23. As H. in iv. 159 does fulfill (though not very satisfactorily, see nn.) a promise given in ii. 161. 3, Kirchhoff's supposed lapses of memory on his part are only partial.

24. vi. 121–31 is also brought by Kirchhoff (somewhat arbitrarily) into connection with Pericles' condemnation in 430 B.C. (p. 46).

25. *Die Entstehung des Herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*, Vienna, 1878.

26. For this unpopularity cf. Suidas and H.'s epitaph (ut sup.).

27. It is not only that they are described by the addition of their patronymic; this might be done for emphasis, e.g., Pausanias gets this distinction as late as ix. 64. 1; but, to take one instance out of many, Demaratus' past is summarized (vii. 3. 1) in a way which seems needless if bk. vi had been already written.

28. eg., ii. 148. 2 and iii. 60. 4 (as to Heraeum), i. 105. 1 and ii. 157 (as to Psammetichus), i. 3–4 and ii. 118 (as to Helen), ii. 164 and ix. 32. 1 (as to warrior castes of Egypt).

29. Hence it is impossible to conclude anything from cross references, e.g., in iii. 80. 1 and vi. 43. 3. That H. was referring to criticisms on his own work seems certain (though Bauer (p. 11) has the improbable theory that H. is censuring the incredulity of other writers as to a source common to himself and to them); but the criticism may well have been evoked by his own recitations.

30. A similar attitude may be traced elsewhere, e.g., iv. 36. 2, 95–6; but it is not nearly so marked as in bk. ii; in this book, however, the contrast between Greece and Egypt (chaps. 35–6) gave especial reason for it.

31. The repetitions in ii. 1 and iii. 1 look very like an attempt to piece together independent works.

32. pp. xlv–lxvii (1908).

33. Ibid. pp. lii–liii. [*Note.* — These are the events subsequent to the capture of Sestos mentioned in books vii–ix, with dates:

1. Transfer of naval hegemony to Athens (478), viii. 3.
2. Story of Masistes (478 ?), ix. 108 seq.
3. Capture of Eion (476), vii. 107.
4. Expulsion of Persians from Thrace (Doriscus is not taken till after, at earliest, 465), vii. 106.
5. Defeat of Tarentines by Iapygians (473), vii. 170.
- 6 and 7. Battles of Tegea and Dipaeis (between 473 and 470), ix. 35.
8. Death of Hermolycus in the war of Carystus (ca. 470), ix. 105.
9. Flight of Themistocles to Persia (466), viii. 109.
10. Expulsion of Micythus from Rhegium (466), vii. 170.
11. Death of Sophanes at Datum (465), ix. 75.
12. Third Messenian War (464), ix. 35, 64.
13. Death of Achaemenes in Egypt (460), vii. 7.
14. Capture of Halieis (Between 460 and 455), vii. 137.
15. Battle of Tanagra (457), ix. 35.
16. Peace of Callias (ca. 448), vii. 151.
17. Death of Amestris (ca. 430), vii. 114.
18. Theban attack on Plataea (431), vii. 233.
19. Sparing of Decelea (431), ix. 73.
20. Execution of Lacedaemonian ambassadors (430), vii. 137.

It will be obvious that many of these dates are only approximate.

This note has been based on Macan (1908) p. li, but neither his exact dates nor his order has been altogether followed. He collects some fifteen other passages in these books, in which reference is made to rewards or punishments on the Greek or the Persian side, and to monuments commemorating those who fell in the war. But it is obvious that these prove nothing as to the date of writing books vii–ix; they could only have been mentioned in these books, whether written first or last.]

34. Cf. ii. 81. 123 and iv. 95–6 nn.
35. *Sitz. Berl. Acad.* 1885, 301 seq.
36. It must be admitted, too, that viii. 137 is a very meagre fulfillment of v. 22. 1; contrast i. 75. 1, carried out in 107 seq., and other instances.
37. Kirchhoff thinks it would have formed part of the story of Leotyichides in Thessaly ca. 476 B.C.; but H. actually tells this in vi. 72, without a hint that he intends to tell it more fully later.
38. This seems to be H.'s own point of view. The campaign of 478 is περί τῆς ἐκείνου (Πέροου) viii. 3. 2.
39. For H. cf. ix. 64. 2, the Messenian rebellion of 464 B.C. is μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά: for Thuc. cf. i. 18. 3, 23. 1. Meyer, *F.* i. 189 seq., argues convincingly for H.'s work being finished.
40. Cf. shortly Rawlinson, i. 8–11, or more fully Bähr, iv. 423–33; for Asia cf. the special study by Matzat (*Herm.* vi. 392 seq.).
41. It is interesting to note, however, that in the majority of passages where H. uses these or similar phrases he admittedly speaks as an eyewitness; such are i. 52, 66. 4, 92. 1, 93. 2 (?), Thebes, Tegea, Delphi, the tomb of Alyattes; ii. 154. 5, the docks at Bubastis; v. 77. 3, Athens. In two other cases this would be admitted by the majority of critics: i. 181. 2, Babylon; ii. 181. 5, Cyrene. In two cases the phrase ἔτι ἐς ἐμέ refers to what H. can hardly have seen: iv. 124. 1, the forts on the Oarus; iv. 204. 1, as to Bactria.
42. It would be very interesting if it could be assumed with safety that the vase bearing the name "Herodotus," found at Naucratis in 1903, was dedicated by the historian (*JHS* xxv. 116).
43. Some have seen a difficulty in H.'s travels through the Persian Empire, because he had attacked his native prince, who was a dependent of the Great King. They postpone his oriental travels, therefore, till after 450 B.C., in order that the traveller may at any rate have the advantage of the "Peace of Callias." But there were far too many Greeks in the Persian service all through, for any Greek to have difficulty in Asia Minor, in Syria, or even at Susa itself.
44. Cf. Mure, iv. 558 seq., for a list of parallels. Perhaps even more striking is the use of the Epic machinery; cf. Macan (1908) xlvi. Longinus (*de Subl.* 13. 3) well calls H. "Ὀμηρικώτατος" along with Archilochus and Plato.
45. He denies the Homeric authorship of the *Cypria* confidently (ii. 117), of the *Epigoni* doubtfully (iv. 32). He quotes Hesiod (*ibid.*), Olen (iv. 35. 3), Archilochus (i. 12. 2) Alcaeus (v. 95. 2), Sappho (ii. 135. 6), Solon (v. 113. 2), Aristaeus (iv. 13), Simonides (v. 102. 5), Pindar (iii. 38. 4), Phrynichus (vi. 21. 2), Aeschylus (ii. 156. 6), not to mention oracle-writers like Musaeus, Bacis, and Lysistratus (all in viii. 96). He also mentions Aesop (ii. 134. 3), Anacreon (iii. 121. 1) and Lasus (vii. 6. 3).
46. For a similar confident verdict cf. ii. 156. 6.

47. For H.'s obligations to the *Persae* cf. Hauvette, pp. 125–6.
48. *JP* v. 224; Paley even denies that Thucydides had seen the work of H.
49. Cf. Macan (1908) pp. lxxiii seq.
50. Dionysius belongs to the first century B.C., Hermogenes to the second century A.D., Porphyry to the third.
51. So Galen twice over says (e.g., *Hippoc. de Nat. Hom.* xv. 109) that under the Alexandrine and Pergamene dynasties (i.e. the third and second centuries B.C.) forgeries of works bearing famous names became profitable and common. The Letters of Phalaris is an instance which should be familiar to every Englishman, from Macaulay's essay on Temple.
52. Frag. 4, *FHG* i. 32. Charon also (frag. 3) mentioned the disaster of Mardonius at Mount Athos, but the "white doves," which were a feature of his story, are unknown to H. (vi. 44; cf. i. 138. 2 n.).
53. Frag. 80 (*FHG* i. 56) refers to the enfranchisement of the slaves after Arginusae. Frag. 74, as to Theseus and Helen, is clearly a different tradition from ix. 73. 2.
54. This charge is elaborated by Sayce (xxi seq.), who tries to prove that H. "drew without scruple on the work of the writer he desired to supersede."
55. Perhaps we may add i. 146. 1, as to the purity of Ionian blood.
56. e.g., cf. i. 193. 3, 198 nn. for such a supposed borrowing.
57. For a full discussion cf. *JHS* xxix. 41 seq.
58. For his ignorance of Persian cf. i. 139; of Egyptian, ii. 125. 6, 143. 4; and for the whole subject Meyer, *F.* i. 192 seq.
59. For the contrary view cf. H. Panofsky, *de Historiae Herodoteae fontibus* (1885), criticized by Hauvette, pp. 170–6.
60. e.g., vi. 19. 3 ἐτέρωθι τοῦ λόγου, and passim. For a collection of instances cf. Macan (1895) lxxv, and (1908) lxxi.
61. H. seems also to have spoken to the "three priestesses" (ii. 55. 3) he names at Dodona; but they only told him a legend of more than doubtful truth. Dicaeus the Athenian (viii. 65. 1) does not seem to have told his vision to H. personally. The attempt to make him a written source for the story of the Persian War (Trautwein, in *Hermes*, 1890) is ingenious, but quite unconvincing.
62. It was clearly at Samos that H. heard the story of the discovery of the West (iv. 152), the details as to Darius on the Bosphorus (iv. 88), and part at least of the fate of Polycrates (iii. 133. 1), and learned something of the foreign relations of Samos in the sixth century (i. 70. 3; ii. 182. 1). In the market-place there he read the names of the patriotic Samian leaders at Lade (vi. 14. 3).
63. We may mention especially beside the offerings made after Salamis and Plataea (ut sup.), the Corinthian and the Siphnian (i. 14. 2 n.; iv. 162. 3) treasuries at

Delphi (iii. 57. 2 n.), and the Argive, the Lacedaemonian and the Phocian offerings there (i. 31. 5, 51. 4; viii. 27. 4).

64. Cf. i. 13. 2 for a clear prediction *post eventum*.

65. ii. 116. 2. Contrast Thuc. i. 9. 4 for depreciation of Homer's testimony.

66. Thus in the account of the foundation of Cyrene he distinguishes the part resting on the evidence of Theraeans only (iv. 150. 1) from those where this is supported by Cyrenaean evidence (cf. also iv. 5, 12; vi. 75, 84).

67. Myres, *A. and C.*, 124.

68. For a similar tendency elsewhere cf. Freeman's Essay (vol. i) on *The Mythical Element in Early English History*.

69. *RM* xxvii, p. 226 (1872). For criticism cf. Hauvette, pp. 133 seq.

70. For a full account of Thucydides' criticisms of H. cf. Hauvette, pp. 65–76. The most important points of divergence are Thuc. i. 20. 3 and H. vi. 57. 5; ix. 53. 2, as to Spartan kings and the Pitane λόχος; Thuc. i. 126. 8 and H. v. 71. 2, as to Cylon; Thuc. ii. 8. 3 and H. vi. 98, the earthquake at Delos; Thuc. ii. 97. 6 and H. v. 3. 1, as to extent of Scythia. We may perhaps add Thuc. i. 14. 3 and H. vii. 144. 2, the purpose of the fleet of 482 B.C.; and Thuc. i. 138. 3 and H. viii. 58, the story of Mnesiphilus, where some see in Thucydides a vindication of Themistocles (οὔτε προμαθῶν οὔτε ἐπιμαθῶν) against the depreciation of H.

71. For the reckless inventions of Ctesias cf. notes *passim*, and Xenophon's refutation of his claims to diplomatic activity after Cunaxa (Plut. *Artax.* 13).

72. Cf. Hauvette, p. 4.

73. *FHG* ii. 566, frag. 42. The justice of the charge is obvious, but Manetho himself fares little better with some modern Egyptologists.

74. The *De Malignitate Herodoti* may be ascribed provisionally to Plutarch (cf. Hauvette, p. 98f.). Its extreme bitterness of tone, which seems inconsistent with his free use of H. elsewhere, may be due to misplaced Boeotian patriotism. There are many minute correspondences both of language and of fact between it and the *Lives*, and the tendency to hero-worship pervades both alike. It is interesting as the first instance in literature of the slashing review; of its author, as of Croker, it might be said, "He meant murder but only committed suicide."

75. On this whole subject cf. Meyer, *F.* ii. 196–229.

76. It may be noted, however, that H. in one case is severe on Phocis (viii. 30), in spite of its Athenian leanings, and still more so on the Athenian ally, Corcyra. For a different estimate of the attitude of Argos cf. Grundy *QR* 418 (1909), p. 128.

77. Cf. Meyer, *F.* ii. 219f.

78. Possibly these were pleas used at his trials; cf. Macan (1895) p. lxxxvi; and in general, Nitzsch, *RM* 1872.

79. But cf. Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 316, and *Lect. XIV* generally, for a different view of Livy.
80. Cf. Ar. *Av.* 1130 with ii. 137.1, and i. 4. 3 n.
81. 5,283,220! It should be noticed, however, that the Greek contemporary estimate of the fighting men (3,000,000, vii. 338) exceeded considerably that of H. Cf. app. xix, § 3 for whole subject.
82. *Decisive Battles*, p. 47.
83. Plut. *De Mal.* 21 makes this point well against the explanation of Lacedaemonian policy in iii. 47; but see app. xvi, § 10.
84. Cf. further Brims, *Das literarische Porträt der Griechen*, pp. 71–114.
85. Cf. τὸ θεῖον πᾶν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες, i. 32. 1 nn.; also iii. 40. 2; and vii. 10. 1; vii. 46. 4.
86. Macan (1895) cxiv. seq.
87. Cf. Meyer, *F.* ii. 254f.; Soph. *O.C.* 1226f.

## Commentary

### Book I

#### Opening

The opening sentence embodies the title in the work. Cf. the opening words of Hecataeus (frag. 332) Ἐ. Μιλήσιος ὧδε μυθεῖται and Thuc. i. 1. Θουρίου (see critical apparatus) seems to have been the usual reading at the end of the fourth century (cf. Duris of Samos, frag. 57, *FHG* ii. 482). Plutarch (*Mor.* 605) writes Ἡ. Ἀλικαρνασσέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ἥδε· πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσιν Ἡροδότου Θουρίου, μετόκησε γὰρ εἰς Θουρίους, which seems to be intended to reconcile the two traditions. The Alexandrine librarians, however, must have had good reasons for restoring Ἄλικ. in the text. (For H.'s birth, etc., cf. introd. §§ 1–2.)

**ἱστορίας**: properly “inquiry,” and so the “result of inquiry” (ii. 99. 1); only once in H. = “history” (vii. 96. 1) in the modern sense. Croiset (*Litt. Grec.* ii. 589) well says that the word “marks a literary revolution”; the λογογράφοι had written down the current stories, the historian sets out to “find” the truth.

The reason given for writing is characteristic of H.; he is the born chronicler, and his interest is in the past: Thucydides (i. 22. 4) is the scientific historian, and his eye is on the future—τῶν γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὐθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι.

The ἔργα are the permanent results, “monuments,” etc.

**τὰ τε ἄλλα** is in loose apposition to τὰ γενόμενα and ἔργα.

#### i. 1

**οἱ λόγιοι** (= “skilled in history”) cf. ii. 3. 1. H.'s story is decidedly Greek, and not Persian, in colouring: cf. vi. 54; vii. 150. 2 for a like (supposed) Persian acquaintance with Greek myths; a similar knowledge is attributed to the Egyptians ii. 91. 5. Such combinations certainly come from Greek sources, not native ones.

**Φοίνικας**. The name (whence Lat. “Poenus”) seems to be pure Greek; it certainly occurs in places where there is no trace of foreign influence; e.g., the harbour Φοινικοῦς, near Erythrae (Thuc. viii. 34), a stream near Thermopylae, etc. (Meyer, ii. 92). As applied to a race, it may well be a colour name, “Red men”; cf. Αἰθίοψ and “White Syrians” (6. 1 n.). This derivation, however, is not inconsistent with it being also a foreign name. The old connection with “Fenchu,” supposed to occur at Karnak in the inscriptions of Thothmes III, is now given up; others see in the name the Egyptian “Punt,” the land of South Arabia and East Africa. This last is the view of E. Gläser, *Punt und die Südarabischen Reiche* (1899), who holds that from this “original home” (p. 62) the Phoenicians spread both north (see below) and south to Mashonaland and Socotra; he says (p. 65) the gods of Phoenicia can be almost all easily recognized as South Arabian. This derivation would agree with

the legend of their migration from the shores of the Indian Ocean (vii. 89. 2), which first occurs here; for a later version cf. Strabo, 766 (based on Androstenes, a seaman of Alexander), who says that the islands of Tyros (v.l. Tylos) and Arados (now Bahrein) in the Persian Gulf claimed to be the mother cities of the Phoenician towns; he elsewhere (35) rejects the story. Justin (xviii. 3) actually professes to give their route when migrating: for a discussion of these passages cf. Maspero, ii. 63 seq., who accepts the general fact of the migration from the southeast, and dates it soon after 3000 B.C., on the evidence of ii. 44. 3. General probability confirms this northwest movement of the Semitic peoples, though Meyer (i. 356) rejects the whole story. The position of the Phoenicians, wedged in on the narrow strip of coast, shows they were the earliest among the Semitic migrants (cf. the position of the Celtic peoples in Wales, Brittany, etc.). But beyond this all is uncertain.

**Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης** (cf. ii. 8. 1 and passim). H. means by this all the water southeast and south of Asia; our "Red Sea" was its western limit, and has the special name of Ἀράβιος κόλπος (ii. 102. 2 and passim); beyond it to the southwest lay ἡ νοτιή θάλασσα (iv. 42. 3); the Persian Gulf proper has no special name in H. (cf. i. 180. 1, where the Euphrates runs into the Ἐρυθρῆ θάλασσα). The name "Red Sea" is Egyptian, and is derived perhaps from the colour of the sand.

[2] The pre-eminence of Argos in early times is an inference from Homer, and even more from the Cyclic poems, e.g., the Thebais and the Epigoni (cf. v. 67 n.). Hellas did not obtain its name till after the Dorian invasion (cf. i. 58 nn.).

**φόρτον**. For the scene here described cf. *Od.* xv. 416 (Φοίνικες) μυρὶ ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ.

[3] That Io was the daughter of Inachus was the usual form of the legend (cf. Apollod. ii. 1. 3; *FHG* i. 125; who gives two other forms). The cow-headed Io of Argos is another form of Hera (cf. Homeric epithet βοῶπις; but see Farnell *G.C.* i. 16), and represents the cow-goddess of an early race; this animal-worship was not understood, and so was explained by a myth. Io, whose descendant, Danaus, migrates from Egypt to Argos, was identified with Isis; the identification was probably due in part to similarity of name, in part to the resemblance of the horned maiden, Io, to Hathor-Isis (see ii. 41. 1 n.). This identification may be subsequent to the foundation of Naucratis, but more probably belongs to Mycenaean times. H. rationalizes the old myths into plain matter of fact (cf. ii. 56–7 for the similar treatment of the myth of Dodona and introd. § 26).

## i. 2

The usual Greek myth (not in H.) was that Io was turned into a heifer, and wandered till she came to Egypt, where she bore Epaphus (Apis; cf. ii. 38. 1 n.).

**βασιλέος**. Homer calls him "Phoenix" (*Il.* xiv. 321), but H. gives the usual form "Agenor" (iv. 147. 4; in vi. 47. 1 we must translate Θάσου τοῦ Φοίνικος "Thasus the Phoenician").

**Κρη̄τες.** This is H.'s own suggestion; the usual form of the legend was that Europa bore Minos and Rhadamanthus to Zeus in Crete; he means that, if this were properly interpreted, it would agree with the Persian version here told; "these would then be Cretans." The words ταῦτα μὲν κτλ. imply that the balance of criminality now was equal; hence the Greeks were really to blame for the next act of aggression.

[2] **μακρο̄η̄.** "A ship of war" is emphatic; it was an organized raid.

**τάλλα:** i.e., the winning of the Golden Fleece.

### i. 3

**δευτέρη̄:** translate "the next generation"; the children of the Argonauts took part in the Trojan War. H. counts inclusively.

### i. 4

[2] **νομίζειν,** "they (i.e., the Persians) thought."

**ἀνοήτων.** H. probably saw the humour of this argument; but this part of his history gave offence. It was parodied by Aristophanes (*Ach.* 524 seq. ἐκ τριῶν λαικαστριῶν), as to the origin of the Peloponnesian War; and Plutarch (*De Mal.* 11) is very angry at the "passive resistance" imputed to the much-respected Io, and that "the fairest and greatest exploit of Greece, the Trojan War, should be put down as ἀβελτερία" ("fatuity"). For other parodies of H. cf. *Ach.* 82–6 with 133. 1 and 192. 1; *Av.* 552 and 1124 seq. with 179. 1 (Babylon), *Av.* 1130 with ii. 127. 1 (measurement of pyramid), *Av.* 1142 seq. with ii. 136. 4, *Nub.* 273 with ii. 25 and (perhaps) *Av.* 488 with vii. 14. These references prove how soon the work of H. became well known.

[*Additional Note B (1928).* It will be noticed that all the parodies but one (*Nub.* 273) come from two plays, produced eleven years apart, the *Acharnians* (425 B.C.) and the *Birds* (414).

In *Studies in H.* (pp. 179-82) I have argued that this grouping is not accidental, but that, as the first lot of parodies come at a time when it is almost universally agreed that H. had recently been in Athens, so it is not unnatural to suppose that there was some reason for his being made again a butt by the comic poet after eleven years of almost complete silence. That reason, I suggest, was that H. had only published his book ii shortly before 414 B.C. Some scholars had already argued (see pp. 13-14) that its disproportionate length, and the change in mental attitude that it reveals, pointed to a date for it different from that of the rest of H.'s work, though, I must add, not so late as that which I suggest. I have also tried to show that the story of Helen, as told by Euripides in his play of that name (412 B.C.), tends to confirm this later date. Of course it is usually maintained, as I myself did in 1912, that H. died early in the Peloponnesian War; but the only reason for this is his silence about later events, a silence which can perhaps be explained by the fact that he had again gone to the West, and also by his general attitude of depression about Greek affairs (see *Studies in H.*, 181 ad fin.). Why should he have referred to

the Sicilian Expedition? It may well have been to him only the greatest of the disasters which στάσις ἔμφυλος brings on a nation (cf. viii. 3).]

**Ἀσίην.** For the Persian claim to Asia cf. ix. 116. 3.

#### i. 5

[2] **ἔθελοντήν.** For this form of the story cf. *Od.* xv. 420 seq.

[3] **ἔπεξιῶν:** translate “dealing with.” The phrase used (with which cf. *oratione obire*), and the reference to *Od.* i. 3 πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα, suggest the author’s wide travels.

H.’s religious feeling shows itself at once; he desires not only to record men’s “great deeds,” but to show the instability of human fortune (cf. chap. 32 nn.). The idea was a commonplace with the Ionian philosophers, e.g., Xenophanes ἀεὶ δ’ ἐν ταύτῳ μίμνει κινούμενον οὐδέν (*RP*, 84), and with the Greeks generally, e.g., Soph. *Trach.* 132 seq.

#### i. 6–94

*The Lydian history* (of course, with digressions, especially chaps. 56–68).

#### i. 6

H. ignores the upper course of the Halys, where it flows from northeast to southwest; it was its lower course which formed the boundary of the Lydian Empire; cf. chap. 72 for a fuller account of it.

By “Syrians” H. means the North Cappadocians (i. 72. 1), called by Strabo (542, 737) also “the White Syrians,” in contrast to the darker Syrians of the Levant. Some have distinguished Σύριοι (= “Cappadocians”) from Σύροι (= “the inhabitants of Palestine”), but the variety of spelling seems due merely to copyists. The name is probably a corruption of “Assyrian”; H. (vii. 63) actually uses it of the Assyrians, and says “Syrian” is the Greek, “Assyrian” the barbarous form. When the Greeks came in contact with the empire of Assyria in the eighth century, e.g., from Sinope, they began to use the term of all its subjects; the name first occurs in Pindar, frag. 173 (in Strabo, 544), the Amazons Σύριον εὐρυαίχμαν δίεπον στρατόν, which Strabo says refers to the settlement at Themiscyra near Amisus.

[2] **πρωτός.** H. shows real insight in seeing that, though the complete conquest of the Asiatic Greeks by Lydia was brief, it was an event of first-rate importance, as the “beginning” of the subjection of Greeks to barbarians.

[3] For the Cimmerians cf. 15 nn.

#### i. 7

[2] Nicolaus Damascenus (*FHG* iii. 383) calls Candaules “Sadyattes.” Hesychius (s.v. Κυνάγχη) says that Κανδαύλας = Hermes or Heracles (cf. Hipponax, frag. 1, Ἐρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μηρονιστὶ κανδαῦλα); in this case “C.” may be a cult-name, assumed by the king in addition to his own (cf. the new names taken by Popes).

Hall (*JHS* xxix. 19) points out that the name Μυρσίλος (“Mursil”) has been found by Winckler at Boghaz Keui as that of a Hittite king. He suggests that the name, which is that of Pelops’ charioteer, tends to confirm the old tradition that Pelops was an immigrant into Greece, and to show that perhaps in the fourteenth century B.C., Greece was subject to a Hittite dynasty.

**Σαοδίων.** H. almost always follows (cf. iii. 120. 1 n.) the Persian usage in calling the Lydian satrapy by the name of its capital.

**Ἀλκαίου.** H. is the only writer who mentions Alcaeus as the son of Heracles, though both the grandfather of Heracles and Heracles himself (Diod. i. 24) are sometimes called Alcaeus.

The Greeks identified the Asiatic Bel, in Cilicia (Meyer, i. 484) and perhaps in Lydia called “Sandon” (cf. i. 71. 2), with Heracles, because he was a lion-tamer and a bow-bearer; he was probably a sun-god, though Meyer (see above) makes him a vegetation-god.

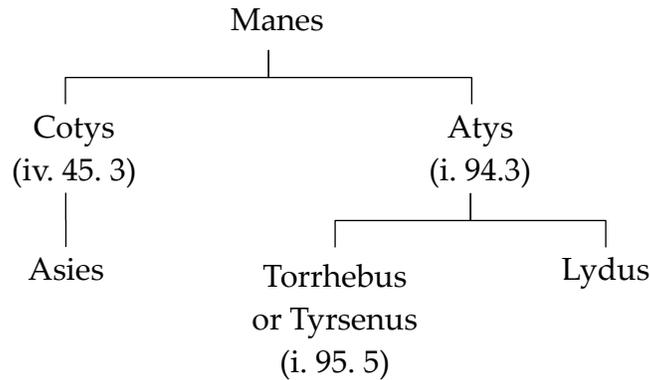
H.’s list, then, may be a piece of genuine native tradition with Graecized names; at the head of it appear two great deities, Heracles and Omphale, representing the sun-god and Ashtoreth. But H. is inconsistent in vii. 61, where he makes Perseus, an ancestor of Heracles, rescue Andromeda, the granddaughter of Belus. It is more probable, however, that Heracles has no proper place in the genealogy, and is brought in by a piece of Greek syncretism, because the δούλη (§ 4) was supposed to be Omphale. The genealogy itself seems hopelessly confused; the (otherwise unknown, see above) son of a Greek hero is father of a Babylonian god and grandfather of the eponymous hero of Nineveh.

While, however, the form in which the genealogy is presented is Greek, it may represent a real tradition of early connection with the East. This can hardly have been with the great kingdoms of the Euphrates valley, for Assurbanipal states that when the ambassadors of “Gugu of Luddi” arrived at Nineveh (*RP*<sup>1</sup> i. 68), “the king’s very fathers had not heard speak of its name”; but it may have been with the Hittite empire in Asia Minor, as was suggested by Sayce (ad loc.) as long ago as 1883. Hogarth says (*I. and E.*, 75): “it may well be that the rock monuments near Smyrna are memorials of a definite political occupation by the power of the Hatti.” Garstang too (p. 63) is disposed to accept H.’s traditions as having elements of truth in them.

Ninus was, according to the Greeks (Ctesias *Assyrica* ii, p. 390), the founder of Nineveh; but his name does not appear on the monuments.

Belus is properly a common name, “lord,” but became identified with the chief god of Babylonia (cf. Hastings *Dict. Bib.*, s.v. Baal).

[3] This dynasty traced back its descent to the god Μήν (*JHS* xix. 80); it has a more genuine sound than that of the Heracleids above. The dynasty was:



If Cotys be rightly connected with the Thracian goddess Cotytto, whose rites (Strabo, 470) were like those of the Phrygian Cybele, then the genealogy may represent the combination of the European (Cotys) and the Asiatic (Atys) elements (app. i, § 4); but all this is most uncertain.

**Μηίων.** For “Maeonians” cf. app. i, § 8. Homer only knows this name (*Il.* ii. 864; x. 431, etc.); the earliest occurrence of “Lydian” in a Greek author is in Xanthus, frag. 1. The identification of Maeonians with Lydians was not always accepted (Strabo, 572). Assuming its truth, however, it may be conjectured that the Lydians represent rather the European element in the people, the Maeonian the Asiatic. Radet (p. 59) thinks that the statement on the monuments of Assurbanipal (ut sup.) means only that the Luddi were unknown *by that name*; he therefore connects “Lydian” with the rise of Gyges; but this is very doubtful. “Maeonian” survived as a tribal name (vii. 77), and as the name of a city (Plin. *H.N.* v. 111) and a district on the upper Hermus (Strabo, 576, 628), including the Κατακεκαυμένη.

[4] **δούλης.** The usual story (Apollod. ii. 6. 3) is unknown to H.; it called Omphale a daughter of Iardanus (whose name may be Semitic, cf. “Jordan”), and made Hercules her bought slave. Later writers, especially the Roman poets, make him assume women’s dress and do women’s work. Meyer (i. 487) considers that this story is based upon the special Anatolian rites of the great nature-goddess, in which her worshippers cut themselves in sympathy with her sorrows, and even unsexed themselves (cf. story of Attis); so, too, maidens sacrificed their chastity to her (cf. 93. 4; 199 nn.). But if this is the origin of the myth, it is curious that its special feature, the woman’s dress, etc., appears only in late versions. It seems better, therefore, to compare the story of Hercules serving Omphale with that of Apollo serving Admetus, and to explain both as a sort of atonement by service; the price of blood shed is worked off in this way.

Whence H. derived the figure 505 is a puzzle. According to some it is a calculation based on the average length of a reign; if a generation was taken at  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years (ii. 142. 2), a reign might average  $22\frac{1}{2}$ . R. Schubert (*Kön. von Lyd.*, 8) adds the five generations of the Mermnadae (c. 13) to the 22 here, and allows an average of 25 years per generation, thus getting  $(27 \times 25 =)$  675 for the total. Deducting the 170 years of the Mermnadae, he gets the 505 given to the Heraclidae (cf. app. xiv, § 5).

This is plausible, but only one thing is certain, that the figures have no historic value.

#### **i. 8**

Gyges is called son of "Dascylus" (Nic. Damasc., frag. 49; *FHG* iii. 383), a name which suggests "Dascyleum," a town on the southeast of the Propontis, which gave its name to a Persian satrapy. This connection agrees with the Northern origin suggested for the Mermnadae (app. i § 8), and would explain why a town, otherwise unimportant, was made a centre of Persian government, as being the origin of an earlier royal house.

**ὑπερετίθετο**, "communicated" (cf. 107. 1); it governs also τὸ εἶδος, ὑπερεπαινέων being added epexegetically.

It is curious that the only other story of Candaules also implies aesthetic enthusiasm; he bought a picture by Bularchus of the "proelium Magnetum" for its weight in gold (Plin. *H.N.* xxxv. 55). Radet (p. 131) accepts both stories. It is safer to reject both; but if the "battle of the Magnesia" be a reality and be that against the Cimmerians, their raids must be antedated.

[2] Some suppose H. to be imitating Heraclitus (frag. 15) ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὄτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες; but the sentiment is a common one (cf. "seeing is believing") and the verbal resemblance nil. The gnomic character of the story is obvious; cf. σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.

#### **i. 9**

**ἀρχήν**, "at all," put first for the sake of emphasis (cf. iii. 39. 4); but in ix. 60. 2 ἀρχήν = "to begin with," and this may be the sense everywhere in H.

[2] The door "stood open" for light and air; the present participle (for the past) is common in H.

#### **i. 10**

[3] "Even for a man," much more for a woman. For the contrast of barbarian and Greek feeling cf. Thuc. i. 6. 5 and Plato *Resp.* v. 452c, who points out that it was only recently the Greek ideas of propriety had changed.

#### **i. 11**

**φοιτᾶν**. These visits to the queen are purely Greek; a Lydian queen would be secluded in the harem.

[3] **ἐνδέειν**. Cf. *Il.* ii. 111 Ζεὺς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἄτη ἐνέδησε βαρείη.

[4] **αἰρέεται**: asyndeton used for colloquial effect; cf. τέω καί, "just in what way," for another vivid colloquialism.

#### **i. 12**

[2] It is quite in accordance with Eastern usage that the usurper should take the wife of his predecessor. Cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 21–2 (Absalom and David), and iii. 68. 3.

τοῦ καὶ. The editors bracket these lines, which disturb the connection, and the technical ἰάμβω τριμέτρῳ is suspicious; H. (47. 2 et al.) uses τόνω. But Crusius, *PW* (s.v. Archilochus), accepts them as genuine. The line of Archil. (frag. 25) is οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 17, 1418b).

#### i. 13

The decision of the Pythia may perhaps be historic; Gyges' gifts were probably given for a good reason (cf. ἀπέπεμψε, "he duly sent," 14. 1); but the prophecy of future vengeance is clearly *post eventum*. H.'s simple faith (λόγον οὐδένα κτλ.) might almost be irony. Cf. viii. 96. 2 for a similar instance of an oracle, if not conveniently remembered, at least only understood, after fulfillment.

#### i. 14

This chapter, and still more chaps. 50–1, are important as illustrating the sources of H. (cf. introd. § 24). It may be noted, however, that, while he repeats the stories of the Delphic sacristans, he tries, here as elsewhere, to exercise his critical faculty (14. 2; 51. 3, 4); he did not reproduce his information mechanically (as Nitzsch maintains, *R.M.* 1872, introd. § 28), but blended one story with another.

[2] Important states had their own treasuries, where the dedicated objects were under the national charge. The importance of Corinth is seen in the fact that foreign kings put their offerings under its care (so Midas below; Croesus, 50. 3; Euelthon of (Cypriot) Salamis, iv. 162. 3). For this treasury cf. Frazer, *P.*, v. 295; its remains were discovered by the French in 1893. For the treasuries at Olympia and elsewhere cf. Dyer, *JHS* xxv. 294 seq.; no foreign treasury is known but the οἶκος Λυδῶν at Delos (ibid. 309). For Cypselus cf. v. 92 n. This passage illustrates the constant endeavour of tyrants to conciliate important shrines; so the mediaeval tyrants in Italy sought confirmation of their usurpations from the Holy See or the Holy Roman Empire. After the overthrow of the Cypselids Delphi permitted this change in the dedications, but the Eleans refused to allow it at Olympia (Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 13).

[3] The kings were alternately "Midas" and "Gordias" (cf. the place-names Mideum and Gordium. For Phrygia and Midas cf. app. i, § 7).

προκατίζων. προ is emphatic, "sat for judgement and gave justice." Cf. 97. 1.

ἔπωνυμίην: cogn. accus. with καλέεται. For Γυγάδας cf. 94. 1 n.; the Doric form is retained.

[4] καί: as well as his successors. The attack on Miletus was unsuccessful, and Gyges seems to have entered into friendly relations with the city; he "allowed" it to plant Abydos on the Hellespont (Strabo, 590). No doubt the common danger from the Cimmerians led to this attempt to guard the northwest entrance into Asia. Gyges was also repulsed at Smyrna (Paus. iv. 21. 5, and Mimnermus, frags. 13, 14). Stein takes τὸ ἄστυ as emphatic, the "lower town" as opposed to the citadel. For the history generally cf. Theognis, 1103–4 ὕβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα καὶ Σμύρνην.

Gyges attacked the Greeks at the mouths of the great river valleys, i.e., Maeander (Miletus), Cayster (Colophon), Hermus (Smyrna); the Lydian kings naturally wished to obtain the trade outlets to the Aegean. H.'s account of Gyges' campaigns is very insufficient; he also conquered the Troad (Strabo, 590), and Caria seems to have been subject to him; perhaps also he took Magnesia (on the Hermus: Nic. Damasc. frag. 62).

[*Additional Note C (1928): Gyges.* Professor Ure has expanded his article in the *JHS* of 1906, into an interesting volume (1922) on the *Origin of Tyranny*.

He suggests that Gyges owed his position of king to his discovery of coinage: "the monopoly in stamped pieces of electrum brought the first tyrant to the King's palace" (p. 152).

His theory has not been generally accepted, but he rightly draws attention to the importance of the "seal" (σφρηγίς) in the story as told in Plato; the first coinage was "the placing of a seal on lumps of electrum that had been weighed" (p. 150).

In my *Studies in H.* (p. 19f.) I have discussed further my statement (app. i, § 8) that the accession of the Mermnadae had something to do with the increased vigour of the Lydian attack on Greece. I have even suggested that Gyges was a Cimmerian, admitted as a defender into Lydia before he fell in its defence: this would explain the appearance of his name "Gog" in Ezekiel's prophecy, as leader of the northern hosts. This suggestion has not been generally accepted.]

#### **i. 15**

The Cimmerians of fable (cf. Hom. *Od.* xi. 15 seq. οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῦς / Ἥλιος φάεθων καταδέσκειται ἀκτίεσσιν) lived in perpetual darkness; cf. our "Cimmerian," a use as old as Milton's *L'Allegro*, "In dark Cimmerian desert ever dwell."

For the Cimmerian invasion in H. cf. also chaps. 103, 105–6, and (especially) iv. 11–12. It is an event of the greatest importance; the main points as to it may be summarized under four heads.

(1) *Its course.* The Cimmerians seem to have lived originally in South Russia (cf. iv. 12. 1 and "Crimea"): they were expelled thence by the Scythians, who were fleeing "across the Araxes" (probably the Volga) from the Massagetae (iv. 11. 1). This "common tradition of Greeks and barbarians" (iv. 12. 3) may well be true; it is in accordance with all analogy. As to the route, however, which the Cimmerians took, opinion is much divided. H. is clearly wrong in his details: (1) he brings the horde along the east coast of the Black Sea, which is impossible, owing to its precipitous nature; (2) he combines the original expulsion of the Cimmerians from Europe (end of eighth century) with the Scythian raids of the last quarter of the seventh century (c. 103 nn.).

As to the accuracy of his general view, there is much uncertainty. It used to be maintained (e.g., Meyer, i<sup>1</sup>. 452, 463; but he has now altered his opinion so far as to bring the Cimmerians from the East, i. 473) that the Cimmerian and the Scythian

raids were quite independent movements, different in direction and different in date, which H. or his informants wrongly combined. Some of the most modern orientalist, however (Maspero, iii. 342 n.; Prášek, *Gesch. der Med. et Pers.*, 1906, 113–14), accept H.'s chief point, that both Cimmerians and Scythians entered Asia Minor from the northeast. The Cimmerians settle round L. Van, the Scyths round L. Urumiah; then, under Esarhaddon, the Scyths drive the Cimmerians west into Asia Minor (Prášek, p. 120). This view may well be right in the main; it explains the importance of Sinope as a seat of the Cimmerians (cf. iv. 12. 2). But it is extremely probable that another body of Cimmerians was at the same time entering Asia Minor from the northwest (cf. iv. 11. 4 n.); they held Antandrus for a century (Arist. in Steph. Byz. s.v.), and they were accompanied (Strabo, 61, 647) by the Treres, a Thracian tribe (Thuc. ii. 96. 4). This invasion from the northwest may be compared to that of the Gauls in 278 B.C. (See Note I, at the end of commentary on book iv.)

(2) *Its date.* In the time of Sargon (722–705) we hear of the Gimirrai and Iškuza (“Cimmerians and Scyths,” Prášek, p. 115) north of the kingdom of Ararat; both Esarhaddon (681–668) and Assurbanipal (668–626) speak of victories over the Cimmerians. It is in connection with them that the Assyrian monuments mention Gyges, who was on the throne of Lydia when they appeared, and who, warned by the god Assur in a dream, sought Assyrian aid against them (*RP*<sup>1</sup> i, p. 68). Revolting from Assyria later (cf. ii. 152. 3 n.), he was killed by them. Sardis was taken about 657; Strabo (627), quoting Callisthenes, makes it taken twice, which is doubtful. H. wrongly makes the Cimmerian invasions begin under Ardyš; the reason is that his earlier Lydian kings are antedated. The date for the Cimmerians in Eusebius—1078 B.C.—is explained by the confusion of them with the Amazons (cf. Diod. ii. 44; perhaps we have a trace of this confusion in H. iv. 110).

(3) *Its relation to the Greeks.* Magnesia was captured (Archil, frag. 20), but Ephesus, encouraged by Callinus (frag. 3), successfully resisted the hordes (Strabo, 647–8)  $\nu\upsilon\nu\delta' \epsilon\pi\iota \text{Κιμμερίων στρατὸς ἔρχεται ὀβριμοεργῶν}$ . H. rightly says it was “a plundering raid,” not a conquest (i. 6. 3). In fact, it may be said to have benefited the Greeks by breaking for a time the Lydian power; so the Mongols of Timour, by their victory over the Turks at Angora (A.D. 1402), postponed for half a century the fall of Constantinople.

(4) *General effects.* Asia as a whole suffered more than the Greeks. The Bithynians, formerly a European tribe (vii. 75. 2), now settled in Bithynia; the Phrygian kingdom received a blow from which it never recovered; the old kingdom of Urartu disappears, and the Armenians (and perhaps also the Cappadocians, Prášek) come on the stage of history. It was an early “wandering of the nations.”

Perhaps even more important was the blow to the great Assyrian Empire. Although its diplomacy made use of the Scyths (c. 103 n.), yet the raids of these northern barbarians in the seventh century were one of the causes of its overthrow.

Of the effect produced by these early “Vandals and Huns” we have a clear trace in the contemporary Isaiah (v. 26 seq.) and in Ezekiel’s picture (c. 39), drawn early in the sixth century, of the army of destruction from the north; by a curious confusion, Gyges, the victim of the Cimmerians, has become “Gog,” the “prince of Meshech and Tubal,” i.e., of the Moschi and Tibareni, part of the invading hordes. The best short account of the Cimmerian invasion is Busolt, ii. 461–4, who does not accept H.’s combination.

#### i. 16

[2] For the Median war and the general policy of Alyattes cf. chaps. 73–4 nn. He was the founder of Lydian greatness, extending his power to the Halys.

κτισθεῖσαν, “colonized from”; it was previously an Aeolian city. Smyrna was destroyed as a city, and only inhabited κωμηδόν (Strabo, 646); it does not occur in the Athenian tribute-lists, but its coins begin again in the fourth century, at least fifty years before its re-founding by Antigonos and Lysimachus, ca. 300 B.C. (Head, *H.N.* 591). The Lydian conquest was generally merciful; but Smyrna, commanding as it did the outlet of the Hermus valley, was too formidable to be spared. Clazomenae also was attacked in order to secure this valley. The defeat of Alyattes at Clazomenae must have been after his capture of Smyrna; it lay further west on the gulf of Smyrna. All these later campaigns are after the Median war (cf. chap. 73 and Busolt, ii. 469).

#### i. 17

For the “flutes, lyres, and oboe of high and of deep note” see *Dict. Ant.*, s.v. tibia and lyra (for πηκτίς). The αὐλός differed from the flute (σῦριγξ), in having “a mouthpiece in which a vibrating reed was fitted”; it seems always to have been played in pairs. Varro (in Servius on Verg. *Aen.* ix. 618) says the Phrygian “tibia sinistra duc (foramina habet) quorum unum acutum sonum habet, alterum gravem,” i.e., it had the two octaves in the same instrument.

The πηκτίς is condemned by Plato (*Resp.* 399) as being πολύχορδος; it was akin to the Lydian μάγαδις, which had twenty strings.

Gellius (i. 11), mistranslating H., speaks of the musicians, male and female, as “lascivientium delicias conviviorum”; Meyer (ii. 390) thinks the reference is to organized movements of cavalry, controlled by music (cf. Thuc. v. 70 for military music). But the point is simply that the Lydian raids were easy and un-resisted.

[2] ὁ δὲ τὰ τε In antithetical sentences, especially when the first is negative, H. often puts the subject in the second before the δέ, even though (as here) both sentences have the same subject (cf. 66. 3).

#### i. 18

The Limeneion seems to be the coast district in which lay the four (Strabo, 635) “harbours” of Miletus.

[2] The words τὰ μὲν νῦν . . . ἐντεταμένως interrupt the narrative, and Stein sees in them one of the later additions of H. to his work; but the passage reads more like a first draft than an afterthought.

[3] Chios, commanding the sea approach to Erythrae, was its natural enemy; it was also a rival to Samos, which was the perpetual trade competitor of Miletus. Hence the alliance of Miletus and Chios is natural; cf. Thuc. viii. 17.

#### i. 19

**Ἀσσησίας.** Athena Assesia is probably a local deity adopted by the Greek settlers; this seems indicated by her cult epithet, for which cf. the place-ending “-assus” (app. i, § 4).

[3] It would be usual in prose to have πρὶν ἄν after the negative, but H. usually, like Homer, writes ἤ. Cf. Liddell & Scott s.v. B. II. 2 a.

#### i. 20

The mention of Delphi confirms the inference, probable on other grounds, that H. is writing from Delphian sources. As usual, at any rate in his early history, H. prefers a religious motive; probably it was the pressure of Median aggression on the east (cf. 16 n.) which compelled Alyattes to leave the Milesians alone.

The asyndeton emphasizes the confident reliance (οἶδα) of the historian on his oracular source; to the “further” statement of the Milesians he does not commit himself, though they might be supposed to be well-informed about their own country. Cf. Macan (1895) civ. for the use of οἶδα in H., which is used alike for what he has seen himself, for what he has been told, and for mere inferences.

**Περίανδρον.** For P. and Thrasybulus cf. v. 92; the mediation of P. is probable, for he had friendly relations with both parties (cf. the scandalous story of iii. 48, and the Lydian offerings in the Corinthian treasury at Delphi, chaps. 14, 50), and Corinthian trade suffered from the war.

#### i. 21

[2] The ostentation of plenty in a besieged city is common in picturesque history (cf. a similar story of Bias at Priene, Diog. Laert. i. 5. 83, and the deliverance of Perugia from Totila the Goth by this means, at the suggestion of St. Herculanus); but Miletus, having command of the sea (17.3), probably had really suffered little.

#### i. 22

[4] **ξείνους** implies only friendly relations; **συμμάχους** is stronger, an offensive and defensive alliance (cf. 69. 3).

#### i. 23

The Lesbians are quoted as the countrymen of Arion (of Methymna); there was a variant of the story (Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 8) placing it in the Aegean, when Arion was returning to Methymna. For tyrants as patrons of art cf. app. xvi, § 3.

[5] Arion's date is the end of the seventh century. Meyer (ii. 373) makes him as mythical as Orpheus or Marsyas, and Crusius (in *PW* s.v. 840) suggests that his name simply = "prizewinner," but his reality may be admitted, although the only poem attributed to him (Ael. *N.A.* xii. 45; Bergk, *PLG* iii. 80, describing the miracle) is a forgery. H. is wrong in attributing the διθύραμβος to him; the word occurs in Archilochus (ca. 680–640, Crusius in *PW*, s.v., p. 490), frag. 77 ἐξάρξαι μέλος Οἶδα διθύραμβον, οἴνω συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

Perhaps Arion elaborated the dithyramb and arranged it antistrophically for a chorus (cf. διδάξαντα); the invention of κύκλιοι χοροί is ascribed to him by the older authorities, e.g., Hellanicus (frag. 85; *FHG* i. 57; but others assigned them to Lasus (ibid.)). If this be so, the fact underlying H.'s view as to the origin of the dithyramb at Corinth would be that the choric Dionysus song developed in north Peloponnese (Crusius in *PW* ii. 841; cf. v. 67 n. for such choruses at Sicyon). So Pindar (*Ol.* xiii. 19) attributes the dithyramb to Corinth, although the scholiast to this passage says he attributed it elsewhere to Naxos and to Thebes; all these places were connected with Dionysus. Its proper subject was Διονύσου γένεσις (Plato *Leg.* 700b), but it was extended.

Arist. (*Poet.* 4, 1449a) says tragedy begins ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον ("ἐξάρχειν δ. is practically a synonym for διδάσκειν δ." Bywater). Solon in "his elegies" is quoted as saying τῆς τραγωδίας πρῶτον δρᾶμα Ἀρίων εἰσήγαγεν (*RM* 1908, 150).

#### i. 24

[4] The ἐδώλια were seats in the vessel's stern, for the steerer and others in command, on a raised deck, though Torr (*Anc. Ships*, 57 and n.) says this was not always the case.

[5] τοῖσι is subject of ἀναχωρήσαι, attracted into the dependent clause.

For ὄρθιος νόμος cf. Bergk, *PLG* iii. 7, and for its familiarity Ar. *Eq.* 1279. It was attributed to Terpander and especially used in the worship of Apollo. Arion's song was an act of worship; it is this religious element in the story that commends it to H. The ὄρθιος νόμος was in solemn and measured rhythm; cf. the fragments of Terpander (ut sup.) for its spondaic character.

[6] The story of the dolphin is probably connected with a familiar coin type—a hero riding on a dolphin—e.g., Taras at Tarentum (Hill, *G. and R.C.* 175, pl. 11); so too Arion on the later coins of Methymna (Head, *H.N.* 561). At Corinth also Melicertes was represented on a dolphin. It cannot be accidental that all these places, Tarentum, Lesbos, and Corinth, come in H.'s tale. The story is told at length in Plut. *Conv. Sept. Sap.* 18 seq., where other dolphin stories are told, of Hesiod's murdered body, and of Enalus of Lesbos (cf. Frazer, *P.*, iii. 398, for these stories). H. no doubt heard it at Taenarum, in connection with the Arion monument (§ 8), which may have been dedicated by the poet; Pausanias (iii. 25. 5) saw it, and supports H.'s account by the story of the dolphin of Poroselene. The Taenarum

monument bore the inscription ἀθανάτων πομπᾶισι Ἀρίωνα Κυκλέος υἷον Ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε, Ael. *N.A.* xii. 45. A small figure of this kind was actually found at Taenarum (Frazer, *ut sup.*).

An early inscription found at Thera was restored by Boeckh thus [Κυκλείδας Κ]υκλῆρος ἀδελ[φ]ε[ἰ]ῶι Ἀρίων[ι] τὸν δελφίς [σῶσε μνημόσυνον τέλεσεν]. Kaibel (*Epig. Graec.* 1086) says “ingeniose haec Boeckh mihi lusisse videbatur”; cf. Roehl, *IGA* 453, for a different restoration. Even were B.’s restoration accepted, the inscription would only be parallel to H.’s Καδμήια γράμματα (v. 59). It will be noticed that H. does not commit himself (§§ 1, 8) to the story.

#### i. 25

[2] The bowl-stand was the only Lydian dedication remaining at Delphi when Pausanias (x. 16. 1–2) visited the shrine; he describes it as “in shape like a tower, broader at the base . . . the sides are not each in a single piece, but the iron cross-bands are arranged like the rungs in a ladder.” Athenaeus (210c) quotes Hegesander, a Delphian, as saying that on it were figures of animals in relief.

Glaucus was a contemporary of Gyges (Eusebius); this work therefore was made some time before its presentation (cf. vii. 27 n., the golden plane-tree). For Glaucus cf. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, 263–72. Frazer (*P.*, v. 313–14), who has a good note on “welding” and “soldering,” explains κόλλησις as “welding,” i.e., the beating of two pieces of white-hot iron into one, without any uniting substance. Murray (*Gk. Sculpt.* i. 81–2) translates “soldering,” i.e., uniting two pieces of metal by interposition of a third of different metal; but no method of soldering iron was known till quite recently. The art of welding was known in Egypt very early.

#### i. 26

Alyattes had tried to gain Ephesus by marrying his daughter to its tyrant Melas; there was always a strong Asiatic element there (cf. the character of its temple worship, 92 n., and the exclusion of its citizens from the Apaturia, 147. 2). Pindarus, however, the next tyrant, though nephew of Croesus, was head of the patriotic party; his exile was made a condition of the terms granted to Ephesus on its submission (Ael. *V.H.* iii. 26).

[2] For symbolic dedication cf. Thuc. iii. 104 (Polycrates and the island of Rheneia) and Plut. *Sol.* 12 (the supporters of Cylon).

ἔστῃ: in singular, though the subject is plural, a σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν. For the site of Ephesus cf. v. 100 n.

[3] Grote points out (iii. 260 n.) that the “two generations” of στάσις (v. 28 n.) before the Ionian Revolt explain the failure of Miletus to resist further.

#### i. 27

[2] For Pittacus, the αἰσυμνήτης of Mitylene, cf. Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14. 9, 1285a (with Newman’s notes, iii. 267 seq.), and his life in Diog. Laert. i. chap. 4. He really belonged to the generation before Croesus, i.e., 600–570 B.C., as he was a

contemporary of Alcaeus; Diog. Laert. i. 4. 79 says that he died in 570, having been tyrant ten years and having survived his tyranny ten years more. For the chronological weakness of H. on the sixth century cf. app. xiv, § 6.

Winckler (A. F. i. 511f.) finds the name of Pittacus on an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, as an ally of Amasis, and thinks that P. anticipated the Eastern policy of Polycrates (cf. iii. 39 nn.). This would agree with the fact that one of the Lesbian exiles, brother of Alcaeus, Antimenides, an enemy of Pittacus, is found serving as a mercenary at Babylon (Strabo, 617).

Pittacus and Bias were both reckoned among “the Seven Sages” whose sayings form one of the “sources” of H. Cf. chaps. 29, 74 nn.; for them cf. Holm, i. 344–6, and Meyer, ii. 441. For Bias cf. Diog. Laert. i. 5. 82–8; his wisdom was proverbial, Hipponax, frag. 79. He is said to have composed a poem of 2,000 verses, showing how Ionia “could prosper” (cf. 170. 2 n., where H. tells us he advised the Ionians to emigrate in a body to Sardinia). He was of Priene, and arbitrated between his city and Samos in the quarrel which was constantly renewed from the sixth to the second century (cf. Hicks<sup>1</sup>, 152, l. 22 for his name in the famous inscription as to this quarrel, now in the Ashmolean). H.’s story here is unhistorical; it is a piece of Gk. proverbial philosophy, which was fathered on any sage, just as Oxford stories are attributed to successive holders of an office. Croesus had good reason for inaction in the west, when affairs on his east frontier were so threatening (cf. i. 75. 1).

[3] αἱ γὰρ (only here in H.) is Homeric. “Sons of the Lydians” is also poetic (cf. iii. 21. 3).

[4] ἀρώμενοι is unnecessary, but added epexegetically after the parenthesis ἐπείτε . . . νέας: it is made (by an anacoluthon) to agree with the subject of this parenthesis.

## i. 28

The Cilicians are not “within the Halys” at all. The larger part of these conquests were the work of Alyattes; but H. uses the aorist participle with ἔχω, a construction which implies not only the act, but also the state resulting from the act.

The last four lines are probably a gloss that has crept into the text (Stein), for:

- (1) The mention of the Lydians as “subdued” is absurd.
- (2) H. omits here tribes he knows elsewhere, e.g., the Caunii (c. 171), and inserts the Θυνοί, whom he knows nothing of in vii. 75.
- (3) The list includes the Χάλυβες, who were always placed east of the Halys till Ephorus, probably identifying them with the Ἀλίζωνοι of the Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 856–7), brought them to the west of it. Strabo 678 (cf. also 552) refutes this error, but makes no mention of a similar mistake in H.

## i. 29

The order of the words ἄλλοι τε οἱ (not οἱ τε ἄλλοι) shows H. did not consider Solon a σοφιστής; he uses the word (ii. 49. 1) of the followers of Melampus and (iv. 95. 2) of Pythagoras. The word here has, of course, no bad sense, though the causal participle (ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ) reminds us of the reproach of venality made against the sophists.

ὥς ἕκαστος, "on whatever grounds each might come," opposed to Solon's θεωρίῃ; the optative is distributive. Ephorus (Diog. Laert. i. 1. 40) said that all the Seven Sages except Thales met at the court of Croesus. H. knows nothing of this fiction.

The truth of his story as to Solon and Croesus was early doubted, and it is now universally given up, on chronological grounds, though Plutarch (*Sol.* 27) declined to surrender a story "so famous and so becoming to the character of Solon," because of χρονικοί τινες λεγόμενοι κανόνες. Solon's legislation is put in 594 B.C. (or perhaps in 591, *Ath. Pol.* 14. 1), while Croesus came to the throne in 560 (or later); hence the Athenian's travels belong to the generation before Croesus. Of the travels there is no reason to doubt; they probably were mentioned in Solon's poems (cf. v. 113. 2, the praise of Philocyprus at Soli). A similar chronological mistake occurs when H. makes Solon borrow a law from Amasis of Egypt (cf. 30. 1; ii. 177. 2 n.). Early attempts (e.g., by Clinton) to save the credit of H. are refuted by Grote (iii. 150–1).

Were the general chronology of H. for the sixth century less weak (cf. app. xiv, § 6), the story of this meeting might be defended by adopting the later form of the tradition (Diog. Laert. i. 2. 50–1), that Solon's travels were after the usurpation of Pisistratus, i.e., after 560; D. L. improves on H. by making Solon say that Croesus in all his glory was not arrayed like a pheasant and a peacock. This date is given in a fourth century (?) philosophical dialogue (*Oxyr. Pap.*, iv. 72 seq.), which also synchronizes the tyrannies of Pisistratus and Periander (cf. v. 95 nn.); but this only proves that H.'s mistakes had gained wide acceptance. It is best to look upon the tale as a piece of popular philosophy, in which Croesus and Solon are introduced as illustrations, on ethical and not on historical grounds.

The fact that H. tells us nothing of the laws of Solon is a good instance of the danger of the "argumentum ex silentio"; it is over-subtle to suppose, as some have done, that H.'s informants suppressed the constitutional work of Solon, in order to exalt the credit of the Alcmaeonid Cleisthenes as the founder of Athenian democracy. The explanation of the omission is probably that H. has no interest in constitutional history.

πρόφασις includes the real as well as the ostensible cause. Translate "having set forth, as he said, to see the world."

[2] Plutarch (*Sol.* 25) says the laws were to be valid one hundred years; the exaggeration is characteristic of later Greek historians.

### i. 30

**Αἴγυπτον.** It is probably true that S. visited Egypt. The story is embellished by Plato (*Tim.* 24); he says that Solon learned from the Egyptians about the lost continent of Atlantis. Cf. 29 n. and ii. 177 n. for Solon and Amasis.

[4] εὖ ἠκούσης for the more usual εὖ ἔχω (cf. our “farewell”). Elsewhere (as just below and 102. 2) it has a genitive with it. βίου = “in substance,” but the Gk. standard of wealth was not the Lydian (ὡς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν). Cf. Psalms cxxviii. 5–6 for a similar idea of happiness.

[5] Grote (iii. 71) by a mistranslation assumes that the battle was against the men of Eleusis, and uses this passage to prove the lateness of the union of Attica. This latter fact is probable on other grounds (cf. Thuc. ii. 15. 1), but the battle here mentioned was almost certainly against the Megarians at the border-town of Eleusis (for this war cf. 59. 4 n.).

**ἔθαψαν, ἐτίμησαν.** The two clauses go together; Tellus was honoured, as were the dead of Marathon, by burial on the spot (cf. Thuc. ii. 34. 1 for the usual custom of burial at Athens). Paus. i. 32. 4 says οἱ Μαραθῶνιοι σέβονται τούτους οἱ παρὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπέθανον, ἥρωας ὀνομάζοντες, which may imply that the Athenians did *not* so worship them. It is not necessary here to think that Tellus received a ἥρωον (cf. i. 67 n.; v. 47); this would be inconsistent with the simplicity of the story, which lays stress on the happiness of an ordinary man who did his duty.

### i. 31

**προετρέψατο,** “had moved” (to inquire further). τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον, “as to the matter of Tellus,” is an ordinary accusative of respect.

[2] The element common to this story and that of Tellus is “the glorious end,” but there is a note of pessimism in this one; this may be characteristic, not of Solon, but of H. himself (cf. introd. p. 49 and L. Campbell, *Religion in Gk. Literature*, 183). But cf. Solon, frag. 17 πάντη δ’ ἀθανάτων ἀφανῆς νόος ἀνθρώποισι, and also frag. 14 οὐδὲ μάκαρος οὐδεὶς πέλεται βροτός, ἀλλὰ πονηροὶ / πάντες ὅσους θνητοὺς ἠέλιος καθορᾷ.

For Greek pessimism in general cf. *ibid.* pp. 113, 115, 275–6.

For Cleobis and Bito cf. Paus. ii. 20. 3, and Frazer iii. 193 for other references.

For the Heraeum cf. Paus. ii. 17. The site has been explored by the American School since 1892 (cf. Waldstein’s *The Argive Heraeum*, and a summary in Frazer, *P.*, iii. 165 seq.). It stood on the road from Argos to Mycenae, about three miles south of the latter. The temple was burned in 423 (Thuc. iv. 133). As the site is a rocky terrace above the plain, the feat of strength was considerable; but H. avoids the absurdity of making Bito on another occasion carry a bull on his shoulders (Paus. ii. 19. 5).

[3] ὁ θεός here = “Hera.” But it is often used in an abstract sense (cf. vii. 10 e). H., though a polytheist, is, like Sophocles, not uninfluenced by the philosophic

tendencies which were affecting Greek religion in the sixth and fifth centuries; he is, perhaps, also influenced by Persian religion (c. 131 n.). For the monotheistic tendency of Pindar cf. Campbell, *ut sup.* pp. 171, 183f. For a good note on H.'s use of ὁ θεός κτλ. cf. Macan (1895), cxi. n. 3.

**ἄμεινον . . . τεθνάναι.** The sentiment is common in Gk. literature (cf. Butcher, *Some Aspects of Gk. Genius*, p. 134); perhaps the best-known example is Soph. *O.C.* 1225 seq., with its parallel in *Theog.* 425 seq.; cf. too Bacchyl. iii. 47 θανεῖν γλύκιστον, said by Croesus himself, and *Il.* xxiv. 525–6.

ὥς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι,  
ζῶειν ἀχθυμένοις, αὐτοὶ δέ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσί.

Death is welcomed as an escape from troubles. This is different from the doctrine of the Pythagoreans, who taught that death was a good, as delivering the soul from the prison of the body. The Thracian Trausi (v. 4. 2 n.) are credited with the same idea as Solon.

A similar story to that of Cleobis and Biton is told of Trophonius and Agamedes (who received death as a reward from Apollo for building his temple at Delphi) and of the poet Pindar (*Plut. Consol. ad Apoll.* chap. 14, pp. 108–9).

[5] Homolle discovered these statues at Delphi (cf. Frazer, v. 563). The identification was disputed, but the actual inscription has now been found, and “confirms most strikingly the accuracy of H.” (*BPW* 1911, 789–90); cf. also *Philologus* lxx, 312–13, for the conjecture Ἡραϊόνδε), and *JHS* xxxi. 300 for a brief summary.

### i. 32

**φθονερόν.** The thought is as old as Homer; cf. *Od.* v. 118 σχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοί, ζηλήμονες ἔξοχον ἄλλων.

Other instances in H. beside the story of Croesus are that of Polycrates and the whole account of Xerxes (iii. 39 seq.). It is one of the main motives of his history (cf. introd. pp. 49–50), as being the cause of the changes of fortune (i. 207. 2) which he has to record. Since the Greeks conceived their gods in their own likeness, it was natural that they should make them tyrants; cf. φιλέει ὁ θεὸς τὰ ὑπερέχοντα κολούειν (vii. 10 e) with the τοὺς ὑπερόχους τῶν ἀστῶν φονεύειν of the tyrant (v. 92 g).

For other parallels cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 6 ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει, and Aesop's answer to Chilon (*Diog. Laert.* i. 3. 69) that Zeus was τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψῶν; also S. Luke i. 52, and Hor. *Odes* i. 35. 2–4.

The idea gradually became purified and moralized, so that it is no longer mere prosperity, but the pride bred of it, which the god hates. This form of the belief is found in H. (34. 1), but it occurs even earlier in the tragedians; cf. the magnificent lines of Aeschylus (*Pers.* 821–2):

ὑβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν  
ἄτης ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾶ θέρος.

In this form it may be compared to the teaching of the Hebrew prophets, e.g., Isa. x. 12 "I will punish the glory of his high looks."

Plato, *Phdr.* 247a excludes φθόνος from the θεῖος χορός; so too Arist. *Metaph.* i. 2 οὔτε τὸ θεῖον φθονερὸν ἐνδέχεται εἶναι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί.

φθόνος originally included all the πάθη λυπηρά excited by prosperity in others; Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* ii. 7. 14) distinguished them into φθόνος, νέμεσις, and ἐπιχαιρεκακία, cf. introd. p. 49 and *Rhet.* ii. chaps. 9 and 10 (with Cope's notes).

[2] τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ, "the whole duration of human life" (cf. v. 9. 3 for a different sense).

The Greek "limit," like that of Psalm xc. 10, varied from seventy to eighty years (cf. iii. 22 for the latter, and Solon frag. 27 (line 17) and 20 ὀγδωκονταέτη μοῖρα κίχου θανάτου for the two limits respectively).

[3] ἐνιαυτός (v. Liddell & Scott s.v.) is any season of time (cf. *Od.* i. 16 ἔτος ἦλθε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν); here it is made 360 days, a rough average between the solar and the lunar year (for the length of these and for the Calendar generally cf. ii. 4 nn.).

H. makes a mistake as to "intercalary months"; if they were ever inserted every other year, then the ordinary months were strictly lunar (i.e., 29½ days), and made up only 354 days (not 360, see above): it is more probable, however, that there were only three intercalary months in eight years. H.'s calculation would give an average of 375 days a year.

[4] συμφορή. Tr. "man is altogether a thing of chance"; cf. vii. 49. 3 for the sentiment, and Heraclitus' famous πάντα ρεῖ, οὐδὲν μένει.

[5] This Solonian paradox is discussed by Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* i. 11). Cf. *Soph. O.T.* 1528 seq. for an almost verbal repetition and introd. p. 7; but the idea is a commonplace of Greek thought.

Join μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου (partitive genitive): the contrast between the "wealthy unhappy men" and "the lucky men of moderate means" is forced and not consistent with the omnipotence of chance; if H. meant that wealth is not εὐδαιμονία (as Aristotle, in *Eth. Nic.* x. 8. 9–11, where he refers to this passage), he certainly fails to say so; if he means that a man may be unlucky (ἀτυχής) though wealthy, he is elaborately stating the obvious.

ἄπηρος κτλ.: for some of these conditions (ὧν οὐκ ἄνευ) necessary to happiness cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* i. 8. 16; τὸ εὖ ζῆν combined for a Greek the two ideas of "good life" and "good living" (i.e., prosperity).

[8] The insufficiency of man causes the formation of the πόλις (Plato *Resp.* ii. 369 seq.); the πόλις is to be ἀντάρκης, Arist. *Pol.* vii. 4. 14 seq., 1326b; but Plato (*Resp.* 370e) sees (as Solon here) that no πόλις can supply all it needs.

[9] **πρόρογίζους**. Cf. vii. 46. 4 for the sentiment, and iii. 40. 3, where πρόρογίζος is again used.

### i. 33

The change of subject from Solon (ἐχαρίζετο) to Croesus (ἀποπέμπεται) is harsh (though not without parallel; cf. 31. 1), and so is the non-correspondence of οὔτε, οὔτε.

### i. 34

**ὀλβιώτατον**. For the thought cf. 32. 1 n.

[2] **ἐπέστη**. For the phrase and idea cf. *Il.* ii. 20, the dream of Agamemnon.

The name Atys is that of the Phrygio-Lyidian deity, Attes or Attis, clearly connected with the Syrian Ate (whose female double is Atargatis; cf. Meyer, i. 487): the cult itself is probably of Hittite origin and is closely connected with that of Adonis (Thammuz; cf. ii. 79. 2 n.). Frazer (*G.B.*<sup>2</sup> ii. 130–7) describes the cult, and says that Attis is “a deity of vegetation whose divine life manifested itself in the pine tree and the spring violets” (used in his ritual). According to one form of the legend Attes was killed by a boar, according to the other form (current in Pessinus) by self-mutilation (Paus. vii. 17. 10–12); this latter story is immortalized in the Attis of Catullus. Attes is both son and lover of the great mother-goddess, Cybele. For the worship of the mother and the son in Asia Minor cf. Ramsay, *C.B.*, 87, 264. The swine, originally “the sacred victim,” typical of the god himself, has become by false interpretation the enemy of the God (Farnell, *G.C.* ii, p. 646). The interest of the story, from the historical point of view, is that H. (or his informants) has introduced a cult-myth into history; it has received a Greek colouring, for the steps taken to avert calamity are the means of bringing it to pass. (Cf. the myth of Oedipus.) The fact underlying the story seems to be that Croesus had a son, Atys, who died young. For Atys’ son, Pythius, cf. vii. 27. 1.

[3] **οί**: an Ethic dative; but it is used by H. also as a sort of possessive pronoun, e.g., iii. 14. 7 τῶν συμποτέων οί.

### i. 35

Phrygia had probably been conquered by Alyattes (cf. app. i, § 7); but Winckler (*A.F.* ii. 141) thinks the story here implies that it was still independent: Aeschylus (*Pers.* 770) speaks of its conquest by Cyrus as distinct from that of Lydia.

[2] The rite of purification (as performed by Circe for Jason and Medea) is described in Ap. Rhod. iv. 693 seq.; among other ceremonies a sucking pig was slain, and the blood poured on the guilty hands. The rite never occurs in Homer; it first appears in Gk. literature in the fragment of the Aethiopsis of Arctinus, where Achilles is purified for the murder of Thersites. The old view was (Grote, i. 25) that

the idea of purification was not Greek and was introduced from abroad; the usual modern view (Harrison, *Prolegomena*) is that the chthonian worships, with which rites of purification were connected, were pre-Homeric, i.e., pre-Achaean, and deliberately ignored by Homer in the interests of the Olympian deities. Cf. Frazer, *P.*, iii. 53 seq. for rites of purification generally.

For the similarity between Greeks and Lydians cf. app. i, § 5.

[3] The name Adrastus seems to refer to the goddess Adrasteia (= "Necessity"; cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 936); for her connection with Nemesis cf. Farnell, *G.C.* ii. 499–500; he shows that she was a form of Cybele, who, "through a misunderstanding of the name," acquired the character, really foreign to her, of "a stern goddess of justice." The Phrygian and the Argive Adrastus (cf. v. 67 n.) are both the victims of "inevitable fate."

#### i. 36

χοῦμα with gen. is a colloquialism common in H. and Aristophanes. Cf. χεμιῶνος χρ. ἀφόρητον vii. 188, and *Nub.* 2 τὸ χρ. τῶν νυκτῶν ὅσον.

#### i. 37

[2] H., like a true Greek, gives the Lydians an ἀγορά and calls them "citizens."

#### i. 39

τό goes with λέληθε, as well as with μανθάνεις, as an accus. of respect (tr. "wherein").

#### i. 42

[2] ὀφείλω . . . χορηστοῖσι. A striking instance of tragic irony.

#### i. 43

[2] H. lays stress on the significant name; cf. 35. 3 n.

#### i. 44

[2] Zeus is invoked in a triple character, as the god who enjoined purification from unintentional guilt, and as the protector both of the hearth and of the rights of friendship; this (i.e., three attributes of one god) is a sort of intermediate stage to the idea of three gods with different attributes.

ἐπίστιον. The suppliant actually took refuge in the hearth when appealing to Zeus ἐπίστιος. For cult titles cf. Farnell, *G. C.* i. 35.

Croesus not only asks for vengeance, but himself has a grievance against heaven; this he gives up (45. 2), just as he accepts Apollo's explanation in chap. 91. "The ways of god to men" are "justified" in the wisdom which Croesus learns by experience.

### i. 45

[3] **φονεὺς μὲν**. The rhetorical turn is to be noted, and the contrast between Adrastus' royal birth and the disasters which had befallen him. **φονεὺς** is of course not literally true, but the exaggeration is natural. So Euripides makes Hecuba (882) call the murderer of her son τὸν ἐμὸν φονέα.

### i. 46

Croesus was the brother-in-law of Astyages (74. 4); but he had other than personal motives. The power of Persia was a menace to all the secondary powers (cf. 77. 2 for their union), just as that of Media had been under Cyaxares (cf. 73. 3 n. for diplomatic interference with Media). Moreover, Lydian trade was in danger from the uncivilized Persians (cf. 71. 2).

[2] For wholesale consultation of oracles cf. viii. 133–4.

For Greek oracles in general cf. Myers' brilliant essay in *Hellenica*, and Boucher-Leclercq, *Divination dans l'Antiquité*, vol. iii.

For the locality and oracle of Dodona cf. Frazer, *P.*, ii. 159–60, for Zeus of Ammon ii. 42 n.

Abae in E. Phocis; for its oracle cf. viii. 27, 33 n., 134, and Paus. x. 35 (with Frazer, v. 436 seq., who describes the present state of the ruins).

For Amphiarus and Trophonius cf. viii. 134 nn. The temple of Apollo at Didyma (cf. 157. 3 for description of it, 158 for its Medism (?), and vi. 19. 3 for its destruction in 494 B.C.; also 92. 2 nn.) was 22½ miles from Miletus; it was often called "of Branchidae," from the priestly family (cf. τοὺς Βραγχίδας 158. 1), in whose charge it was; the name of the mythical founder, Branchus, has been connected etymologically with the Sans. *Brahman*, Lat. *flamen*. Some see in Apollo of B. a pre-Greek god (Meyer, i. 483; Paus. vii. 2. 6). Its site was explored by Newton (*Essays*, 75 seq.), who brought (1858) from its Sacred Way to the Br. Mus. ten great seated figures of priests, which are interesting as showing Egyptian influence on Greek art in the sixth century (cf. Frazer, *P.*, iv. 126). One of them, that of Chares (No. 14), is probably the oldest extant Greek portrait. The explorations were resumed by the Germans in 1899.

### i. 47

**συγγραψαμένους**, "causing them to be written down for them," i.e., by the προφήτης, who put the answer of the πρόμαντις (vii. 111. 2) into proper shape, usually into hexameters (cf. chap. 174 for iambics); here, however, the Pythia or πρόμαντις seems to have given her answer in verse directly, without intermediary. In later times, from third century onwards, prose was the usual medium. As the answers were given all together, once a year originally, and once a month later (Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 9, *Mor.* 292), it is obvious that the προφήτης was all-important. Cf. Frazer, *P.*, v. 235 for the inspiration of the πρόμαντις.

[2] **μέγαρον** is always used by H. in a religious sense, though in Homer it means simply “chamber” or (mostly in plural) “house” (cf. *aedes*). Perhaps the Herodotean sense is the original one; the word may be connected with Semitic *maghar* (“cave,” Robertson-Smith, *Relig. of Sem.* p. 200). This use survives in the μέγαρα or “caves” into which pigs were thrown at the Thesmophoria (Paus. ix. 8. 1 and Frazer, v. 29). For an underground shrine (of Palaemon) cf. Paus. ii. 2. 1.

**μέγαρον** is the temple itself as opposed to the **τέμενος** (cf. vi. 134. 2), and especially the shrine proper, where stood the image of the god (ii. 141. 3); it sometimes seems to be used interchangeably with **ἄδυτον** (cf. vii. 140. 1 and 3). It is, however, used for the whole building (not merely the shrine), ii. 143. 2. The “shrine” at Delphi was at the west end of the *cella*, and beneath was the chasm into which it is said the priestess went down to divine (Frazer, v. 352–3; but cf. Oppé, *JHS* xxiv, for good reasons against believing in “the chasm”).

[3] The **δέ** is common in oracles (cf. 174. 5 and *passim*); it marks off an answer from a preceding one given to other inquirers (ut sup.).

For a like claim to omniscience cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 44 seq.

**χαλκόν**, cogn. acc. Cf. *Il.* iii. 57 **λάινον ἔσσο χιτῶνα**, “with brass is it (the tortoise) clad above”; cf. 48. 2 for explanation.

#### **i. 48**

**προσίετο**. This verb is more often used by H. with a personal subject, e.g., 135. 1 **ξεινικὰ νόμια Πέρσαι προσίενται**, but here of the thing, tr. “none took him” (cf. our “I take it” and “it takes me”). This second use is found in Aristophanes, e.g., *Eq.* 359, *Vesp.* 741. Some see in the remark as to Amphiarus (c. 49) a tradition inconsistent with the statement here. But the story—no doubt a Delphic one—is consistent; Apollo alone gave a complete answer, but the neighbouring shrine of Amphiarus did well enough to save its credit.

**προσεύχετο**: he “worshipped,” recognizing in the oracle the power of the god. If the whole story is not simply a Delphic invention, we must suppose that Croesus was “working the oracle” for the benefit of his Greek allies.

[2] **αὐτός** is emphatic; Croesus carried out his own plan, so as to keep his secret to the last.

#### **i. 50**

**πάντα**: 3000 of every kind (cf. the idiomatic **πάντα δέκα**, iv. 88. 1). The account of this holocaust is like that given by Lucian (*Syr. D.* 49, p. 485) of the spring sacrifice at Hierapolis; the offering of Croesus, however, is the provision of a feast for the god on a great scale, with all the furniture of the costliest, while that in Lucian leads up to self-mutilation in ecstatic frenzy.

[2] The **πλίνθος** or “ingot” was square; they were “beaten out” with the hammer (cf. 68. 1 for **ἐξήλαυνε**); these **ἡμιπλίνθια** were about 18 by 9 by 3 inches. H. no

doubt takes all these measurements from the inventory of Delphic treasures, and therefore is calculating by the Greek πῆχυς, not the Persian (cf. 178. 3 n.).

τρῖτον ῆ., “2½ talents”; for this colloquial commercialism cf. Latin *sestertius*, German *drittehalb*, etc.

λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ: ἤλεκτρον, a natural alloy of gold and silver, obtained from the washings of the Pactolus; it was also made artificially later. It consisted of at least 20 per cent. of silver to 80 of gold (cf. Plin. *H.N.* xxxiii. 80 “ubicumque quinta argenti portio est, electrum vocatur”); the usual proportion of silver was 27 per cent. Its value was to that of silver as 10 to 1 (that of gold to silver was reckoned at 13.3 to 1, cf. iii. 95. 1 n.), and so it was the first metal used in coins (cf. 94. 1 n.), for convenience of calculation as well as for its greater durability (Head, *H.N.*<sup>1</sup> xxxiv). Stein thinks that, as electron ingots of this size, if solid, would weigh more than two talents, these were hollow. The number he explains by the arrangement of the pedestal; the lion stood on the “four ingots of pure gold,” under which were three stages of electrum ones, 15 (5 by 3), 35 (7 by 5), and 63 (9 by 7) respectively (i.e., 4 + 15 + 35 + 63 = 117). The “ingots” were melted down by Phayllus in the Sacred War (Diod. 16. 56, who makes them 120, and mentions statues of a lion (cf. 50. 3) and of a woman (51. 5) as meeting the same fate).

[3] The lion was the beast of Cybele and Sandon, and appears as a type on early Lydian coins (cf. Hill, *G.C.* pl. I. 7); nearly half the coins found at Ephesus (1904–5) show it (Hogarth, *E.* p. 90). For its place in Lydian mythology cf. 84. 3 (the story of Meles’ lion cub), and in Anatolian art *JHS* xix. 46–7 (with fig.); a stone lion from Branchidae of this date is in the Br. Mus. (No. 17).

The temple at Delphi was burned down in 548 B.C. (Paus. x. 5. 13; cf. ii. 180. 1 n.; for the restoration and the general history of the temple cf. v. 62 n., and Frazer, *P.*, v. 328 seq.)

## i. 51

This chapter is most interesting as showing the familiarity of H. with Delphi.

[2] For the Croesus bowl in its “angle” cf. viii. 122. 1. Stein thinks the reference is to the projecting “angle,” formed by one of the two antae, with which the walls of the cella ended in front towards the πρόναος.

γάρ. H. knows its size, because it was filled at the Theophania, a spring festival, which commemorated at Delphi the reappearance of the Sun-god.

[3] For Theodorus cf. Murray, *G.S.* i. 74 seq., where his works are enumerated and his originality discussed. He and Rhoecus (iii. 60. 4 n.) διέχεαν χαλκὸν πρῶτοι καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐχωνεύσαντο (Paus. viii. 14. 8); cf. also Plin. *H.N.* xxxiv. 83. For an early instance of bronze casting at Samos cf. iv. 152. 4. Theodorus was the maker of Polycrates’ ring (iii. 41. 1 n.), and also of the golden plane-tree (vii. 27. 2, though H. does not give his name in this case); he probably was a contemporary of Alyattes. Overbeck (*Schriftq.* 274–93) distinguishes an elder and a younger Theodorus.

For ceremonial sprinklings cf. Tylor, *P.C.* ii. 434; the vessels stood, like modern holy-water stoups, by the entrance.

**φαμένων . . . λέγοντες:** the anacoluthon is very harsh. Kirchhoff argues (1) that the falsification was official, (2) that a motive for such complaisance towards Lacedaemonians is found in 448 B.C. (Thuc. i. 112. 5); therefore H.'s visit must have been about 447. The gaps in this argument are obvious. It is interesting to see H. exercising his critical faculty on the Temple records.

[5] **οὐκ ἐπίσημα:** Liddell & Scott "without an inscription" (as opposed to ἐπιγέγραπται § 3), not, as Stein, "indistinguishable"; this implies that most of the articles bore the name of Croesus as giver.

**ἀρτοκόπου.** The step-mother of Croesus attempted to poison him, and his life was saved by his "baker" (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 401e, *De Pyth. Or.* chap. 16, and chap. 92 for the conspiracy of Croesus' step-brother, Pantaleon).

#### **i. 52**

**τὸ ξυστόν** should be a genitive absolute, but as it is a part of the αἰχμή it is attracted into the same case (cf. ii. 41. 4).

#### **i. 53**

For the temple of the Ismenian Apollo cf. 92. 1 n.

The Parian marble (app. xiv, § 6) dates this embassy 555 B.C., which Busolt (ii. 460 n.) makes the year of Croesus' accession.

There seems to be no difference in sense between the subjunctive and the optative here; they are both deliberative; cf. i. 185. 6, where the optative precedes, for a similar change.

[2] We may suppose that the liberality of Croesus was intended to secure the Lacedaemonian alliance through Delphic influence.

[3] The oracle ran Κροῖσος Ἄλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει (Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 5).

#### **i. 54**

The staters were rather more than 25 per cent. heavier than darics, and therefore worth about £1 8s. each. Plutarch, however (*De Sera* 12, p. 556), makes Croesus propose to give a larger sum—"four minae" = about £16.

[2] The προμαντεία was the right of either consulting the oracle on behalf of others (Homolle) or of consulting the oracle before ordinary visitors, whose positions were determined by lot; the analogy of προεδρία makes the second explanation preferable. The whole question is discussed in *REG* xiii., p. 281 seq., which sums up on the whole against Homolle's view. ἀτέλεια was freedom from taxes for Lydians consulting the shrine; the προεδρία was the right to front places at the Pythian and other festivals (cf. ix. 73. 3 for such rights). These honours and similar ones (e.g., προδικία and ἔγκτησις καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας, which corresponds

to the γίνεσθαι Δελφόν of this passage) are found in inscriptions at Delphi (e.g., Dittenberger, 484, 662; the former of these is in favour of Sardes—"as an ancient friend"). Radet (p. 217) compares the decree in honour of Croesus with the rights given by the Amphictyons to Philip in 346 B.C.; it made him a member of the Hellenic world (cf. Jebb, *Essays*, p. 223, for similar grants at Delos).

#### **i. 55**

ἐνεφορέετο, "filled himself full of," i.e., "used to the full"; cf. Plut. *Cic.* 19 μὴ δοκοίη τῆς ἐξουσίας ἄγαν ἐμφορεῖσθαι, (Cic. feared) "lest he should be thought to abuse his authority" (against the Catilinarians).

[2] For explanation of this oracle cf. chap. 91. 5.

ποδαβρέ. The effeminacy of the Lydians was later (cf. app. i, § 4 and chaps. 79. 3, 155); but they had already developed a luxurious civilization (cf. chap. 71. 2, the story of Sandanis).

#### **i. 56–58**

*A digression on the races of Greece.* With this generally cf. app. xv.

#### **i. 56**

[2] A Dorian himself, H. identifies the Dorians with the Hellenes. Hellas was originally a district in Thessaly, closely connected with Phthia and ruled by Achilles (*Il.* ix. 395), whose followers are "Myrmidons and Hellenes" (*Il.* ii. 684). But in the Catalogue (ii. 530) it is also used as a general name, Πανέλληνες (cf. καθ' Ἑλλάδα καὶ μέσον Ἄργος, *Od.* i. 344 and passim—a verse condemned by Aristarchus as an interpolation). "Hellas" was already used in a general sense by Archilochus and Hesiod (Strabo, 370), i.e., in the seventh century, and had become established in this sense before 580 B.C., when two "Hellanodicae" (cf. IGA 112) were appointed for the Olympic games; but the date depends on the reading in Paus. v. 9. 4, 5, which is a little uncertain (cf. Frazer, *P.*, i. 584; iii. 489). Thucydides (i. 3) describes the transition from the special to the general sense; this was probably due to the influence of the myth of Achilles; as the Greeks, by contrast with the barbarians, became conscious of their own similarity, it was natural they should assume the name of the people whose chief was the hero of the national epic and the type of heroic manhood. The adoption of the name may be connected with the spread of Dorian influence (cf. Ζεὺς Ἑλλάνιος and Ἀθανά Ἑλλανία in the ῥήτρα of Lycurgus, Plut. *Lyc.* 6).

The origin of "Hellenes" is uncertain; it may be connected with the Σελλοί, the priests of Zeus at Dodona (*Il.* xvi. 234, where Achilles prays to this god). This is partially confirmed by Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 14, 352a), who says that "ancient Hellas" was περὶ Δωδώνην. For the whole subject cf. Busolt, i. 196 seq. Bury has an ingenious theory that the name received its first great extension in connection with the Achaean colonies in Magna Graecia (*JHS* xv. 236); but his proof is by no means complete.

This chapter (with chap. 145, and viii. 43 and 73) is interesting as showing that the story of the Dorian Invasion was fully developed in H.'s time: he assumes its main points and even refers to details, e.g., vi. 52, ix. 26. 3. The questions as to it may be summed up under two heads:

(1) *Evidence for reality of Dorian Invasion.*

The oldest evidence for it is Tyrtaeus, frag. 2 (in Str. 362):

Ζεὺς Ἡρακλείδαις τήνδε δέδωκε πόλιν·  
οἷσιν ἄμα προλιπόντες Ἐρινεὸν ἠνεμόεντα,  
εὐρεῖαν Πέλοπος νῆσον ἀφικόμεθα.

(Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 63 seq.) Beloch (*RM* xlv) argues that the story is an invention, based on mistaken etymologies (e.g., of "Naupactus") and unhistorical combinations, to explain the difference between Homeric Greece and Historic Greece. His arguments are briefly these: (a) The evidence is late; there is nothing as to the migration in Homer (but Homer is equally silent as to Greek migrations to Asia Minor which are pretty generally accepted). (b) Race names are very late (Thuc. i. 3; but this argument confuses name and fact: races exist as distinct, though their general names may be late). (c) There was no real gap between "Mycenaean" and historic times, e.g., a Dorian column is found in the Lion Gate at Mycenae. The transition was gradual, but the Greeks, not understanding such a process, invented a catastrophe. (This argument is not admitted by archaeologists generally; it makes the Mycenaean culture too late; cf. Busolt, i. 116 n.)

Arguments for the historic reality of the invasion are (cf. generally Meyer, ii. 47): (a) Modern archaeological research tends to vindicate the accuracy of Greek myths in their general outlines. (b) If tradition is ever good evidence, it would be so for an event of such importance. (c) Tradition is confirmed by the existence of subject classes (probably subject races) in many parts of the Peloponnese. (d) The Dorians always looked on themselves as being new-comers in the Peloponnese. (e) The tradition explains such facts as resemblance of Dorian and Aeolian dialects (Busolt, i. 195) and the connection of the Lacedaemonians with Doris, which is of great importance in historic times (Thuc. i. 107. 2).

It must be frankly admitted, however, that we know nothing of the details of the Invasion.

(2) *Main points as to Dorian Invasion.*

(a) *As to its origin.* It was part of a general movement from the North, connected with the Phrygian migration (vii. 73), and perhaps (but remotely) with the invasions of Egypt under the Nineteenth Dynasty (cf. app. x, § 8).

(b) *As to its course.*

(i) The invaders were of mixed race; all probability (cf. the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones) confirms tradition on this.

(ii) Doris was a stage in the progress of part of the invaders.

(iii) Some of the conquerors came by sea (cf. the local tradition as to Solygeius (Thuc. iv. 42. 2) and the Temeneion near Argos (Strabo, 368)).

(iv) The conquest was gradual, and may have been assisted by the discontented elements in the population of the Peloponnese.

(c) *As to its ultimate results.* It was part of a series of movements. Thucydides (i. 2. 3) connects it, though not causally, with the conquest of Boeotia; and it may have led to the migration to Asia Minor (c. 145).

[3] τὸ μὲν: obviously the Pelasgic race, although this sense is inconsistent with what H. says of Pelasgians in Asia Minor (146. 1) or of those in Attica (vi. 137); he writes too absolutely, having in view only the contrast between the mass of the Athenians, who were οὐ μετανάσται (vii. 161. 3), and the much-wandering Dorians. These are placed first in Phthiotis, because this was the traditional home of Deucalion, the Greek Noah, the grandfather of Aeolus, Xuthus, and Dorus. H. may be following the post-Homeric epic, "Aegimius."

Histiaeotis was in northwest Thessaly; H. transfers it to the northeast (the district really of Thessaliois (57. 1)), probably in accordance with Cretan tradition (for Dorians in Crete cf. *Od.* xix. 177). The invaders of Crete must have originally lived on the sea coast.

**Καδμείων.** For the Cadmeans cf. v. 61. 2 n.; as there it is said that the Cadmeans fled to the Illyrian Encheleis, their migration must have been to northwest; hence it is obvious that the legend placed the Dorians in northwest Thessaly (not northeast).

**Πίνδω.** P. is one of the towns of the Dorian Tetrapolis, the others being Erineus (cf. viii. 43 and Tyrtaeus, ut sup.), Boeum, and Cytinium (Strabo, 427); it lay on a river of the same name on the southeast of Mount Oeta; for it cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 65 ἔσχον δ' Ἀμύκλας ὄλβιοι Πινδόθεν ὀρνύμενοι. Others (less probably) take Pindus to be the mountain chain, i.e., H. would bring his Dorians from northeast to northwest Thessaly and then later (ἐνθεῦτεν αὐθις) to their home in Doris.

**Μακεδνόν.** Stein doubts whether H. means to connect the Dorians with the Macedonians (cf. viii. 43), arguing that H., if he had believed this, would have explained the unusual form (Μακεδνόν) by the common one (Μακεδών). It seems, however, as if H. must have been thinking of the claim of the Macedonian kings to be Argives (cf. v. 22. 2; viii. 137); but this would prove nothing as to connection of the races. He may be referring to some unknown tradition, connecting the Dorians in northwest Thessaly with their Macedonian neighbours to the north; e.g., Myres (*JHS* xxvii. 178) shows that in the Homeric Catalogue the strip of coast between Mount Olympus and the Axios is unaccounted for; he argues that the Dorians (unknown to Homer except in *Od.* xix. 177) had already reached this.

**Δρυοπίδα.** D. was the original name of the lower part of the Pindus valley, which in historic times was Doris (viii. 31; cf. Strabo, 434). The Dryopians originally

dwelt on both sides of Mount Oeta, and south as far as Parnassus; they are said to have been expelled from the coast by the Malians, and by Heracles from the Pindus valley (Apollod. ii. 7. 7). Heracles was especially honoured by the Malians (vii. 176. 3), and in the east of Central Greece generally (Meyer, ii. 166). Here the Dorians learned his worship, and made his son Hyllus to be adopted by king Aegimius, and so to be the ancestor of the Spartan kings. The expelled Dryopes settled at Hermione and Asine in the Peloponnese (viii. 73. 2), at Styra (viii. 46. 4), and Carystus in Euboea (Thuc. vii. 57. 4); also in Cythnus (viii. 46. 4) and in Ionia (146. 1). For an account of the Dryopes, based in part on cult usage, cf. Paus. iv. 34. 6.

**οὐτως:** i.e., they get their Dorian name when they conquer the Peloponnese. This is probably wrong; "it is native in the upper Cephissus valley" (Meyer, ii. 47).

### i. 57

For H.'s Pelasgian theories and for the relation of Pelasgi to Hellenes cf. app. xv. He here tries to infer the original language of the whole people from survivals in his own day; his method is scientific, whatever may be thought of his results.

**Κρηστώνα.** If this is read, Creston is a town in Thrace, north of Chalcidice, on the high ground between the Axios and the Strymon; this district is called Κρηστωνική (vii. 124. 1; cf. Thuc. ii. 99. 6 Γρηστωνία). This reading is open to objections: (1) Creston is not definitely mentioned *as a town* elsewhere except in St. Byz., who is quoting H. (2) H. calls the inhabitants of the district Κρηστωναῖοι (v. 3. 2), not Κρηστωνιῆται as here. (3) The only Pelasgians in this district are in the Athos peninsula (Thuc. iv. 109. 4), and these are definitely called "the Tyrsenians who formerly settled in Lemnos and Athens"; but H. distinguishes the people here from the Tyrsenians and from the Pelasgians "who lived with the Athenians."

Hence Niebuhr conjectured Κροτώνα and Κροτωνιῆται in § 3, i.e., Cortona in Etruria, originally an Umbrian town, which H. distinguishes from the famous Croton in South Italy by the words ὑπὲρ T. This conjecture has been widely accepted (e.g., by Meyer, *F.* i. 234); the reasons are:

(1) Τυρσηνοί everywhere in H. means "the Etruscans."

(2) Dion. Hal. i. 29, quoting this passage, καὶ γὰρ δὴ . . . ἐν φυλακῇ (3), reads Κροτωνιῆται, and (i. 18 seq.) describes the migration of the Pelasgians to Umbria, where they made Cortona their chief town (cf. Hell. frag. 1 for the same tradition; but Hell. identifies the Pelasgians and the Etruscans).

(3) The reading Κρηστώνα, it is suggested, is a later correction, based on an inaccurate remembrance of Thuc. iv. 109.

For the objections to this conjecture cf. Myres, *JHS* xxvii. 195 seq.; he argues 1) H. is unfamiliar with Italy, and would not compare an Italian town with Aegean peoples; 2) he knows this part of the Aegean coast-line well; 3) the passage of Thucydides really confirms H. It may be added that the MSS. agree in giving Κρηστώνα. For H.'s familiarity with North Italy cf. 196. 1.

Thessaliothis lay west of Olympus and Ossa (cf. 56. 3 for Dorians there); it was more often called "Pelasgiotis."

[2] Placie and Scylace lay east of Cyzicus on the Propontis (here called "Hellespont"; cf. iv. 38. 2 n.). For the expulsion of "Pelasgians" from Attica cf. vi. 137 n., from Lemnos, vi. 140, and app. xv, § 5.

[3] **χαρακτῆρα**. H. uses this word of the four Ionian dialects (142. 4); from this parallel Thirlwall (i. 53) argued that H. meant here that "the Pelasgian language . . . sounded to him a strange jargon, as did the dialect of Ephesus to a Milesian, and as the Bolognese does to a Florentine." This is ingenious, but the Pelasgian question cannot be settled so easily.

#### **i. 58**

**ἀποσχισθέν**. The sense of this word is shown in iv. 56. 1, where H. uses it of a river separating from another; so in 143. 2, of the "separation" of the Ionians of Asia Minor from the rest of the Ionians. Obviously, therefore, H. thought his "barbarian" Pelasgi closely akin to the Hellenes. In 60. 3 H. says τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπεκρίθη τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνους, i.e., marked itself off as somewhat superior. Thucydides (i. 3. 2) carries the process a stage further; the development is not "spontaneous," but the result of "contact with the φύσις of the genuine Hellene"; T. s' "explanation of the transmissibility of culture is to be sought not in physiology but in psychology" (Myres, *A. and C.*, 152). Whether **ἀποσχισθέν** here implies local or ethnical separation, it is impossible to decide, but probably the latter.

**μέντοι**: contrasted with μέν, growth as compared to language.

**προσκεχωρηκότων**. Thucydides (i. 3) also speaks of the "Hellenes" absorbing Pelasgic and other peoples; among these "others" are the Minyans of Orchomenus, the Abantes, the Dryopes (146. 1), etc.

#### **i. 59–64**

The account of the tyranny of Pisistratus, one of the most valuable of H.'s contributions to sixth century history; for it cf. app. xvi, §§ 5–8. It should be read with Arist. *Ath. Pol.* chaps. 13. 3–17, an account based in part on H., but with many additions (cf. Busolt, ii. 302 n. 2). For H.'s general judgement of the Pisistratidae cf. v. 78 n.

#### **i. 59**

**κατεχόμενον καὶ δ**. These words have been attacked as unfair; but it must be remembered that they are a description of Athens, as Croesus would hear of it ca. 550 B.C.; as such they are too compressed, but in the main accurate; Athens was "held down" by P., and the fact that it was "torn asunder" gave him his opportunity.

[2] Chilon was ephor at Sparta about 560; Sosicrates said of him πρώτος εἰσηγήσατο ἐφόρους τοῖς βασιλεῦσι παραζευγνύναι (Diog. Laert. i. 68); this is

taken by some (e.g., Niese in *PW* s.v Chilon) to mean that he established the ephorate; but more probably it only implies that he greatly increased its power. A fragment of a second century author (Rylands Papyri, No. 18) says of him with King Anaxandridas that *τυραννίδας κατέλυσαν*; it goes on to mention Hippias of Athens and Aeschines of Sicyon, apparently as put down by these two (cf. Plut. *De Mal.* 21, and app. xvi, § 10); but the fragment breaks off suddenly. This tradition may well be true in the main, though the chronology is inaccurate. For his connection with the Lycurgean discipline cf. chap. 65 n. He was reckoned as one of the Seven Sages (cf. 27. 2 n.), and Plut. (*Mor.* 35f) says a collection of his pithy sayings was extant. Cf. vii. 235. 2 for his practical wisdom.

[3] τῷ λόγῳ, "making himself the champion of the cause of"; λόγος is partly the "account" to be taken of his partisans, partly what could be urged in their favour. Stein thinks there is an implied opposition to ἔργῳ, "nominally" he was for others, really for himself; but this is forced. Myres (*A. and C.*, 165) says: "the phrase suggests that it was not a district, but a region that was in question—a region above the corn level." He adds that any one from the Acropolis in spring can "recognize the abrupt change from emerald green to purple and brown, which tells where πεδίων and cornland end, and the goats of the ὑπεράκρια begin."

The rise of these factions was the natural result of the Solonian changes, which had broken down the traditional rule of the Eupatridae. The local divisions, on which the factions were largely based, are reflected in the myth of the four sons of Pandion (Strabo, 392); but no doubt the main struggle was between the old landed aristocracy and the rising mercantile class.

The παραλία is the southern half of Attica, the triangle terminating in Sunium, the πεδίων is the southwest of Attica, the basin of the Cephissus and the Thriasian plain. Cf. Thuc. ii. 55. 1 οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔτεμον τὸ πεδίων, παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρείου, where the Athenians have their silver mines." Ure ("Origin of the Tyrannis," *JHS* xxvi. 136) suggests that the Διάκριοι are not local, but are "the mining population of Attica" supporting "the great mine-owner, Pisistratus." But, not to speak of the evidence of Thucydides (ut sup.), there is no reason to think that any large section of the Athenian population was employed in the mines at this time, even if free men ever worked there, which is very doubtful; Solon, frag. 13. 49–50, quoted by Ure, refers to manufactures not to mines.

H. differs from *Ath. Pol.* 13. 4 in making the third faction later than the rest (it certainly would be organized later); he also gives its name differently, ὑπεράκριοι, not διάκριοι (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 29 for the latter form).

For Megacles cf. the story of Agariste's wooing, vi 126 seq.; for the Alcmaeonid family cf. 60. 2 n.; his great-niece was the mother of Pericles, whose second son was called "Paralus." Lycurgus was an Eteobutad; to this aristocratic faction belonged the Philaidae; cf. vi. 35 seq. for the story of their chief, Miltiades.

The faction of Pisistratus was in east and northeast Attica; his own deme, Φιλαΐδαι (Plut. *Sol.* 10), lay near Brauron some twenty miles south of Marathon; cf. chap. 62 for his strength in this region. Near Brauron was discovered the στήλη of an Aristion, who may well be (Bury, pp. 192–3) the man of that name who proposed (*Ath. Pol.* 14. 1) the tyrant's bodyguard.

[4] δῆθεν shows the statement is false; cf. 73. 5. The πολυθρόλητον αἵτημα (Plato *Resp.* 566b) for a bodyguard was the first step to tyranny.

στρατηγίη. H. probably uses this word in a non-technical sense, but even if he meant it to be technical, it would prove nothing; he is often anachronistic in his constitutional details; cf. vi. 109 n. There is no evidence for the existence of the στρατηγοί before Cleisthenes, except in the more than suspicious "Constitution of Draco" (*Ath. Pol.* 4); if they existed, they were mere subordinates of the Polemarch. For the tyrant owing his rise to distinction in war cf. *Arist. Pol.* v. 5. 6–8 (1305a) with Newman's note. For the chronology of the wars with Megara cf. Busolt, ii. 217 seq. Some (e.g., Sayce) have supposed that H. makes here a mistake similar to that as to Croesus and Solon (cf. chap. 29 nn.), introducing Pisistratus into a war that really belongs to the previous generation. Others (e.g., Beloch, i. 327) make Pisistratus the conqueror of Salamis, not Solon; but apart from Solon's own poems (frags. 2 and 3) all tradition gives the conquest to the older man. It is more natural therefore to suppose that the Megarian war, victoriously ended by Solon (Plut. *Sol.* 10), had been renewed during the confusion at Athens that followed his legislation (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 12), or perhaps even before his legislation, as Plutarch (chap. 12) definitely states, and that the struggle with Megara was finally ended by Pisistratus; Justin, ii. 8, describes the capture of Nisaea by him, though without naming the town.

The inscription discovered in 1884 may perhaps refer to the settlement of Salamis after the conquest by Pisistratus; but others date it at the end of the sixth century (cf. Hicks, pp. 6–7; Busolt, ii. 444 n. 2).

[5] These "clubmen" (κορυνηφόροι), fifty in number (Plut. *Sol.* 30), were not called by the usual name of a tyrant's guard, δορυφόροι.

[6] ἀκρόπολιν. Cf. Mayor, *Juv.* x. 307 n., for this first step to tyranny

Pisistratus was unlike the usual tyrant (iii. 80. 5), cf. app. xvi, § 5. H. forms a just estimate of the home, but not of the foreign (app. xvi, § 8) policy of Pisistratus.

The τιμαί are the members of the two Councils and the archons; the Pisistratidae αἰεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι (Thuc. vi. 54. 6).

## i. 60

[2] τῇ στάσι. Stein translates "harassed by the attacks of his own party," and cf. 61. 2; but "troubled by the party strife" is simpler. The willingness of the Alcmaeonid family to marry with, and to restore, a tyrant is very inconsistent with their character as "tyrant-haters" in vi. 121, 123; cf. app. xviii, § 6.

[3] ἐπεὶ is to be taken closely with τότε γε, “at that time when the Greek race had long been separated.” It is noticeable that here, as elsewhere, H. holds inconsistent views as to the Pelasgi; they are “barbarians,” but they become Hellenes without difficulty.

[4] The story of the sham Athene is one of the most curious in H.; he is shocked by it, and introduces sarcastic touches (e.g., σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε) into it; but he completely believes it. Grote has an excellent note (iv. 32) on the contrast between the views of the sixth and of the fifth century, implied in H.’s criticism here; he compares the contrast of views as to a combat of champions in H. i. 82 and Thuc. v. 41. As H. had met possibly the sons and certainly the grandsons of men who had seen the restoration, and as he carefully sifted his traditions as to the Pisistratidae (cf. v. 55. 1 n.), it is safer to accept the story, as e.g., Grote, Curtius, Busolt (ii. 321), and others do. Cf. vi. 105. 3 for Athenian acceptance of the supernatural (Pan and Philippides). Somewhat similar acts are that of Telines (vii. 153) and the share of St. Catherine in the return of Gregory XI to Rome in 1376. Beloch, however (*RM* 45, 1890, whom Meyer, *F.* ii. 248, follows), rejects the whole story as a “poetic variation of the historic tradition of the victory at Pallene.” The argument is as follows: the victory was gained at the temple of Athene Pallenis (c. 62. 3); hence Athene was metaphorically said to have restored Pisistratus. The metaphorical version grew into a myth, perhaps with the assistance of a commemorative monument—this suggestion had been made by Stein before Beloch—and then the fiction found a place in history, side by side with the real fact. Beloch concludes that Pisistratus was only restored *once* and expelled *once*, and that the intrigue with Megacles belongs to the first usurpation.

It argues almost greater credulity to suppose that history and myth could become thus inextricably mixed in the course of two generations than to accept the story of Phya. It may be noted that there is independent fourth-century evidence for the story in *A.P.* 14. 4 and in Cleidemus (*Athen.* 609c; *FHG* i. 364), who makes Phya wife of Hipparchus.

This passage is very significant for Greek stature: this “daughter of the gods divinely tall and most divinely fair,” was only about 5 feet 10 inches.

πανοπλίη: i.e., with helmet, breastplate, spear, and shield, as in the familiar Athene statues; cf. iv. 180. 3 for the investing of a mortal with these attributes of Athene.

[5] The demes were pre-Cleisthenean, though he gave them political importance (v. 69. 2 n.); here and in 62. 1 they = “the country districts” as opposed to τὸ ἄστυ; they were the strongholds of Pisistratus, who had the peasants on his side, as opposed to the landowners and the trading class; cf. 59. 3 n.

## i. 61

[3] προσαϊδέατο, “were under obligations to”; cf. iii. 140. 2. The friendship of the Thebans for the Athenian tyrant is very noticeable; the continuous rivalry of the

two great cities in middle Greece through the fifth century was the result of the diplomacy of Cleomenes; cf. vi. 108 nn.

[4] For Lygdamis cf. Arist. *Pol.* v. 6. 1, 1305a 41, with Newman's note; he had become tyrant as leader of the people in avenging an aristocratic outrage (Athen. 348). Apparently he lost his tyranny (this is implied here) and was restored by Pisistratus (64. 2). If we may trust Polyaeus (i. 23) he had assisted Polycrates to obtain the tyranny of Samos, thus forming a link between the two great Ionian tyrants. He seems to combine the two characters of democratic champion and well-born condottiere. For his fall cf. Plut. *De Mal.* chap. 21.

For the curse cf. v. 71 n.

### i. 62

H. gives two notes of time as to the Pisistratid rule, in this passage and in v. 65. 3 (that it lasted thirty-six years): Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 12. 5, 1315b 32) gives it thirty-five years, and to Pisistratus himself seventeen; *Ath Pol.* 17. 1 gives him nineteen years. There are numerous other data in *Ath Pol.* chaps. 14–17, but they are hopelessly confused; see Sandys on *Ath Pol.* 14. 3 for a discussion of the subject.

The ultra-sceptical view is that of Beloch (i. 328), that the traditional dates are merely based on calculations of generations, one for Pisistratus himself and a half for his sons, i.e., 33 + 17 = 50 years in all, and that one-half of his rule is given to exile. Rejecting this argument as a not very probable guess, we may take the following dates as approximate: First tyranny, 560–559, archonship of Comeas (this traditional date is accepted even by Beloch). First exile, 555. Second tyranny, 550. Second exile, 549. Third tyranny, 539. Death, 527. Expulsion of Hippias, 510 (Thuc. vi. 59. 4). But certainty is impossible.

**Μαραθῶνος.** In the Diacria where his party was strong. Cf. 59. 3 n.

[3] ἐς τῶντὸ συνιόντες, "intending to join battle." Pallene lay south of Mount Pentelicus, commanding the pass between it and Hymettus; here the road from Marathon on the northeast joins that from Brauron on the southeast of Athens. The place was the scene of the mythical battles between the Athenians and Eurystheus (Strabo, 377) and between Theseus and Pallas (Plut. *Thes.* 13); this latter battle, like the one here (cf. the oracle), was decided by a surprise.

[4] For Θείη πομπῇ χρεώμενος cf. iii. 77. 1; iv. 152. 2; H. obviously looks on P. as favoured of heaven.

**Αμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνάν.** Some propose to read ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς, because Plato (*Theag.* 124d) calls him ἡμεδαπός, i.e., an Athenian; but the Acarnanian mountaineers were famous seers (cf. vii. 221, Megistias, and the prevalence of second-sight among the Scotch Highlanders). Stein suggests that Pisistratus may have given him citizenship, and compares for this ix. 33 seq.

**χρησμολόγος** (cf. vii. 6. 3) may mean either the seer himself or the collector of oracles (cf. Thuc. ii. 8. 2). The Pisistratidae were closely connected with oracles (cf.

ἐκ τῶν λογίων 64. 2) and seers; they had a collection of oracles (v. 90. 2), and were friendly with Onomacritus the Orphic teacher (vii. 6. 3 n.). Pisistratus himself was nicknamed Bacis (Schol. Ar. *Pax* 1071). This connection, like their temple-building and encouragement of cult, was a convenient support of their rule (cf. app. xvi, § 7).

### i. 63

**ἄριστον**: here the midday meal; the “siesta” or games follow it.

[2] **ἀναβιβάσας**. Helbig (*Les Ἰππεῖς Athéniens*, p. 191) thinks the phrase indicates that the young men were serving as mounted hoplites, not as cavalry; he thinks (p. 231 seq.) Athens had no real cavalry till the period 478–457 B.C.

### i. 64

*Ath. Pol.* 15. 3 mentions a general disarmament. This seems hardly consistent with Thuc. vi. 56, 58. The passage here gives two of the distinguishing marks of a tyranny, direct taxation of citizens and a mercenary force.

**συνόδοισι** is rare for **προσόδοισι**. **αὐτόθεν**: the reference is to the mines of Laurium and to the land-tax of 10 per cent. (*Ath. Pol.* 16. 4), reduced by P.’s sons to 5 per cent. (Thuc. vi. 54. 5).

**Στυμόνος**. *Ath. Pol.* 15. 2 tells us that Pisistratus during his second exile made money from the regions round Mount Pangaeus, i.e., near Amphipolis, where Philippi was founded later. The mines here are to be distinguished from those of Σκαπτὴ Ὑλη opposite Thasos, and owned by that island (vi. 46. 3). The mention of the Thraceward “revenues” agrees with the conjecture, probable on other grounds, that Thucydides the historian, who had possessions in that region (iv. 105. 1), was connected with the Pisistratidae; but cf. Grundy. Thucydides, p. 16.

For a tyrant’s hostages cf. iii. 45. 4.

[2] For Delos cf. vi. 97 n., and app. xvi, § 8 for general foreign policy of Pisistratus.

[3] **μετ’ Ἀλκμεωνιδέων**. As Alcmaeon was agent of Croesus (vi. 125), there were other reasons than those given by H. (59. 1, 65. 1) for Croesus not seeking Athenian alliance.

### i. 65–68

*A digression on Lacedaemonian history, containing accounts of (1) Lycurgus (chap. 65), (2) the foundation of the Lacedaemonian hegemony, especially the war with Tegea. (For the questions as to Lycurgus cf. especially Meyer, F. i. 213–86.)*

(1) *Lycurgus a “heroized god.”*

The historical reality of Lycurgus is often denied (e.g., by Meyer (ut sup.); Busolt, i. 578; Gilbert, G.C.A., 15; Bury, p. 135) because:

(a) The evidence for him is late; apart from Simonides (Plut. *Lyc.* 1) H. is our oldest witness; the fragments of Tyrtaeus never mention him; yet it is equally hard to

believe either that Tyrtaeus would have said nothing of Lycurgus, had he ever existed, or that any mention of him by Tyrtaeus, had there been one, would have failed to be quoted when the subject was so much discussed.

(b) The statements as to Lycurgus are contradictory (cf. 65. 4 for variations of date); and his work was attributed by Hellanicus to Eurysthenes and Procles (frag. 91; *FHG* i. 57).

(c) His name (i.e., "Wolfheart," Meyer, ut sup. 281, or "Light-Worker," Gilbert) is suspicious, as are also those of his father (Eunomus or Prytanis, Plut. 1), and of his son (Eucosmus, Paus. iii. 16. 5).

(d) He was worshipped as a god at Sparta (see below), and Meyer (ii. 277) denies that we find mortals deified in Greece before Alexander; but this is doubtful.

(e) Greek legends tended to ascribe all institutions to some lawgiver; cf. Solon, Zaleucus, etc. "The omnipotence of law" is a "strange Greek superstition"; "they have no sufficient conception of the way in which things are stronger than men, and the passive resistance of circumstances stronger than the insight and will of an individual" (Oncken, *Arist. Staats.-Lehre*, i. 244–5).

Meyer (F. i. 279) goes so far as to suggest that the legend of Lycurgus as founder grew up "gradually after the Persian wars, when the Spartans became conscious of the peculiar character of their native institutions." He is "borrowed from the original population, like the cults of Helen, the Dioscuri, and Agamemnon" (*ibid.* p. 282). Hence Lycurgus is a "heroized divinity"; Gilbert makes him a form of Apollo Λύκειος, Meyer (*ibid.* 282, following Wilamowitz) and Busolt of Zeus Λυκαῖος (the "Wolf-Zeus"), an Arcadian god. Grote, Curtius, Holm, and others, however, make

(2) *Lycurgus a real man.*

(a) Because of the analogy of similar legends; Charlemagne, Roland, and Archbishop Turpin are historical persons, however much their story was embellished in the *Chansons de Geste* (cf. the discussion as to the historical existence of King Arthur, *EB*<sup>9</sup> ii. 651).

(b) The peculiar character of Spartan institutions is best explained by the dominating personality of some individual, who did not invent them, but who systematized them and rendered them permanent. Holm (i. 188) well compares the part played by the Doge Gradenigo in settling the Venetian constitution, Reich the foundation by great personalities of the religious orders in the Roman Church.

(3) *Lycurgus a historical fiction.*

A further difficulty arises from the archaeological discoveries of the British School at Sparta since 1906: these show that the city was a centre of art down to after 600 B.C., and then almost suddenly ceases to be so. It is possible that the Lycurgean ἀγωγή actually dates from this period, and was the work of a reformer (perhaps of Chilon, cf. 59. 2 n.), who attributed his drastic innovations to a supposed ancient

founder, or that at any rate an old and weakly enforced discipline was reintroduced in a stricter form. (For this latter view cf. Dickins in *Class. Quart.* v. 241.) Such a view would account for the absence of genuine tradition as to Lycurgus, while it satisfies the main argument for his existence, viz., that a strong personality is needed to explain so peculiar a development.

If, however, we accept the personality of Lycurgus (Frazer, v. 606, goes so far as to say "It should never have been called in question"), it must be admitted that we know nothing of him; H.'s account is not real history; it is only valuable as the fifth century official Lacedaemonian account of history.

[*Additional Note D (1928): Lycurgus.* The third view as to the personality of Lycurgus (p. 86 ad fin.), viz., that he is a "historic fiction," put forward as covering a very real change that revolutionized Sparta, is now often adopted, but by no means universally (Busolt, e.g., *Staatskunde*, pp. 648f., rejects it). It was suggested independently by Mr. Wade Gery (*CAH* iii. 562), by V. Ehrenberg in his *Neugründer der Stadt.* and by myself in *Studies in H.* (pp. 36ff.). The arguments for it are:

(1) That the narrative of H. himself clearly implies that the revival of Lacedaemonian success in the sixth century was connected with the legislation of "Lycurgus." But if this was so, the official date given by H., i.e., about 1000 B.C., is impossible.

(2) The extraordinary change in Sparta in the century between 650 and 550 B.C., as revealed by archaeology, requires some extraordinary cause to account for it.

(3) About 400 B.C. the ablest statesman in Sparta, Lysander, tried to revolutionize the constitution by forged oracles (Plut. *Lys.* 25–6). Surely it is possible that two hundred years before, an able statesman tried to save his country by a fiction, sanctioned by oracles. The whole question is argued at length in *Studies in H.* pp. 46–53. The view further adopted there (pp. 36–43), that the motive of the "Lycurgus fiction" was the danger from an anti-Dorian reaction in the Peloponnese, has not been generally adopted. It seems to me, however, the most probable explanation, and I venture to connect it with the great tyrants of Corinth, the Cypselidae.

Mr. Wade Gery's explanation of the cause of the revolution (*CAH* iii. 562f.) is that it was the fear of the Helot population, increased as it was by the conquest of Messenia. He thinks that the change was advocated in the *Εὐνομία* of Tyrtaeus, a work of his old age, as the war odes had been a work of his youth. To me it seems incredible that the problem of the origin of the Lycurgean constitution (which was much discussed by the Greek historians) should have remained a mystery, had a poet, whose works were familiar to all, not only made definite reference to the change of constitution but even warmly advocated it.]

#### **i. 65**

Leon, father of Anaxandridas and grandfather of Cleomenes, and Agasicles, father of Ariston and grandfather of Demaratus, ruled between 600 and 560 B.C. "The

other wars” are probably (1) those connected with the overthrow of the Cypselidae after 585 and of other tyrants (cf. Thuc. i. 18. 1), (2) those against Argos and (in alliance with Elis) those against Pisa (cf. Busolt, i. 705–6).

[2] **καί** introduces the second cause of Lacedaemonian hegemony, i.e., they had overcome their difficulties; they had recently defeated Tegea, and they had “also” before this got a good constitution. Thuc. (ut sup.) seems to refer to this passage; he dates the change “a little more than four hundred years before” 404 B.C.; but he pointedly omits Lycurgus.

**ἀπρόσμεικτοι**. The exclusiveness of Sparta is made pre-Lycurgean; this is doubtful; H. makes the Minyae to be received (iv. 145) as citizens in the earliest days; in the seventh century the Ionic Epos and Aeolic music came in (cf. the stories of Terpander and Alcman). It was only in the sixth century that exclusiveness was intensified or more probably introduced.

[3] The oracle as quoted in Diodorus (vii. 12) ends with the lines

ἦκεις δ' εὐνομίαν αἰτεύμενος· αἰτὰρ ἔγωγε  
δώσω τὴν οὐκ ἄλλη ἐπιχθονίη πόλις ἔξει.

These are probably a later addition.

**Θεόν**. For his *ιερόν* cf. 66. 1 n.; Plutarch (*Lyc.* 31 *θύουσιν ὡς θεῶ*) speaks of his divine honours; he is mentioned as a god in inscriptions, e.g., *CIG* 1256. But all this does not disprove his original humanity.

[4] It is worth while to tabulate the more important differences between the Herodotean and the other accounts of Lycurgus:

(1) H. denies that he derived his institutions from Delphi; but this was the usual fourth century account, e.g., Xen. *Lac.* viii. 5 and Plato *Leg.* 624; cf. 691e. Meyer (F. i. 231 seq.) ingeniously ascribes this later view to King Pausanias (408–395 B.C.), and maintains that the verses of Tyrtaeus (Plut. *Lyc.* 6) which assert it are a later forgery.

(2) H. makes Lycurgus guardian of Leobotes, his nephew, i.e., he is an Agiad and his date is about 1000 B.C. But Simonides (Plut. *Lyc.* 1) makes him a Eurypontid and uncle of Charilaus (king 884 B.C.); so too Arist. *Pol.* ii. 10. 2, 1271b. Plut. (ibid.) also quotes Aristotle for a third date, i.e., Lycurgus is put in the eighth century, and made to organize “the Olympic Truce” (on the strength of the inscription on “the quoit at Olympia”). No wonder Timaeus thought there were two Lycurgi.

(3) H. makes him legislate as regent, Ephorus (Strabo, 482) at a time when Charilaus was actually king.

(4) H. gives him the whole Spartan constitution; but see below for other dates for the Ephorate and Gerousia.

It may be added that the one point on which traditions agree, viz., that he legislated as uncle of the king, was an obvious guess; for his name was not on the royal list, and yet men felt he must have been a Heracleid.

**κόσμον.** The well-known Spartan ἀγωγή is implied; H. gives this to Lycurgus as a matter of course.

For a comparison of the institutions of Sparta and of Crete cf. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 10 (1271b seq.). Ephorus (Strabo, 481–2) argued elaborately for the priority of Crete; but his view as to the similarity of the two constitutions is criticized by Polybius (vi. 45–6); there is not sufficient evidence to decide the question. The institutions are in each case the expression of “the warrior life of a conquering primitive people” (Oncken) surrounded by enemies and hostile subjects.

[5] **ἐφύλαξε.** The “security” was an oath to observe the laws till his return (Plut. *Lyc.* 29); this is probably borrowed from the story as to Solon (chap. 29. 2). So, too, the statement that he travelled is considered by some to be an invention copied from the genuine travels of the Athenian.

The **ἐνωμοτίη**, i.e., “sworn brotherhood,” was the smallest tactical unit of the army, containing in 418 B.C. about thirty-two men (Thuc. v. 68. 3), at Leuctra “not more than thirty-six” (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 12); but the number no doubt varied.

**τριηκάδας**, “companies of thirty.” For conjectures as to their nature of. Hermann, *Staats-A.* i. 197. n. 4; perhaps the word is a gloss to explain ἐνωμοτία (a case of “obscurum per obscurius”). The number “thirty” occurs again in Sparta in the Senate, and perhaps in the number of the ὠβαί (Plut. *Lyc.* 6 ad init.; *sed incerta lectio*).

The **συσσίτια** were originally military organizations, the band of warriors united by the common meal.

**ἐφόρους.** Three views are taken as to H.’s statements about the Ephors and the Gerousia:

(1) That both statements are right; Ephors and Gerousia were part of the primitive constitution, and so associated with Lycurgus. Cf. Xen. *Lac.* chap. 8 for Ephors, chap. 10 for Gerousia; Isocrates, *Panath.* 165–6. Meyer (*F.* i. 246) accepts this view; holding that Lycurgus has no historical reality, he identifies his supposed institutions with the primitive constitution.

(2) That the first is right and the second wrong. Clearly the γέροντες are the old council of chiefs and pre-Lycurgean; but the Ephors may be definite officers, created by Lycurgus to superintend the ἀγωγή.

(3) That both statements are wrong. The Ephorate is assigned to a date later than Lycurgus, i.e., the reign of Theopompus: for (a) Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 11. 2, 1313a) tells the story of his answer that he left the kingship ἐλάττων but πολυχρονιωτέρα (cf. Plato *Leg.* 692; Plut. *Lyc.* 7, *Cleom.* 10). (b) The list of ephors begins 755–754 B.C., i.e., in the reign of Theopompus (but this date, if it be historical at all, might refer to an alteration in the power of an old office). Meyer (*F.* i. 250) argues that the post-Lycurgean date for the Ephorate is due to King Pausanias (cf. 65. 4 n.) and the constitutional struggles at Sparta early in the fourth century. Owing to the

authority of Aristotle (ut sup.), it displaced the earlier view and was generally adopted.

All we can say for certain is that (1) the Ephorate is found in the colonies of Thera, Cyrene, and the Tarentine Heraclea, and so may have been an early institution in Sparta, their reputed μητρόπολις (but cf. iv. 145 nn.); (2) that the office was closely connected with the ἀγωγή. For the whole subject of the Ephorate cf. Busolt, i. 555 seq.

#### i. 66

**ἱρόν εισάμενοι.** Pausanias (iii. 16. 5) adds οἶα δὴ θεῶ; this is implied in ἱρόν; a hero had only a τέμενος or a ἥρωον; Frazer (*P.*, ii. 153–4) gives the differences; the ἥρωον faced west not east, and ἐναγίζειν (not θύειν) is used for the sacrifices in it, i.e., the worship was chthonian, not celestial.

**Ἀρκάδων.** The earlier Arcadian war is important as a turning point in the policy of the Lacedaemonians; the stubborn resistance of the highlanders of Central Peloponnese made them give up attempting complete conquest (which they had carried out in Messenia), and be content with a hegemony over dependent allies. Pausanias (iii. 7. 3 et al.) puts this war in the time of Charilaus (884–824); but it really belongs to the beginning of the sixth century (65. 1).

[2] The Arcadians were considered (probably rightly, cf. the survival of the Iberian Basques in the Pyrenees) as of the race of the aboriginal Pelasgians (viii. 73. 1 n.); hence the epithet “acorn-eating,” which implies a primitive civilization (cf. *Lucr.* v. 939) before the days of agriculture. Cf. the epithet προσέληνοι, *Plut. Mor.* 282; *Quaest. Rom.* 76; *Schol. ad Ar. Nub.* 398.

Tegea lay in the southern part of the great eastern plain of Arcadia. Being surrounded with hills (Frazer, *P.*, iv. 422), it is compared to an ὄρχηστρα: so Epaminondas called the Boeotian plain ὄρχηστρα πολέμου (*Plut. Mor.* 193e; *Reg. et Imp. Apoph.* 18).

**σχοίνω.** The reference to allotments is proof of land assignment as an early Spartan institution. The later story that the land was divided *equally* by Lycurgus (cf. *Plut. Lyc.* 8) is a manifest fiction; but the poem of Tyrtaeus, quoted by Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 7. 4, 1307a 2), refers to the fact that ἡξιούν ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν τὴν χώραν. Early Sparta, like early Rome, had agrarian troubles, and solved them in the same way – at the expense of its neighbours.

[3] **κίβδηλος:** properly of false coin; used by H. especially of oracles (cf. 75. 2; v. 91. 2). There is a double meaning in the “juggling” oracle (cf. *Macbeth*, v. 8. 19–20: “And be these juggling fiends no more believed That palter with us in a double sense”); ὄρχησασθαι might be referred either to the “dance” of triumph or to ὄρχος, a “row of vines,” and so to slave labour. Again the land might be “measured” (διαμετρήσασθαι) by the Lacedaemonians as conquerors or as captives.

[4] **πέδας**. No doubt the “temple of Athena Alea” was the source of the story; Pausanias (viii. 47. 2) saw the fetters there in the second century A.D. For the “fetters” as evidence of Lacedaemonian overconfidence cf. similar story of Armada (but see Froude, xii. 380). For this temple cf. H. ix. 70. 3; it was burned in 395 B.C. (Paus. viii. 45), but restored on a magnificent scale with sculptures by Scopas, Frazer, *P.*, iv. 425–6. For the name “Alea” cf. Farnell, *C.G.S.* i. 274.

#### i. 67

The traditional dates for Anaxandridas and Ariston are 560–520; 560–510. This second Arcadian war (ca. 550 B.C.) is historical; but it is interesting to see that H.’s account is made up of oracles and legendary details (cf. the similar account of the first Aeginetan war, v. 82–7, which is a little earlier in date).

[2] Perhaps there is a confusion between the famous Orestes and an Arcadian hero Oresthes (cf. ix. 11. 2 n. Ὀρέσθειον). Pausanias (viii. 5. 3) makes the former migrate from Mycenae to Tegea, but this is probably a late invention. The discovery of supposed relics is no doubt a fact; we may compare the legend as to Alexander’s body (Ael. *V.H.* xii. 64), and the removal of the bones of Theseus to Athens (ca. 470 B.C.; Plut. *Cim.* 8). The present translation is the consecration of the Lacedaemonian hegemony in Peloponnese, as the later one is that of Athenian hegemony in the Aegean.

For the work of Delphi in unifying local cults cf. Paus. viii. 9. 2 (the translation of the bones of Arcas from Maenalus).

Two ideas underlie the Lacedaemonian policy:

(1) They were consciously aiming at identification with Achaean traditions (cf. v. 72. 3, vii. 159).

(2) The local hero’s remains were the talisman that secured the land’s security (cf. Soph. *O.C.* 1522 for their concealment, and Tylor, *P.C.*<sup>4</sup> ii. 150).

The discovery of gigantic fossil bones (Frazer, *P.*, ii. 483) probably is the origin of this and similar stories; the almost mediaeval character of the tradition (cf. the translation of St. Mark’s relics to Venice in the ninth century) reminds us how far removed from their predecessors and from the mass of their countrymen were the rationalist Athenians of the fifth century and later.

[4] **καὶ τύπος κτλ.**: here the “sound” is “the echo of the sense.”

**πῆμα**: a reference in part to the idea that the iron age was the last and worst; but also (cf. 68. 4) to the fact that iron is the material of deadly weapons.

**ἐπιτάροθος**. The finder of the hero’s bones would by their aid become the helper, i.e., “patron” of Tegea.

[5] The Spartan royal bodyguard were called Ἴππεῖς, although we only hear of them serving on foot; we are expressly told (Strabo, 481) that they differed from the Cretan Ἴππεῖς in having no horses; the name is a survival from early times (cf. ἡνίοχοι and παραβάται in Theban Sacred Band (Diod. xii. 70) for a like survival).

This is more probable than that they were mounted infantry, like the early Athenian ἵππεῖς (cf. 63. 2 n.), who used horses as a means of transport, but fought on foot. There was no genuine cavalry in Laconia till 424 B.C., when παρὰ τὸ εἰωθός (Thuc. iv. 55. 2) a corps of 400 horsemen was set up.

The Spartan "horsemen" were three hundred in number, cf. vii. 205. 2 (though this corps at Thermopylae was perhaps specially selected), viii. 124. 3; Thuc. v. 72. 4. In vi. 56 the king's bodyguard is only one hundred. H. seems to imply that they served by rotation; perhaps thirty were enrolled each year, one from each ὠβή. Some see in this the explanation of τριηκᾶς (65. 5); if this be so, perhaps the five seniors among those serving their last year were ἀγαθοεργοί and had civil functions. Xenophon (*Lac.* iv. 3) speaks of a special body of three hundred, chosen each year by three ἵππαγρέται, nominated by the ephors; if these three hundred are the "knights," the change in method of election may be a mark of the increased power of the ephors in later times.

### **i. 68**

**ἐπιμειξίης.** The detail of a "truce for intercourse" comes in to explain how Lichas could be in Tegea.

**ἐξελαυνόμενον** (cf. 50. 2); the surprise at the working of iron is a very primitive feature that has become incorporated in a sixth-century myth.

[2] **χαλκεύς** is used even of an iron-worker; cf. Lucr. v. 1287 "Prior aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus."

[3] Cf. *Il.* i. 272 and H. ii. 91. 3 for the great stature of early heroes; a tall mortal might be six feet; cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1014.

[5] **ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ**, "banished him on a fictitious charge"; the prosecution was a pretence to secure Lichas admittance to Tegea. As an alien he had no ἔγκτησις γῆς there, and so was compelled to "hire" the court.

[6] **ἤδη δέ σφι:** an exaggeration, although Lacedaemonian hegemony was established over Arcadia by 550 B.C.

### **i. 69**

[2] This is the earliest instance of the recognition of Lacedaemonian headship in Greece. Later instances, chronologically arranged, are: i. 152 (Ionians, c. 546 B.C. In the same chap. the Lacedaemonians themselves also claim it); vi. 108 (the Plataeans, 519 B.C., but see n. ad loc.); iii. 148 (Maeandrius, c. 514 B.C.); vi. 84 (the Scythians); v. 49 (Athens against Aegina, 491 B.C.). All these lead up to the recognized hegemony against Xerxes, vii. 161. 2; viii. 2. 2.

[4] Thornax lay to north of Sparta (Frazer, *P.*, iii. 322). Pausanias (iii. 10. 8) says the gold was used to decorate the statue of Apollo Pythaeus at Amyclae, which was similar to that at Thornax but more important; he describes (iii. 19. 2) it as a brazen pillar about 45 ft. high, with head, feet, and hands, i.e., it was a primitive cult-statue, marking transition from the aniconic age.

**i. 70**

ζῶδια = ζῶα, “figures,” not of animals alone, in relief round the rim: H. had seen it in the Heraeum (cf. iii. 47. 1 n.).

**i. 71–92**

*Story of Croesus resumed* (after digressions of chaps. 56–70).

**i. 71**

[2] By the story of Sandanis H. illustrates dramatically, after his manner, the contrast between the simplicity of the early Persians (Strabo, 734) and the luxury of the older kingdoms; in his own day (cf. § 4 Πέροησι γὰρ κτλ.) the Persians had become notorious for luxury (cf. chap. 135). Such contrasts are characteristic of Oriental history (cf. the Moguls in India).

σκυτίνας. For Persian dress cf. chap. 135 nn.

[3] οὐ σῦκα δέ, “not even figs,” the commonest fruit in the East.

**i. 72**

For Καππαδόκαι cf. 6. 3 n.

[2] H. rightly recognizes the importance of the Halys, which is the ethnic frontier in Asia Minor (cf. app. i, § 1); its change in direction from southwest to northwest is implied in ἄνω; it rises in “Little Armenia.” The Armenians, who were Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι (vii. 73), had already spread beyond the Halys.

For H.’s Cilicia cf. iii. 90. 3 n.

**Ματιηνοῦς.** The passages as to the Matieni may be summarized as follows (cf. T. Reinach, *REG* vii. (1894) 313 seq.):

(1) They are placed on the southwest of the Caspian, though not touching it (Strabo, 514; in 509 S. puts them in Media), but had originally a greater extension to the southwest; so Xanthus, frag. 3 (*FHG* i. 36) places L. Urmiah (L. Matianus) among them.

(2) This wider sense is the usual one in H.; the Matieni (iii. 94. 1), are grouped with the Saspeires (southeast of Trapezus) and the Alarodii (in valley of Araxes) in the eighteenth satrapy; so the Araxes rises ἐκ Ματιηνῶν (202. 3).

(3) But their name extends even more widely, e.g., Mount Zagros = “Matienian Mountains” (189. 1), and in v. 49. 6, 52. 4–5 Matiene fills the whole space between Armenia and Susiana, and is crossed by the Royal Road in thirty-four stages; i.e., it includes what H. elsewhere calls “Assyria,” and = modern Turkish and Persian Kurdistan. But H. is inconsistent: for in v. 52. 4 he makes the Greater Zab rise in Armenia, though its source, being southeast of that of the Araxes, should be in Matiene.

(4) Quite different is the meaning in the passage here and in vii. 72. 2, which put the Matieni on the bend of the Halys, near the Paphlagonians.

Reinach conjectures they were once a widespread race, reaching from the Halys to near the Caspian; but they were cut in two by Armenian immigration, and so survived at two ends of their former home; perhaps they may = the "Mitani" of Tell-El-Amarna tablets. Of the four uses of Ματιηνοί (2) is the official name, while (3) is the older geographical name of the whole region.

**Συρίους Καππαδόκας.** H. sometimes puts the general name first (as here and in vi. 20), sometimes the special name (Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί 146. 1).

[3] **πέντε:** this estimate is repeated ii. 34. 2, where Sinope is given as the northern limit; but the distance from Sinope to the Mediterranean is about 350 miles, while Asia Minor is 300 miles across where narrowest. Moreover, the route across Asia Minor is through difficult country. Similarly Pliny (*H.N.* vi. 7) gives the distance as "200 miles." Some suppose that H. has confused with the ordinary time for the journey the "record" of Persian couriers (cf. viii. 98. 2 for their relays).

Pheidippides (vi. 106. 1) is credited with about 140 miles in two days, and Rawlinson (ad hunc loc.) says a modern Persian courier covers 50 miles a day. But H. is speaking simply of an εὔζωνος, i.e., *expeditus*, and he elsewhere calculates a day's journey at 200 stadia, i.e., about 23 miles (iv. 101. 3). We can explain the mistake easily if we suppose that H. misunderstood his informant; it was "about five days' journey" from Sinope to the northern boundary of the Persian Cilicia (iii. 90. 3); H. took the distance as referring to the southern boundary. Meyer (ii. 287) thinks the mistake proves that there was a direct road across Asia Minor here. H. is followed in the mistake by the Pseudo-Scylax (*Perip.* 102).

#### i. 73

[2] **γαμβρός** is any connection by marriage, here a "brother-in-law" (74. 4); H. as usual gives a personal motive; for other reasons cf. 46. 1 n.

[3] The story may be true in outline (cf. Morier, *RGS* vii. 242, for wars in the East caused by nomad migrations). No doubt many Scyths remained in Media, when the main body had been expelled or annihilated (106. 1 n.). The story of the Thyestean banquet (§ 5), however, is suspiciously reminiscent of the story of Harpagus (c. 119) and of the myth of Tantalus.

For the Scythian bow cf. iv. 9. 5 n.; cf. Plato *Leg.* 795a, who says the S. were ambidextrous in its use, and Jer. v. 16 "their quiver is an open sepulchre."

#### i. 74

Night battles were rare in ancient warfare (cf. Thuc. vii. 44, the attack on Epipolae); this one is not the "eclipse battle" (see below).

[2] This date is one of the few definite points in the history of the period; it is fixed as May 28, 585, by the astronomers; the other eclipse of the period, that on Sept. 30, 610, was only partial in Asia Minor. The later date (585) is given by Pliny (*H.N.* ii. 53) and (approximately) by the ancient chronologers, Eusebius and Jerome. It suits also the circumstances:

(1) The fall of Nineveh ca. 606 had enabled Cyaxares to extend his power northwest, and so brought him into contact with Lydia.

(2) Labynetus (i.e., Nebuchadnezzar) did not begin his reign till 604.

It used to be argued (e.g., by Stein) that H., because Cyaxares was conqueror of the Scyths, had wrongly introduced him here, and that Astyages began to reign in 594 B.C. But the revised Median chronology (app. iii, § 6) makes all the dates nine years later, and so the account in H. becomes possible.

Thales is the Merlin or Michael Scott of Greek sixth-century tradition. It has been maintained that this prediction is impossible, in view of what we know of his scientific theories; Stein thinks that he can only have explained the phenomenon afterwards. But H., who rejects the story as to his engineering (75. 6), accepts this one. Thales' prediction may have been based on Chaldean calculations (cf. Burnet, *Early Gk. Phil.* 35).

[*Additional Note E (1928): the eclipse of Thales.* Dr. Fotheringham, lecturing on "Historic Eclipses" (*Oxford Astronomical Papers*, vol. vii, pp. 22-3) points out that the eclipse of 585 B.C. was visible only in the southern half of Asia Minor. The battle must therefore have been fought, not near the Halys, but somewhere near the Cilician frontier, on the line of the "Pisidian Road." (For this road he refers to Sir W. Ramsay's paper in *JHS* xl, pp. 89-112, where it is argued conclusively that this must have been the line of Xerxes' advance.) The position of the battle probably led to the choice of the Cilician ruler as mediator (i. 74. 3). The last Syennesis (IV) is ruler at the time of the Anabasis (*Xen. An.* i, chap. 2), but a native dynasty went on till the fall of the Persian (E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achae.* p. xxiv). In *JHS* xxxix, pp. 180-3 Dr. Fotheringham explains how the prediction could be made by means of a "cycle" (ἔξελιγμός).]

[3] **συμβιβάσαντες**. No doubt the mediating princes were glad to limit the dangerous growth of Cyaxares' power.

Syennesis (like "Pharaoh") is a title (probably Semitic) borne by the native rulers of Cilicia (v. 118. 2; vii. 98); they seem to have submitted voluntarily to Cyrus, and so were allowed to retain their kingdom (cf. app. vi, § 7); they were dependent or independent as the central power was strong or weak (ix. 107 n.). The dynasty disappears at the beginning of the fourth century. For Labynetus cf. app. ii, § 5.

[4] **ἐπαλλαγὴν**. We know of no Median queen in Lydia; the "mutual" element may have been furnished by Nebuchadnezzar's marriage with a Median princess (c. 185 n.).

**ἀναγκαίης** = *necessitudo*; ancient diplomacy believed as firmly as modern in marriage alliances, and with as little reason.

[6] For the resemblance cf. 35. 2 (purification) and app. i, § 5.

**ὄμοχροίη**, "the outer skin"; cf. the proverb for superficiality, οὐδὲ ἄπτεται τῆς ὄμοχροίας (Plato *Ax.* 369d). For the blood covenant cf. iii. 8. 1 n.

**i. 75**

ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω. For this promise fulfilled cf. chaps. 107 seq.

[3] τὰς ἐούσας, “the (then) existing bridges”: for a bridge on the Great Road cf. v. 52. 2. Garstang (*Hitt.* p. 28) places the bridge near Cheshme Keupru, where the road from Caesarea to Angora re-crosses the river.

[5] For final use of optative with ἄν (Homeric) cf. Goodwin, *M. and T.* p. 117 (ed. 1889).

**i. 76**

κατά: not “near” but “on the line of.” For H.’s rough attempt to construct geographical “parallels” cf. ii. 34. 1 and app. xiii, § 4. Pteria is probably Boghaz Keui, within the bend of the Halys (lat. 40°), about 60 miles northeast of the bridge; the exploration of the ruins began by Winckler in 1906 has brought to light a mass of tablets in cuneiform script, partly in Babylonian, partly in a language as yet untranslated (cf. King and Hall, pp. 468 seq.); they include fragments of diplomatic correspondence with Egypt and the East, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. The “Royal Road” (cf. v. 52 nn.) crossed at Pteria the road running north and south from Sinope, via Mazaca and the Cilician gates, to Tarsus (Ramsay, *A.M.*, 33). The early importance of Pteria probably determined the direction of both these roads, neither of which follows the easiest line for a through route. It seems to have been the capital of an Anatolian kingdom which we may call “Hittite”; for the history of this cf. Garstang, *Hitt.*, 315 seq.; for a description of the ruins of Pteria, *ibid.* pp. 197 seq., well illustrated with photographs.

[2] H. emphasizes the guilt of Croesus as aggressor, to justify his later overthrow (cf. 130. 3). Garstang (pp. 33, 199) seems to think that the Hittite power survived till the capture of Pteria by Croesus, but this is very doubtful.

**i. 77**

Later writers (Just. i. 7; Polyae. vii. 8) say that Croesus was defeated. H.’s story may be due to Lydian vanity, but is probable in itself. Croesus found he had advanced too far; perhaps he had expected Egyptian cooperation at Pteria; at any rate he may well have thought that Cyrus would not attack him, with Babylon and Egypt hostile in flank and rear.

[2] Λαβύνητος. Not the Labynetus of 74. 3, but Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king (cf. 188. 1 n.).

[3] ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν. No doubt he had summoned his allies before, though H., dwelling on the personal element, omits to mention it.

[4] ξεινικός, “so far as it was mercenary.” The Lydian kings depended for infantry on Greeks and Carians; the Lydians were horsemen (77. 3). This disbanding may be an invention; but Croesus, not expecting to be attacked, may have wished to save the expense of an army through the winter; H. is at least consistent.

**i. 78**

[2] For the genitive after ἐς cf. Plato *Prt.* 325d εἰς διδασκάλων πέμποντες; but the τῶν before ἐξηγητέων is unusual.

There were three places called Telmessus—in Pisidia, in Caria, (about seven miles from Halicarnassus), and in Lycia; probably the last is here meant (cf. 84. 3). Arrian (*Anab.* ii. 3. 3) says the gift of prophecy was hereditary there. Cf. Head, *H.N.* 698, for Apollo on the (late) coins of Telmessus.

[3] ἀλλόθροον. For the interpretation of the well-known struggle in Attica between Poseidon, whose symbol is the horse, and Athene, whose fosterling, Erechtheus, is “earth-born” and snake-like in form, cf. viii. 41. 2 and *JHS* xix. 215.

**i. 79**

[3] τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. H. adds this, because the Lydians of his own day were a proverb for effeminacy. Cf. app. i, § 4 (and Bacchylides iii. 23 δαμάσιππος Λυδία).

**i. 80**

For the topography of Sardis cf. Perrot et Chipiez, v. 249–50, and 84. 3 n. Its citadel (τειχος, § 6) stood on a spur projecting north from Mount Tmolus, with which it was connected by a low ridge; this rises very sharply to the height of about 600 feet, fully justifying H.’s account of its inaccessibility (chap. 84). Round it flow two rivers, the gold-bearing Pactolus on the west, and on the east a perennial stream, H.’s Hyllus. The ἄστυ lay on these (84. 5) between the πόλις (84. 3, i.e., the “citadel”) and the rivers. συρρηγνῦσι gives the personal touch of one who has seen these mountain streams.

One branch of the Hermus flows from the Murad Dagh, a ridge west of Pessinus, from which town Cybele’s aniconic image was brought to Rome in 204 B.C. On this ridge she was worshipped as “Dindymene” (Hor. *Odes* i. 16. 5); for other local names cf. Strabo, 469, and for another cult-statue of her in high places cf. the “Niobe” of Mount Sipylus. She had a temple in Sardis (v. 102. 1). For her worship generally cf. app. i, § 2.

[2] For Harpagus cf. 109. 3 n. and app. iv, § 4.

**i. 82–3**

*The Lacedaemonian Conquest of Thyrea.*

The narrative of H. (§ 3 βοηθησάντων) seems to imply that Thyrea was now conquered by the Lacedaemonians for the first time; they had, however, begun their aggressions on Argive territory before this, for H. (vii. 235. 2) implies that Cythera was theirs soon after 600 B.C. The conquest of the east coast may well have been gradual. The chronologers speak of a Lacedaemonian victory in Thyrea under Polydorus in 718 B.C., and Pausanias (iii. 2. 2) puts the conquest of Cynuria down to Echestratus (1059–1025); but these are probably inventions. The Argive chronology seems to have been artificially constructed in periods of fifty years, reckoning back from the Battle of Mantinea in 418; we have 718 as here, and 668,

their victory at Hysiae. For a short epitome of Busolt's excellent notes (i. 595–7) on these dates cf. Bury, ii. 468.

The Thyreatis remained a bone of contention in the fifth century; for the negotiations of 420 B.C. cf. Thuc. v. 41, with its implied reference to this passage.

#### **i. 82**

[2] H. is Elizabethan in his impartial spelling. Cf. Μαλέων here with Μαλέην of iv. 179. 2. Thyrea was the northern part of Cynuria, which certainly once belonged to Argos (viii. 73. 3 n.).

ἐσπέρον. The east coast of Laconia does lie west of Argolis; but H. ignores the fact that it also lies south (for his weakness in orientation cf. vii. 176. 3 n.; ix. 14.

αί λοιπαί. Several small islands lie off Cythera (Strabo, 363); hence there is no need to see an echo of the well-known line, *Il.* ii. 108.

[3] For the combat of picked warriors cf. ix. 26. 3 and the legend of the Horatii (Livy i. 25). An historical instance is the conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, so well described in Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*. The Spartan three hundred may be the Hippeis (67. 5 n.), but this is very doubtful.

[5] Pausanias (x. 9. 12) says the Argives dedicated an offering at Delphi for the victory; but his narrative is inconsistent (Frazer, *P.*, v. 265, 637).

[7] κατακειράμενοι. The story is suspicious, as it looks like an attempt to explain a difference of custom between kindred peoples; the Greeks originally all wore long hair (κάρη κομώοντες Ἀχαιοί), and the conservative Spartans may have retained the custom, which died out elsewhere merely from motives of convenience. Certainly in fifth-century Athens κομᾶν was a sign of Laconizing (*Ar. Av.* 1281–2).

The custom of cutting the hair as a sign of grief (*ii.* 36. 1; *Il.* 23. 141), and of wearing it long as a sign of pride (cf. Absalom), is a well-authenticated one. Cutting the hair and the flesh for mourning (for the combination cf. iv. 71. 2) was forbidden to the Jews (*Deut.* xiv. 1). The hair was regarded as the symbol of the man; so a priest's tonsure is a sign of dedication. For the whole subject of hair cf. Tylor, *P.C.* ii. 400f.; Robertson-Smith, *Rel. Sem.* p. 323; and Hastings *Dict. Bib.*, s.v. "Hair."

[8] Pausanias (ii. 20. 7) makes Othryades killed by an Argive. Chrysermus, a Corinthian writer of unknown date, said that he, left on the field seriously wounded, set up a trophy with an inscription in his own blood (*FHG* iv. 361); this is a mere embellishment on H.'s narrative.

#### **i. 84**

[2] For a like capture of Sardis (by Antiochus in 215 B.C.), owing to over-confidence, cf. Polyb. vii. 15 seq.

[3] ἐσσι. H. as an eyewitness uses the present. There were two kings called "Meles" (*Nic. Damasc. frags.* 24, 49; *FHG* iii. 371, 382). For the defence of a fortress

by magic cf. the burial of King Lud's head at Ludgate (Geoffrey of Monmouth, iii. 20), the removal of which by the over-confidence of a later king enabled Caesar to take London.

American explorers have been digging at Sardis since the beginning of 1910. They have discovered a great temple of Artemis, with a dedicatory inscription in Lydian of some length, but so far nothing that throws light on the earlier history of the city. Cf. *JHS* xxx. 361, xxxi. 301.

**τὸν λέοντα.** The germ of the story may be a genuine native myth for the lion was the sacred beast of Sandon, the Lydian sun-god (cf. 50. 3 n.).

**ἔστι δὲ πρὸς, κτλ.** Translate, "It is the part of the citadel (πόλιος, cf. 80 n.) facing Tmolus."

[4] For a similar clue given by the besieged cf. Livy v. 47. 2.

### i. 85

**ἐπιφραζόμενος:** H. unites a finite verb with a participle frequently, perhaps for emphasis (cf. 129. 1).

The son of Croesus became a proverb for silence, just as Croesus himself did for self-inflicted misfortunes (*PG* ii. 686).

[2] **ἀμφὶς ἔμμεναι** = *abesse*.

### i. 86

The chronologers give Croesus fifteen years, but H. does not reckon the last year (as unfinished), perhaps because he wished to bring out the coincidence of the "fourteen days" and the "fourteen years."

For the date of the capture of Sardis cf. Busolt, ii. 459–60. The usual date, 546 B.C., is that of Eusebius and most of the chronologers; the Parian Marble, however, made it 541, and this date seems to have been that given by Xanthus: between these two dates it is impossible to decide. Duncker (iv. 326) put it in 549, as he thought it must have preceded (cf. 90. 4) the burning of the Delphic temple (548, 50. 3 n.), but this conjecture has not been generally accepted.

As to the fate of Croesus we have two contradictory traditions:

(1) *That he perished.* Bacchyl. iii. 23–63 (*Ode to Hiero*, 468 B.C.; Jebb, pp. 195–7, 256–61) makes the pyre voluntary; Apollo carries Croesus off to the land of the Hyperboreans. This is confirmed, as to the voluntary nature of the act, by the Louvre amphora (No. 194, figured *JHS* xviii. 268, where it is dated ca. 500, and in Bury, p. 228). The authority for this tradition is therefore slightly the older.

(2) *That he was spared.* We have this in three main forms: (a) That of H., supported by Ephorus (Diod. ix. 34; cf. also Nic. Damasc. frag. 68 (*FHG* iii. 407), who adds embellishments of his own). (b) Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 2 makes Croesus spared to be the adviser of Cyrus, but omits all marvels. (c) Ctesias (chap. 4. 64) says nothing of the

pyre, but makes Croesus saved by other marvels, and adds that Cyrus gave him the town of Barene (near Ecbatana).

There is, apart from the miraculous elements, the further objection to the story that Cyrus, as a fire-worshipper, would not have polluted the sacred element (cf. iii. 16. 2). It may be argued that, not to speak of the possibility of mad freaks like those of Cambyses, Cyrus' beliefs sat lightly on him (cf. the C.C., *RP*<sup>2</sup> v. 166–8, for his behaviour to the Babylonian gods, and Tac. *Ann.* iii. 62). But the objection, though not itself decisive, is serious.

To return to the main difficulty: it is hard to believe that Croesus perished (as Maspero holds, p. 656), in defiance of the independent evidence of Ctesias and of H. The latter also tells stories of Croesus later (chaps. 155, 207, iii. 14, 36) which could hardly have gained currency as to a dead man; they seem, moreover, to come from sources different from those of the Lydian history. The explanation then of Bacchylides' story may be that he gives, as Jebb shows, a Delian version of the facts. Croesus was, so to speak, canonized as a model of piety (this is implied in his being represented on a vase at all, *CR* 1898, p. 85), and so a myth had grown up around him; cf. for his religious character Pind. *Pyth.* i. 94, his φιλόφρων ἀρετά.

We may then reject the evidence of Bacchylides, and assume that Croesus survived; but it is difficult to decide the further points:

(1) Meyer, *i*<sup>1</sup>. 503, thinks his pyre was a solemn act of self-devotion; cf. for instances of voluntary burnings vii. 107 (Boges), vii. 167 (Hamilcar), 1 Kings 16. 18 (Zimri), and the legend of Sardanapallus, the last king of Nineveh (*FHG* ii. 505). This is the most probable view; it is supported by the oldest evidence, and consistent with Cyrus' religious beliefs.

(2) Nöldeke (*EB*<sup>9</sup> xviii. 566) accepts the pyre as the act of Cyrus, of course discarding the miraculous embellishments.

(3) A less probable view is that the whole pyre story is an invention, due to the confusion of myth with history. This view makes Croesus to be confused with the sun-god, Sandon, who perishes in fire (cf. Hercules on Mount Oeta), just as his son was confused with Atys (34. 2 n.).

[2] δις ἑπτὰ. The "twice seven" (the sacred number) boys are a religious touch.

[3] ἀνενεικάμενον, "fetching a deep sigh." Cf. *Il.* xix. 314 of Achilles; the meaning is defined by the synonym ἀναστενάξας.

[5] οἷα δῆ, "with such and such words." H. spares his readers the repetition of what they have read in chap. 32.

οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον, "referring to all mankind just as much as to himself." The οὐκ (not in MSS.) must be restored, or the sense would be "just as little" (cf. iv. 118. 3 and Thuc. vi. 82. 3 for omission of negative).

**περιέσχατα.** H. adds this touch to explain how Croesus could talk at such length on a burning pyre.

#### **i. 87**

**εἶ τί οἱ.** An echo of the prayer in *Il.* i. 37 seq.; for similar echoes cf. φίλον ἦν (§ 4) and *Il.* ii. 116, 88. 1 and *Il.* xxiv. 631.

[2] Bacchylides (iii. 55) makes Zeus send the rain.

[4] The aversion to war is characteristic of H. Cf. v. 97. 3 and viii. 3. 1.

#### **i. 89**

**οἱ ἐνορώη:** i.e., to the prejudice of Cyrus.

[3] For dedication of a tithe of spoils cf. vii. 132. 2 n. and Livy v. 21. 2, 25. 5 (Camillus at Veii).

#### **i. 90**

**ἀναρτημένον,** "ready." For the Persian belief in royal blood cf. iii. 15. 2 n.

[2] **οἱ:** i.e., τῷ θεῷ: dat. after ἐπηγορέων (which is a ἄπ. λεγ.).

#### **i. 91**

**τὴν πεπρωμένην:** the answer is significant for the theology of H. Not only men (cf. iii. 43. 1; ix. 16. 4) are bound by Fate, but gods also (vii. 141. 3), in so far as they cannot save their worshippers (cf. Apollo in Euripides' *Alcestis*). If this be H.'s meaning, it is an advance on the early idea that the gods themselves were ruled by destiny, which survives in the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus. But there was a growing tendency from the beginning of the fifth century to identify Fate and the will of Zeus, who is thus exalted above all subordinate deities (cf. vii. 141. 3).

**πέμπτου.** The reckoning ("fifth" from Gyges) is inclusive; for the bearing of this and of the "three years of grace" (§ 3) on Lydian chronology cf. app. i, § 9.

[2] **Λοξίας** is Apollo's title at Delphi; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 19 Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας πατρός. The old derivation from λοξός, "crooked," referring to his "dark" oracles, is unlikely in an official title. Some derive from the root ΛΥΚ, i.e., "light-giver"; others connect with ἀλεξιτήριος, i.e., "avorter."

[5] For the birth of Cyrus cf. chap. 107 seq.

[6] **ὑπό,** with dative, as the Persians were not so much directly ruled by the Medes as "in bondage under" them.

#### **i. 92**

H. here winds up his Lydian history. This chapter shows Croesus in a new light, as a cruel Oriental prince (§ 4), and also gives a non-Delphian account of his oracular success (contrast chap. 49). It clearly comes from another source. As it is not likely to be a later addition, it is probably a fragment of H.'s original material, which he has not worked into harmony with his narrative.

The temple of Ismenian Apollo (cf. viii. 134. 1; v. 59) was just outside the city of Thebes, on the hill of St. Luke (Paus. ix. 10. 2 and Frazer, v. 40). Tripods were especially dedicated at it ( Pind. *Pyth.* xi. 4 τριπόδων θησαυρόν). Divination at it was by inspection of fire and ashes (cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1005–11). Every eight years it was the scene of the Daphnephoria, familiar from Leighton's great picture. Golden "cows" were perhaps dedicated (as a symbol of fertility) to Artemis, as representing the great "Mother Goddess" (cf. app. i, § 2).

For the Artemision cf. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus*, 1908, especially pp. 5–8, 245–6. The earliest shrine was probably at Ortygia, under Mount Solmissus, to the south of Ephesus; this was no doubt earlier than the Greek settlement (cf. Paus. vii. 2. 6, who rejects the statement of Pindar that it was founded by the Amazons; but παρθένοι were always associated with the cult); the earliest, near the city itself, dated from about 700; this was destroyed by the Cimmerians ca. 660 B.C. The next two temples followed rapidly, and then the famous one, which owed so much to Croesus, was begun about 550. It seems not to have been finished till about 430, and was destroyed by the arson of Herostratus in 356. Pliny (*H.N.* xxxvii. 98) states that the Hellenistic temple which followed had 127 columns, "a singulis regibus factae" (obviously in contrast to αἱ πολλαί here). Hogarth (pp. 327 seq.) points out that the "many-breasted" Artemis as a coin type seems to belong to Roman times, not to be archaic.

Croesus' name can still be read on an Ephesian column-base in the Br. Mus. (Cat. i. 29; Hicks, p. 7).

Athena's temple at Delphi stood near the entrance to Apollo's; hence the epithet "of the fore-shrine," which is confirmed by inscriptions (Ditt. i. 186). The same epithet is used of Athena and Hermes, in reference to the shrine of the Ismenian Apollo (Paus. ix. 10. 2).

For A. Πρῶνάια at Delphi cf. viii. 37. 2 n., Aesch. *Eum.* 21, and Paus. x. 8. 6 (Frazer, v. 251). The epithet later was made Πρῶνοια with an ethical significance (Farnell, G. C. i. 306).

[2] H. had not seen the offerings at Branchidae; they no doubt perished when the temple was destroyed in 494 B.C. (cf. vi. 21 n.); the story that they were treacherously handed over to Xerxes by the people of Branchidae (Strabo, 634), who for this were massacred later by Alexander (Curtius, vii. 23; Strabo, 518), is to be rejected. On the similarity of weight and form, and on the supposed lack of Croesus-inscriptions (but cf. 51. 5 n.) at Delphi, C. Niebuhr founds the wild theory that Croesus never gave gifts to Delphi at all, but that the Branchidae offerings were feloniously transferred thither, about the time of the Ionic Revolt (*Mitt. der Vorder-As. Gesell.* 1899, 27–8). The whole article is a tissue of guesses and uncritical assumptions.

ἄνδρός. His name was Sadyattes; cf. Nic. Damasc. frag. 65, *FHG* iii. 397, who says that he offended Croesus when crown prince by refusing a loan; Croesus then

vowed to devote his property to Artemis, if he ever became king (cf. ἔτι πρότερον § 4).

[3] Pantaleon may have been the elder, as Croesus was born in the twenty-third year of his father's reign (cf. 25. 1 and 26. 1). For the conspiracy cf. 51. 5 n.; Pantaleon perhaps had some Greek support, as being ἐξ Ἰάδος.

[4] The κνάφος was an instrument of torture, like a fuller's comb; probably it resembled the mediaeval wheel for breaking criminals. Cf. Plato *Resp.* 616a ἐπ' ἀσπαλάθων κνάμπτοντες.

### i. 93

**Θώματα.** H. says nothing of the volcanic region, ἡ κατακεκαυμένη (Strabo, 628), in northeast Lydia, though it had been described in the work of Xanthus (cf. introd. § 19).

**καταφερομένου:** i.e., by the Pactolus (v. 101. 2).

[2] **σῆμα.** The "Tomb of Alyattes" lies on the north edge of the Hermus plain. It is one of more than sixty mounds (called Bin Tepeh), of which three are conspicuously larger than the rest. Perrot et Chipiez (v. 265 seq.) make the largest rather more than 1,200 yards round, and not quite 400 in diameter; this falls a little short of H.'s measurements (§ 5), viz., about 1,280 and 440 yards respectively. The base (κρηπίς) is hewn in part out of the native limestone, above which comes a wall of large blocks; H. does not notice this difference of construction. This base holds together a truncated cone of earth, of which the upper part is faced with bricks. A rectangular chamber inside contained bones of men and animals which had been burned. The σῆμα is referred to by Hipponax. frag. 15 Ἀττάλεω (v. l. Ἀλυάττεω) τύμβον καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω, and briefly described by Strabo (627).

[3] **οὔροισι,** "record-pillars." These were phallic in shape, set up on the flat top; two of them have been found, one *in situ*; but they bear no trace of an inscription.

[4] **πορνεύονται.** Many see in this custom a religious significance, e.g., Ramsay, *C.B.*, 94–5, 115; Radet compares the worship of Mylitta (c. 199 nn.), a view which is supported by Aelian, *V.H.* iv. 1, and Strabo, 532, who definitely compares the Lydian custom to that in the temple of Anaitis in Armenian Acilisene—noble maidens κατα-πορνευθειςας πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῇ θεῷ, μετὰ ταῦτα δίδοσθαι πρὸς γάμον, οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦντος οὐδενός. Ramsay quotes an inscription of the second century A.D., as to a woman of considerable position, παλλακεύσασα καὶ κατὰ χρησμόν, and no doubt such religious prostitution had been more common in early times. But there is no good evidence that it was ever universal in Lydia; and the custom itself may be paralleled in countries of quite different religions, e.g., in Japan. L. Oliphant (*Lord Elgin's Mission* (1857–9) ii. 496 says: "No disgrace attaches to women who have been brought up in this manner (i.e., as courtesans), and they generally make good marriages." No doubt the custom in Lydia was mainly confined to the lower classes, who may have been of a different race (cf. app. i, § 4). For freedom of choice in marriage cf. Westermarck, chap. 10.

[5] Γυγαίη: now L. Colve; for the name cf. app. i, § 8.

**i. 94**

**παραπλησίοισι.** For the similarity cf. app. i, § 5. The statement as to the invention of coinage is usually accepted as in the main accurate (G. F. Hill, *G. and R.C.*, 7, *Hist. Gk. Coins*, 1–2, 18–20; Head, *H.N.* 643). Pollux ix. 83 quotes Xenophanes (*flourit* ca. 540) for the same statement, but he quotes also four divergent views. Bars and rings of metal of uniform weight had been used in Egypt and Babylon, but these needed frequent reweighing; coinage begins when some authority issuing coins guarantees the value by a stamp. The invention was natural for the Lydians, who, as “the Phoenicians of the land,” held the outlets of the great Eastern trade-routes. So the Aeginetans, the “peddlers of Greece Proper,” were the earliest coiners there. P. Gardner, however (*B.A.P.* iii. 110 seq.), thinks the earliest coins were probably of Asiatic Greek origin, perhaps struck privately by temples or bankers.

The earliest Lydian coins date from the reign of Gyges; cf. Γυγάδας χρυσός, Pollux iii. 87, vii. 98; both passages imply that Gyges struck coins of gold of peculiar purity; but the earliest coins were really of electrum (cf. 50. 2 n.); they were oval in shape, with a type on one side and punch-mark on the other. B. V. Head (in Hogarth, *E.*) considers that eleven of the seventy-eight Lydian coins found at Ephesus in the temple deposit are at latest of the time of Gyges; but he thinks they were issued privately and not by the king; the earliest royal Lydian coins were those of Alyattes, whose name perhaps can be read on some of them (*H.N.* 645).

Croesus introduced a gold and silver coinage, stamped with the confronting heads of a lion and a bull. The Aeginetans had anticipated him in silver (Hill, *G.C.*, 20 and pl. 1); but the statements of Ephorus, that Pheidon first coined silver in Aegina (Strabo, 376) and that he invented gold and silver coinage (Strabo, 358), are probably merely embellishments of H.’s statement as to his measures (vi. 127. 3 n.).

H. then may well be right as to the priority of the Lydians, but he omits the early electron coins, in view of the more famous issues of Croesus, and he is wrong in saying the Lydians were the first to coin “silver.” For the standards cf. Hill, *G.C.*, 18.

**κάπηλοι.** This statement as to “retail trade” is, taken literally, false; such trade was familiar in Egypt and Babylon much earlier; but the Lydians were proverbially a nation of shopkeepers; cf. the proverb Λυδὸς καπηλεύει (*PG* ii. 510). Radet, pp. 295f., gives a brilliant picture of the wealth and vice of Sardis.

[3] For this ethnic genealogy cf. chap. 7. 3 n.

For Tyrsenus Xanthus (frag. 1; *FHG* i. 36) read Torrhebus. Cf. introd. p. 23.

[4] The same story was told of Palamedes at Troy (Soph. frag. 380). For Greek games cf. W. Richter, *Die Spiele der G. u. R.*

κύβοι differed from ἀστράγαλοι (marked on four sides only) in having pips on all six sides. Athenaeus i. 19 rightly corrects H.'s tale as to the Lydian invention of games; Nausicaa's ball play is familiar.

[5] For a similar migration to relieve over-population, and determined by lot, cf. Livy v. 34 (the Gauls); it is a usual motive in primitive history.

[6] The Umbrians are vaguely extended by H. iv. 49. 2 to the "river Alpis," i.e., to the Alps. The story, here first given (cf. app. xv, § 6), of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans is familiar, especially from Horace (*Odes* iii. 29. 1 and *passim*). It was rejected with contempt in the early days of criticism (cf. Mommsen, *R.H.* i. 128 seq.), and the Etruscans were brought into Italy by land from the north. Modern archaeology is now accumulating evidence which confirms Greek tradition; it tends to show that native Italian civilization in the north developed without interruption from abroad, while Etruscan civilization in Central Italy was introduced by sea (like that of Carthage), and resembles that of the later Aegean periods, e.g., in its Cyclopean walls. (Cf. *A. and A.* pp. 304 seq. and (for a fuller statement of the evidence) app. i, § 13.)

#### **i. 95–140**

##### *Median and Persian History.*

This is one of the most interesting divisions of the history of H. He describes (1) the unification of Media (95–101) and its history till Cyaxares (101–6). (2) The early history of Cyrus and the fall of Media (107–30). (3) The customs of the Persians (131–40). For the sources of (1) and (2) cf. app. iv, § 4; for (3) H. uses his own observation as a visitor to Susa (cf. introd. § 17). The important facts are given in the appendixes (ii–iv) on Assyria, Media, and Cyrus, with especial reference to the narrative of H.

#### **i. 95**

σημνοῦν. For the anti-Achaemenid prejudice of H.'s source cf. *JHS* xxvii. 40.

[2] The pres. part. ἀρχόντων shows that the Median kingdom arose before Nineveh fell; but H. is wrong in implying that the Medes took the lead in revolt because of their bravery; it was to their remoteness from Nineveh they owed their comparative freedom. The κως (καί κως οὔτοι) indicates that he knows no details.

#### **i. 96**

For Deioces cf. app. iii, § 3. The story here is historical only in three points:

(1) H. rightly conceives the Medes as previously without unity.

(2) The foundation of Ecbatana was at once the symbol and the cause of union; but H.'s contrast of κατὰ κώμας (§ 2) and ἐν πόλισμα (98. 3) is Greek.

(3) He gives the true Oriental colour in laying stress on the importance of Deioces as judge; but the other details, e.g., the tyrant's "friends" (97. 2), the body-guard (98. 2), the spies (100. 2) are parts of the ordinary Greek "Tyrant's progress."

**i. 97**

**προκατίζων**: an Oriental touch, cf. v. 12. 2 n.; justice was administered “in the gate” (cf. Ruth iv).

[2] **κατηκόντων**, present circumstances.” The word is frequent in H., cf. iv. 136. 1; viii. 19. 2 ἐπὶ τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι.

**i. 98**

[3] **περιστέλλοντας**, “attending to this (town), etc.”; Deioces is described as carrying out a kind of συνοίκισις.

**Ἀγβάτανα** is usually identified with Hamadan, “where the passes of Mount Zagros emerge, uniting Iran to the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris” (Maspero, iii. 326); this was certainly the later Ecbatana. Sir H. Rawlinson’s view that the Ecbatana of H. lay to the northeast in Media Atropatene (Rawlinson ad loc.) has not been generally adopted. The name (Pers. Hangmatána) means “place of gathering.”

[4] This description of the citadel is partly fact (Perrot et Chipiez v. 769). It was usual to have concentric lines of fortification; M. Dieulafoy has traced two only at Susa, but these were each very complex (ibid. p. 767). H.’s “sevenfold” defence, however, is an embellishment, due in part to a confusion with the Mesopotamian terrace-temples or Ziggourats, e.g., the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa (181 n.), in part to the desire to bring in the sacred number “seven.” The colours of the seven circles are no doubt connected with the planets (Rawlinson quotes a parallel from the Persian poet Nizami, RGS x. 127), but the order in H. is wrong. The effect was mainly produced by glazed bricks (cf. the frescoes in the Louvre from Susa), but also by a lavish use of the precious metals (cf. Polyb. x. 27. 10 for the riches of this very town, Ecbatana).

[5] The circuit of Athens was about 60 stades (Thuc. ii. 13. 7); it is the *citadel* (99. 1) which is compared to this. Diodorus (xvii. 110. 7) gives that of the *town* of Ecbatana as 250 stades. Some have seen in this passage a proof that H. had himself been at Ecbatana; Kirchhoff argues from the comparison with Athens that the early books were written there (introd. § 10 a); but neither of these inferences is probable.

**i. 99**

The ceremonial of an Eastern Court is, of course, far older than Deioces. Stein takes τοῦτό γε as limiting καὶ ἅπασι το πτύειν, i.e., none might spit in the king’s presence, but those nearly connected with him might smile; it is impossible, however, to get this sense out of the words; καί adds emphasis to ἅπασι; cf. 133. 3 n. for the wickedness of spitting.

**i. 101**

For the position of the Magi cf. app. viii, § 3. The Median tribes seem to have been originally local; H. uses the same word, γένεα, of the Persian tribes (125. 3) which

certainly were so (cf. for the situation of the Παρητακηνοί iii. 92. 1 n.). Ammianus (xxiii. 6. 32 seq.), in the fourth century A.D., gives a full account of the Magi, and speaks of them (§ 35) as “inhabiting towns without walls” in Media, where they live “protected by religious awe.” But the local tribe had an especially religious development (cf. the tribe of Levi in Palestine), and the priesthood was confined to its members; so among the Parsees to this day only the son of a Dastur can be a Dastur (Darmstetter, *SBE* iv. p. xlvi). Perhaps some of the tribes were non-Aryan.

#### **i. 102**

The conquest of Persia by the Medes is disputed, because it is inferred from the B.I. that the title “king” was borne by the Achaemenids as far back as Teispes I (perhaps ca. 675), and Cyrus calls his three immediate ancestors “great king” (app. iv, § 1); but this does not disprove H.’s statement, for apart from the possibility of filial flattery, in any case Persia must have been dependent on Media in the time of the next king, Cyaxares; and the reference in Ez. 38. 5 to Persia as an ally of Gog (ca. 580 B.C.) is too late and too vague to prove anything. All we can say is that H.’s statement may be true; but it quite lacks confirmation, and may be an invention of Median vanity (Prášek, i. 137; cf. app. iv, § 4).

[2] **κατεστρέφετο**; it is important to notice the inceptive imperfect; H. knows the real founder of the Median Empire (103. 1, 2) was Cyaxares.

**τότε**: H. antedates the break up of the Assyrian Empire; Phraortes died ca. 625 B.C., and Assurbanipal’s reign (ca. 668–626) seemed to leave Assyria as strong as ever; Babylon had been humbled (648), and Elam wiped out (ca. 640). But the mistake is venial, for the strength of Assyria was exhausted (app. ii, § 4). The conquests of Phraortes may have been really aided by the Assyrian victory over Elam.

#### **i. 103**

**διέταξε**. H. does not mean that horse and foot were previously mixed up with each other (cf. app. iii, § 4), but that Cyaxares first organized his tribal contingents as a regular army.

[2] For the eclipse battle cf. 74. 2 n.

[3] For the Cimmerian-Scythian invasions in general cf. chap. 15 nn. H.’s chief mistakes here are that:

(1) He confuses the *original* migration with the later raids. The Scyths were already in the earlier part of the seventh century settled south of the Caucasus round Lake Urmiah. It is probable, however, there were new bands of invaders from the northeast (cf. 104 nn.).

(2) It is probable the Scythian attack on the Medes was not accidental (see below).

(3) He makes too definite the “rule of the Scyths”; as he himself says, the “28 years” (106. 1; iv. 1. 3) included the whole time of their wanderings.

For these later Scythian raids cf. Zeph. i (ca. 630–620 B.C.); Jer. i. 13–14, “I see a seething pot and its face is towards the north”; and Maspero, iii. 472 seq. Rawlinson (i. 399) quite underestimates their importance.

Protothyes is probably the Bartatua of the monuments, to whom Esarhaddon gave his daughter in marriage. If the Assyrians really called in the northern barbarians as allies, they paid in the end dearly for the temporary relief, while the Medes suffered little, as they were protected by their mountains; it was like the inviting of Germans by the Sequani (Caes. *B. Gall.* i. 31). The name of Madyes, too, is confirmed by the monuments; Strabo (61) couples him with Sesostris and others as a leader of οἱ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐκτοπισμοί.

#### **i. 104**

**τριήκοντα.** The distance (about 300 miles) is a little more than that across Asia Minor (about 250 miles), to which H. assigns only five days (72. 3 n.), while here he allows thirty days, a far more probable estimate. H.’s distances are not actual measurements, but are only estimates based on the usual time taken for the journeys. Here, on the Black Sea coast, a great detour would be necessary.

For the Saspeires northwest of Media and south of the modern Georgia, cf. iii. 94 n. H.’s words here and in iv. 37 seem to point to the fact that one of the great roads of the Persian Empire ran from Ecbatana, past Lake Urmiah, into the upper valley of the Araxes, where the Saspeires lived, and thence over the mountains, to the Phasis valley and the Black Sea.

[2] **Καυκάσιον ὄρος.** There are only two roads across the Caucasus:

(1) The “Caucasian Gates,” nearly in the centre, where the modern road past Vladikavkas runs.

(2) The road on the west of the Caspian, past Derbend, where the railway runs; probably H. means this second road. Stein, however, thinks neither of these can be called “much longer,” and so brings the Scyths east of the Caspian. This was probably the actual route of part of the invaders, but H. clearly did not know it.

#### **i. 105**

For **Παλαιστίνη Συρία** cf. iii. 5. 1 n.

[2] For **οὐρανίη Ἄ.** cf. chap. 131 n.; at Ascalon she was called Derceto, and her image was half woman, half fish.

[3] **πυνθανόμενος.** For H.’s question cf. ii. 44. 1, where he says that he had travelled to Tyre to ask a similar question. For the temple at Paphos cf. *JHS* ix. 193 seq., and for that of Cythera, Paus. iii. 23. 1; the statue in the latter was a ξόανον ὀπλισμένον (Frazer, iii. 338) which recalls the martial side of the goddess Ishtar. The temple was the oldest in Greece to the goddess. For the Phoenicians in Greece cf. iv. 147 n.

[4] **θήλεαν νοῦσον.** The disease, described by Hippocrates (*Aer.* 22), is said by Arist. (*Eth. Nic.* vii. 7. 6) to be hereditary in the Scythian royal families. Littré

(*Hippoc.* ii, p. xl seq.) is inclined to follow Rosenbaum, *Gesch. der Lustseuche*, vol. i. (1839), that the θήλεα νοῦσος is παιδεραστία; this is the usual meaning of the words among the ancients, and the vice was thought hereditary. He admits, however, that this explanation does not correspond to the description of the disease in Hippocrates, and it is not a natural explanation of H. here. In iv, p. x, moreover, Littré quotes some curious cases of impotence described by the great French surgeon, Larrey, in the army of Syria (1799 A.D.), which seem to fit the words of H. much better than Rosenbaum's explanation.

ἄμα τε ought properly to follow the λέγουσι οἱ Σ.

For the ἐνάρεες cf. iv. 67. 2.

### **i. 106**

The "twenty-eight years" are a piece of unexplained tradition; the old explanation that they are the interval between Cyaxares' accession and the fall of Nineveh breaks down, because we now know Cyaxares came to the throne in 625 not in 634 B.C.

The first χωρίς is an adverb, the second a preposition.

The Scyths were mere destroyers, and have been compared to the Huns of the fifth century A.D. (cf. Jer. vi. 22–3 for the description of them).

[2] **καταμεθύσαντες**. The story is doubted by some (Meyer, i<sup>1</sup>. 465, who compares the legend of the Nibelungen-Lied); others accept, e.g., Nöldeke (*EB*<sup>9</sup> xviii. 563, s.v Persia), who quotes parallels from Oriental history; there is nothing unlikely in it.

The capture of Nineveh took place c. 606. The strength of its fortifications is well described by Maspero, iii. 468–9.

ἐν ἑτέροισι. For the unfulfilled promise cf. introd. § 14; for the Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι cf. app. ii, § 6.

[3] **τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης**. This is the only hint in H. that Babylon had a share in the overthrow of Nineveh; his informant knew this, though he himself did not.

For Astyages cf. app. iii, § 5.

### **i. 107–30**

*The story of Cyrus; his birth and upbringing (107–22); his overthrow of Astyages (123–30).*

### **i. 107**

**αὐτὰ ἕκαστα**, "the truth in detail," as opposed to the dream; cf. Gen. chap. 41 and Daniel passim for "interpreters of dreams," a genuine Oriental feature. This dream is by Ctesias (Nic. Damasc. frag. 65; *FHG* iii. 399) transferred to Cyrus' mother. The name of Mandane is otherwise unknown. H. is wrong in making Cyrus the grandson of Astyages, and Ctesias equally wrong in saying (chap. 2. 64)

that he married Astyages' daughter, Amytis. H. is right as to the name of Cyrus' father (111. 5), though he does not know that he was a king.

#### i. 108

Justin (i. 4) tells the same story of Astyages' dream.

[4] **παραχρήση**, "disregard"; cf. viii. 20. 1 *παραχρησάμενοι τὸν χρησμόν*; vii. 223. 3 (used absolutely of the Spartans at Thermopylae).

**παράβαλη**, "strike aside," and so "deceive"; cf. the more common *παρακρούεσθαι*.

[5] **φυλασσόμεθα δέ**, not *τε*, to show that the second clause is the more important.

#### i. 109

**κόσμησιν** must be supplied to *τήν*; cf. vii. 62. 1.

[3] **συγγενής**. Harpagus is of royal blood himself (*οἰκίμιον* 108. 3).

**ἄπαις**. Xenophon (*Cyr.* i. 4. 20) gives Astyages a son, but H. is confirmed by the silence of the monuments.

#### i. 110

The name Mitradates is clearly connected with the god Mithra (131. 3 n.); so in the Romulus legend, the herdsman Faustulus with the god Faunus.

**Κυνώ**. The dog was a sacred animal among the Iranians (140. 3 n.), and no doubt in the original legend the hero is suckled by a bitch as was Sargon of Accad; Justin (i. 4) gives both stories, the "canis femina," and the nurse "cui Spaco postea nomen fuit." For the rescue by the sacred animal cf. app. iv, § 5. For the rationalization (122. 3) cf. Livy, i. 4. 7 (the she-wolf (*lupa*) becomes Acca Laurentia, a *lupa* by profession). This version of the story is Greek, but whether H. or his informants be responsible for it, it is impossible to say. For **Σπακώ**, which H. seems to be right in calling "Median," cf. Liddell & Scott s.v. *κύων*.

[2] H. means the north part of Media, Atropatene, which is mountainous and wooded; but the statement that the rest is flat (**ἄπεδος**), even by comparison, is an exaggeration. Hecataeus (frag. 172; *FHG* i. 12) says *περὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίην θάλασσαν οὖρεα ὑψηλὰ καὶ δασέα ὕλησι*; on this resemblance among others Prášek (*Klio*, iv. 205) bases his theory that H. borrowed this part of his story from Hecataeus, but the borrowing is probably the other way; cf. introd. § 20.

#### i. 111

**τόκου** is loosely dependent on *ἐν φροντίδι*.

[5] The names, Cambyses and Cyrus, are correct (cf. 107 n. and app. iv, § 3).

#### i. 112

For the beauty of the babe cf. the story of Moses (Ex. ii. 2; Heb. xi. 23).

μηδεμιῆ τέχνη, “in no way”; cf. ix. 57. 1 ἰθὲν τέχνη.

**i. 113**

[2] **προβοσκῶν**. A ἄπ. λεγ.; “under-herdsmen,” because they feed the flock away from (lit. “in front of”) the homestead.

[3] **ὑστερον**. Strabo (729) says Cyrus was first called “Agradates.”

**i. 114**

[2] **ὀφθαλμόν**. The “eyes and ears” of the Great King (cf. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 2. 10) were thought by the Greeks to be a sort of spy system (cf. 100. 2), but this is an exaggeration. The “eye of the king,” however, was a real officer, in constant attendance on him (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 980, and “Pseudartabas” in Ar. *Ach.* 92).

**ἀγγελίας**: cf. iii. 84. 2 for ἐσαγγελεύς, a chamberlain admitting to audience with the king.

[3] Artembares, in the other version of the story, is the eunuch cup-bearer of Astyages, who adopts Cyrus (Nic. Damasc. frag. 66; *FHG* iii. 398).

**i. 116**

[3] If reading μῶνος μ. is right, it is modelled on Homeric οἰόθεν οἶος (*Il.* vii. 39).

[5] **κατέβαινε** is used with a sort of zeugma here. Tr. “he had recourse to prayers and (ended by) urging him.” For the use of the part. κελύων cf. 90. 3.

**i. 117**

[3] **θυγατρί**. “A murderer in the sight of your daughter.”

[4] Harpagus (110. 3) had threatened the herdsman in the name of the king. As this was an invention, he softens it down, and proceeds to justify it. The whole speech is very dramatic.

[5] In 113. 3 he sent “spearmen”; some see in the “eunuchs” here a trace of another version (cf. 95. 1) and even profess to find the character of Harpagus different (e.g., in chap. 119). This is over-subtle.

**i. 118**

[2] **διαβεβλημένος**, “being set at variance with”; cf. v. 35. 1.

**i. 119**

[3] **εὐτυκα**, “ready,” a rare word except in Aeschylus; cf. *Supp.* 959.

**i. 120**

**εἰ ἐπέζωσε**. The aorist with εἰ implies that the child’s destiny could not now be realized, as they believe that he had been put to death.

[3] **παρὰ σμικρὰ**. Translate: “For in small things indeed have some of our oracles issued, and that which concerns visions altogether ends in weakness.” This

utterance is dramatic, but, even so, it is curious in so strong a believer in oracles as H.

#### i. 123

[3] The Persian control of the roads is transferred back to the time of the Medes. Cf. v. 35. 3 n., vii. 239. 3, for similar secret messages.

**μηχανησάμενος** ("having prepared") is explained by *ἀνασχίσας* and *ἀποτίλας*.

#### i. 124

**φονέα**. For a parallel to this idea that the murderer in intention is a murderer in reality cf. Soph. *O.T.* 534.

#### i. 125

[3] Xenophon (*Cyr.* i. 2. 5) makes the Persian tribes twelve, a number to which he is partial in the *Cyropaedia*; but the authority of H. is preferable. Meyer (iii. 10) lays stress on the "fundamental importance" of H.'s account here. Spiegel (*Eran. Alt.* ii. 238) says, "The inscriptions as well as the Avesta show us that H. was right as to the tribal divisions of the Iranians." It is interesting to contrast H.'s contemporary list with the artificial one in Strabo (727), in which the Achaemenidae and the Magi are inserted. The distinction of rank and privilege (cf. iii. 93. 2 n.; the Sagartians pay tribute) among tribes has parallels in H. (iv. 20. 1, the Royal Scyths as opposed to the "Husbandmen" and the "Nomads"), and elsewhere (cf. the "Golden Horde" among the Tartans). Stein suggests that §§ 3, 4 are a later addition by H.

The Pasargadae (cf. iv. 167. 1) gave their name to the capital under Cyrus and Cambyses. It is identified with Murghâb, in the mountains to the northeast of Persepolis. That city was founded by Darius, as Pasargadae was too out-of-the-way for a capital. The name, "Persepolis," however, does not occur till Macedonian times.

For the identification of Pasargadae and Murghâb cf. Perrot et Chipiez, v. 443–5. The view of Oppert, that Pasargadae is to be placed southeast of Shiraz, is impossible, as it removes the site too far from Persepolis.

At Murghâb is a building known as "the tomb of the Mother of Solomon," which is usually identified with the tomb of Cyrus (for a defence of this traditional view cf. Curzon, *Persia*, ii. 74 seq.; for the tomb itself, P. et C. v. 597–607, with picture). The tomb is in seven tiers, with a chamber on the top, and answers to the description of Cyrus' tomb in Arrian (*Anab.* vi. 29. 4–8). On one of the pillars of the palace at Murghâb is a figure which once bore an inscription, "I am Cyrus the king, the Achaemenian." Difficulties have been raised as to this figure, because the head-dress is Egyptian, and the four wings and the fringed garment are usually called Assyrian (cf. 135. In. for Persian borrowing). But E. Herzfeld (*Klio*, viii. 63–4) says the dress is Elamite, and so suitable to Cyrus; and Curzon (ut sup.) ingeniously shows that the description of Arrian implies that the body of Cyrus was buried in Egyptian fashion, i.e., like a mummy; he refers doubtfully to iii. 2,

the story of Nitetis, as explaining how this could be. The identification, therefore, of the figure with that of the great Cyrus may be accepted.

**Μαράφιοι.** We have a Maraphian in command against Cyrene iv. 167. 1. The Achaemenidae were a “clan” (φρήτη) of the royal tribe.

[4] The nomad “Sagartians” are Persian “in speech” vii. 85. 1 and partly in dress, and yet, as (iii. 93. 2) part of the fourteenth satrapy, they paid tribute. It may be suggested that the nomad Persian tribes took no part in the national rising under Cyrus, and hence forfeited their privileges.

The name of the **Γερμάνιοι** (cf. for the change *Αγβάτανα* and *Ἐκβάτανα*) seems to be found in Carmania (now Kerman), the district to the east of Persia, where H. (iii. 93. 2) places the Οὔτιοι, who also form part of the fourteenth satrapy. The Mardi (Strabo, 508 Ἄμαρδοι) were mountaineers to the southwest of Persepolis; the cragsman Hyroeades (84. 2) was a Mardian. The other tribes are only doubtfully identified; some connect the Dai with the Dadicae (iii. 91. 4), and the Dropici with the Derbicae (Strabo, 514), but these tribes are much too remote. Aesch. *Pers.* 774 seq. inserts Μάρδος and Μάραφίς in his list of Persian kings.

H. is only repeating what he has heard; but he is right in laying stress on the nomadic tribes; large parts of modern Persia are desert, or habitable only at certain seasons (for its shape cf. Réclus, *Geog. Univ.* ix. 144), and the Ilyâts or nomads are a considerable part of the population.

#### **i. 126**

The promises of Cyrus (e.g., § 5) have been thought by microscopic critics to be inconsistent with the account of Persian simplicity in chap. 71, but each is true in its place.

#### **i. 127**

The account of H., that the victory of Cyrus was rendered easy by treachery, is far more like the real facts as told in the Annalistic Tablet (cf. app. iv, § 1) than the long and picturesque version of Nicolas Damascenus (frag. 66; *FHG* iii. 405–6, probably from Ctesias); cf. app. iv, § 4.

[2] **θεοβλαβής.** H., as a pious Greek, believes “Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.”

#### **i. 128**

[2] **ἄστει:** i.e., in Ecbatana.

#### **i. 129**

[4] The “slavery” is only that of contrast; the Medes to some extent shared the Persian rule (app. vi, § 3).

### i. 130

**παρῆξ ἢ κτλ.** For the chronology of this passage cf. app. iii, § 6. H.'s usage, as well as the general sense, seems to require that the 128 years should be inclusive of "the Scythian rule"; he puts a deduction, which has still to be made, *after* the words limited (cf. vi. 5. 3), a deduction already made, *before* them (ii. 77. 5); but he is not quite consistent.

[2] The Median revolt here referred to was long supposed to be that against Darius Nothus in 408 B.C. (Mure, 1859, iv. 540–2, argues ingeniously for this), and so to prove that H. lived on till nearly 400 B.C. But it is now generally thought that the revolt is that of 520 B.C. (cf. B.I. col. 2), for the following reasons:

(1) Darius in H. always means D. Hystaspes (except in ix. 108. 2, where it is the name of a son of Xerxes).

(2) There is some point in Median "repentance" after 30 years; after nearly 150 their repentance is impossibly tardy.

(3) It is usually thought that H. was dead before 420 B.C. (introd. § 9).

[3] **πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας.** H. resumes his connection before going on to his excursus on the Persians. He means that the victory over Croesus was the beginning of a career of conquest which made Cyrus "lord of all Asia"; but he writes very loosely, for Babylon and Bactria were subdued later, and it is not certain that Cyrus ever conquered Phoenicia at all (cf. iii. 19. 3 n.).

### i. 131–40

*The manners and institutions of the Persians.* This section is one of the most valuable in H.; for a summing up as to his account of the Persian religion cf. app. viii. (The Zendavesta is quoted from *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. IV (part I), XXIII, XXXI; the references are to pages in the introductions unless otherwise stated.)

### i. 131

**ἀγάλματα κτλ.** This passage is accurate in the general sense; there were no cult-statues in Persia (but see below), and the Persians worshipped in the open air; Dinon, a fourth-century writer (frag. 9, *FHG* ii. 91), affirms this, adding θεῶν ἀγάλματα μόνα τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ νομίζοντες. They had, however, huge altars on the hill-tops (cf. Maspero, iii. 591, for picture of those at Nakhsh-I-Roustem), and there were others in temples (cf. further in app. viii, § 4), on which the ever-burning fire was maintained. H. here gives the strict theory of the religion, but there were inconsistencies in practice. For a similar belief and a similar inconsistency in Germany cf. Tac. *Germ.* chap. 9 contrasted with chaps. 7, 40; we might add that there is a similar reasonable inconsistency in Christianity. H. is on the whole confirmed by the usage of the Parsees, among whom the word for fire-temple (Dâdgâh) seems to mean also the place for any object (e.g., for the dead or the dog). Spiegel, *Avesta*, vol. ii, p. lxiv (1859).

ἀνθρωποφυέας. Ormazd (cf. figs. in Maspero, iii. 577, 681) is represented e.g., on B.I. as a form, human to the waist, proceeding from the winged disk, the symbol of eternity and omnipresence; this was borrowed from Assyria (cf. 135. 1), which perhaps had in turn borrowed it from the winged sun-orb of Egypt.

[2] Δί. H. naturally speaks of the supreme as “Zeus”; he is quite right as to the worship on the mountain-tops (see above), but writes loosely in identifying him with the sky; “Ormazd clothes upon himself the firm stones of the heavens (as his robe)” (Yasna, 30. 5; xxxi. 31); “the sun and the star are his eyes” (ibid. 68. 22, p. 324); but the strict creed had spiritualized him, and distinguished him from his attributes, cf. Yast 13. 1, 2; xxiii. 180; Ahuramazda speaks, “I maintain that sky, there above, shining and seen afar, and encompassing this earth all round.” But “many features, though ever dimmer and dimmer, betray his former bodily, or rather sky, nature” (iv. 58).

For invocations addressed to the sun and the moon, along with the waters, cf. Vendîdâd, Fargard 21, iv. 231–4. H. is quite right in laying stress on the sacredness of the four elements.

[3] τῇ Οὐρανίῃ. This passage is important in three ways:

(1) It illustrates Persian borrowing from foreigners (135. 1); they had mixed with their dualistic creed many alien elements. The worship of the Oriental love-goddess Anaitis was combined with the old Iranian worship of Ardvî Sûra by Artaxerxes Longimanus (465–425) (Berosus, frag. 16, *FHG* ii. 508; he calls him τοῦ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὀχου, but this must be a mistake). The king set up her statues for worship in Ecbatana and Susa, though previously the Persians ἀγάλματα θεῶν οὐ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ὑπειλήφασιν ὡσπερ Ἕλληνες, οὐδὲ μὴν ἰβίδας καὶ ἰχνεύμονας, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ πῦρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ ὡς φιλόσοφοι. For the worship of Anaitis, which was especially established in Armenia, cf. Strabo, 532. For the quaint story of her worship in Skye cf. Boswell’s *Johnson*, v. 218 (B. Hill’s edition). For Ardvî Sûra, originally “the holy water spring,” cf. Yast 5; xxiii. 52 seq.

(2) H. makes a strange mistake in confusing this worship with that of Mithra, the god of heavenly light, “who foremost in golden array takes hold of the beautiful summits” (Yast 10. 4; xxiii. 123). Mithra, at first only closely connected with the sun, was later identified with him (cf. the frequent inscription “Deo invicto Soli Mithrae”). His worship became most important in the later developments of the Persian religion; Artaxerxes II is the first to invoke him and Anaitis, along with Ormazd. His feast was a solemn festival, at which the Persian king was expected to get drunk (Duris, frag. 13, *FHG* ii. 473). For Mithraism in Roman times, when it was a formidable rival to Christianity, cf. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero*, 585 seq.; it was the special religion of the legions (cf. R. Kipling’s fine poem in *Puck of Pook’s Hill*). H. seems to have been misled by the likeness of the names “Mylitta” and “Mithra,” and perhaps by the fact that they were both heavenly divinities (see below for Mylitta).

(3) The passage shows the close connection of Aphrodite with the Babylonian Mylitta, the Assyrian Ishtar, the Phoenician Astarte; whether there was actual borrowing, or whether independent cults were assimilated, it is impossible to say; probably both were the case (see below). Ishtar was the queen of the gods, at once warrior goddess and goddess of generation, the destroyer of life and its renewer. From Assyria her worship spread to Phoenicia (cf. 105. 2 n. for her temple at Ashkelon), and thence to Cyprus (for her temple at Paphos cf. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 2–3; 105. 3 n.). Her shrine at Cythera was founded by Phoenicians (105. 2 n.), and was the oldest in Greece (cf. her epithet Κυθέρεια in *Od.* viii. 288). For the rites at her temple in Babylon cf. chap. 199 n.; for impure ritual in Greece (at Corinth only) Strabo, 378, and Athen. 573. She was identified at once with the evening star, “the star of love,” and with the moon (cf. Milton, *P.L.* i. 439, “Astarte, queen of heaven, with crescent horns”); this later identification was probably due to a confusion with Isis and Hathor, who are represented as supporting on their horned heads the solar disk; these symbols were mistakenly interpreted as the crescent and the full moon. That the Greeks were conscious of the partially foreign origin of Aphrodite is shown by her epithets Κύπρις (*Il.* v. 330), Κυπρογενής (Hesiod), etc.; for these cf. *Od.* viii. 362.

There may have been an original native goddess in Greece who was identified with the Oriental goddess; so at Mycenae are found naked female figures with hands on breasts, and in some cases with a dove (cf. Schuchhardt's *Schliemann*, figs. 180–2), which may well be independent of direct Oriental influence. The Greeks took over from the East her title of Οὐρανία without understanding it: hence they attempted to distinguish Aphrodite O., the goddess of pure love, from A. πάνδημος (Paus. ix. 16. 4; cf. Xen. *Symp.* 8. 9–10 for the supposed contrast in their worships); but this is a later and artificial explanation. (For the evidence cf. Driver, *Hastings Dict. Bib.*, s.v. Ashtoreth, and more fully Farnell, *C.G.S.* ii. 618 seq.)

The name Mylitta is probably the “bilit” or “belit” of the Assyrian inscriptions = “lady,” i.e., the feminine of Baal or Bel = “lord.”

Aliat (cf. iii. 8. 3) = Al Ilât, “the goddess.” What was originally a common noun became a proper name; so “Astarte,” properly an epithet signifying fruitfulness (Deut. vii. 13), became the name of a goddess.

### **i. 132**

**Θυσίη.** For the resemblances of the “manner of sacrifice to the rites of the Ali Allahis in modern Persia” cf. Rawlinson, ad loc.; the open air sacrifice, the “myrtle,” the “hymn” (ἐπαιδιήν), the “boiling of the flesh,” and its distribution to the worshippers all occur in the modern rite. There can be no doubt that H. had watched a Persian sacrifice. Strabo (733) gives a fuller description, based partly on H., and partly on what he had seen in Armenia.

H.'s object throughout is to contrast Persian and Greek customs; this will explain his verbal inaccuracies. The victim is not burned as in Greece, but H. writes loosely (cf. 131. 1 n.) in saying “no fire is kindled”; there was fire in the Persian

sacrifices, but it was fed with wood; there were no “libations” of wine; but the sacred water (“zasthra,” *SBE* iv, p. 69) was sometimes poured (cf. vii. 54. 2 (Xerxes at the Hellespont), 188. 2 n.); the fillet (ἔστεφανωμένος) was not a Greek στέμμα, which was always intertwined with woolen threads.

**οὐλῆσι.** For the sacred “barley” and its πρόχυσις cf. 160. 5, and Gardner and Jevons, *G.A.*, 250. The meal offering of barley went with the burnt offering, as bread goes with meats in a meal (cf. Lev. ix. 17 R.V.). Another contrast is that the Greeks sacrificed bare-headed but for a garland, the Persian wore his “tiara.”

**καθαρόν.** The idea is double, partly a place free from pollution, partly one where there is no obstacle to sacrifice; cf. vii. 183. 2 τὸ ἐμποδῶν ἐγεγόνεε καθαρόν.

[2] **ἀπαλός,** “fresh”; cf. ii. 92. 4 ἀπαλὰ καὶ αὐ̄α. ᾧν marks the apodosis.

[3] For the Magians cf. 101 n. and app. viii, § 3.

**οἶην δή.** Translate “for such they say the invocation is”; H. does not profess himself to have understood the incantation. Darmstetter (iv. 53) says, “H. may have heard the Magi sing the very same Gathas which are now sung by the Mobeds in Bombay.” The hymns invoke Ormazd and his ministering spirits and dwell upon their attributes; they are not a “Theogony” in the Hesiodic sense (ii. 53. 2 n.).

**ὁ θύσας.** Greek usage left a portion for the priests. Strabo (732) says the Persian god’s share was the life (ψυχή) of the victim.

**λόγος αἰρέει.** More often without an object (cf. vi. 124. 3); “as reason takes him,” i.e., as he pleases.

### **i. 133**

**ὄλους κτλ.** Aristophanes (*Ach.* 85–7) parodies this passage; cf. 3. 2 n.

Cf. ix. 110. 2 for the royal birthday.

**τὰ λεπτά:** i.e., sheep and goats; πρόβατον includes, especially in Ionic Greek, all beasts of the herd that “go before” the shepherd.

[2] The Greeks, like the moderns, had their “dessert dishes” (ἐπι-φορήματα) served up after the solid food (σίτια, cf. ἀπὸ δείπνου); the Persians had them, not “as one course” (ἀλέδι), but at intervals during the meal. H. Rawlinson (ad loc.) compares the fondness of the modern Persians for sweetmeats (but these are now served before the meal).

[3] Anything that left the body became separated from life and so unclean. For the strange rules of the Avesta on these subjects cf. Fargard, xvii, as to paring the nails; *ibid.* xviii. 40–9, as to the urine (iv. 185, 197).

[4] The first part of this custom is ascribed by Tacitus (*Germ.* 22) to the Germans; he gives the reason “Deliberant dum fingere nesciunt, constituunt dum errare non possunt” (cf. Mrs. Nickleby, “Wine in, truth out”). Lack of humour in historians has erected into a system what was merely due to excess.

For Persian drinking cf. Curzon, ii. 506, (The Persian) "is not a tippler but a toper, not a drinker, but a drunkard," quoting other authorities for the same view.

### **i. 134**

H. Rawlinson compares the devotion to etiquette among the modern Persians, "the Frenchmen of the East"; the salute, however, now is never on the lips.

The prostration of an inferior is familiar in the East (iii. 86. 2); it was as repulsive to the Greeks as the Chinese "kotchow" to Doyle's "Private of the Buffs." Cf. vii. 136. 1, and the refusal of Callisthenes to prostrate himself before Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* iv. 10. 5 seq.).

[2] ἀρίστους. The Persian Shah, till he was deposed, was called "the centre of the Universe." H., however, makes too systematic the conceit common to all nations, civilized as well as uncivilized.

Two points must be distinguished:

1. The Persian system of graduated respect.
2. The Median system of graduated rule, which H. compares to it (§ 3 ad fin. "in the same way as the Persian show degrees of honour").

As to (2) H. is again too systematic, but he represents accurately the broad facts of the contrast between Persian and Median rule; under the Medes, the subject kingdoms paid tribute or sent gifts, while they still ruled their own dependents; under Persia, all districts alike were under the satraps, and in direct relation to the great king (iii. 87 seq.).

[3] The sentence is carefully balanced; καὶ τῶν ὁμοούρων answers to μάλα (= μαλ' αὐτίς, "in their turn") τῶν ἐχομένων.

προέβαινε γὰρ κτλ. is variously explained:

(1) Rawlinson refers τὸ ἔθνος to the Persians; but this is incorrect in fact and spoils the antithesis.

(2) Stein takes it of the Medes; translate "The race went forward thus ever from government by themselves (ἄρχον) to government through others" (ἐπιτροπεῦον); but it is hard to get this sense out of ἐπιτροπεῦον, which = "administering" (iii. 36. 3) or "being regent for" (655); the above sense would require ἐπιτρέπον, i.e., "deputing" (τὴν ἀρχήν), and the ellipse would be harsh.

(3) It is simplest therefore to make τὸ ἔθνος distributive, "each nation took its place in order as ruler and administrator." This sentence then simply repeats generally what H. has already said more definitely above; it may be a gloss, and Krüger brackets it.

### **i. 135**

Hellanicus (frag. 169; *FHG* i. 68) says the Persians learned the practice of castration from the Babylonians; cf. H. iii. 92. 1.

**ἔσθητα.** H. describes the “Median” armament (σκευή) of the Persian “Immortals” in vii. 61 (see n.); the real Persian dress was of leather (σκυτίνη), and its main feature the trousers (71. 2); such a dress, fitting closely, is worn by the common soldiers on the monuments, while the king and his attendants have a long flowing dress. (Rawlinson, ad loc., gives pictures.) Cf. Strabo, 525, for the borrowing. Curzon, ii. 633, speaks of “(Persian) imitativeness long notorious in the East.” He also agrees with chap. 134 as to Persian conceit (p. 628).

**παισί:** the vice was older and is denounced in the Vendidad (Farg. 8. 5; iv. 102); Greek influence may have helped to spread it.

#### **i. 136**

**πολλοὺς παῖδας.** Cf. Vend. Farg. 4. 47; iv. 46, “He who has children is far above the childless man.” Large families were both commended for religious motives (Ormazd is the Lord of Life), and politically were all-important to a small ruling caste.

[2] **ἵππεύειν.** Xenophon (*Cyr.* i. 3. 3) says that Cyrus made the Persians a nation of horsemen; this is thought by some (e.g., Meyer, iii. 9) to be a pure invention; it is argued that Xenophon, as a cavalry officer, wished his countrymen to develop that arm of their forces; hence Cyrus’ supposed development is merely an object-lesson to the Greeks. But as the Persians were largely a race of mountaineers, cavalry can hardly have played much part among them till Cyrus began a career of conquest. Hence Xenophon may be right on this point.

**ἀληθίζεσθαι.** The importance of “Truth” is brought out in the B.I. i. 10, “The lie became abounding in the land”; iv. 13, (Ormazd helps Darius) “because I was not wicked nor was I a liar” (cf. also col. iv. 4, 5, 6, 8). The liar is a “Mithra-drug”; he offends against the all-seeing sun-god, who is the guardian of contracts (cf. 138. 1). For a transgression of the rule as to Truth cf. iii. 72 n. H. is right in crediting the Persians with the virtues of chivalry.

#### **i. 137**

**μηδένα** is both subject and object; this double use of a word is frequent in H. (e.g., viii. 142. 3).

For compensation in mitigation of punishment cf. Sandoces, vii. 194. 2. The principle was extended to religion; in modern Parseeism every offence and every good deed has a price, and so a balance is struck (*SBE* iv. 99 n.).

#### **i. 138**

Aristotle (*Hist. An.* iii. 11, 518) describes the *λεύκη*, which seems to have been a mild form of leprosy. Leper isolation was general in the East; cf. Lev. xiii. 46 for the Jews, who (like the Persians) looked upon the disease as the symbol and the result of moral evil. The Vendidad is a Persian Leviticus, and is mainly comprised of laws of purification (cf. Farg. 5. 21; iv. 55); “Purity is for man, next to life, the

greatest good." Savage analogies are numerous; cf. Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* ii<sup>4</sup>. 429 for "Lustration."

[2] Charon (frag. 3, *FHG* i. 32) spoke of "white doves" in connection with Mardonius' expedition in 493 B.C. (described in vi. 44–5) (cf. introd. § 19); perhaps these doves belonged to the Phoenician sailors. H. here seems to connect them with leprosy.

ἐς ποταμόν. The prohibition is due to respect to the element, water (cf. chap. 140 for respect to the earth, and vii. 113. 2 for worship of rivers). So in later developments of the religion, the Magi are said to have deposed a king for building bath-houses; bathing smacked of heresy (*SBE* iv. 90 n.).

### i. 139

H. is at his weakest as a linguist (cf. explanation of royal names, vi. 98. 3 n.); yet he seems to have valued himself on this score. He makes two remarks on Persian names, which are both inaccurate:

(1) That they all have a certain meaning. σῶμα is variously taken (*a*) by Stein, in a general sense, "individuals (32. 8) and their honourable nature"; (*b*) by Macaulay, "their bodily shape" (which is simpler). Whichever sense be given, H. is too absolute; nor is he consistent; cf. vi. 98. Some Persian names referred to deities (cf. Mithradates, "given by Mithra"); others to personal appearance (Otanés, "fair of body"); others (e.g., Darius, "possessor") to position, etc.

(2) That all names end in S. This, in the first place, ignores all feminine names. Even of men's names, it is only true of the Greek forms; in Persian, *s* (*sh*) was retained after *i* or *u*, e.g., Darayavaush = Darius, but not otherwise, e.g., Vistâcha (Hystaspes), where, however, the final *a* was not written.

For the interesting statement as to the Greek alphabet cf. Roberts, *Gk. Epig.* p. 8 seq. The Phoenicians had four signs for sibilants, each of which was borrowed in part by Greece:

(1) The hard Samech (No. 15 in the Phoenician alphabet; sign: 𐤌), probably = "Sigma." Others, however, make "σίγμα" ("the hissing letter") a genuine Greek word (from σίζω).

(2) The lingual Tsade (No. 18; sign: 𐤎).

(3) The palatal Shin (No. 21; sign: 𐤏).

(4) There was also the soft Zazin (No. 7; sign: 𐤐).

Of these the name Tsade survives in Zeta, while "Samech" was transferred to the place of "Shin." The sign of Samech and its place in the alphabet after Nun (No. 14; sign: 𐤑), were left to the later Xi.

For "San" cf. Pind. frag. 79. H. probably means by "San" the *M* of the old Dorian inscriptions, while his "Sigma" is the  $\varsigma$   $\xi$  of the older Ionic ones.

### i. 140

The dead body had passed under the control of the evil spirit Ahriman; hence it had to be kept from the elements fire, water, earth. This custom of burial still prevails among the Parsees. For the precepts of the strict Mazdean creed cf. Vend. Farg. 6. 44 seq. (iv. 73); the corpse was fastened down to prevent polluting fragments being carried away. Heraclitus, who seems to have been acquainted with Mazdeism, left his dead body to be torn by dogs. Meyer, who quotes other instances (i. 12), thinks that Zoroaster has simply embodied in his creed the original usage as to the dead among the primitive Iranians (ibid. 579). Cf. *SBE* iv. 91 for a description of the Parsee "Dakhmas," first called "Towers of Silence" by an Irish journalist in Bombay (cf. letter in *Times*, Aug. 8, 1905).

H. is quite right, however, in saying that these rules of burial were not observed by the ordinary Persian.

[2] δὲ ὤν, "at any rate"; this concession was made by the Persians to the strictness of their creed; for "covering with wax" cf. iv. 71. 1.

[3] The dog was sacred to Ormazd (cf. its part in the Cyrus legend chap. 107 n.); there are rules for the care of bitches in pup in Farg. 15, iv. 176 seq. On the other hand, it was a meritorious act to kill the creatures of Ahriman (ibid. 166). Other creatures also were sacred to Ormazd, e.g., the "water dog" (otter), and the "prickly dog" (hedgehog), because it killed so many of the creeping things of Ahriman.

### i. 141–76

*The Persian conquest of the Asiatic Greeks.* This continues the general narrative from chap. 94.

### i. 141

τοῖσι ἀντοῖσι. The Ionians had paid tribute to the Lydians (27. 1), and had had their walls dismantled (see below τείχεα π.); this is more probable than Stein's view that previously the citadels only had been fortified; the fact that a citadel could still resist when a town was taken (chap. 15) does not prove the town itself was unfortified (cf. 163. 4 n.). The Ionians now have to serve in war also (171. 1).

ἀλλητῆν. The fable is part of a collection bearing Aesop's name. For it cf. St. Matt. xi. 17. For Cyrus' invitation to rebel cf. 76. 3.

[4] The long resistance of Miletus to Alyattes (c. 17 seq.) must have been known to Cyrus, who therefore allowed it favourable terms. Perhaps it obtained trade privileges; the southern route, down the Maeander and past Miletus, would be more used, if Sardis on the Hermus, and Phocaea, just north of the Hermus mouth, had suffered.

### i. 142

"Ionians" was the general name of the Greeks in the East (for the whole question of the Ionians cf. especially Busolt, i. 277 seq., and Meyer, F. i. 127 seq.); cf. Persian

“Yauna” in the B.I., and “Javan” Gen. x. 2; also vii. 9. 1, and Aesch. *Pers.* 178 Ἰαόνων γῆν οἴχεται πέρσαι θέλων. It was this stock that first came in contact with Orientals. So “Frank” was used in the East of all Crusaders. As to the origin of the name “Ionian,” two views are held:

(1) That it developed in Asia Minor, and was gradually extended to the islands and Attica. “The central part of the Aegean formed in language, commerce, and civilization a closely connected whole, whose unity found its clearest expression in the great fair at Delos” (Meyer, *ut sup.* 133), though its original home was the Asiatic mainland.

(2) That it was brought to Asia from Europe by the most important tribe among the immigrants, which was connected with part of the population of Attica.

This latter in the main is H.’s view (chap. 147), and may be accepted for the following reasons:

(a) The four Ionian tribes are found in Attica (v. 66. 2 n.), and are proved by inscriptions to have existed in Delos and in Teos; as we have inscriptions also as to them in Cyzicus and in Perinthus, we may infer their existence in Miletus and in Samos (Busolt, i. 279).

(b) The festival of the Apaturia is found in Athens and in the Ionic cities of Asia Minor (not in the Orientalized Ephesus and Colophon (147. 2)). But the Athenian cult of Apollo πατροῶος (in spite of Plato, *Euthd.* 302c) is not found in Ionia (Farnell, *G.C.*, iv. 161).

(c) Attica is Ionic very early. Cf. *Il.* xiii. 685, and Solon (*Ath. Pol.* 5) calls it προεσβυτάτην γαῖαν Ἰαονίας. It was as head of the Ionians that Athens took part in the Amphictyonic Council.

[*Additional Note F* (1928): *the Ionian colonization of Asia Minor.* The connection between the Ionic cities and Athens, generally accepted in antiquity, has been much questioned by recent scholars.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Sitz.-Ber. Preuss. Akad.* 1906, i, p. 63f.) argues that the immigrants had nothing to do with Athens, but were a new race, formed by a mixture of “tribes thrown in all directions,” in the period of the Great Migrations; the Philistines became a nation in the same period. So far as any special outside connections can be traced in Asia Minor, they are with Crete. He argues that Miletus had only three tribes, of which only one was identical with an Attic tribe, and maintains that the usual tradition, as given by H., is a reflection of the greatness of the Athenian Empire. He argues further (*ibid.* p. 38f.) that the Ionian League was originally political. His whole theory is discussed at length in my *Studies in H.* (pp. 1–18), where I show that it is impossible to account for the wide acceptance of the tradition, were it not based on facts. “Athens bulked much less large in old Greek views than in those of modern historians” (p. 11). But W.-M.’s destructive argument may well be right on the connection with Achaia (*Hdt.* i. 145); this part of H.’s story met with much less general acceptance; he also may be

right in maintaining that the curious marriage custom of Miletus (H. i. 146) is a survival of the time when the aristocracy there was, as in Sparta, a military caste. In the same article I have discussed the theory of Lenschau (*PW* ix. 1869f. s.v. Iones) that a large part of the immigrants came direct from Pylos, and that there was originally war between the Pylians and the Ionians. This view is based on the seventh-century poem of Mimnermus, speaking of Colophon (Bergk, *PLG* ii, frag. 9, quoted in part by me in note on i. 150); this begins

ἡμεῖς δηῦτε Πύλον Νηλήιον ἄστυ λιπόντες.

But surely it is needless to take this so literally, and a direct voyage from Southwest Peloponnese, round Cape Malea to Asia Minor, is most improbable.

Sir William Ramsay's book on "Asiatic elements in Greek civilization" also contains valuable material bearing on this part of H.]

At the same time it is possible that there was a survival of pre-Ionic population in Attica. Ion in the legend comes from abroad (cf. viii. 44. 2), from the later Achaia, originally called Aegialus (Paus. vii. 1. 1; H. vii. 94); Euripides (in the *Ion*) gives him a native mother, Creusa. For the strife of races in Attic myth cf. 78. 3 n. The peculiar feature in Attica, however, is that the two races amalgamated before history begins.

As to the first view, viz., that "Ionian" rose in Asia Minor, three theories may be briefly mentioned:

(1) Curtius' famous paradox (*Die Ionier vor der Ion. Wanderung*, 1855) was that the Ionians came into Greece from Asia Minor. This is accepted by Holm (i. chap. 7), but it contradicts all tradition; and the fact that the Ionians always were confined to the coast points clearly to their having reached it by sea.

(2) Meyer maintained (ut sup. p. 150) that the settlement of Ionia took place in Mycenaean times. But the almost complete absence in Ionia of the "stirrup vases" and of the gems, so characteristic of Mycenaean civilization, is against this (Busolt, i. 277 n.).

(3) Bury (*EHR* 1900, p. 288 seq.) thinks the name "Ionian" was borrowed by immigrants from a pre-Greek population in Asia Minor; cf. the possible identification of the "Yaunna," allies of the Hittites against Rameses II in the thirteenth century B.C. (app. x. § 8), with "Ionians." But there is no sufficient evidence for this view.

**καλλίστω.** Cf. the view in Arist. *Pol.* vii. 7. 2–3, 1327b that the Greek race owed to equable climate the fact that it was at once ἔνθυμον and διανοητικόν, a mean between the reckless Northerners and the cowardly Easterners. Hippocrates (*Aer.* 12) claims for Asia παντὸς ἰσομοιρίη in natural advantages. The κοῆσις τῶν ὠρέων gives μετρίότης; but he goes on to admit that courage and endurance cannot be expected in a region so favoured.

[3] **τρόπους τέσσερας**. H. is probably more trustworthy in his linguistic remarks here than as to non-Greek tongues; but there are too few early inscriptions for us to be able to refute or to confirm him.

Miletus, with Myus and Priene, lay on or near the Latmian bay.

[4] **οὐδέν**. Stein thinks H. is exaggerating here, and is preparing the way for his attack on the purity of Ionic blood (chaps. 146–7). But the words only mean that the dialectic peculiarities of each group were different; that all spoke Ionic is assumed.

Erythrae lies opposite Chios.

### **i. 143**

[2] The antithesis to *κατ' ἄλλο μὲν* is never directly given; but is implied in § 3, i.e., “these twelve cities formed the Pan-Ionium.” H., in explaining the reason for this separate policy, loses his construction.

**ἀσθενέστατον**. H. is accused of anti-Ionian bias (cf. v. 69. 1; vi. 13. 1 n.), as a Dorian and as an admirer of Periclean Athens. But he especially limits his statement here to the second half of the sixth century (*τότε*), of which it is true, if we except Samos; the greatness of Miletus in trade and in politics was already largely a thing of the past.

Meyer (F. i. 129 seq.) denies that in the fifth century there was any inferiority attached to the name “Ionian”; he says (p. 131) that H. is simply trying to explain why the Athenians, who are the representatives of the Ionian *race* (cf. Solon in *Ath. Pol.* quoted on chap. 142), are never called so as a *people*. It is clear, however, that there was some contempt in “Ionians” in the fifth century (cf. iv. 142; Thuc. v. 9. 1 (Brasidas), vi. 77. 1 (Hermocrates), viii. 25. 5—with Hauvette, *REG* 1888, 257 seq.), no doubt because, as Hermocrates says, they had been subject to barbarians, and because of their increasing Oriental admixture; so the Ionian dress is imposed on the Athenian ladies as a punishment (v. 87. 3). The name too was being specialized for the inhabitants of the Lydian and north Carian seaboard (cf. the “Ionian” circle in the Athenian Empire, and the inscription as to Tanagra (Paus. v. 10. 4), which distinguishes Athenians from Ionians).

Athens was playing a double and inconsistent part; on the one hand she was championing Ionism (ix. 106. 3; Thuc. iii. 86. 3–4, vi. 82); on the other she was enslaving her Ionian kinsmen; but it must be remembered that the Ionic *Apaturia* was always celebrated at Athens (c. 147. 2 n.), and that the Athenians retained the “Ionic” tribes, at least for religious purposes.

### **i. 144**

**προσοίκων**. Among these may be mentioned Carpathos, Syme (174. 3), Calydna, and Nisyros (vii. 99. 2). Melos, Thera, and Phaselis (ii. 178. 2 n.) were too remote to join in the festival.

The Triopian peninsula (cf. 174. 3) lay just north of Cnidus (Thuc. viii. 35. 2); its temple was the centre of the Dorian Amphictyony.

[3] **διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην.** H. no doubt tells the Halicarnassian story. At best it was an occasion, not the cause of exclusion, which was no doubt due to the Carian and Ionian admixture at Halicarnassus. (Cf. Hicks, p. 41, and introd. p. 2.) That town was the furthest point to the north of Dorian colonization, which crossed the Aegean by way of Crete, probably in the tenth century, and spread up the coast till it met the tide of Ionic migration.

Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus were the three cities in Rhodes, synoecized about 408 B.C.

#### **i. 145**

Here as elsewhere (cf. 56. 3 n.) H. accepts the usual tradition of the Dorian migration and its results. That the colonization of Ionia was connected with that early “wandering of the nations” is probable; that it took place all at once, as H. implies, is most unlikely. Whether any great mass of the colonists came from the north of Peloponnese, as is stated here and also by Strabo (383, though with variations), is very uncertain.

The arguments for this last point are (1) the common number, twelve states; (2) the supposed connection of Poseidon of Helice (*Il.* viii. 203) with P. Heliconius (but see 148 n.); (3) the fact that Attica is a very natural pier of embarkation for dispossessed tribes. On the other hand, (1) and (2) may well have led to the invention of the tradition; and the noble genealogies of Ionia were traced back to Pylos (Strabo, 634, quoting Mimnermus) and not to Athens. This last point, however, is consistent with the tradition, which made Melanthus of Pylos king at Athens. On the whole, the balance of probability is for the traditional view, but it is possible that there was direct emigration from Argolis to Ionia: cf. the prominence of Hera-worship at Samos and at Argos.

**Κραῖθις.** This Crathis did not dry up in summer (*ἀένναος*); H. is interested in it from its namesake at Sybaris (v. 45. 1), which was not so permanent.

**Βούρα.** The tribe *Βωρεῖς*, found at Cyzicus, Perinthus, and elsewhere, may possibly be connected with this town.

#### **i. 146**

**μωρίη.** H.’s argument is that the number “twelve” is determined by history only, not by exclusive and superior purity in the Dodecapolis. He is obviously attacking someone (introd. p. 25); cf. for a like acerbity of tone *ii.* 16. 1. Paus. vii. 2. 3–9 gives additional details as to this migration.

**Ἄβαντες.** Aristotle (in Strabo, 445) said this tribe were Thracians, who passed from Abae in Phocis to Euboea.

**Μινύαι.** The Minyans settled in Teos (Paus. vii. 3. 6), the Cadmeans (but cf. v. 61. 2 n.) in Priene (*ibid.* vii. 2. 10) and in Colophon (*ibid.* vii. 3. 1–3, where the oracle

was connected with the daughter of Tiresias), the Dryopes in Styra (ibid. iv. 34. 11), the Phocians in Phocaea (Paus. vii. 3. 10). These statements it is impossible to test; they may rest on genealogical evidence.

No other tradition connects the Molossi (Thuc. i. 136. 2) who lived in the east of Epirus, north of Ambracia, with Asia Minor. Probably the reference is to some forgotten story, connecting Dodona (cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 829) with the migration to the East. Pausanias (vii. 4. 2) makes Ionians from Epidaurus (not Dorians) settle in Samos. The ἄλλα ἔθνεα are probably not Lydians and Carians (as Stein), but other Greek tribes from Hellas proper; H. mentions the admixture of native races below.

**ἀποδάσμιοι.** Cf. ii. 103. 2 ἀποδασάμενος. H. lays stress on the fact that Phocaea was founded by a part of the Phocians, who left their home by a voluntary migration, not from external compulsion; in this it resembled the later colonies, and not its contemporary foundations. The Arcadians are called "Pelasgi," because they were ἀυτόχθονες (cf. viii. 73. 1) and not immigrants, cf. 66. 2 n.

[2] **πρυτανηίου.** For connection with Athens as a test of Ionism cf. 147. 2. H. writes as if prehistoric migrations had been carried out with the ceremonies of colony-founding in his own day; for the "common hearth" cf. Frazer, iv. 441–2. The argument is again directed against Ionian pride of birth; even the purest-blooded of them had foreign wives and foreign rulers (147. 1); but the claims of Athens as μητρόπολις are asserted.

[3] Pausanias (vii. 2. 6) tells the same tale shortly. H. here seems to be incorporating in his argument a piece of very early custom. Among some savage tribes, e.g., the Caribs in North America, the wife neither eats with the husband nor calls him by his name (cf. Frazer, iv. 116). The myth of Cupid and Psyche preserves in a curious form this primitive separation of husband and wife. There may have been some strange survival of this at Miletus, but it can hardly have been as absolute as H. states.

#### **i. 147**

For Glaucus cf. *Il.* vi. 119 seq.; for his ξενία with Diomedes, ibid. 215 seq.; the story may well reflect some early connection of Greek settlers and native princes.

For the Pylian families at Athens cf. Busolt, i. 287, n. 3, who thinks (following Töppfer, *Att. Geneal.* 225 seq.) that the story of their migration to Asia via Attica is an Athenian invention; he argues that Peloponnesian wanderers would have gone directly by sea to Asia, which is most unlikely. It is true there never was a γένος of Nelidae at Athens; but then tradition was unanimous that the family had again migrated. For Pylians at Athens cf. v. 65. 3, *Hell. frag.* 10 (*FHG* i. 47), Paus. ii. 18. 9.

For the Καύκωνες cf. iv. 148. 4 n. Homer (*Od.* iii. 357 seq., speech of Athena as Mentor) distinguishes the Caucones from Pylos, but puts them near at hand.

**Κόδρου.** The rulers of Miletus were traditionally Nelidae, descended from Nileus the son of Codrus (ix. 97; Paus. vii. 2. 1).

**συναμφοτέρους** seems to imply a double kingship, the arrangement so familiar at Sparta (cf. vi. 51 n.). Kingship disappeared as a form of government in the eighth century or even later (cf. Busolt, ii. 455, n. 6, for its disappearance), and authority passed into the hands of an oligarchy claiming descent from the founder. Strabo (633) says that even in his own day the Codridae at Ephesus were called “kings” and had honorary privileges.

[2] The Apaturia (see Töppfer in *PW* s.v.) was the festival (in the month Pyanepsion) of the Phratries at Athens, at which new members were enrolled; cf. Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 146, where its three days are described, and Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 8 (its fatal influence on the trial of the generals in 406 B.C.). Various deities were connected with it, especially Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria. The derivation from the ἀπάτη of Melanthus is an etymological legend; it really = ὁμοπατόρια, the gathering of “fathers” (cf. ἄκοιτις). We can trace the festival widely, e.g., in the Aegean, at Cyzicus, and at Olbia; but the only inscription found as to it comes from the Crimea (? Phanagoria), *IGA* 350.

No doubt the cause of the absence of the Apaturia at Ephesus was the Orientalized character of that city; it was divided into five tribes, which are independent of the four Ionic tribes (c. 142 n.), except that one of its five had a sub-division “Argadis.” Its worship of Artemis too was full of Eastern elements (cf. Strabo, 641). So Ephesus takes little part in Ionic revolt (vi. 8 n.; 16. 2).

For an Oriental party in Colophon cf. Thuc. iii. 34. 1.

### **i. 148**

The Panionium was in the territory of Priene (Strabo, 384, 639), three stades from the sea. It is identified at Tshangli, between Ephesus and Cape Troglitium (Leake, *A.M.*, 260), at the northeast corner of the promontory; here the name has been found on an inscription (cf. Dittenberger, 189).

**Ἑλικώνιος** would naturally mean “of Helicon,” and Farnell (*C.G.S.* iv. 29 seq.) argues that the neighbourhood of Mount Helicon must have been “long the abiding home” of the Ionians, where they came in contact with the Minyae. There was a Ἴππου κρήνη, a fountain of the Poseidon horse, Pegasus, near its top (Paus. ix. 31. 3). If Farnell’s view is right, the worship of Poseidon at Helice in Achaia (c. 145 n.) would have been only an isolated local cult.

**Πανιώνια**. This religious amphictyony (cf. Freeman, *Federal Government*, p. 185 seq.) is as old as Homer (*Il.* xx. 404). It never developed into a complete political union, though it tended to do so (c. 170 n.). We have instances of united action in 141. 1, v. 108. 2, vi. 7. Thucydides (iii. 104) pointedly ignores this festival when he speaks of the gathering of the Ionians at Delos; but Strabo (ut sup.) says it was still celebrated in the time of Augustus. Thucydides’ festival was for the περικκτίονες νησιῶται, not for Ionians only.

[2] **τοῦτο**: i.e., that the names end in *a*. Cf. chap. 139 n. for Persian names.

### i. 149

For the Aeolian migration cf. Busolt, i. 272 seq. It was tradition ally four generations earlier than the Ionian (Strabo, 582), and like it was connected with the Dorian invasion. It was, however, an even more gradual movement, and neither in conduct nor in results had it the unity which is attributed (no doubt in exaggeration) to the Ionian migration. There is no reason to doubt the tradition that connects the Aeolians especially with Thessaly and Boeotia (Thuc. iii. 2. 3; vii. 57. 5; viii. 5. 2, 100. 3); this is supported by the likeness of the Lesbian and the Boeotian dialects (e.g., broad vowels πῶνω for πίνω, feminine endings in ις and ω; Busolt, i. 195, n. 2). The name Aeolis is used in four senses:

- (1) A district in southwest Thessaly (Apollod. i. 7. 3; *FHG* i, p. 111; H. in vii. 95. 1 alludes to this sense).
- (2) The district of Calydon in Aetolia (Thuc. iii. 102. 5).
- (3) The twelve old Aeolic towns given here by H.
- (4) All the settlements in the northern half of the west coast of Asia Minor, about thirty in number. Cyme and Lesbos were the μητροπόλεις (Strabo, 622).

The name "Aeolian" (first used in Hes. *Op.* 636—of Cyme) perhaps arose in Asia Minor, and was transferred back to Greece proper; it seems to be used of all "colonies" which were neither Dorian nor Ionian. The name may be connected with αἰόλος, "glancing, changeful."

For the identification of the "old" Aeolic towns cf. Bähr, ad loc., and Ramsay, *JHS* ii. 271 seq. Except Cyme, they were unimportant; only this town (Head, *H.N.*, 552) and Pitane (ibid. 537) issued coinage before the fourth century. They lay on or near the coast from south of the Hermus to the Caicus.

**Φρικωνίς:** so called to distinguish this Cyme from other towns of the same name; Φ. is said to be derived from Mount Phricius over Thermopylae (Strabo, 621), but this is probably a mere invention; the epithet was shared by Larisa.

**Λήρισσαι:** a form of the oft-recurring "Pelasgic" Λάρισσα.

[2] For ἦκειν cf. 30. 4 n.

### i. 150

Smyrna was Ionian before the twenty-third Olympiad (Paus. v. 8. 7), i.e., about the end of the eighth century. H. is confirmed by a poem of Mimnermus, who says (we Ionians) κείθεν δ' ἀκτήεντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο / θεῶν βουλή Σμύρνην εἴλομεν Αἰολίδα (Strabo, 634). Strabo, however, himself represents the town as a colony of Ephesus; this is obviously an Ionian invention to justify their aggression. The town, however, lying more than ten miles south of the Hermus, and having Phocaea on the coast between it and Cyme, belonged naturally to the Ionian sphere.

### i. 151

The Ida region stretched from the Gulf of Adramyttium to the Propontis.

[2] The “Hundred Isles” lay between Lesbos and the mainland. Strabo (618) says their number was estimated at from twenty to forty, and that the name means “Islands of Apollo,” from his epithet Ἑκατος; Strabo quotes “Peloponnesus” for a similar nasalization of σ.

[3] The words δεινὸν οὐδέν take up 143. 1.

### i. 152

The appeal is neither to king (as in iii. 148. 1) nor to “the authorities” (ἄρχοντες, iii. 46. 1 m.), but to the whole people; this detail alone proves the story unhistorical; it is an invention to show the contrast between Ionic luxury and Spartan simplicity.

Xenophanes (frag. 3) attacks the παναλουργέα φάρεα of his countrymen, the Colophonians, ἀβροσύνασ δὲ μαθόντες ἀνωφελέας παρὰ Λυδῶν. For the Spartan constitution and policy in the sixth century cf. app. xvii. For Lacedaemomian headship cf. 69. 2 n.

**Φωκαίεα:** for this leadership cf. 141. 4 n., and position of Dionysius at Lade (vi. 11).

### i. 153

**τίνες ἑόντες.** For the contemptuous question cf. v. 73. 2 (Artaphrenes), v. 105 (Darius after the burning of Sardis); it is most appropriate here.

The words put into Cyrus’ mouth bring out dramatically the contrast between the town life of the Greeks and the village life, feudal in its arrangements, of Persia; the rich Persians lived on presents or the produce of their land. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 2. 3–4 for a fancy picture of the ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά (i.e., “free” from trade) in Persia. Aristotle (*Pol.* i. 9, p. 1257) analyses the prejudice against τὸ καπηλικόν in his day, when the Greek attitude to trade had changed greatly from that of H.

[3] This passage is the best instance of the division of power among the officers of the Persian Empire (cf. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 6. 1 and app. vi, § 7). Tabalus commands the garrison (cf. Mithrines at Sardis in Arr. *Anab.* i. 17. 3), Mazares (chaps. 156–7) the field forces, while Pactyas has civil authority. If κομίζειν = “manage,” this sense is common in Homer, e.g., *Il.* vi. 490 τὰ σ’ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε, but rare later; Pactyas would then be a satrap with limited powers. But κομίζειν may have its ordinary sense, “bring,” i.e., to Ecbatana. In any case the position and behaviour of Pactyas resemble those of Harpalus under Alexander.

[4] Justin (i. 7) makes the Babylonian War, Ctesias (2. 3. 64), the wars with the Bactrians and Sacae, precede the attack on Sardis; the order of events in H. (73. 1 n.) is more probable. Justin (ibid.) has an absurd story that all Greece was coming to attack Cyrus, had he not spared Croesus. For the subsequent conquests of Cyrus cf. chap. 177 n.

**i. 155**

Cyrus quotes a proverb of Stasinus νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει (Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15; 1376a 6).

[3] **ἀναμάξας**. Cf. *Od.* xix. 92 κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξεις, usually translated “you will wipe off” (tr. ἀναμάσσω), i.e., “suffer for in your own person”; but Stein derives from ἀν-αμάγω, i.e., “hear up,” which he thinks is supported by φέρω here.

[4] Cf. app. i, § 4 for the aetiological legend.

**i. 156**

[2] **ἄνδρα Μῆδον**. It is noticeable that Medes already were being employed in high office (cf. app. vi, § 3).

**i. 158**

[2] A kinsman of Aristodicus was tyrant in the next generation (v. 37. 1).

**i. 159**

[3] **τοὺς στρουθούς**. Cf. Psalms lxxxiv. 3 for birds in a temple. Ael. *V.H.* v. 17 records that the Athenians put a man to death for killing a temple sparrow.

[4] For the oracular teaching that sin of intention is equal to sin of act cf. vi. 86 (story of Glaucus).

**i. 160**

[3] **πολιούχου**. Cf. *Ath. Pol.* (5. 82. 3)—a more common form. For other references to her as guardian deity cf. Farnell, *G.C.* i. 298, 398 seq. Plutarch (*De Mal.* 20, *FHG* i. 32) quotes “verbally” the account of Charon of Lampsacus: Πακτύης ὡς ἐπύθετο προσελαύνοντα τὸν στρατὸν τὸν Περσικόν, ὄχετο φεύγων ἄρτι μὲν εἰς Μιτυλήνην, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς Χίον· καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκράτησε Κύρος. In this account, as Plutarch says, οὐδὲν ἄγος προστέτριπται; but Charon’s silence is not inconsistent with the account here (cf. introd. § 19).

[4] Atarneus, a fertile district (vi. 28. 2), had belonged to the Mysians (viii. 106. 1). The dense population of Chios (Thuc. viii. 40. 2; Beloch, *Bevölk.*, pp. 233–4) made it important for the island to secure a food-supply on the mainland. The Chians still had Atarneus in 398 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 11).

**χῶρος** must be taken twice over, with Ἀταρνέος and with Μυσίης (cf. 137. 1 for another double construction; but the one here is very harsh). For the position of Atarneus cf. vii. 42. 1 n.

[5] For the οὐλαί cf. 132. 1 n. The price of blood might not be used for sacred things (cf. St. Matt. xxvii. 6).

**i. 161**

Magnesia above the Maeander valley (cf. iii. 122. 1), not the northern Magnesia by Mount Sipylus in the Hermus valley.

### i. 162

**ἀνόμω τραπέζῃ.** For the Thyestean meal cf. chap. 119.

[2] The Persians had learned Assyrian methods of attack, and so were more formidable than the Lydian cavalry; for mounds against the wall cf. pictures in Maspero, iii. 241, 250, and Thuc. ii. 75–6.

### i. 163–7

*The story of the Phocaeans.* This digression is invaluable, as giving us our earliest evidence of the “Barbarian Reaction” in the West, which kept the Greeks out of Corsica and west Sicily, and prevented the west Mediterranean from becoming a Greek lake. It was checked for more than half a century by the Deinomenidae, at Himera in 480 B.C. (vii. 166) and at Cumae in 474. For the whole subject cf. Bury, pp. 296 seq. These chapters are well discussed by Clerc in the *REG* xviii. 143 seq.; he proves that the later traditions (Antiochus, frag. 9; *FHG* i. 183; Timagenes, *ibid.* iii. 323) are mistaken, which attribute the foundation of Massilia, in whole or in part, to the exiles fleeing from Persia. This later date has been supported by Thuc. i. 13. 6; but the order of events in that chapter need not be chronological.

### i. 163

**πρώτη.** Phocaea as leader is attacked first; cf. 152. 1 for a Phocaeen spokesman. Harpagus changed the plan of campaign; Mazares had attacked the Ionian towns of the south (c. 161). The Thalassocracy of Phocaea is variously dated 602–560 and 577–533 B.C. (Myres, *JHS* xxvi, pp. 102–3). Cf. Thuc. i. 13. 6 for their foundation of Massilia (which H. does not mention, though he knows the town: v. 9. 3), and for their “repeated victories” over the Carthaginians; by this colony they secured the “tin-route” across Gaul. For their coinage cf. Hill, *G.C.*, 8–11; Head, *H.N.* 587–9; it was both early and widespread. The coins of Phocaea, with those of Mytilene and Cyzicus, formed the chief currency for the coast towns of west Asia till the time of Alexander.

**οἱ καταδέξαντες.** H. rightly lays stress on the Phocaeans being “openers-up” (not the discoverers; cf. iv. 153. 2 for Samians at Tartessus) of the West. Their activity gave the name to the “Ionian” sea, south of Italy. Myres (*ut sup.*, p. 102) refers these voyages to the last half of the eighth century, but Tartessus was a “virgin” market in 630 B.C. when Colaeus discovered it.

**Ἀδρίην.** The Adriatic Sea (cf. iv. 33. 1), named from the Etruscan town of Adria, near the mouth of the Po (Livy v. 33. 8).

**Ἰβηρίην:** only mentioned here by H. (but Iberians among other western peoples: vii. 165. 1); probably he means northeast Spain near the Ebro. The Greeks had a colony here, Rhodae (now Rosas) near Emporiae; Strabo (654) ascribes it to the Rhodians before the first Olympiad, an impossible date; he adds that it was afterwards colonized by the Massiliots. Probably his statement is a mere etymological guess, and Rhodae was connected from the first with Massilia (and so with Phocaea), which certainly owned it later.

**Ταρτησσόν:** the region at the mouth of the Baetis, probably the Tarshish of the Old Testament (but cf. Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* s.v., where the evidence is fully given, for a different view). It was the Eldorado of the ancients (cf. Strabo, 146, for its gold, silver, brass, and iron); Stesichorus (Strabo, 148) sang of the ἀργυροόριζοι παγαί of the Tartessus river. Cf. Meyer, ii. 428–9, for the whole subject.

[2] The Phocaeans, like the Elizabethan navigators, were buccaneers (cf. 166. 1 and Dionysius of P., vi. 17 n.) as well as traders; hence the character of their ships. The penteconter was the main Greek ship-of-war in the sixth century, although Thucydides (i. 13. 2–3) says that the Corinthians were building triremes by 700 B.C. (this is his meaning, in spite of Torr, A. S. p. 4, n. 8). The Samian and the Phocaean navies were mainly composed of penteconters; they had, however, a few triremes (Thuc. i. 14. 1). H.'s details as to Samos (contrast iii. 39. 3 and 44. 2) confirm this view, that the navies of the period were mixed. Thucydides further seems to suggest that large fleets of triremes were first formed in Sicily and at Corcyra. The lighter penteconter would be used in preference for a long voyage or for a piratical raid. In the penteconter there were twenty-five oars a side; but the principle of superimposed banks may be as old as the Homeric Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 510—the Boeotian ships have 120 men each; cf. Thuc. i. 10. 4). For its use in Phoenician warships as early as 700 B.C. cf. Torr, p. 4, and figs. 10 and 11.

[3] The longevity of Arganthonius was proverbial (cf. Anacreon, frag. 8, in Strabo, 151); that he reigned eighty years is accepted as *prope certum* by Pliny (*H.N.* vii. 156), who gives (154–5) an amusing string of instances, ending in “Tyrriorum regem DC. atque, ut parce mentitus, filium eius DCCC.”

< τὰ > πάντα, “in all,” as opposed to πάντα, “quite.”

[4] λίθων μεγάλων. The wall obviously had been seen by H. (cf. 141. 1 n.).

#### i. 164

**κατιρῶσαι**, “consecrate,” as a sign of submission, which was to be at once material and symbolical.

[2] **βουλεύσασθαι**. Probably Phocaea was actually besieged, and these negotiations took place during an interval in the siege. Harpagus' offer can hardly have been genuine, for Cyrus had refused to accept submission on terms less favourable to the Greeks (c. 141). The Phocaeans on their part were probably seeking to gain time, so as to be able to escape by sea.

#### i. 165

The Chians were friendly with the Milesians (18. 3 n.) and the league trading East, the Phocaeans with the league trading West (cf. iii. 59. 4 n.). The Oenussian Islands lie between Chios and the mainland.

**ἐκ θεοπροπίου**. This passage throws interesting light on the policy and methods of the Delphic oracle. The Pythia not unnaturally wished to secure for Hellenism one of the keys of the west Mediterranean (cf. v. 43 for a similar attempt in west

Sicily). For this Delphic policy cf. Curtius ii. 37–42 (though he exaggerates it); Holm (i. 232) thinks the oracle simply sanctioned projects suggested to it by would-be colonists. But probably it also originated projects itself (cf. v. 42. 2 n.).

[3] **μύδρον**. Cf. Hor. Epod. xvi. 17–26, and for a similar sanction to the Delian league *Ath. Pol.* 23 ad fin.

#### i. 166

**Κύρον**. Antiochus (frag. 9, *FHG* i. 183) says that some of them also went to Massilia; but (see 163 n.) *Ἀλαλίαν* should be read in that passage for *Μασσαλίαν*.

**περιοικοί**: probably the native Corsicans, who appealed to Carthage and Etruria for help.

**Τυρσηνοί**. The Etruscans were at this time at the height of their power; not improbably they ruled Rome in the sixth century; the Romans, on becoming free, made a treaty with Carthage in 509 B.C. (Polyb. 3. 22). The occupation of Alalia was a direct challenge to the Etruscans, and no doubt it was the common danger from the Greeks which led them to form the commercial treaty with Carthage spoken of by Aristotle (*Pol.* iii. 9. 6; 1280a).

[2] A Cadmean victory was a proverb, derived from the mutual slaughter of the two sons of Oedipus, Eteocles and Polynices, in the war of “the Seven against Thebes.”

**ἐμβόλους**: acc. of respect; lit. “they were bent back as to their beaks.” Cf. 180. 2 *ἐλήλαται τοὺς ἀγκῶνας*; the great danger to the ancient warship was that, in ramming another, it often disabled itself; cf. especially Thuc. vii. 34. 5, 36. 2–3.

#### i. 167

Agylla, the later Caere in south Etruria.

[2] For the oracle teaching mercy and atonement for blood guilt cf. Myers, *Hellenica*, p. 455; for the curse on offspring cf. vi. 139. 2 n.

**σφι**: the dead Phocaeans. The atonement consisted in setting up Greek games in their honour as heroes; the connection of funeral games with the dead is as old as *Il.* xxiii; for other examples cf. Frazer, ii. 549–50. For *ἐναγίζω* (“hero-worship”) cf. ii. 44. 5; v. 47 n.

[3] Oenotria (Strabo, 209) is the toe of Italy “from the Sicilian strait to the Tarentine Gulf.”

**Ἐέλη**: i.e., Elia or Velia, so famous in the history of philosophy. For “paltering in a double sense” on the part of Oracles cf. iii. 64. 4 n.

[4] **Κύρον**: a son of Heracles (Servius on Verg. *Ecl.* ix. 30). Heracles is the pioneer of Greek enterprise, cf. v. 43; there is no need to conjecture *ἔλος ἐόντα*, in reference to the fact that Velia was founded in a marsh (Dion. Hal. i. 20).

### i. 168

The name "Abdera" is perhaps Phoenician (Strabo, 157). Abdera coined with the griffin of Teos as type, but it followed the Phoenician heavy standard (Head, *H.N.* 253 seq.). The town was famous as the birthplace of Democritus and Protagoras, yet its people were proverbially stupid (for their idea of wit cf. vii. 120). For the site cf. vii. 126 n.

Timesias had founded it about 653 B.C., driven from Clazomenae by his undeserved unpopularity (cf. Ael. *V.H.* xii. 9); for the formula οὐκ ἀπόνητο cf. *Od.* xi. 324; for hero-worship of a founder cf. Thuc. v. 11. 1 (at Amphipolis).

### i. 169

**ἕκαστος, ἕκαστοι.** H. emphasizes the weakness of Ionia, i.e., the absence of union.

[2] **νήσους.** H. is thinking of the bigger islands, Chios (iv. 138. 2), Samos (iii. 44. 1, but Samos was really independent iii. 120. 3); he himself says that of the Cyclades οὐδεμία ἦν ὑπὸ Δαρείῳ (v. 30. 6); and in 174. 3 he implies that the Persian power "stopped on the shore." Chios had territory on mainland (160. 3 n.), so too had Lesbos, but H. here is speaking of "Ionians" only.

As the Ionians had command of the sea they could still meet at Mycale.

### i. 170

For Bias cf. 27. 2 n.; Mahaffy (*G.L.* i. 198) thinks a fragment of his poem urging migration is preserved in Theognis, 757–68.

[2] Sardinia was barred to the Greeks by Carthage; hence, on the principle of *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, they exaggerated its size; the Italian official figures are for Sicily 9860 square miles, for Sardinia 9187 (*EB*<sup>11</sup> xxv. 20, xxiv. 210). Cf. v. 106. 6, Pseudo-Scylax *Perip.* 114, and Timaeus (in Strabo, 654) for the mistake, which has been revived by Freeman (*Sicily*, i. 2, 241). Strabo (123) was the first writer to give the real proportion. Cf. v. 124. 2 for another proposal to conquer Sardinia. Corsica was already (c. 165) partially held by Phocaeans.

[3] **Φοίνικος.** Plutarch (*De Mal.* 15) attacks this statement, as "making Thales barbarian"; H. only means that he was descended from the Thelidae, original settlers of Miletus, who were descended from Cadmus. As the father of Thales bore a Carian name (Examius, Diog. Laert. i. 1. 22), he probably had non-Hellenic blood in him. Thales' proposal shows the practical wisdom for which he was ranked among the Seven Sages (27. 2 n.); he alone of these was also a philosopher. His proposal was to secure united action by a genuine federal government (cf. Freeman, *F.G.*, 187–90). Thucydides (ii. 15.2) uses almost the same phrases of the supposed work of Theseus in Attica, and H. seems to think the proposal of Thales was for complete political unification, as he says the cities were to be mere "demes"; but Thales can only have meant that the ἐν βουλευτήριον was to control foreign relations.

Teos was not chosen only for its central position; its insignificance would prevent it being dangerous to the independence of the federated states. So Washington (not New York) was made capital of the United States.

### i. 171

Of the Carians and Leleges may well be quoted the words of Strabo (322), when, after describing the wide diffusion of the Leleges, he says (speaking of northwest Greece): "Now that most of the land has become desolate, and the settlements and especially the cities have disappeared, even if a man could give a definite account, he would do nothing useful, owing to the uncertainty (ἀδοξία) and to the fact that the peoples have disappeared, a movement which began long since." The best English accounts are those of Myres and Paton, *JHS* xvi. 264 seq., and (of the Leleges) of Holm, i. 63–4, 72. The following are the most important points as to the two races:

(1) *In Asia Minor.*

(a) In Homer (*Il.* x. 428–9) Dolon places them both with the Lycians, Mysians, and Phrygians among the allies of Troy. In the Catalogue (*ii.* 867) the Carians are βαρβαρόφωνοι, and inhabit Miletus.

(b) Leleges are placed by Homer at Pedasus in the Troad (*Il.* xxi. 86–7), but do not occur in "the Catalogue."

(c) Strabo (321, 611) tells us that ancient "tombs and forts" in Caria were called "Lelegian."

(d) Philippus, a Carian writer of the third century B.C., makes the Leleges serfs of the Carians; Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 46; *Mor.* 302) says that the survivors of the Leleges were serfs at Tralles.

We may conclude they were genuine tribes on the Anatolian coast, of whom the Carians were the later comers and the conquerors. The two races were often identified, especially as the Carians seem to have adopted the speech of their subjects; for two races in Caria cf. 171. 6.

(2) *In Greece proper.*

(a) Carians are traced at Megara (citadel called "Caria," Paus. i. 40. 6), in the Argolid at Epidaurus and Hermione (Strabo, 374, quoting Aristotle), at Athens (Isagoras, *H.* v. 66. 1). But the last instance proves nothing, and the first may be connected with the later military importance of the Carians.

(b) Leleges are mentioned continually as early inhabitants, e.g., by Strabo, 321–2 (quoting Arist.), in Acarnania, Aetolia, Boeotia, etc. This is probably invention based (i) on the fact that the Leleges, like the Pelasgians, are merely a prehistoric stop-gap; where nothing was known they were put in; (ii) on resemblances of place-names in Caria and in central Greece (Busolt, i. 185. 4 n.), e.g., Abae in Caria and in Phocis.

We may conclude that there is no sufficient evidence for the presence of Carians and Leleges in Greece proper.

(3) But it is not unlikely that the primitive population of Greece and of Anatolia was really akin; we find place-names ending in *-vθος*, *-nda* (and perhaps *-ασσοσ*, *-ασα*) common to both regions, and a number of words "earthy of the soil," e.g., *βόλιvθος*, with a similar termination (cf. Conway's list, *BSA* viii. 155). We may also compare the primitive cist-graves of Assarlik in Caria with the pre-Mycenaean graves in the Cyclades. So the double axe was a symbol of the Carians, but perhaps they and the Cretans borrowed it equally from some earlier people. (For this view generally cf. Mackenzie, *BSA* xii, p. 217 seq.) The double axe seems to be the symbol also of the Hittite god, Tesub.

(4) *The races in the islands*. Greek theory made the Carians native in the islands (171. 2; Thuc. i. 4. 1, 8. 1, though with differing details). Thucydides seeks to confirm this by archaeological evidence; but the weapons found in the island-graves do not resemble the Carian weapons of chap. 171. Probably, therefore, the native tradition is right (171. 5), that they were originally a mainland people, and the Greek tradition is a mere inference from the Thalassocracy of Minos. There were Carians in the islands, however, in the ninth and eighth centuries (see below).

(5) The theory once maintained that the Carians were the authors of the Mycenaean culture (e.g., by Köhler and Dümmler) must be abandoned, in view of the facts that hardly any Mycenaean remains are found in Caria, and those found show the culture in its decadence (*JHS* xvi. 265).

(6) For the affinities of the Carians with the Indo-European races cf. app. i, § 4. The Carians seem to have been the advanced guard of the tribes that invaded Anatolia from the north at the end of the second millennium B.C. Conway (ut sup. 156) thinks the Carian names may belong to the Indo-European family of speech. If this be denied (with Kretschmer), we may suppose the conquerors adopted the language of the conquered earlier population.

It is to this later conquering element we must attribute: (a) The Carian Thalassocracy (Myres, *JHS* xxvi. 107–9). There were Carians in the islands at the time of the Greek settlement (171. 5). (b) The characteristic Carian weapons (171. 4 n.). (c) The Carian mercenaries of the seventh century (ii. 152. 5).

[4] **τριξὰ ἔξευρήματα**. This passage is of great importance for our knowledge of Greek armour. The difference between the weapons of Homeric and those of later times is well known; H. here attributes three changes to the Carians, who were prominent as mercenaries in the seventh and sixth centuries (cf. Helbig, *Hom. Ep.*, 344; Archil. frag. 24; and ii. 152, 154, v. 111. 1). The statement is repeated by Strabo (661), who says (662) the Carians καθ' ὅλην ἐπλανήθησαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μισθοῦ στρατεύοντες. Pliny (*H.N.* vii. 200) also credits the Carians with greaves. H. has grasped the difference between the huge body-covering shield (ἤυτε πύργος; Lang, *Homer and his Age*, 110f. compares the shields in the Bayeux Tapestry and refutes the theory that they were only used in a chariot) and the round shield of

manageable size, borne on the left arm. Some (e.g., Tsountas, p. 193) think he is wrong as to the “badges,” and refer to the “stars” on Mycenaean shields and the well-known shield of Achilles of *Il.* 18. E. Curtius, however (*Ges. Abh.* ii. 89), accepts the statement of H., who is probably referring to some particular form of badge, which was specially Carian.

With regard to λόφος and ὄχανον Strabo (661) quotes from Alcaeus λόφον σείων Καρικόν, and from Anacreon, Καρικοεργῆς ὄχανον.

The λόφος is frequent in Homer (*Il.* vi. 469, Hector’s boy ἐκλίνθη . . . ταρβήσας χαλκόν τε ἶδε λόφον ἱππιοχαίτην), as H. must have known. Hence he may be referring to the later form of crest which fits right on the helmet, as opposed to the earlier form which was raised on a κύμβαχος (*Il.* xv. 536); the two forms of crests are seen in the Euphorbus plate (Brunn, *Griech. Kunstg.* (1893), fig. 114). With the later form comes in the more frequent use of cheek-pieces to the helmet, which, by hiding the face, would make “badges” more necessary.

The ὄχανον (or ὀχάνη) is used by the Schardana on the Egyptian monuments of the thirteenth century (Helbig, *Hom. Ep.*, fig. 124, at Ipsambul); the “shield-band,” therefore, may have been borrowed by the Carians from an earlier Anatolian race. The “band” (of metal, wood, or leather) was placed across the diameter of the shield from rim to rim (cf. picture in *Dict. Ant.*, s.v. “Clipeus”); the shield also had a grip (πόρπαξ) of leather running round inside the rim. Hence πόρπαξ and ὄχανον are used as convertible (Schol. to *Ar. Eq.* 849). They were, however, properly distinct; the conservative Spartans used only the πόρπαξ till the third century (Plut. *Cleom.* 11).

The ὄχανα may be the Homeric κανόνες (*Il.* xiii. 407; Helbig, 324–57), but it is more probable these latter are the ῥάβδοι of Hesych. (s.v), the stiffening rods in the centre of the leather shield. Cf. Leaf, *Iliad*, vol. i, app. B, for this and other points as to Homeric armour.

**περικεῖμενοι.** We have a shield hung from the left shoulder (cf. *Il.* xvi. 106 ὁ δ’ ἀριστερὸν ὤμον ἔκαμνεν / ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχων σάκος) represented in the famous hunting scene on the dagger-blade from the fourth grave at Mycenae (Helbig, fig. 125); Reichel (*Hom. Waff.*, 10) elaborately explains the working of the shield. In *Il.* v. 795–7 (cf. *Il.* v. 98), however, Diomedes has his shield τελαμών on his right shoulder.

This early shield also had a “grip,” which H. takes for granted; this omission hardly justifies Helbig’s criticism, “H. either did not understand the old use or has expressed himself obscurely” (p. 323).

Το περικεῖμενοι supply τελαμώνας. The reason for placing the “shield belt” on the left shoulder was that the sword belt had to be on the right one (*Il.* xiv. 404–5), as the sword itself was on the left side, so as to be drawn more easily.

[5] ὕστερον: i.e., at the time of the Greek colonization, about 1000 B.C.

τῷ αὐτῷ. The Greek story made them Leleges originally (§ 2).

[6] For Ζεὺς Κάριος cf. v. 119. 2 n.; it is curious that while he is worshipped by Mysians and Lydians also (§ 6), Ζ. Στρατιος is Carian only.

### i. 172

Caunus lay in south Caria: it was in the Rhodian περῶν. Thucydides (i. 116. 3) also distinguishes it from Caria.

κατ' ἡλικίην, "according to age and affection." H. puts this in to show the drinking bouts were not tribal.

[2] ἡβηδόν, "in full force" (vi. 21. 1).

Calynda lay to the southeast on the Lycian frontier.

ἐκβάλλειν. For this expulsion cf. Tylor (*P.C.* ii. 199) who says the Australians "annually drive from their midst the accumulated ghosts of the last year's dead." So too the modern Greek will discharge firearms to drive away an earthquake.

### i. 173

The Lycians are as great a racial and linguistic puzzle as the Carians. Their language is usually thought to be Indo-European, on account of the resemblance of its inflexions to those of Greek; but it has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and its connection with Greek is very doubtful, Meyer i. 476.

The name "Lycian" may be explained: (1) As that of a conquered Anatolian tribe. Cf. the Luka of the great Egyptian invasions (app. x, § 8), and the sea-roving Lukki of the Tell El-Amarna Tablets. (2) Or, more probably, as a Greek name derived from a confusion of Apollo Λύκειος (the wolf god) with the deity of Patara (Farnell, *G.C.* iv. 113). The geographical position of the Lycians on the sea-coasts seems to confirm the tradition of their origin as immigrants ἐκ Κρήτης. They borrowed much from Greece, including partially their alphabet, but retained their nationality and political individuality (for the Lycian League cf. Freeman, *F.G.*, 208 seq.). Their abundant coinage is evidence of great prosperity in fifth and fourth centuries (Head, *H.N.* 688 seq.).

[2] This Sarpedon is grandfather (Diod. v. 79) of the Homeric hero, the leader of the Lycians (*Il.* passim).

Milyas (iii. 90. 1) is in historic times the high ground northeast of Lycia, as far as Pisidia (Strabo, 631). As no Lycian remains are found here, it was inhabited probably by a distinct people (cf. Arr. *Anab.* i. 24. 5 ἔστι μὲν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας, συνετέλει δὲ ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν, οὕτως ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου τεταγμένον).

"Solymi" seems to be the name of the original inhabitants, who were driven into the mountains; so in *Il.* vi. 184, 204, they are enemies of the Lycians. Strabo (631) says the neighbouring tribe, the Kabaleis (iii. 90 n.), were thought to be "Solymi," and Steph. Byz. (s.v Πισιδία) says the same of the Pisidians.

[3] The name Τερμίλαι is confirmed by quotations from Hecataeus and Panyasis (frag. 364, *FHG* i. 30; iii. 236), and by the TRXΜΛΙ of the Harpagus obelisk in the British Museum.

The aetiological myth as to the name “Lycians” is part of the expansion of the Theseus story (Aegeus was the human father of Theseus), which accompanied the rise of Athenian power under and after the Pisistratidae (Bury, i. 213).

[4] For explanations of, and parallels to (e.g., Tacitus, *Germ.* chap. 20), this interesting survival of primitive usage cf. Westermarck, chap. v; he argues that it does not prove (as McLennan thought) a time when promiscuity was the rule and paternity uncertain. In many most primitive tribes (W. gives a list, pp. 98 seq.) kinship through males was the rule. Kinship through females may be based on various ideas, e.g., the fact that “paternity is a matter of inference, maternity of observation” (Maine), on the closer connection between mothers and their children, or on primitive polygamy. It is confirmed for Lycia by *Il.* vi. 196–206; Sarpedon, the sister’s son, is chief, and the male heir, Glaucus, subordinate.

Probably the usage belongs to the primitive Anatolian stock; cf. app. i, § 3.

#### i. 174

[2] Λακεδαιμονίων. Strabo (653) brings the Cnidians from Megara. Tr. “As their territory lies towards the sea, being called Triopion, beginning from the Chersonese of Bybassia”; τό is neuter from attraction of the predicate Τριόπιον. Properly Τριόπιον is the name only of the extreme point.

[3] οἱ Κνίδιοι takes up οἱ of § 2; but the whole section is a model of confusion. It is to be noticed that H., as a Halicarnassian, knows the Cnidian territory minutely.

[5] The oracle, for which H. does not vouch (cf. ὡς αὐτοὶ κτλ.), looks like an *ex post facto* excuse for non-resistance. The isthmus still shows traces of the unfinished cutting.

#### i. 175

For Pedasus cf. v. 121 n. This part of Caria was again the only one that resisted at the time of the Ionic revolt (v. 119–21); this may be connected with the fact that the Leleges were especially at home here.

τρίς. This portent is mentioned again (viii. 104 n.) in almost the same words, but as having only happened “twice”; if both passages be genuine, they clearly prove that bk. i was written later, but the words in bk. viii are probably a gloss.

#### i. 176

συνήλιον. A like desperation was shown against Brutus in 42 B.C. (Appian *B. Civ.* iv. 80, who says it had been shown also against Alexander in 334: this is obviously wrong; cf. Arr. *Anab.* i. 24. 4).

[3] ἐκδημέουσαι. For a parallel in the Fabius who survived the Cremera (477 B.C.) cf. Livy ii. 50. Some explain their absence by their having gone up into the hills in the summer.

Harpagus seems to have become hereditary satrap of Lycia (though there were also native rulers; cf. vii. 98 n.). A descendant of his, Karmis (?), was ruler there about 430 B.C., and is commemorated on the Xanthian Stele in the British Museum (l. 5, Hicks, No. 56, pp. 96–7; Meyer, iv. 683, refers it to 413 B.C.): it is suggested that the “triquetra” of the Lycian coins may be a pun on the family name (ἀρπάγη = a hook); but Head (*H.N.* 688) makes it a solar symbol connected with the Apollo cult.

#### i. 177–216

**Resumption of story of Cyrus.** *Description of Babylon* (177–83). *Works of Semiramis and Nitocris* (184–7). *Capture of Babylon by Cyrus* (188–91). *Description of Babylonia* (192–200). *Geographical position and customs of Massagetae* (201–3, 215–16). *Cyrus’ expedition against Massagetae and his death* (204–14).

#### i. 177

Prášek (i. 224–5) interprets H. as placing the wars in the east against the Bactrians, Sacae, etc., before the attack on Babylon. This is against the order of names in 153. 4, and also against probability (cf. also 190. 1 n.); the passage here obviously gives no chronological evidence. That Cyrus, however, extended his rule to the Jaxartes is likely in itself, and is confirmed by the list of satrapies in the B.I. (app. vii, § 1). It is confirmed too by the position of Kyra, which claimed to be his foundation, on the river Jaxartes (Strabo 517), and by the story of the Arimaspi as εὐεργέται of Cyrus (cf. viii. 85. 3 n.); they saved his army on the north borders of the Gedrosian desert.

#### i. 178–183

For ancient Babylon the main authority is the East India House inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, 619 lines long (quoted as E.I.H. from *RP<sup>2</sup>* iii. 104 seq.). The best English account is that of Pinches, in the *Enc. Bib.* (s.v. Babylon). H. is our oldest Greek witness; Sayce (introd. p. 28 seq.) denies that he ever visited Babylonia, but this view has not been generally accepted. Cf. Baumstark in *PW* (about 1896) s.v. Babylon, “that [H.’s statements] really rest on his own observation, should never have been disputed. But it is also indisputable that in them what the writer has himself seen and what he was told by his oriental guides, is mixed up in a suspicious way” (ii. 2689). F. H. Weissbach, however, *Das Stadtbild von Babylon* (1904, *Der Alte Orient* V), produces a plan of Babylon based on recent German excavations (still going on), which differs entirely from the account of H. or of any other Greek writer; Weissbach (p. 15) indeed claims the support of Berosus, who says (*FHG* ii. 507) that Nebuchadnezzar ὑπερεβάλετο τρεῖς μὲν τῆς ἔνδον πόλεως περιβόλους, τρεῖς δὲ τῆς ἔξω, but there is no trace of περιβόλοι on W.’s plan. This plan, not to mention other difficulties, represents Babylon as having no

defence on the west except the river Euphrates, which is absurd. It is therefore ignored here.

[*Additional Note G (1928): H.'s account of Babylon.* The older accounts of the topography of Babylon have been rendered out of date by the explorations of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, which began in 1899 and were continued till the Great War. An account of the results of these by Dr. Koldewey, the Director, was published in 1912, under the title of *Das wieder-erstehende Babylon*; an English translation of this was published in 1914 as *The Excavations at Babylon* (to this translation references will be made). But a much clearer conception of the results can be obtained from the late Mr. L. W. King's *History of Babylonia*, vol. ii, chap. 2 "The City of Babylon."

A shorter but very useful account is found in the late Professor Haverfield's *Ancient Town Planning*, pp. 20–7; only it must be understood, as he explained to me in a letter of Sept. 28, 1915, that his plan on p. 24 is a plan of what has been found, not a complete conjectural restoration.

Mr. King's chapter is indispensable to any serious student either of H. or of the Old Testament, and I take the opportunity here of acknowledging my obligations to it. A good account of previous exploration in Babylonia from the earliest times, is given in Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, i. 84f.; the account of the English merchant, John Eldred, who visited Bagdad in 1583 (Hakluyt, vi. 1f.) is worth comparing with that of H., for they both approached the region by the same route, i.e., down the river, and (probably) had the same motive, i.e., trade.

The name Bâb-ilî, "gate of the gods," was probably originally that of the ancient fortress, which stood at the gate of the famous Esagila temple of Marduk (King, p. 28); cf. for this chaps. 181, 183 nn. For the importance of the site of Babylon commercially and strategically, as commanding the great water-ways from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf cf. King, i. 5.

The excavations prove that the enormous extension given to Babylon by H., and to a less extent by the other ancient writers (the passages are printed in full at the end of Koldewey's book), is a mistake. The remains of the walls which have been traced on the left bank of the river give an extent of from five to six miles; there are also small traces of walls on the other side of the river, which, as H. rightly says, "divided the city in the middle" (chap. 180. 1). But even assuming (which is unlikely) that the two divisions of the city were about equal, the extent of the walls would be only about eleven miles, not, as H. says, about fifty-five. There can be no doubt that H. is repeating the figures given by his guides, which he had no means of checking, and which he does not profess to check (contrast his account of the pyramid, ii. 127. 1). At any rate, Babylon was much larger than any city H. had seen, or could have seen, in Greece.

The only dimension of the walls which H. could easily estimate—that of breadth—seems to be given with tolerable accuracy, for the wall was a double one (each part being about 24 feet thick), with a gap of about 40 feet between the two, filled with

rubble to the top (King, p. 25). The broad summit, as H. says, was wide enough for a chariot "to drive round" on it (chap. 179), a feature which rendered possible a rapid concentration of the defending forces (King, p. 26). A further feature in which H. is confirmed is the facing of the outer wall with baked bricks (Koldewey, p. 3); these have gradually disappeared, because the old walls were used as a quarry for building material (Koldewey, p. 10). The use of "brass" for the gates and "lintels" (υπέροθυρα, chap. 179) is partly confirmed by a bronze lintel from Borsippa, now in the Br. Mus. (King, p. 27 n.). The great temple of Esagila (ibid. p. 72f.) is the Zeus temple of H. (chap. 183); the lavish use of gold described by him corresponds to the description given by Nebuchadnezzar in the E.I.H. inscription. On the great tower of this temple, the E-temen-anki, King and Koldewey differ; the Englishman defends the explanation of H. (cf. n. on πύργος, chap. 181. 3), which he argues is to some extent confirmed by a picture on a Chaldaean boundary stone (pp. 78–9) and by a fragmentary inscription (pp. 80–1). The question of the real shape of the ziggurat can, however, be settled only by excavating the great mound of Birs-Nimrud.

H. also is quite right (chap. 183) in putting the altars of Belus outside the temple (King, p. 61, who compares the exterior positions of the altars in the Jewish Temple).

A further point on which the excavations have confirmed H. is on the relative positions of the great buildings. He says the "palace" and the "temple of Zeus" (chap. 181. 1) were on opposite sides of the river, but the Kasr and the Esagila, which now certainly represent these, are both on the left bank; there are, however, clear traces that the river has changed its course, and that the temple was formerly on the right bank (King, pp. 37–8). The explanation given by me (p. 141) as "the most probable," must now be given up.

Perhaps, however, the general layout of the city as revealed by the excavations, is the most important point in which H. is confirmed. He lays great stress on the "straightness" of the streets; King agrees with this and says (p. 85), "the main arteries run roughly north and south, parallel to the course of the Sacred Way, while others cross them at right angles." No doubt H. was especially impressed by the great processional street, spanned by the Ishtar Gate. As Haverfield says (p. 27), "the germ of Greek town-planning came from the East."

For the beauty of Babylon as a city cf. King, p. 5, and the coloured illustrations in Koldewey, pp. 38, 43, 45. With regard to the customs of Chaldea, it may be noted that H. is confirmed by Lenormant (*La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, 33f.) in his statements (chap. 197) about illness: "Medicine," L. says, "was not a rational science as among the Greeks." But H., as usual, is too absolute; the exorcist and the physician both practised; cf. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 317. The evil customs of the "Temple of Aphrodite" (chap. 199), i.e., Ishtar, are, says Professor Langdon (*Tammuz and Ishtar*, 74), only too well confirmed by the inscriptions.]

### i. 178

H. includes (cf. iv. 39. 1) under "Assyria" the whole region between the Iranian plateau, Armenia, and the desert; this province (for its history cf. iii. 92. 1) is called "Assyria" also in the Minaean inscriptions (from South Arabia, which go back to ninth century B.C.). Hence in his Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι (cf. app. ii, § 6) H. includes both the Assyrian and the Babylonian Empire (chaps. 106, 184). The confusion was natural, owing to (1) H.'s ignorance, especially of Assyria. (2) The identity of their religion and culture. (3) The fact that Babylon was often a vassal of Nineveh. But the two empires were historically and ethnographically distinct. We may compare the similar identification of Medes and Persians by the Greeks.

**ἄλλα πολίσματα:** this is correct; the land is full of ruins. Cf. a striking passage in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (1853), p. 245, beginning "On all sides, as far as eye could see, rose the grass-covered heaps, marking the site of ancient habitations. The great tide of civilization had long since ebbed, leaving the wrecks on the solitary shore." This refers to the district west of Mosul, i.e., near the site of Nineveh.

[2] **μέγαθος** and **μέτωπον** (= "side"; elsewhere **κῶλον**) are both accusatives of respect. **εὐούσης τετραγώνου:** a bold anacoluthon.

**εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.** There are four main questions as to the walls of Babylon:

(1) *Are the two walls, outer and inner, mentioned by H., the Imgur Bel and Nimitti Bel of E.I.H. viii. 43–6? Their identity is accepted by Baumstark (ut sup.), Maspero (iii. 563), and others, but denied by the recent excavators, e.g., Weissbach (p. 12). This point does not affect H.'s narrative.*

(2) *Had H. seen either or both walls?*

(a) Berosus (*FHG* ii. 508) says that Cyrus "arranged to destroy the outer walls," because Babylon was "troublesome and hard to take." But this statement seems inconsistent with the fact that he entered the city peaceably as a deliverer (app. iv, § 1).

(b) H. himself says (iii. 159. 1) that Darius τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε. This is usually explained as referring to the outer wall, and meaning that this had ceased to exist before H.'s visit. H. then either would be describing the outer wall from hearsay (Baumstark), or (as Lehmann, *Klio*, i. 274; cf. H. iii. 150. 1 n.) incorporating whole passages from Hecataeus (cf. the tenses of ἐνεστᾶσι 179. 3, and κεῖται 181. 5). But there is no good evidence that Hecataeus had ever been in Babylon, or that H. copied him (introd. § 20), and either alternative seriously prejudices the credit of H.

(c) It is more natural to suppose, as the words πύλας . . . ἀπέσπασε in fact imply, that Darius simply dismantled the outer wall. He left Babylon in the state which Scott (in *Quentin Durward*) describes at Liège. To remove such enormous masses of brickwork entirely would have been at once difficult and needless. H. throws in

touches which rest mainly on hearsay (e.g., 179. 3, the presence of the “brazen” gates), but he had seen enough of the wall to warrant him describing it as existing.

(3) *The extent of the walls.*

(a) H.’s figure of 480 stades is supported by the statement of Philostratus, supposed to be derived from Hellanicus (see *PW* ii. 2693).

Oppert’s attempt to trace the line of this great square on the modern site is now given up; Weissbach (p. 30) says it is fifty times too big; but Nikel (*Herodot und die Keilschriftforschung* (1896), 25–7) points out that the extent of the ruins (roughly fifteen miles by twelve) corresponds to H.’s figures, which are accepted by Baumstark and Lehmann (ut sup.). If this is right, the outer wall included the neighbouring town of Borsippa (cf. 181. 2 n.), which had also a wall of its own. Many, however, maintain Borsippa was quite separate from Babylon, following Berossus (*FHG* ii. 508). The recent excavations render somewhat doubtful the enormous size of Babylon; but as Lehmann points out (ut sup.), even if their results were more certain than they are, the literary tradition is very strong, and walls of brick might disappear, leaving little or no trace (cf. 179. 1 n.).

(b) The figures of other Greek writers are smaller, e.g., Ctesias (*Assyrica* frag. 5. 397) gives 360 stades, Strabo (738) 365 stades, Cleitarchus (in Diod. ii. 7; he was one of the historians of Alexander) the same; Bähr (Ctesias, 401–4) collects all the evidence. These are taken as being the extent of the inner wall, which (Abydenus, *FHG* iv. 284) lasted down to the time of Alexander.

Of course all this vast area was not inhabited. At any rate H. is only giving the estimate he had received; he could not have measured even one side (contrast ii. 127. 1). For the size of Babylon cf. Arist. *Pol.* iii. 3. 5 (1276a) ἥτις ἔχει περιγραφήν μᾶλλον ἔθνους ἢ πόλεως· ἥς γέ φασιν ἐαλωκυίας τρίτην ἡμέραν οὐκ αἰσθέσθαι τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως.

(4) *The height of the walls.* H.’s estimate, about 335 feet by 85, to some extent agrees with that of Ctesias, who gives 50 fathoms (i.e., 300 feet, Diod. ii. 7).

Nebuchadnezzar describes his wall as “mountains high” (*E.I.H.* viii. 51; cf. Jer. li. 53), and Xenophon makes the ruined wall of Nineveh (with its base, κρηπίς) 150 feet high and 50 feet wide (*An.* iii. 4. 10–11; perhaps he is including the mound on which it stood). Strabo (738, with whom Diod. ii. 7 and Curt. v. 1 agree), however, makes the wall of Babylon only 32 feet thick and 75 high (90 in the towers). H. probably follows the exaggerated figures of his guide. Maspero (iii. 563), who gives a picture of a conjectural restoration, makes the height of Nimitti Bel, the main wall, 30 metres, i.e., not quite 100 feet), and says it “resembled rather a chain of mountains with battlements and towers than a boulevard of man’s handiwork.” H.’s wall is not broad enough for stability in proportion to its height, and it is possible that he even underestimated its thickness; that of Khorsabad, which is much lower, is nearly 80 feet thick.

He is quite right in saying that there was a walled ditch (178. 3; 179. 2) in front of the outer wall, and that inside there was a second wall "of less extent" (181. 1 στεινότερον). For the walls generally cf. E.I.H. col. 8. To sum up, it may be said that H. gives a striking impressionist picture of this great scheme of fortification, but that it is incorrect in details.

**ἐκεκόσμητο.** Babylon was undoubtedly the most splendid city in the East, when the great works of Nebuchadnezzar were complete. Cf. E.I.H. passim and Dan. iv. 30.

[3] For the "royal" and the "ordinary cubit" cf. F. Hultsch, *Metrologie* (1882), especially pp. 46, 388. H. illustrates the Oriental measures from the Greek; but to us the process is reversed, as we know the Oriental measures, from measurements of Babylonian bricks and buildings, better than the Greek. The "royal cubit" (which was practically the same as the Egyptian royal cubit, though a fraction longer, *ibid.* p. 552) is calculated at from 525 to 532 (or 533) millimetres; the Greek cubit, therefore, being in the relation of 8 to 9 (the "finger" is 7/10 of an inch), was from 466.6 to 473 millimetres. Stein, however, says the relation is 7 to 8, not 8 to 9, basing this on the length of the Attic ell, i.e., 462 millimetres. The Samian cubit was the same as the Egyptian ell (*ii.* 168. 1); of this there were two kinds, the "royal," about 527 millimetres (Hultsch, 355), the smaller about 450. That the Samian corresponded to the former, i.e., the longer ell, has been finally proved by the measurements at the Samian Heraeum (*ibid.* p. 551).

#### **i. 179**

**ἐλκύσαντες πλίνθους.** Translate "having moulded enough bricks"; it corresponds to ἐπλίνθευον above. The passage is parodied in Aristophanes' *Aves*, 552; cf. i. 3 n.

Babylonia, owing to the absence of building stone, was the special home of brick-work. Crude bricks were used inside the walls, and even the baked bricks, from their larger size, were inferior in hardness to Roman, and to good modern, brick. Hence the wall was liable to be destroyed by water (cf. the tradition as to the fall of Nineveh (Ctesias *Assyrica* frag. 16. 437; Diod. ii. 27), and to become in ruins a shapeless mass (cf. Lehmann, *ut sup.*). It was to hinder destruction by water that the "mats of reed" (ταρσοὺς κ.) were "stuffed in" (διαστοιβάζοντες), but really at much more frequent "intervals" (διά) than H. gives.

[2] **ἀσφάλτω.** On "bitumen" for "mortar" (τέλμα) cf. *EB* s.v, and Gen. xi. 3 (A. V. "slime"); it was used mixed with clay. The inscriptions (E.I.H. cols. 7 and 8) confirm H. as to this.

**δόμων,** "layers." Cf. ii. 127. 3 τὸν πρῶτον δόμον (in the pyramid of Chephren).

[3] **ἔσχατα:** absolute; "the edges" of the wall.

**οικήματα.** These "one-storied chambers" (called πύργοι in iii. 156. 1 and Strabo, 738, and προμαχεῶνες in iii. 151. 1) served as guard-houses; no doubt they were machicolated.

περιέλασιν, “to drive round” (not “to turn”). This, too, Aristophanes parodies (*Av.* 1125–9).

ἐνεστᾶσι. For the tense see above. The gates were probably “plated with brass”; hence πᾶσαι is distributive “all of them.”

[4] H. reckons a day’s journey on the flat at 200 stadia (*iv.* 101. 2), i.e., about 23 miles; but Hit lies only about 125 miles north of Babylon. Matzat (*Hermes*, vi. 445) suggests that the explanation of H.’s larger figures lies in the river windings at Ardericca (185. 2 n.); the road, he thinks, would follow the river. Hit is still the chief source of bitumen for Babylonia; there are two springs, one cold and one hot; “the whole place is redolent of sulphuretted hydrogen” (Peters, in *EB*<sup>11</sup> s.v. Hit).

#### i. 180

[2] ἀγκῶνας. Literally “is carried down as to its angles,” i.e., “is carried down at an angle.” The river rampart (αίμασσύ, i.e., a rougher kind of wall) and the city wall made a salient angle, excellent for purposes of defence.

ἐπικαμπαί. “From this point the return-walls stretch in the form of a rampart along each quay” (χειῖλος): παρατείνει is attracted into the singular to agree with αίμασσύ. The quays (*Diod.* ii. 8) were 160 stades long; parts of them were discovered by the French explorers in 1853; the bricks bear the name of Nabonidus. H. (186. 2) attributes them to Nitocris, the mother of the last king, Labynetus (188. 1 n.), who in part corresponds to the historic Nabonidus.

The Euphrates was navigable by sea-going ships up to Babylon (*Strabo*, 739).

[3] The streets were some of them (ἄλλαι) parallel to the river, others were cross-roads (ἐπικάρσιαι, cf. *iv.* 101. 3) leading to it; the latter were merely “alleys” or “wynds” (λαῦραι). Streets which ran parallel to the river could hardly be “straight,” but H. exaggerates this feature, from their contrast to the winding streets of a Greek town.

[4] πυλίδες. H. carefully distinguishes these “little gates” from the main πύλαι of 179. 3.

#### i. 181

[2] τὰ βασιλήια. The question of the palaces and temples of Babylon is one of the most disputed in H. The following facts may be taken as fairly certain:

(1) That there were three palaces: (a) That on the right bank built by Nebuchadnezzar, in which Alexander died. (τὰ πέραν βασιλεία, *Plut. Alex.* 76; *Arr. Anab.* vii. 25. These authorities are specially important as quoting αἱ βασιλείαι ἐφημερίδες as to Alexander’s last days.) (b) That on the left bank, close to the temple of Merodach (cf. *E.I.H.* viii. 31 seq.). (c) Another built by Nebuchadnezzar to the north. As this was built in fifteen days (*E.I.H.* cols. 8 and 9, and *Berosus*, *FHG* ii. 507) it was less important.

(2) That there were two pre-eminent temples, that of Bel Merodach or Marduk in Babylon proper, on the left bank of the river (the "Esagila"), and that of Bel Nebo in Borsippa, on the right bank of the river (the "Ezida").

(3) That one palace (viz., 1*b* above) has been proved to be identical with the mound of El Qasr, and the "Esagila" temple (less certainly) with Tell Amran.

(4) That Xerxes destroyed the great temple of Bel-Marduk in the centre of Babylon (Arr. *Anab.* vii. 17. 2); Strabo (738) calls it ὁ τοῦ Βήλου τάφος, but this is obviously the terraced tower, the ziggurat, the most important part of the Esagila.

There are, then, two main difficulties in the account of H.:

(1) He mentions only *one* palace and *one* temple, although in this there is a lower shrine κάτω νηός (183. 1), distinct from the great ziggurat of chap. 181.

(2) He claims to have seen the temple; but if, as is probable, Xerxes had destroyed the Esagila, he could not have seen it.

Three explanations may be given (disregarding that of Sayce, that H. had never been in Babylon):

(1) Baumstark in *PW* thinks the "palace" of H. is that on the right bank, and that he does not mention the palace on the left bank, because he considers it part of the Esagila temple; it actually was close to it (see above). How H. could describe a temple which had probably ceased to exist, Baumstark does not explain; presumably this is one of the "suspicious confusions" of which he speaks.

(2) Hommel (in Hastings, *Dict. Bib.* s.v Babel) says that Arrian and Strabo were mistaken. Because Xerxes removed the statue from Esagila (cf. 183. 3), they thought he had destroyed the temple. This explanation is possible; a brick building dismantled about 480 B.C. would speedily fall into decay, and though H. might have seen it in fair repair ca. 450 B.C., it might well need rebuilding, as Alexander proposed, in 323 (Strabo, Arrian, ut sup.).

(3) The most probable explanation, however, is that of Lehmann (*Klio*, i. 273–5), that by the "temple of Belus" H. means the Nebo temple in Borsippa. H. distinctly says his temple was on the other side of the river (ἐν τῷ ἐτέρω) from the palace; and as both Marduk and Nebo were called Bel ("Lord"), H. may well have confused them, and transferred the story of the statue to the Nebo temple. In fact it is not unlikely that the priests told him falsely that the perished statue had been in their temple, though it had never belonged to them. It will be seen (184 n.) that H. had special knowledge of the Nebo temple, and that he carefully avoids saying where the statue had stood; he leaves it ἐν τῷ τεμένει (183. 2).

The Borsippa temple is the best preserved of the ruins of Babylon, because of the imperishable material, blue slag, of which its uppermost story was formed. The present mound, Birs-Nimrud, is 153 feet high; its circumference is given variously, by Rich, 762 yards; by Rawlinson, 694 (ii. 582); H. gives 811 (four stades, § 3) for the lowest story, or rather for the brick platform on which it was raised. It may be

noted that H. does not give the absurd height (606 feet) which Strabo (738) gives to the τάφος Βήλου. The ἰρόν, which is eight stades round (δύο σταδίων πάντη), is the sacred τέμενος in which the tower stood.

It will be noticed that H. says nothing (in this agreeing with E.I.H.) of the famous hanging gardens attributed to Nebuchadnezzar by Berosus (*FHG* ii. 507); cf. 185. 1 n.

[3] **πύργος**. For the eight stories cf. the Cyrus tomb at Murghab (125. 3 n.). H. is undoubtedly describing a tower with one story set upon another, each decreasing in size, and thus the ziggurat is usually restored (cf. Rawlinson, ii. 583–4, for picture). But Meyer, i. 380 n., says it was a rounded cone, with a sloping way winding about it to the top; he follows E. Herzfeld (*Samarra*, 1907), who gives a beautiful picture of the still-existing minaret of the Samarra mosque, which, he claims, embodies the idea of the old ziggurat. The form is certainly very primitive, and Herzfeld maintains that the sun-burned bricks were not strong enough for such a tower as H. describes. The Babylonians had, however, kiln-baked bricks as well, and there is no sufficient reason for describing H.'s view as mistaken.

[5] For the table of Bel cf. the story of Bel and the Dragon in the Apocrypha; for the deity consuming his offerings cf. viii. 41. 2 n. and Tylor, *P.C.* ii. 380 seq., who quotes parallels among modern savages. For divine amours cf. Josephus, *A.J.* xviii. 3. 4 (of Anubis at Rome); and Strabo 816 (at Thebes). The carvings at Luxor and Deir el Bahari support the story (cf. ii. 143. 4 n.). It is possible, however, that H. may be misled by Egyptian titles; connected with the temple of Amon were his "singing women," chief among whom was "the wife of the god." These are to be distinguished from the ἱερόδουλοι, and were often women of good position, e.g., Psammetichus I made his daughter "wife of the god"; cf. Erman, *Egypt*, 295–6. If these are referred to, H. is wrong in saying (182. 2) they were unmarried. Frazer (*Kingship*, 170) considers H.'s evidence very important, as bearing on the supposed "divine" origin of kings; he thinks the human bride was one of the "brides of Marduk" referred to in the code of Hammurabi.

**Χαλδαῖοι**. The original home of this people was on the Persian Gulf (the "Chaldeans" of Xen. *An.* v. 5. 17 are a different tribe near Armenia, though Rawlinson, ad loc., thinks them the same); thence they pushed north, amalgamating with the earlier inhabitants. Their prince, Merodach Baladan II, ascended the throne of Babylon in 721 B.C.; the rivalry between his house and race and the priests of the older races was one of the great causes of the weakness of Babylonia (cf. 185. 1 and app. ii, § 5). By a curious change of meaning, the Greeks later called the wise priestly class "Chaldeans," and so a tribal name became a caste name (cf. "Magi" 101 n.). For this use, which is not native, cf. Daniel (passim), Strabo 739, etc., and for Roman times Mayor, ad Juv. x. 94.

#### **i. 182**

[2] Patara lay on the coast just east of Xanthus; Apollo was at home there for the six winter months, at Delos for the rest (cf. Hor. *Odes* iii. 4. 64 "Delius et Patareus

Apollo"). So he was supposed to be away from Delphi for the three winter months. For the periodical migrations of the gods cf. Frazer, *P.*, iii. 58. When the god was away, he naturally could not divine (cf. the irony of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 27).

### i. 183

**ἄγαλμα μέγα.** H. does not make it clear whether this statue is the same as the one destroyed (§ 2); probably it was not. Lehmann (*B. W. für K. P.* 1900, 964 n. 6) considers that H. is here borrowing from Hecataeus (cf. 178. 2 n.); he quotes χρόνον ἐκεῖνον (§ 2) in proof (but see below). H. here records an important fact (as Lehmann points out), though he does not understand it. The god's statue was the symbol of the independent existence of Babylon, and the king at the beginning of the year (in the month Nisan) solemnly grasped the hand of Bel-Marduk, thus acknowledging his supremacy. A conqueror by doing this conciliated the prejudices of the Babylonians, owning himself a native king. So in our earliest important Cassite inscription (before 1000 B.C.) a Cassite king records that he brought the statue of Marduk back to Babylon, and becomes "king of Babylon" (Winckler, *Der Alte O.* vi, 1904, pp. 23–4). So too Cyrus, in the Cyrus Cylinder (app. iv, § 1 and *RP*<sup>2</sup> v. 167), professes that he rules by the grace of Marduk. Xerxes, giving up this policy of conciliation, removed the statue, and so "destroyed the personal union between Babylon and Persia"; Sennacherib had done the same, but his successors had restored the temple and statue of the god. It is to be noted that Xerxes' title changes at the same time; in 485 B.C. he is "King of Babylon and the lands," afterwards he is "King of Persia and Media" (Meyer, iii. 80). Apparently the change of policy was provoked by Babylonian rebellions which began at the end of the reign of Darius (so Darius is said "to have intended" (ἐπιβουλεύσας) to take the statue; cf. *Klio*, vii. 447–8, for new inscriptions as to these rebellions).

[2] ἐκεῖνον, "at that time," i.e., when Cyrus conquered Babylon.

### i. 184

H. undoubtedly confused the kings of Babylon and Assyria (cf. 178. 1 n.). For his Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι cf. app. ii, § 6.

**Σεμίραμις.** For this queen cf. inscriptions of "Kalach" (*BMG* p. 31) now in Br. Mus. She was a Babylonian princess, the wife of the Assyrian Rammânirari III (812–783 B.C.), and seems to have introduced the worship of Nebo into Nineveh; hence H. no doubt heard of her name at the Nebo temple. Her real date almost corresponds to the "five generations" of H., i.e., 167 years before Nebuchadnezzar's accession, 605 B.C. (see below) = 772. It is noticeable that H. gives none of the wild Greek fables as to the mythical Semiramis (cf. Diod. ii. 5 seq., following Ctesias), which make her a sort of Assyrian Catherine II, distinguished equally in war and for sensuality. No doubt in these stories is reflected the double character of the goddess Ishtar (cf. 105. 2 n.). Berosus censures the Greeks (*FHG* ii. 507) for saying that she founded Nineveh. For Semiramis cf. Lehmann in *Klio*, i. 256 seq.

The **χώματα** and the accompanying canals were a well-known feature of Babylonia from the time of Hammurabi (cf. app. ii, § 1) onwards; they were needed at once to control the floods of the river (Strabo, 740 seq., a very interesting passage), and for the irrigation which was essential to the life of the country; it was the filling up of these canals which has turned one of the most thickly populated regions of the Old World into the waste of to-day. Their defensive use (cf. 185. 1 n.) was only secondary. The remains of thirty or forty canals are still passed in a day's journey (Nikel, p. 9). For Alexander's care of the canals cf. Strabo, 740–1. For canals in Babylonia generally cf. Winckler, *Hist. of Bab.* (tr. by Craig, 1907), pp. 135–9.

### i. 185

No such queen as Nitocris is found either in the Babylonian inscriptions or in Berossus; H. perhaps misheard the name, and assimilated it, when he wrote, to the Egyptian name with which he was more familiar; Lehmann (ut sup.) sees in it the consonants of the Persian form of Nebuchadnezzar, i.e., "Nabukadracara," sounded "tracara." Others, however, think that it was not the ignorance of H., but his informants' prejudice (cf. 181. 5 n.) which is responsible for the suppression of all mention of this great king; they consider that in the priestly tradition the works of Nebuchadnezzar were attributed to his wife, who was a Median princess, Amuita, the daughter of Astyages (Berossus, *FHG* ii. 505); this marriage is probably referred to i. 74. 4 n. She is said to have suggested the famous "hanging gardens," from a longing for her Median mountain home (cf. 181. 4 n.). H. confuses her with the mother of the last king, Nabonidus ("Labyrinthus," 188. 1); this lady seems from the "annalistic tablet" to have been an important person (*RP*<sup>2</sup> v. 160). Hence in H. the works of the great Chaldaean king are given to one composite queen.

**προεφυλάχατο.** This motive is probable in itself (but see below), and is confirmed by E.I.H. (vi. 39–56); Nebuchadnezzar knew the value of loyal alliances. He also made the great "Median Wall," 100 feet high (Xen. *An.* i. 7. 15), from the Euphrates to the Tigris, at the point where the two rivers approached each other most nearly. H. does not mention this, probably because it did not quite reach the Euphrates (Grote, iv. 137 n.); his knowledge is mainly confined to Babylon and what he could see from the river.

[2] **ἐς τὸν Εὐφροῆτην**, the reading of all MSS., must mean that travellers from the north became involved in a labyrinth of canals at Ardericca, from which it took them three days to get clear into the Euphrates. It is usual, however, to omit ἐς, in which case H. means that a traveller on the Euphrates passed the same village three times in three days; in this land of marvels he accepted this statement from some waggish fellow-traveller, who hoaxed him. H. probably travelled straight by boat from Thapsacus to Babylon (cf. Grote, ut sup.), and the villages he passed were no doubt as much alike as castles on the Rhine to-day. Matzat (p. 445), however, very ingeniously tries to prove that H.'s statement is possible. The river

runs thus, , each bend being fourteen to eighteen miles long (+ = site

of Ardericca; 1, 2, 3 = the position of the boat on three following days). He finds a confirmation of these windings in 179. 4 (q. v.), the distance of Is from Babylon.

If Ardericca be a real place, it may be Idikara (cf. Ptol. v. 17. 19), about fifty miles above Sippara, where the course of the Euphrates was much diverted on account of rapids. The "Ardericca" of vi. 119 (near Susa) is a different place.

[4] ἔλυτρον. The "reservoir" (cf. iv. 173. 1) at Sippara, also the work of Nebuchadnezzar, is meant; it lay "along, a little distance from the river." But really it was not "far above" Babylon; H. is either making a mistake, or he is calculating by the time spent on his journey down stream; he writes as if his boat had made the circuit of the reservoir (περίοδος, § 6), which can hardly have been the fact. Abydenus (frag. 9, FHG iv. 283) makes it 40 parasangs, i.e., 1,200 stades, in circumference and 20 fathoms deep. There is no trace of this reservoir now, but an inscription of Hammurabi says, "I set a marsh around and dug a canal and made a protecting quay" (at Sippara)." This work was renewed by the father of Nebuchadnezzar (V. Scheil, *Sippara*, 1902, pp. 23, 65). It was intended for irrigation (cf. the reservoir at Assuan), but no doubt could also be used to flood the country against an invader. This must be the meaning of ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος (§ 6), but H. has quite failed to understand his informant, and so his own account is most obscure. He seems to confuse the canals, along which his boat may well have travelled, with the great "basin" which he only saw, and the uses of which were described to him.

ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, "to the water level"; the phrase is Chaldaean (E.I.H. vii. 60).

[5] κρηπίδα. Abydenus (ut sup.) speaks of "great sluice-gates" (ἐξετογνώμονες). H.'s account bears all the marks of an eyewitness; but possessed as he is by the Median terror, he pays no regard to the pacific use of the reservoir; hence he contradicts himself; he thinks of it as a marsh (see above and cf. 191. 3), but also as navigable.

[7] κατὰ τοῦτο. Translate "In this way she wrought (in that part of) her country where were the entrances, and the shortest way from Media"; cf. iv. 136. 2 for τὰ σύντομα. The territory of Assyria was now in the Median hands (cf. for its being called "Media" Xen. *An.* ii. 4. 27), and so the natural line of attack (ἐσβολαί) would be down the right bank of the Tigris.

#### i. 186

ταῦτα μὲν. Translate "These were the defences with which she surrounded (her city) by digging (ἐκ βάθους), but she took advantage of them to add such a supplementary work (παρενθήκη) as" (the river wall and bridge).

[2] Sayce (ad loc. and p. xxix) is very angry with H. for his mistake in speaking of "huge stones" in Babylonia; but Nebuchadnezzar makes the same mistake (!) (E.I.H. ix. 24). Of course the stones were brought down the Euphrates from the north. Xenophon (*An.* i. 5. 5) speaks of a village on the Euphrates, where

millstones were made for sale. Diodorus (ii. 8), who gives the bridge to Semiramis, makes it 5 stades long and 30 feet wide.

[3] These ξύλα were no doubt a sort of drawbridge in the middle, pulled up on both sides; this feud (κλέπτειεν) between the two river banks may be an unconscious echo of the rivalry between Babylon and her suburb, Borsippa.

#### **i. 187**

[2] Lehmann (*Klio*, i. 259) says the inscription uses the phraseology of the royal monuments; the οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον, however, is quite Greek.

[3] The presence of a dead body made the gate impassable for a Persian. Some see in the mention of "gates" a contradiction to iii. 159. 1, but it is purely verbal (cf. 178. 2 n.). The story is a curious one; for treasures buried with the dead cf. Josephus, *A.J.* vii. 15. 3, pp. 392–4, who says that Solomon buried David with great treasures, and that when the tomb was robbed by Hyrcanus and by Herod, they took away great wealth, but failed to find the real royal treasure. Lehmann (*W. für K.P.* 1900, p. 962) sees in H.'s story a confusion of Darius and Xerxes (cf. iii. 150 n.); he follows Aelian (*V.H.* xiii. 3), who tells a similar story, with additional marvels, of Xerxes violating the tomb of Belus. But A.'s version has every mark of being an explanation of οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον, and Lehmann's theory is at best only possible. Stein thinks the tale may have arisen from a misunderstood inscription. All we can say for certain is that we see in it the Babylonian hatred of their conquerors.

#### **i. 188**

The last king of Babylon was called Nabonidus (556 B.C.); he was no relation of Nebuchadnezzar (died 562); between them were three kings, of whom H. knows nothing.

The Choaspes is the "river Ulai" of Daniel viii. 2. H. here gives an interesting point; the water of other lands was impure for the worshipper of Ormazd; hence the Choaspes water was taken both for drinking ("boiled") and for preparing the Haoma (cf. Indian Soma) libation (cf. vii. 54. 2 n.); for the earthly plant used for this, which corresponded to the white immortality-giving Haoma, cf. *SBE* iv. 69.

#### **i. 189**

The Gyndes is the Diyâla, which runs into the Tigris from the northeast about fifty miles from Babylon; this identification is clear from v. 52. 5, where it is the next river to South.

For the Matieni cf. i. 72. 2 n. and iii. 94. 1. The Dardanians are otherwise unknown.

Ἰῶπιον. H. mentions Opis because it is the highest point of navigation from the sea up the Tigris (Strabo, 739). Opis, which lay nearly fifty miles north of the Diyâla, at the junction of the Physcus and the Tigris (Xen. *An.* ii. 4. 25), was the scene of the Macedonian mutiny in 324 B.C.

**συμψήσας**: literally "rub together," and so "obliterate." Here = "sucking down."

[3] **κατέτεινε**: i.e., his army. "He extended it." Maspero (iii. 635) accepts the story as partly true; Cyrus, he thinks, with the main army turned the defensive works on the north of Babylon, by lowering the water in the Tigris and the Gyndes. (Cf. *Caes. B. Civ.* i. 61 for a similar operation on the Sicoris in 49 B.C.) There was one battle (*RP<sup>2</sup>* v. 162) near Opis, as H. says (190. 1), and it was immediately followed by a revolt in Akkad (i.e., N. Babylonia). Meantime Gobryas, marching down the left bank of the Gyndes with a portion of the army, took Babylon by treachery, while the main defensive force was resisting Cyrus. In the same way Prášek (i. 229) accepts the story of chap. 191 as describing the preparations to intimidate the capital, and force a capitulation.

Even if these views be correct, the story told to H. was completely misleading; the city was taken by treachery (app. iv, § 6). But it is more likely that H. is partly right (as thus suggested) than that the whole narrative is an invention borrowed from the irrigation works on the Gyndes (as Sir H. Rawlinson, *ad loc.*). The form it takes is religious in colouring; "white horses" were sacred to the sun (iii. 90. 3 n.; cf. vii. 40. 4); hence the offending river is divided into as many channels (360) as there are days in the year.

#### **i. 190**

The war lasted longer than H. thinks; it perhaps began in 546 B.C., as the annals of Nabonidus seem to speak of an attack on Akkad (i.e., N. Babylonia) from Elam in that year (*RP<sup>2</sup>* v. 161); but the record is much mutilated.

[2] **προεσάξαντο**. The use of this word in viii. 20. 1 seems to show that it is from *προεσάττω*, "they packed up beforehand," not from *προεσάγω* (as Schweighäuser); cf. v. 34. 1 n.

#### **i. 191**

[2] **ἄπασαν**. Used loosely for "the main army," as two other contingents are at once mentioned.

[3] **ἔλος**. Cf. 185. 4, 5 nn.

**ὑπονοστήσαντος**, "when the river had sunk" (cf. iv. 62. 2).

[6] For Aristotle's account of the capture of Babylon, which even exaggerates the one here, cf. 178. 2 n.

**όρτήν**. The "feast" agrees with the well-known story in Dan. v.

**πρώτον**. H. calls it "the first" capture, in contrast to that by Darius (iii. 158). No doubt, however, he heard in Babylon nothing of Assyrian captures, e.g., by Assurbanipal in 648 B.C.

#### **i. 192–200**

*The account of the Babylonian land and people.*

### i. 192

**τροφήν.** This general payment in kind is not mentioned in iii. 90–5; the only corn contribution there (91. 3) is that of Egypt. The omission of the corn-tax in bk. iii goes to show (what is antecedently probable) that H. is there quoting an official document, drawn up for one special purpose, not giving an account of the whole revenue system. The corn contribution here mentioned corresponds to the Roman (1) *frumentum in cellam* (for the governor and his suite); but this was paid for; (2) *annona militaris* (for the soldiers in the province); (3) *annona civica*, i.e., for Rome, from Egypt and Africa (Marquardt, *Staats-V.* ii. 189, 232–3). For contributions in kind in Persia cf. Theop. frags. 124–5 (*FHG* i. 298) and Meyer, iii. 51.

[2] For the use of **Ἀσσυρίη** cf. 178. 1 n. For **σατραπήην** cf. iii. 89. 1 n.

This Tritantaechmes, who was clearly satrap of Babylon when H. was there, is to be distinguished from the nephew of Darius (vii. 82); for his father Artabazus cf. viii. 126 and ix. *passim*

[3] As the μέδιμνος held 48 χοίνικες, the “artaba” held 51, i.e., about 13 gallons. A χοίνιξ of wheat was a man’s daily allowance, vii. 187. 2. For its size cf. vi. 57 n.

[4] For the hunting dogs see Rawlinson, *ad loc.* (with illustration).

Ctesias (*Ind.* 5, p. 248) says they were able to cope with a lion, a characteristic exaggeration. M. Polo (*ii.* 19; *i.* 400) says the Great Khan had about 10,000 hunting dogs.

### i. 193

H. is describing the Babylonian plain proper, i.e., the southern part of Mesopotamia; at the present time the Euphrates and the Tigris unite in the Shat-El-Arab, but originally they reached the sea separately.

**ὔεται.** Rain, which is abundant in Assyria proper, falls in Babylonia chiefly in the winter and spring, and then as a rule not in large quantities. Willcocks’ table (*Irrigation of Mesopotamia*, 1910, p. 68) shows that from May to October the land is practically rainless, in the other six months the rainfall is about eight inches, fairly evenly distributed. So far as rain is concerned the country is not a desert like Egypt, but rather a “steppe region capable of sustaining millions of sheep” (p. 10). Grote (*iii.* 295) lays stress on the accuracy of H. in contrasting the light rains here with practically rainless Upper Egypt (*iii.* 10 n.). H. is quite right in saying that while the scanty spring rain (τοῦτο) “causes the corn to sprout, the crop ripens from irrigation.” His description of this is accurate, if we remember that he is contrasting the natural (αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ) Nile flood with the artificial Babylonian system. The present Euphrates, however, now that the canals are gone, floods its banks from March to July, when the Armenian snows melt.

**κηλωνηίοισι**, “by swipes worked by hand” (cf. vi. 119. 3), i.e., the shadoufs which are still used in Mesopotamia and Egypt (cf. Maspero, *i.* 764, and 340 for illustrations). Colonel Chesney (*Survey of Tig. and Euph.* 1850, *ii.* 653) describes it as a wooden lever, 13–15 feet long, revolving on a post 3–4 feet high with a bucket at

the end, balanced when full by a weight at the other end. From the top of the bank the water was distributed over the fields in artificial channels.

[2] For the canals cf. chap. 184 n. The canal here is the “royal canal” restored by Nebuchadnezzar, which ran southeast from above Babylon to the Tigris, near the later Seleucia.

πρὸς ἥλιον τὸν χειμερινόν. The ancients divided the sky into:

ἀνατολή and δυσμὴ ἰσημερινή = E. and W.

ἀνατολή and δυσμὴ θερινή = NE. and NW.

ἀνατολή and δυσμὴ χειμερινή = SE. and SW.

(cf. Arist. *Meteor.* ii. 6 ad init., where a diagram is given). Here ἥλιος = ἀνατολή (cf. vii. 70. 1 οἱ ἀπὸ ἡλίου Αἰθίοπες).

[3] H. is contrasting broadly and rightly the treeless cornland of Babylonia with Greece.

Strabo (742 ad fin.) says “three hundredfold,” without H.’s careful limitation. Lehmann (*Fest. für Kiepert*, 1898, pp. 305 seq.) argues that the accounts of H. and of Strabo are borrowed independently from Hecataeus (cf. chap. 199 n.). His arrangement of the two accounts in parallel columns is useful, though his argument quite breaks down.

φύλλα, “blades.” Ancient (e.g., Theophrastus, *Hist. Pl.* viii. 7. 4) and modern writers confirm H. as to the fertility of Babylonia; so Chesney (ii. 602) says “those portions which are still cultivated, as round Hillah, show that the region has all the fertility ascribed to it by H.” An inscription of Assurbanipal claims, with perhaps pardonable exaggeration, that grain grew five cubits high, and that the heads were five-sixths of a cubit (Winckler, *Hist. of Babylonia* (E.T.), p. 138).

[4] τὰ . . . ἐχόμενα, “the various kinds of corn already mentioned”; the perfect ἀπῖκται has been thought to refer to a previous description by Hecataeus (see above). It is, however, only a picturesque anticipation of criticism; cf. Matzat, pp. 438–9.

σησάμων. Layard (*Nineveh* ii. 423) confirms this; cf. Xen. *An.* iv. 4. 13 for this and other substitutes for olive oil (in Armenia). It was made from the “sesame” seed.

φοίνικες. H. is quite right as to their abundance.

καρποφόροι marks the contrast to those in the Aegean regions, which do not ripen their fruits. Cf. Theop. *Hist. Pl.* iii. 3. 5.

Dates were a main article of food in Babylonia; for the manifold uses of the palm-tree cf. Strabo 742, who says they were 360 in number, and *EB*<sup>11</sup> xx. 642 s.v

[5] H. here rightly describes the process of fertilization of figs, ἐρυνασμός (Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* ii. 8. 1; cf. also Arist. *Hist. An.* v. 32). The *caprificus* or wild fig produces inedible figs which are inhabited by the fig-wasp; the female wasps,

hatched in these figs, make their way from them, laden with pollen, to the young figs of the *figus* or fig proper, in order to lay their eggs in them; they pollinate their flowers, and thus fertilization is effected. H. wrongly thinks the purpose of the process was to prevent the fig falling off. He is wrong, too, in transferring the process to palm-trees; fertilization in these is rightly described by Theop. (ut sup. ii. 8. 4) ὅταν ἀνθῆ τὸ ἄρρεν ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν σπάθην ἐφ' ἧς τὸ ἄνθος εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ἔχει, τὸν τε νοῦν καὶ τὸ ἄνθος καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν κατασείουσι κατὰ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς θηλείας. He too, however, gives the object wrongly, i.e., to prevent the falling off of the fruit.

The process is represented on the monuments (cf. *BMG* 36, and Maspero, i. 555, for picture).

H. obscures his meaning by using different words βάλανος and καρπός for the same thing, and wrongly substituting ὄλυνθοι, "the untimely figs," for ἐρινεοί, i.e., *fici caprifici*.

### **i. 194**

H. is always interested in means of navigation (cf. ii. 96).

These round skin-covered boats (κύφα) are still used on the Lower Euphrates, but not of the size described here; the largest, however, can still carry a camel (cf. for their construction the British coracles, for a full description, Chesney, ii. 639 seq., and for a picture, Maspero, i. 542). H. does not mention the rafts on skin-bladders, which are now more used on the Upper Euphrates. Both kinds are alike in sailing down stream only, and in being broken up and sold (all but the skins, see below) when the voyage is over. The rafts are always, the κύφα only usually, broken up.

[2] H. omits to mention that the boats are usually smeared with bitumen.

**οὔτε πρόμνην:** the usual processes in shipbuilding, "distinguishing (ἀποκρίνοντες) the stern and narrowing the prow," are not used.

**καλάμης,** "straw," not for packing, but for stuffing in the interstices of the ribs (νομέας).

**φοινικηίους.** It is the casks that are of palm-wood; grape wine was imported (cf. 193. 3), but Babylonia had plenty of palm-wine (193. 4).

[3] The two men stood facing each other; but in the picture (ut sup.) there are four men, sitting in pairs opposite each other. We may cf. with H.'s account, the lightermen on the Thames, one of whom pulls (ἔσω) while the other backs (ἔξω); the object was to guide the boat, which was carried by the current. For other explanations cf. Macaulay, ad loc.

**καί,** "quite five thousand." This would give a burden (γόμος) of about 125 or 175 tons, according as the Attic or Aeginetan talent is taken.

[4] ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν. This form of tmesis is common in H. (but always with aorist) in describing customs, etc. Cf. ii. 39. 2 and passim.

### i. 195

H. gives five pieces of Babylonian dress: (1) The tunic reaching to the feet; this was frequently flounced and fringed (cf. picture in Maspero, iii. 546). The warlike Assyrians wore it shorter. (2) The upper woolen tunic; this is often concealed by (3). (3) The white cloak thrown round the shoulders. (4) The open shoes. For the "Boeotian shoes" cf. Dicaearchus, *Perieg.* 19 (*GGM* i. 103), who says they were ὑσκλητός ("with an edge laced over the foot," Liddell & Scott), "so as to leave the feet almost bare." The Babylonians, however, generally went barefoot. (5) The high cap; see above or Rawlinson, *ad loc.*, for pictures.

H. is right as to their long hair and their fondness for cosmetics.

[2] **σφρηγιῖδα**. The "seals" are the well-known Babylonian cylinders which were so used (cf. *BMG* 156 seq. with pictures). The Babylonians frequently (but not always) are shown carrying staves; the heads of these are often elaborately wrought.

### i. 196

Information as to the Veneti (distinguished as οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῳ, v. 9. 2) must have reached H. in Italy.

**ἐποιέετο**. H. uses the past tense, as the custom was discontinued (see below). Strabo (745), however (so too Nic. Damasc. frag. 131, *FHG* iii. 462; and Ael. *V.H.* iv. 1), uses the present, copying H. loosely. The Babylonian contracts speak of the sale of brides, but no trace is found of this fixed custom. For marriage by purchase cf. Westermarck, 391–5.

[2] **συνοικῆσι**. They were sold "for marriage," not for slavery.

[4] **ἀποφέρειν**: i.e., the poorer classes of buyers might "return" bride and dowry together.

[5] The decay of prosperity in Babylon may well be partially the cause of the fact that the collection of 2,500 private contracts in the Br. Mus. does not extend beyond the reign of Darius I (Meyer, iii. 81). For its supposed result here cf. the Lydian custom, 94. 1.

### i. 198

The connection of ideas in H.'s mind seems to be that sickness suggests death, and death suggests the beginnings of life. Lehmann, however (cf. 193. 3 n.), says Strabo preserves the order of the original ("Hecataeus"), putting together the various kinds of impurity (from the dead and from sexual intercourse, 745). But Strabo is even more confused than H., for he interpolates (746) his account of "dress" between his accounts of sickness and of death.

For the ideas of the Babylonians as to death and for their burial rites cf. Maspero, i. 683 seq. For the use of honey as a preservative against corruption cf. 140. 2 (the use of wax in Persia); Lehmann says (*ut sup.*, p. 314) that in the same way the bodies of dead Shiite Mahometans are sent to Kerbela, covered with saffron. For a similar

use of honey in prehistoric Greece cf. Busolt, i. 66 seq.; cf. also vi. 58. 3 n. For the Egyptian θρηνοί cf. ii. 79 n.

### **i. 199**

H. is obviously writing as an eyewitness, and his account is of great value anthropologically; but he is mistaken in making universal one single set of rites, those of the goddess Nana at Erech. He may also be confusing the ιεροδουλοι attached to the temple (see below ἱερὸν τὸ ἀργύριον) with the ordinary worshippers. For the custom cf. Strabo (745), who inaccurately condenses H. and adds κατὰ τι λόγιον, and Baruch vi. 43. Lucian describes the same custom from personal inquiry, but as an exception, in speaking of the Adonis worship (*Syr. D.* 454, chap. 6); women there could escape the rite by cutting off their hair. For other instances cf. 94 n.; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship*<sup>2</sup> etc., 297; Westermarck, 72 (who thinks the custom *not* a survival of communal marriage but connected with phallic worship as a late development); and especially E. S. Hartland (*Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, 1907, pp. 187–202), who considers the custom a “puberty rite,” belonging to a primitive stage of ideas, and only connected later with the worship of Mylitta; he quotes many parallels among modern savages.

Women as a rule in Babylon had a position which, for a Semitic people, was high; the system of dowry, paid to the parents and secured to the wife (cf. 196. 4), gradually emancipated her; she could hold property and make contracts.

[2] **θώμιγγος**. The “cord” is a symbol of their service due to the goddess.

[3] For Mylitta cf. 131. 3 n.

[4] **ἀποσιωσαμένη**, “having discharged her sacred duty to the goddess” (cf. iv. 154. 4).

[5] For Aphrodite in Cyprus cf. 105. 2 and Hor. *Odes* i. 3. 1. Justin (xviii. 5) speaks of this custom there, when telling the story of Dido.

### **i. 200**

**πατριαί**, “clans.” H. refers to the dwellers in the marshy regions along the lower course of the rivers and on the Persian Gulf. Diodorus (iii. 22) gives an interesting account of the methods of fish-catching there. H. exaggerates their fish diet.

For the pounding of dried fish “with pestles” (ὑπέροισι) in a mortar (ὄλμων) cf. iv. 172. 1. The μᾶζα is a soft cake, softened with water, the ἄρτος (a superior form) was baked.

### **i. 201**

For the Araxes, i.e., the Jaxartes or Syr-Daria, see below.

**ἀντίον**: a primitive attempt to express longitude; the expression Ἰσσηδόνες ἄνδρες is poetic; H. is perhaps borrowing from the Ἀριμάσπεα of Aristeas (iv. 13 n.). For Σκυθικόν cf. app. xi; for the Issedones, iv. 26.

## i. 202

H.'s account of the Araxes is a characteristic specimen of his geographical knowledge (and ignorance). He mentions it (1) here, where it rises among the Matieni (cf. 72. 2 n.) and (a) falls with one mouth into the Caspian, (b) loses thirty-nine others in marshes; (2) in iv. 40. 1, flowing east, it forms with the Caspian the north boundary of his Asia; (3) iv. 11. 1 the Scythians are driven across it by the Massagetae into Cimmeria.

He is combining four rivers: No. (1a) is the Aras, which unites with the Kur and flows into the S.W. Caspian; in H.'s day the Aras flowed into the Caspian direct (*Hermes*, 1884, p. 169); No. (2), and perhaps No. (1b), are a confused account of the two great rivers of Central Asia, the Oxus and the Jaxartes, which flow northwest into the Aral Sea; probably at this period the Oxus also flowed into the Caspian. H. has inverted their direction and combined them, misled by his information (right in itself) that some of the rivers of Central Asia lose themselves in swamps (cf. *EB*<sup>11</sup> ii. 735). The East of the world was to H. unknown sandy desert (iii. 98. 2). No. (3) is the Volga. It is quite possible that the "marshes and shoals" may be a confused account of the great Volga delta, and not of the Central Asian rivers, as suggested above.

The name Araxes probably survives in "Aroxolani" (Jornandes, chap. 74), i.e., "the Alani of the Araxes." "Rha," Ptolemy's name for the Volga (v. 9), is probably a different word. H.'s confusion may be pardoned when we find Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 13. 15, 350a) making the Tanais a branch of the Araxes (which he rightly makes to rise in Mount Paropamisus). So Alexander and his army thought the Jaxartes to be the Tanais (Plin. *H.N.* vi. 16. 49); Arrian (iii. 30. 7, 8) corrects this mistake, but makes the Jaxartes rise in the Caucasus. Even in our own day the head-waters of the Congo were thought by Livingstone to be the source of the Nile (cf. ii. 33. 1. n.).

[2] τῆ ὀδμῆ. For this primitive form of smoking cf. iv. 75, the vapour baths of the Scythians. Probably some kind of hemp is meant; the *Cannabis sativa* is indigenous in Central Asia; hashish is still prepared from *Cannabis indica*.

[3] H., in making the Araxes rise in the same region as the Gyndes, is (quite needlessly) supposed to be misled by a forced analogy between the many mouths of the Araxes and the canalization of the Gyndes; these rivers, though at their nearest point 250 miles apart, and at their sources much more, both do rise in the watershed between Mesopotamia and the Caspian basin.

The number "forty" probably is a round number meaning "very many"; so "Kyrk" (= forty) is used in Turkish. We may compare without irreverence the "forty" of the Old Testament (Gen. viii. 6 and passim).

[4] H.'s knowledge of the Caspian is one of his geographical triumphs; subsequent writers, except Aristotle, to the time of Ptolemy (second century A.D.) thought that it was a gulf of the Northern Sea, as the Persian Gulf is of the Southern; Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* vii. 16. 2) was preparing to test this theory when he died. Even after Ptolemy mediaeval cartographers returned to the old blunder (Tozer, *A.G.* p. 367).

**μία ἐοῦσα.** This was known since Necho's circumnavigation of Africa (iv. 42). The name "Atlantic" occurs first here, but was obviously already familiar. For the "pillars of Hercules" cf. ii. 33. 3 n.

#### **i. 203**

In ii. 11. 2 the Red Sea is forty days by "rowing"; if we assume that H. knew the real length of that sea, i.e., 1,200 miles, we have an average of thirty miles a day. Hence his figures here are too small, at any rate for length; for the Caspian is about 750 miles long and 280 wide.

**ὑψηλότατον.** Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 13. 15, 350a) limits this by saying the Caucasus is the highest of the mountains of the East; both he and H. were ignorant of Mount Demavend, which rises to the south of the Caspian, 3,000 feet higher than the Caucasus (to over 20,000 feet).

[2] **ἐμφανέα.** Cf. Xenophon (*An.* v. 4. 33, an eyewitness), who records this lowest stage of degradation among the Mossynoeci (cf. iii. 94. 2), at the southeast corner of the Caspian (cf. Ap. Rhod. ii. 1025); Theopompus (frag. 222; *FHG* i. 315) relates it also of the Etruscans. But among modern savages it is, to say the least, very rare (Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 180).

#### **i. 204**

**ἄπειρον.** H. well describes the great plains of N.W. Asia.

#### **i. 205**

[2] For towers at a bridge-head as a protection cf. Caes. *B. Gall.* vi. 29.

#### **i. 207**

**παθήματα.** For the antithesis cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 177. Croesus, by a dramatic irony, gives fatal advice to his patron, just as Adrastus (chap. 35 seq.) unwillingly had returned evil for good to himself.

[2] The possibility of disaster is euphemistically expressed, to avoid words of evil omen.

[4] **ἐκείνω,** "the course above," i.e., the advance of the Massagetae, if victorious. τῶντό is explained by ὅτι νικήσας . . . Τομύριος, i.e., both Cyrus and his enemies would use their victory to the full.

[6] The stratagem is related by Polyaeus (*Strat.* viii. 28) of Tomyris, queen of "the Amazons," against Cyrus; this version is equally appropriate and equally unhistorical with that of H.

#### **i. 208**

**ἐδίδου,** imperfect, "he proposed to give." Cf. for the Persian custom vii. 2. 1, the appointment of Xerxes as successor.

#### **i. 209**

For the genealogy of Darius cf. app. iv, § 3.

For the wings cf. the figure on the tomb at Murghab (125. 3 n.).

[3] For the primitive belief that a man was responsible for acts done in dreamland cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 438 seq.; the soul was supposed to go abroad in sleep or trance; cf. the old belief that it was unlucky to turn a sleeper over for fear the soul should not find its way back. Here it is combined with the later and more general belief that dreams foretell the future. For a somewhat similar combination cf. "the dreams" of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 5 seq.).

**i. 211**

[3] **Spargapises** recurs (iv. 76. 6) as Spargapithes, the name of a Scythian king; it is perhaps of Aryan derivation.

**i. 214**

[3] Other authorities give Cyrus thirty years, e.g., Ctesias (8, p. 66), Justin (i. 8), Dinon (frag. 10, *FHG* ii. 91). H.'s exact figure is more probable; Cyrus therefore began to reign in 558 B.C.

[4] For a similar outrage on the dead cf. the treatment of Crassus' head after Carrhae (Dio Cass. xl. 27 the pouring in of molten gold).

**i. 215**

Sir H. Rawlinson thinks the *σάγαρις* = the khanjar of modern Persia, a short curved double-edged dagger; but in vii. 64. 2 it is explained by *ἀξίνη*; it must therefore be a weapon for hacking, not thrusting, probably like the Gurkha "kukri." Gold is abundant both in the Ural and the Altai Mountains (cf. iv. 26 n.). The Massagetae were still in the Bronze Age.

**i. 216**

**γυναῖκα**. Strabo (513) simply repeats H.; for a similar custom among the Agathyrsi cf. iv. 104; among the Nasamones, iv. 172. 2 n.; M. Polo (ii. 47; ii. 54, 56) found it in Caidu (i.e., Yunnan), where "a hat" was hung up as a sign that a stranger was in possession. For its bearing on the theory of communal marriage cf. Westermarck, p. 72 seq. There is clear evidence for a system of marriage among the Massagetae, but they were polyandrous, *ibid.* 454 seq. Myres (*A. and C.*, 155) says: "It can hardly be accident that every one of the strange marriage customs which H. mentions happens to be typical of a widespread type."

[2] **τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμῆση**. For the omission of *ἄν* cf. iv. 46, and Goodwin, p. 208 (§ 540).

**οὐρος ἄλλος** is explained by the following; for the same custom among the Indians cf. iii. 99. 1; among the Issedones, iv. 26. 1 (where see n.).

## Book II

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### ii. 1

**Pharnaspes** was an Achaemenid, though not of the direct royal line; it was usual for Persian kings to marry members of their own family (e.g., Darius and Atossa, daughter of Cyrus). H. lays stress on the name and lineage of the mother of Cambyses, because the Egyptians made him the son of an Egyptian princess (iii. 1 n.).

[2] The mention of **Ionians** connects this book with i. 141–76; cf. the mention of Amasis (iii. 1), which links together bks. ii and iii.

H.'s custom is to give some account of the manners and the past history of each new people, as he brings it on the stage of his history; but this account of Egypt, even more than that of Scythia in bk. iv, is out of all proportion to the rest of his history. Hence the idea that it was composed separately, probably after the rest, and only later incorporated in his general scheme (cf. introd. § 11).

## ii. 2

That the Egyptians were the oldest race in the world was a general belief; cf. Arist. *Pol.* vii. 10. 8, 1329b, and Diod. i. 101, who says the Nile, πολύγονος ὄν, was a special cause of the priority of the Egyptians. Antiquity and nobility of race were supposed to go together.

[2] ἐπιτεχνᾶται. Frederick II of Germany and James IV of Scotland are said to have repeated the experiment of Psammetichus, and to have proved by it that Hebrew was the speech of Paradise.

ἐξ τὰ ποιμνία: a *constructio praegnans*, "to take to the flocks and rear." τροφήν τουήνδε (cogn. acc.) is explained by the following participle, ἐντειλάμενος.

τὴν ὥρην, "at the proper time." The dative with ἐν would be more usual; but cf. ἀκμήν, καιρόν.

[3] βεκόσ: in the Ionian dialect = "bread"; cf. Hipponax, frag. 82 Κυπρίων βεκόσ φαγοῦσι κάμαθουσίων πυρόν. This story is frequently referred to, e.g., in Ar. *Nub.* 398 βεκεσέληνε (cf. i. 4. 2 n.). Even in ancient times the word βεκόσ was explained as onomatopoeic, from the cries of the goats. Ramsay has recently found it on a Phrygian inscription (*Jahreshefte des Öst. Arch. Inst. in Wien*, 1905, Beibl., p. 95 seq.).

[4] The Phrygians were generally considered a recent people; cf. vii. 73 for their immigration from Europe.

[5] The Egyptians certainly attached great importance to the cries of children; but H.'s story sounds like a Greek invention, a protest against the Egyptian claim to priority, which he elsewhere accepts. The Egyptians could have claimed βεκόσ as evidence for their own antiquity, for it resembles one of their words for "oil."

Ἡφαίστου: i.e., Ptah; cf. iii. 37. 2 n. One of the sacred names for Memphis was *Het-Ka-Ptah*, i.e., "temple of the Ka (i.e., the "double") of Ptah," from which name some have derived Αἴγυπτος. "Memphis" (= *Mennefert*, the good place) was only the profane name of the city.

For the temple's importance as a source of H.'s information cf. app. x, § 10, and introd. § 24.

μάταια: this is perhaps a hit at Hecataeus; for H.'s critical attitude to his countrymen cf. chap. 45 nn. Bury (*A.G.H.* p. 51) thinks H. would have written Ἴωνες, had he meant to criticize Hecataeus, and that he really is here borrowing a point from that writer. But there is no evidence for the borrowing, and it is not likely in itself. It has been argued that this second version is the original form of

the story, which H., as a philo-Egyptian, has softened down; on the other hand, the more brutal story may well be only an attempt to rationalize the older legend.

### ii. 3

Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes represent the three chief forms of the older Egyptian worship, i.e., of *Ptah* at Memphis, of *Atum* or *Tumu* (the Sun) at Heliopolis, and *Amen-Ra* at Thebes.

**Memphis** perhaps was founded by Merpeba, the sixth king of the First Dynasty, who was combined with Mena the first king (King and Hall, 91–3). Its age was proverbial in Egypt. Even when, under the “new Kingdom,” Thebes became the capital, M. was a second capital. Its ruins were largely used for building Cairo, about fourteen miles to the south of which town it lies, on the left bank of the Nile, under the rubbish heaps of Bedrashēn.

**Thebes.** The usual Egyptian name of the town was *Nu*, “the town” i.e., of Amen-Ra (cf. Hebrew *No*, Jer. xlvi. 25, and *No-Amon*, Nahum iii. 8); the Greek name is from the less common Apet. Thebes first became a royal residence under the eleventh Dynasty. It remained important till the seventh century B.C., when it was sacked by the Assyrians; from this it never recovered. Its most important temple was that of Amen-Ra at Karnak; H. (chap. 143 nn.) calls it a temple of Zeus.

**Heliopolis.** Its sacred name was House of Ra, i.e., the Sun-God; it is the Hebrew *On*. Its ruins are near Matarieh, which is six miles NNE. of Cairo, and about four miles E. of the Nile; when H. speaks (9. 1) of the ἀνάπλοος from Heliopolis to Thebes, he is writing loosely. Heliopolis was important as a religious, and not as a political, centre. H. rightly speaks of its inhabitants as “most skilled in tradition” (λογιώτατοι); from it were said to have come the teachers of Pythagoras, Solon, and Plato. Strabo (806) describes it as a seat of learning, though in his day it was only a show-place.

[2] θεῖα are contrasted with ἀνθρώπινα (4. 1); for similar scruples cf. chap. 86—the account of the embalming—and passim.

ἴσον . . . ἐπίστασθαι. The meaning of these words has been much disputed.

(1) It is clear that αὐτῶν refers to divine *things*, not merely to the divine *names* (as Bähr); H. did not think all men knew equally the names of the gods.

(2) Wiedemann’s explanation, too, must be rejected. He argues that H. means that, since all men agree as to the gods, it is only necessary to mention their names (which differ in different races), and then men will understand each other. But this statement again is not true; H. does not think all men’s knowledge of divine things is equal; on the contrary, he thinks Greek knowledge much inferior to that in Egypt (cf. e.g., 43. 2 as to Heracles). (3) The usual explanation (e.g., Stein’s) is that ἴσον = just as much, i.e., “just as little”; since men really know nothing of divine things (cf. ix. 65) they should not laugh at each other’s beliefs. This pessimistic view would be quite in accordance with H.’s general attitude (cf. introd. § 36), and may be compared to Xenophanes’ sentiment (frag. 14, *RP*, p. 80) οὐδέ τι ἔσται

εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν. (4) But this explanation does not take account of the character of the passages where H. lays stress on his silence (see below); in view of these Sourdille (*R.* pp. 2–26), who discusses the whole subject at length, maintains that the reference is to the “mysteries.” Since these, H. thinks, are virtually the same in all countries (cf. 81. 2, 123. 2, 3), to describe the Egyptian mysteries would be to reveal the secrets of the Greek ones. Hence H. is careful only to touch on them (cf. 65. 2 αὐτῶν ἐπιψάσας, ἀναγκαίη καταλαμβανόμενος); he will describe details, but not relate the ἱρὸς λόγος which explained them. The following are the passages in bk. ii where H. is religiously silent: 46. 2 (the goat-footed Pan), 47. 2 (the sacrifice of swine), 61. 1, 132. 2 (the sacred mourning at Busiris), 65. 2 (animal worship, the most important passage), 86. 2 (embalming), 170. 1 (the tomb of Osiris at Sais), 171. 1 τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων (of Osiris) τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. In 48. 3 (the phallic ceremonies for Dionysus), 51. 4 (the Samothracian Hermes), 62. 2 (the feasts of lights at Sais), 81.2 (wearing wool), though he refuses to tell a ἱρὸς λόγος, he does not especially refer to his silence. It will be noticed (see nn.) that most of these passages refer to Osiris.

#### ii. 4

**τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.** (1) *The Problem of the Calendar.* The difficulty of all calendars is to reconcile a lunar and a solar system of reckoning; by the former the year consists of 354 days, by the latter of about 365¼. The exact figures are:

	days	hours	min.	sec.
a lunation	29	12	44	3
a lunar year	354	8	48	36
a solar year	365	5	48	48

The calendar had to be regulated (*a*) in order to secure the proper recurrence of feasts (hence month-names are often taken from festivals; cf. Curtius, *H.G.* ii. 23f. for the connection of Delphi and the calendar). (*b*) To regulate civil procedure. Two problems arise: (*i*) to adjust the civil month to the motions of the moon; (*ii*) to adjust the lunar month and the solar year.

(2) *Greek Solutions.* The Greeks adopted a lunar reckoning, making the months alternately of 30 and 29 days; this was arranged by Solon (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 25, and Liddell & Scott s.v. ἔνος). It is said that he tried further to rectify the error thus arising from the shortness of his year (which was only  $30 \times 6 + 29 \times 6 = 354$  days), by inserting an intercalary month every other year (διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος, for which phrase cf. 37. 2 διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, and iii. 97. 3). H. here and in i. 32. 3 definitely asserts that this was the Greek system in his day.

Others, however (e.g., Stein), argue that H. has misunderstood the system; an intercalary month every other year would give 738 days in two years, instead of 730½. Hence they argue that the real system in H.’s time was to introduce three (not four, as H.) intercalary months in every period of eight years; this would give

a fairly accurate result, i.e.,  $354 \times 8 + 90 = 2922 = 8 \times 365\frac{1}{4}$ . This seems really to have been the arrangement in H.'s own day; but the date of its introduction is uncertain. Unger argues (I. Müller, *Handb. der klass. Alt.-Wiss.* i. 569–70) that the eight-year period existed from quite early times, at any rate from the eighth century, as is shown by myths and customs (Plut. *Mor.* 418), and (presumably) that the three intercalary months in each period are also early; Solon may have used this system. The calendar was further adjusted by Meton in Periclean times, who introduced a nineteen-years' cycle. For a brief account of the whole subject cf. Abbott, *Outlines of Gk. Hist.* pp. 10 seq.

(3) *Egyptian Solutions.* The Egyptians were the first people who definitely adopted a solar year of twelve months with thirty days in each; this began July 19 (according to the Julian calendar), i.e., 1st of Thoth according to the Egyptian, which was about a month in advance of the real solar year. On this day Sirius (Sothis) is first visible in the morning, in the latitude of Memphis (cf. ἄστρων). This coincides with the beginning of the rise of the Nile (19. 2 n.). Five days were added (ἐπαγόμενοι) at the end of the year. So far H. is right; but he quite fails to grasp the methods by which the Egyptians tried to reconcile this year of 365 days with the real solar year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days (roughly) (cf. ὁ κύκλος . . . ἐς τὴν παρὰ γίνεταί). This is not surprising, as scholars are not agreed even now as to their methods.

Brugsch says they had anticipated the Julian calendar, and to every fourth year added an extra day, i.e., making it a leap year. Certainly J. Caesar was said to have derived his calendar from Egypt (Dio Cass. xliii. 26). This view seems to be a mistake. Ptolemy Euergetes (238 B.C.), by the decree of Canopus, tried to introduce this (i.e., the Julian) system, but in vain. The Egyptians, however, recognized that their common year and the real year (the “Sothic year”) did not agree, and that the “common year” grew later and later; hence the calculation of the “Sothic period” (κυνικὸς κύκλος) of 1,460 years (= 1,461 “common years”), at the expiration of which the mistake had rectified itself ( $\frac{1}{4}$  day per year for 1,460 years = a year of 365 days). The first “Sothic period” is said to begin 4241 B.C. (but cf. app. x, § 2). Hence the date of the arrangement of the calendar is fixed for this year, “the first certain date in the world’s history” (Meyer, i, §§ 159, 195–7). Cf. also *BMG* pp. 182 seq. for a short but clear account of the Egyptian calendar.

The five “extra days” can be traced on the monuments as far back as the 6th Dynasty.

[2] **δωδέκα θεῶν.** For the Egyptian Pantheon in H. cf. chap. 145 nn. Here he only means that the names of the twelve chief gods of the Greek Pantheon were Egyptian (chap. 52). For the pictures of the Egyptian gods cf. *BMG* pp. 123 seq.

**ζῶα** (cf. i. 70. 1 n.); not the hieroglyphs (which the Greeks did *not* borrow), but “figures” of animals, men, plants, etc., e.g., on the scarab, worn as amulets; these were largely exported to Greece.

**Μίνα:** cf. chap. 99 n.

[3] **Θηβαϊκού νομοῦ** = the southern part of Upper Egypt, the later Thebais. H. is not consistent here with his own statement (chap. 99) that Menes founded Memphis; that town lies some way “below” (ἔνεσθαι), i.e., north of, L. Moeris (for which cf. chap. 149 n.). The legend also is exaggerated; but “it contains the truth that Lower Egypt remained a land of swamps far later than Upper Egypt” (Erman, *E.*, 16). For νομοῦ cf. 164 n.

## ii. 5–18

*The origin (5, 10–14), dimensions (6–9), and boundaries of Egypt (15–18).*

### ii. 5

**δῆλα γὰρ δὴ.** This passage naturally means “I should have seen this for myself, even if I had not been told.” The phrase δῶρον τ. π., however, is attributed by Arrian (*Anab.* v. 6—doubtfully) to Hecataeus; hence some see in it a proof that H. used the work of his predecessor as a guide-book; but cf. introd. § 20.

The Greeks were quick to observe the action of rivers in forming deltas; cf. chap. 10 and Thuc. ii. 102. H. is quite right that Egypt is alluvial deposit; this is true of the whole country up to the first cataract; but the process of silting up had taken far longer than he supposes (e.g., some place it at 74,000 years). The elevation of the ground is now very slow—only four inches in one hundred years.

**ἐς τὴν.** The words mark off one part of Egypt, i.e., the Delta.

**τὰ κατύπερθε . . . πλόου.** This clause also refers to Αἴγυπτος, being roughly parallel to ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες v.; it marks off a second part of the country which is also “a gift of the river.” The construction is adverbial. Translate, “(this is true) with regard to the parts,” etc.

**τριῶν ἡμερῶν:** see 8. 3 n. for this limit.

**ἔστι δὲ ἕτερον.** This refers to the following sentence.

[2] **ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης.** H. calls a day’s πλοῦς 540 (9. 1) or 700 stades (iv. 86); either of these figures is far too much here; a depth of eleven fathoms is reached some twelve or fifteen miles from the coast near Aboukir.

Both facts in § 2 are quoted to show the effect of the Nile on the coast, viz., the presence of alluvial mud and the small depth of water.

### ii. 6

**μῆκος.** H. (in chap. 7. 1 and chap. 10) continues his proof that Egypt is alluvial, but digresses here to give its dimensions.

**σχοῖνοι.** Properly a “rope,” cf. Eng. “cord” and “chain” as measures. The extent of a schoinos was uncertain, probably because it was a practical measure, not strictly a measure of length (cf. Germ. “Stunde”). Strabo (804) says that it varied from 30 to 120 stades. H. gives it a uniform value of 60 stades, and so is inaccurate in his results; here he exaggerates, and makes Egypt, which has really only about 2200 stades of sea-coast, to have “3600.” It is noticeable that “60 stades” was the

estimate of a  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  from Thebes to Syene (Artemidorus in Strabo, 804), which confirms H.'s statement that he had been south of Thebes (29 nn.).

Lehmann (*WKP* 1895, pp. 180–2), however, explains more elaborately H.'s errors here and in chaps. 9, 149. He argues (1) that the  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$  = the parasang = 30 stades; (2) that H. has taken the figures from his source—probably Hecataeus—and has wrongly doubled the size of the  $\sigma\chi\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ ; (3) that perhaps this mistake is due to the confusion of the smaller and the larger “kaspu”—Babylonian measures of one and of two parasangs respectively. His proof may be given in the following table:

	H.	H. corrected	Reality as crow flies
Breadth of Egypt:	3,600 st.	1800 st. = 357.1 km.	355–360 km.
Thebes to Elephantine:	1,800 st.	900 st. = 178.2 km.	182 km.
Heliopolis to Thebes:	4,860 st.	2,430 st. = 482.09 km.	490.4 km.
Lake Moeris (chap. 149):	3,600 st.	1,800 st.	2,000 st. (Pliny v. 50)

It is not certain, however, that measurements “as the crow flies” were made before Eratosthenes (ca. 230 B.C.), and the fact that in Egyptian land measurement “all angles were treated as though they were right angles” (Lyons, *Survey*, p. 48) does not inspire confidence; there is no evidence that Hecataeus or any other Greek before H. had attempted to give measures for Egypt. H. certainly seems to speak in chap. 9 as if he were measuring along the river.

**τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω.** Plinthine lay near the later Alexandria, on the Mareotic Lake; H. (18. 2) mentions Marea as one of the border towns towards Libya.

**Σεϋβωνίδος.** This lake (now dry) lay parallel to the sea on the east side of Egypt (cf. iii. 5. 3 n.). It was much feared for its swampy shores, which were said to be covered with drifted sand, and so to engulf the unwary; cf. Diod. i. 30 and Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ii. 592–4:

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog  
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,  
Where armies whole have sunk.

The army of Darius Ochus in 350 B.C. was said to have perished thus. It lay under Mount Casius, the real boundary of Egypt and Syria (158. 4); this was a sand dune of no great height, the modern Râs el Kasrûn, crowned with a temple to Baal (cf. the Baal-Zephon of Exodus xiv. 2, 9); Pompey was killed at its foot.

[2] Parasang (cf. v. 53 n.) in H. and Xenophon = 30 stades = 4 Roman miles; thus it corresponds to modern Persian “farsang” = 3 ½ to 4 English miles. Other writers

estimated it variously from 30 to 60 stades (cf. Strabo, 518), while Agathias (sixth century A.D.) made it as small as 21 stades.

## ii. 7

**ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν:** i.e., sailing up the Pelusiac arm, which is the natural approach to Heliopolis; like a true Greek, H. went everywhere he could by water; by this route his measurement of 1,500 stades is roughly right. In chap. 9 he is found to give the distance from the sea to Heliopolis as 1,260 stades (i.e., 6,120 from the sea to Thebes, less 4,860 from Heliopolis to Thebes, = 1,260); but in that passage he is reckoning directly north and south, in estimating the size of Egypt.

The reference to Athens (cf. 156. 6; 177. 2) is one of the passages on which Kirchhoff bases his theory that bk. ii was written at Athens, but of course it proves nothing. (Cf. introd. § 10.) For the altar and its use as a starting-point for measurements cf. vi. 108. 4 n.

The town of Pisa had been destroyed in 572 B.C.; the distance here given by H. is very exact.

[2] The negative μή is due to idea of prevention in διάφορον (*quominus pares sint*).

## ii. 8

**ὄρος παρατέταται.** H. is quite right in remarking that the mountains begin at Heliopolis, but his conception of them is very vague; he gives them an extension (μακρότατον) from east to west of "two months' journey."

**ταύτη:** "the mountains cease at the quarries, and bend back to the sea." This is the most natural translation of the passage; but others translate "ceasing at the parts mentioned (i.e., at the Red Sea), bend back," i.e., are double. The quarries are still a conspicuous feature in this region.

**ἀπὸ ἠοῦς.** Stein thinks H. says "from east to west," because he is reproducing Phoenician information; cf. ἐπυρθανόμεν (but see below).

[2] **τὸ πρὸς Λιβύης.** H. does not accept the name of "the Libyan mountain" (cf. § 3 ad fin. Λ. καλεόμενον); to him it is "the Egyptian mountain on the side of Libya," as opposed to τὸ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος.

**ψάμμω.** This drifting of the sand is well seen at the Sphinx, of which only the head is left exposed.

**τρόπον,** "direction" (cf. i. 189. 3).

[3] **ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου,** "so long as it is Egypt" (cf. A. εἰοῦσα below in same sense); i.e., H. thinks that the land becomes wide again when Egypt ceases and Nubia begins. Others refer these phrases to the *breadth*, not the length of the land, meaning that beyond the Nile Valley on east and west lie Arabia and Libya, *not Egypt*.

**καὶ δέκα:** these words are inserted without MS. authority to make H. consistent. It is calculated that he gives the whole distance from Heliopolis to the frontier as

13 $\frac{2}{3}$  days; for from Heliopolis to Thebes, reckoning 540 stades a day, is 9 days (chap. 9. 2); from Thebes to Elephantine is 3 $\frac{1}{3}$  days more ("1,800 stades," chap. 9. 2); from Elephantine to the frontier is 12 σχοῖνοι, which, according to his usual method of calculation (chap. 6. 1 n., i.e., 9 σχοῖνοι to the day's journey), make 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ ; i.e., 9 + 3 $\frac{1}{3}$  + 1 $\frac{1}{3}$  = 13 $\frac{2}{3}$  in all. This change of reading also would explain H.'s strange statement (below) that Egypt becomes "broad again"; he would mean the same as in chap. 29. 3, i.e., that where Egypt and Aethiopia join, at the island of Tachompo, there is a "smooth plain." Of course this is not accurate geographically, but H. does not pretend to have seen the country beyond Elephantine (chap. 29. 2).

It is usual to alter the reading; but the mistake (of omitting δέκα) is as old as Aristides (ii. 343), i.e., as the second century A.D.

If the reading be not altered, three explanations of H.'s mistake are possible, not to mention the drastic measure of arguing that he had never been up the Nile beyond the Fayûm at all (chap. 29 nn.):

(1) That H. never left his boat, and hence was misled by a merely temporary widening of the Nile valley; of these there are several; we may compare for such a mistake his strange statement as to Ardericca on the Euphrates (i. 185 n.).

Measurements were always difficult to ancient travellers; so Strabo (789), a trained geographer, says that the maximum width of ἡ ποταμία Αἴγυπτος is 300 stades, which is nearly three times too much.

(2) Wiedemann argues that H. is misled by a theory of Hecataeus (?), that Egypt was like a double axe in shape Δ—Δ (cf. Pseudo-Scylax 106, GGM i. 81). This theory was based on symmetry, and there is supposed to be another fragment of it in chap. 28. 3 (see n.), the statement that the Nile flowed north as well as south. But (a) Hecataeus could not have held this theory, for to him only the Delta was Egypt (chap. 16. 1 n.); (b) if Hecataeus had held it, surely H. would have been eager to refute a view so absurd (cf. chap. 45 n.).

(3) A new and very ingenious explanation of H.'s geography of the Nile Valley has been given by Sourdille (*H.E.*, 112 seq.). He maintains three points:

(a) That the "Arabian mountain" is conceived of as running in *two directions, practically at right angles to each other*, starting from the "quarries." He translates chap. 8. 2 ταύτη λήγον κτλ. "The mountain ceases on this side and makes a bend towards what I have said" (he means the Ἐρυθρῆ θάλασσα in its northern extension, i.e., the Red Sea proper); "in its most extended part (i.e., that from east to west) it would take, as I learned, two months" journey from east to west, and its eastern end would produce incense." He argues:

(i) That as the "Arabian mountain" is described at first as running north and south, its course after its "bend" (ἀνακαμπτεῖ) must be different, i.e., east and west.

(ii) μακρότατον must refer to the “length” east and west of the chain, not (as Stein) to its “broadening” out in the south.

(iii) H. clearly distinguishes two parts of the “Arabian mountain” in § 2; he mentions one part of the τὸ πρὸς Λιβύης ὄρος as running south, τεταμένον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα; this implies that there was another part of the Arabian mountain that did not “run south.” Sourdille points out that H. always gives a direction as from east to west, even though (as here) the starting-point is in the west; also that the mention of the “spice-bearing regions” (chap. 8. 1) at once suggests Arabia (iii. 107. 1).

For the geography generally of this part of the mountain chain, cf. chap. 73. 1 n. and chap. 158. 2–3, where he mentions the “gap” in the mountains, *running east and west*, through which the canal of Necho passed. This explanation is almost certainly right.

(b) That the reading τεσσέρων is right. Sourdille points out that the Ethiopians (chap. 29. 4) hold τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης; hence the conjecture “fourteen” carries H. *outside Egypt* (cf. chap. 8. 3 n.). Retaining “four,” he thinks that τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτίς εὐρέα refers to the Fayûm. This really is only one day south of Heliopolis; but H. clearly thought it much further south; for:

(i) He obviously conceives it as bordering on the “Thebaic nome” and as “seven days” voyage from the sea (chap. 4. 3).

(ii) The branch of the Nile, the Bahr Yûsûf, which waters the Fayûm, finally leaves the Nile almost exactly “four days’ journey” above Heliopolis, near the modern Siût. If H. conceived this as running west, instead of north and south, we can understand how “Egypt” appeared to him to broaden out “four days” above Heliopolis (cf. chap. 150. 1 n.). He certainly did not realize that it ran parallel to the Nile, as a branch of it, for he says (chap. 17. 3) the Nile above the Delta flows εἷς ἐών.

(iii) This seems confirmed by what H. says as to Egypt being “the gift of the Nile” (chap. 5. 1). The priests told him this was so as far as L. Moeris, i.e., as far as the source of the Bahr Yûsûf mentioned above. H., however, tacitly corrects this by adding “the land above the lake for three days’ journey” as ἔτερον τοιοῦτον, i.e., he thinks the Nile deposit begins, *not* “seven days from the sea,” but further up still where the Bahr Yûsûf *first* leaves the Nile, near Farshût, “three days’ journey” above Siût. This explanation is possible; it saves the veracity of H., but at the expense of his geographical intelligence.

(c) That in this misunderstanding lies the explanation of H.’s statement that the Nile overflows “for two days’ journey, more or less, on each side” (19. 1).

What the canals of the Nile do, that it does itself. The Bahr Yûsûf on the west and the canal of Necho on the east have the extension here mentioned, which is obviously wrong if attributed to the Nile itself.

**Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα:** this word has a double construction—it is the subject of the sentence, and yet goes especially with ἐοῦσα.

**διηκοσίων.** This breadth, about twenty-three miles, is too great. In the four days' journey above Heliopolis, the widest place is only about fifteen. The mistake is natural, as H. kept mainly to the river and had to judge distances by the eye.

## ii. 9

**ἐννέα.** H. here allows 540 stades ( $4860 \div 9$ ) for a day's journey; at this rate the whole distance from the sea to Elephantine *up stream* would be done in  $6120 + 1800 \div 540$ , i.e.,  $14\frac{2}{3}$  days. But in chap. 175 the voyage *down stream* only to Sais takes twenty days.

Two explanations may be given of the discrepancy: (1) Wiedemann's (doubtfully) that H. went up stream by an unusually fast boat, a fact which would partly explain his scanty knowledge of Upper Egypt; the figure in chap. 175 is that of a heavy-laden cargo boat. (2) (More probably) the figure here is a mere calculation, based on the supposed rate of "nine schoenes a day"; the figure in chap. 175 is that of an actual voyage. Sourdille (*H.E.*, 109) thinks the "nine days" the official estimate for a fast government boat (cf. viii. 98 for the post system); H. has taken this as if it were the normal speed. The journey from Heliopolis to Thebes by boat usually now takes over twelve days (Stein).

[2] **συντιθέμενοι κτλ.**, "if we put together the number of stades in Egypt." The words have no construction. In any case H.'s figures are too big, owing to his over-estimate of the *σχοῖνος* (cf. 6. 1 n.); from Thebes to Heliopolis is really 421 miles, not 552 (as H.).

## ii. 10

At Ilion the rivers are the Simois and the Scamander, in Teuthrania the Caicus, at Ephesus the Cayster and (to the south) the Maeander. At Ephesus the sea has receded about three miles (Leake). The whole subject is dealt with in Strabo (691), who calls the plains *ποταμῶν γεννήματα*, quoting H. (cf. Thuc. ii. 102; but his prophecy, that all the Echinades would become mainland, has not been fulfilled).

[2] H. gives the five mouths in chap. 17; he omits here the Bolbitic and the Bucolic mouths as artificial.

## ii. 11

For the Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασση and the Ἀράβιος κόλπος cf. i. 1. 1 n.

[2] **εἰρεσίη.** H. uses this measurement of the Caspian (i. 203. 1 n.); for a "day's sail" cf. vii. 183. 3 n. His calculation seems to suit the length of the Red Sea (which is about 1,200 miles), but his breadth is much too small; he seems to have confused the northwest arm, the Gulf of Suez, and the main sea. The former averages 30 miles in breadth, but the sea itself varies from 130 miles in the north to 250 in the south (*EB* xxii. 970).

[3] τὸν μὲν: in loose apposition to ἕτερον κόλπον: H. then forgets his construction, and goes on to mention again the other gulf, i.e., the “Arabian Gulf.” The two gulfs, the Red Sea and that which is now Egypt, are conceived as “boring together,” so as to make their “ends” (μυχούς) nearly meet, but “missing” each other by “a little strip of land.”

[4] τί μιν κωλύει. H. seems, from his rhetorical tone, to be answering some criticisms on his geological views. Probably he allows “20,000” years, because this was roughly his conception of the duration of Egyptian history.

## ii. 12

H.’s geological remarks in this chapter are mainly right (cf. 5. 1 n.), and show his excellence as an observer. The coast of Egypt does “project” (προκειμένην), “shells” are frequent, the “salt efflorescence” on the monuments is well known, and the soil is black and “friable” (καταρρηγνυμένην). The sand, however, extends much more widely than he says.

[2] The Egyptians called their land Qemt or “Qem,” “the black” (cf. Bible “Ham”), hence *alchemy* = (properly) “the Egyptian art.”

## ii. 13

For Moeris cf. chap. 101 n., and for his date app. xiv.

ὅτε τῶν . . . ἤκουον. These words seem to imply that some interval had elapsed between the time when H. heard the statement and when he wrote this passage; Meyer (F. i. 156) concludes that H. was in Egypt about 440 B.C., and wrote bk. ii about 430.

The height of the Nile flood was measured at Memphis, just above Rodah near Cairo, where the Nilometer now stands. A scanty Nile rises 20 feet or less, a good one from 24 to 27. The sixteen child figures on the well-known Nile statue in the Vatican symbolize a rise of 16 cubits (24 feet), i.e., a good Nile.

πήχεας: H. seems to take the cubit as 18½ inches (as in Greece), not as 21 (the royal cubit, cf. i. 178. 3 n.).

H. is wrong in saying the height of the inundations had altered so much in historic times; perhaps he has confused geographical variations (i.e., at different parts of the Nile) with historical ones (i.e., at different periods).

εἰ μὴ . . . ἀναβῆ: for omission of ἄν cf. iv. 172. 2, and Goodwin, § 468.

[2] ἣν οὕτω ἢ χώρη. Translate “If this land rises in height proportionately (to its rise in the past) and duly makes (ἀποδιδοῖ) a like increase in extent,” then it will be reached by the flood water with more difficulty. H. ignores the fact that the river-bed rises proportionately to the river-banks.

[3] ἀποστροφῆ: properly an “escape from,” so a “resource” (viii. 109. 5). Here used oddly with gen. = “a resource for getting water.”

For the contrast between artificial irrigation and rainfall cf. Deuteronomy xi. 10–12. For rain in Egypt cf. iii. 10. 3 n.

## ii. 14

In this chapter H. exaggerates the contrast between Egypt and Greece (cf. chap. 35 nn.). It was only in parts of the Delta that the plough could be dispensed with.

[2] Sheep are represented on the monuments of the “Old Kingdom” as treading in the seed (cf. Breasted, p. 92), and swine also on one tomb at Thebes (*BMG* p. 95) tread out the corn. Quite recently a monument has been discovered at Dra abu'l Naga which absolutely confirms H. (*Ann. du Serv. des Antiq.* xi. 162 seq.). Cf. also Eudoxus (in *Ael. N.A.* x. 16), and Pliny, *H.N.* xviii. 168, who says the custom had been given up in his time.

**ἀποδινήσας**, “completely treading it out” (lit. winnowing). Other animals were also used. Cf. Deut. xxv. 4, 1 Cor. ix. 9 for oxen among the Jews.

## ii. 15

H. is here probably attacking Hecataeus (*FHG* i 22, frag. 295), who seems to have thought that the Delta only was Egypt.

**ἀπὸ Περσέος**. The usual identification of the “watch-tower of Perseus” is with C. Aboukir, in which case it would lie *outside* the Delta. Strabo (801) places it near the Bolbitic mouth, which is probably right. In that case H. is wrong in making it the extreme west limit of the Delta (*Sourdille, H.E.* 58–9).

**τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν**. Pelusium was the east gate of Egypt (cf. 141. 4 and 154 n., where H. describes the planting of the Greek mercenaries of Psammetichus there. The estimate of “40 schoenes” is nearer right than H.’s 60 (6. 1 n.).

**Cercasorus** is about four miles north of Cairo; the Nile now divides a little lower down.

**λεγόντων**: agrees with Ἴωνων, but is parallel to λέγοντες, which goes with οἱ φάσι.

**Canobus** lies about fifteen miles northeast of Alexandria, at the northeast end of Aboukir Bay, the scene of Nelson’s great victory in 1798. It was said to have been founded by Menelaus, in memory of his pilot, who died there of snake-bite (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 60); at any rate, it was a comparatively recent town. It was famous for its temple of Serapis, and still more for its vice (cf. *Juv.* vi. 84; *Sen. Ep.* 51). It is to be noticed that Greek myths in Egypt were especially connected with the northwest corner of the Delta (cf. 178 nn.): so we have the watch-tower of Perseus (15. 1), Archandrus (98. 2), and Helen (113. 1) in these parts.

[3] H. adopts the view that Egyptian culture began up the Nile and came down stream “gradually” (ὑπο-); this was inevitable, as he thought the Delta so comparatively recent; it was also supported by the fact that “Thebes” only was mentioned by Homer. He is confirmed by the First Dynasty tombs at Abydos

(King and Hall, pp. 59f.), though the buildings of Thebes belong to the “Middle” and the “New Kingdom.”

**περίμετρον.** This figure, 6, 120 stades, for the “circumference” of the Thebaic nome, was given to H.; it is not the result of his own measurements. But its exact recurrence here and in 9. 2 is suspicious.

## ii. 16

H. has refuted the Ionian view, that Egypt was only the Delta (15. 1) in the preceding chapter; he now proceeds to argue that it is inconsistent with the accepted doctrine that there were three continents (οἱ φασὶ τρία μέρη κτλ.: cf. iv. 45. 5). He seems to think that if Egypt were the Delta, it was in neither Asia nor Libya (see below), but a “fourth” part. His argument, however, is very obscure.

**λογίζεσθαι,** “they cannot count,” as they ignore the Delta.

[2] **τοῦτον τὸν λόγον.** The argument seems to be; Egypt is enclosed by the Nile, therefore the Nile cannot be the boundary of Asia and Libya, as this would leave Egypt unaccounted for.

**τῇ Λιβύῃ:** the dative is curious. Cf. a similar use of χωρίζω in iv. 28. 2.

## ii. 17

H. states two geographical positions in this chapter: (1) that Egypt is one and indivisible (*not*, as the view of the Greeks would imply, half in Asia and half in Africa); (2) that the boundaries of Asia and Africa are (*not* the Nile, but) the boundaries of Egypt. To which continent H. would assign Egypt he leaves uncertain (cf. iv. 39 2 n.).

**Καταδούπων:** the first cataract, i.e., the furthest to the north; for it cf. 29. 2 n.

[4] For the Nile branches (στόματα) cf. 10. 2 n.

The number of “branches” (στόματα) is usually given as seven. Of these the “Tanitic,” i.e., the second from the east, between the Pelusiac and the Mendesian, is not named by H., who calls it “Saitic.” Cf. Strabo (802) τὸ Τανιτικὸν ὃ τινες Σαῖτικὸν λέγουσι.

Three explanations are given: (1) the simplest is that of Stein, that beside the well-known “Sais,” there was a second town of that name in the eastern Delta. But there is no monumental evidence for a second “Sais.”

(2) Wiedemann seems to suppose that the Saites claimed the Canopic arm, on which their town stood, as their own, and that H., misled by them, counts it twice over, under its real name “Canopic,” and under its supposed name “Saitic.”

(3) Sourdille (*H.E.*, 53) thinks that the Tanitic arm was called “Sanitic,” and that H., not recognizing its connection with the Τανίτης νομός of chap. 166, confused the unfamiliar name with the familiar Σαῖτικόν. We may compare the probable confusion in “Nitocris” (cf. i. 185. 1 n.).

The order from east to west is: (1) Pelusiatic (or Bubastic), (2) Tanitic (or Saitic?), (3) Mendesian, (4) Bucolic, (5) Sebennytic, (6) Bolbitinic (or Rosetta), (7) Canopic (or Naucratic).

## ii. 18

**τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ**: cf. 104. 1 for a similar touch of complacency as to Colchis. If the modern theory (cf. introd. § 11) is held that bk. ii is the last composed by H., this “oracle of Ammon” must be one of his latest pieces of information.

[2] **Μαρέης**: the frontier garrison of Egypt (cf. 30. 2 n.) on the west under the Saite dynasty, on the well-known Mareotic Lake.

**Ἄπιος**: a place called “Apis” lay (Strabo, 799) twelve miles west of Paraetonium and five days’ journey from the oracle of Ammon; it was over 150 miles due west of Alexandria. But this place is obviously too remote to be the “Apis” mentioned here, which probably lay a little south of Naucratis.

As Isis (to whom the cow was sacred) was especially worshipped in this region, Wiedemann thinks the reason given here improbable, and that the real question was—should they join Inaros in revolt or remain loyal to the Great King? This is a probable date for the oracle, but the two explanations are consistent; Inaros belonged to the Egyptian party among the Libyans, who abstained from cow-flesh (cf. iv. 186); but these Libyans wished to be free from Egyptian restrictions, and hence were unwilling to join in the revolt.

## ii. 19

**δύο ἡμερῶν**. Sayce says (*JP* xiv. 260) that it is only in the region of the Fayûm that the Nile rises so much; “H. (wrongly) assumed that what was true of one part of its course might be true of other parts.” However, H. may still be speaking of the region of the Delta, and mean that not only the Delta, but the adjoining country, was flooded. For a more elaborate explanation cf. 8. 3 n.

[2] The date of the rise of the Nile varies with the place; it begins at Khartoum early in April, but at Cairo about the end of June; H. therefore is fairly right in his “summer solstice”; so, too, is he in his statement that it rises for “one hundred days.” As he does not notice its changes of colour, first green, then blood-red, it is inferred with some reason that he did not himself see the beginning of a Nile flood.

[3] The statement that no winds “blow from” the Nile has been much attacked (e.g., by Sayce), because it has been understood to mean that no breeze is felt *on* the river; but H. himself tells us of the Etesian winds (20. 2) and of the “fresh wind” (96. 3) up the Nile. He means (cf. chap. 27) that there are no breezes down the Nile, i.e., *from* the south, whence the Nile flows; this is practically right. In five months (from June to October) scientific observation shows that the wind blows from this direction only about one day in twelve (Sourdille, *H.E.*, 111), and from the south (speaking strictly) less than one day in thirty.

## ii. 20

εἰ μὴ ὅσον: sc., μνησθήσομαι, “except in so far”; the views (chaps. 20, 21) of Thales and Hecataeus, H. thinks, need no refutation, although he proceeds to refute them. H., as usual, is contemptuous of his countrymen.

[2] Thales of Miletus (Athen. ii. 87) attributed the rise of the Nile to its being held back by the Etesian winds. H.’s refutation is sensible; the winds blow from the northwest, and so would have affected equally the rivers of Africa and of Syria. But it must be admitted that neither land has “many rivers,” and of the Syrian ones, the Orontes flows southwest, and so would not have been affected. In Africa H. knew of the Cinyps and the Triton (iv. 175, 178 nn.).

## ii. 21

The theory that the Nile flowed from the circumambient Ocean (cf. chap. 23 n.) was widely held. H. is probably refuting Hecataeus (cf. *FHG* i. 19, frag. 278 for his view); but the Egyptian priests gave the same explanation of the Nile flood (Diod. i. 37).

λόγῳ εἰπεῖν: not “so to speak,” but “more marvellous to state.”

## ii. 22

The view that the Nile rose because of melting snow is called by H. by far the “most attractive,” but also “especially inaccurate.” It was held by Anaxagoras (Diod. i. 38) and his pupil, Euripides (frag. 230), but can be traced further back, in Aeschylus (frag. 304)

ἐν δ’ ἥλιος πυρῶπὸς ἐκλάμψας χθονι  
τήκει πετραίαν χιόνα· πᾶσα δ’ εὐθαλῆς  
Αἴγυπτος ἀγνοῦ νάματος πληρουμένη.

It is very near the truth. The Nile rises partly because of the heavy rains on the Abyssinian plateau, partly from the melting snow on the mountains round the Great Lakes; the former are brought down by the Blue Nile, the latter by the White Nile, which meet at Khartoum. H. rejects the theory because: (1) “It flows from the hottest lands to those of which most are colder,” as is shown by the warmth of the winds. (2) Upper Egypt was rainless (cf. iii. 10. 3 n.), and Aethiopia must also be so; but snow is always followed by rain within five days (§ 3). (3) The inhabitants are black from the heat (§ 3). (4) The birds do not migrate from Aethiopia, as they would do were there winter there (§ 4). H. tries to apply critical tests to a fact which seems to him insufficiently supported by evidence, and so arrives at a wrong conclusion (cf. iii. 115. 1 n. for similar criticism).

[4] καὶ ὅσον ὦν, “ever so little.”

## ii. 23

ἀφανές. The reference is clearly to a definite person, i.e., Hecataeus. H. means that the theory of the circumambient ocean is, as we should say, outside the region of science. It was based on various kinds of evidence:

(1) Homer, *Il.* xviii. 607–8, speaks of Ocean as encircling the shield of Achilles. The theory may have been Phoenician in origin (Tozer, *A.G.* p. 21), but (2) it suited the Greek notion of symmetry; Delphi was the centre of the earth, and the Ocean supplied a natural circumference. (3) Facts were supposed to confirm it; the Greeks knew of water in the furthest west and south, and the Caspian was supposed to be an arm on the North Ocean; cf. i. 202. 4 n. for H.'s rejection of this view. Berger, pp. 36, 41, asserts that H. is wrong in deriving the theory of the Ionian physicists from Homer; but his assertion is neither proved nor probable. H. rightly rejects the theory of the circumambient ocean as unsupported by evidence. For a similar rejection of *a priori* geography cf. iv. 36. 2 n.

## ii. 24

**ἀρχαίης:** i.e., the sun's "usual course," direct east and west. To H. the earth is a flat surface, over which the sun moves in an arc (cf. iii. 104 n. and app. xiii, § 3).

**χειμώνων.** The theory that the sun's course was affected by storms was adopted by Democritus, who applied it also to the moon and stars. Cf. *Lucr.* v. 639 seq.

Qui (sc., aer) queat aestivis solem detrudere signis  
Brumales usque ad flexus gelidumque rigorem.

## ii. 25

H. now states "more fully" the theory sketched in chap. 24 (ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλωσάι). The sun "in the winter is blown out of his course by the storms" (24. 1) from the north, and so "crosses over the upper parts of Libya." Hence evaporation there is abundant (§§ 1–2) and so the Nile loses its water; the south and southwest winds blowing from this quarter are wet, but part of the moisture "remains with" the sun (§ 3, see below). When "the winter storms begin to be less severe" (§ 3), the sun returns to his normal course, and then "draws water from all rivers equally." Hence in the summer the Nile is like all other rivers in the amount of evaporation from it; but in the winter "it alone suffers from the sun," and so its course is "lower than in the summer" (§ 5). In fact, H. thinks the normal height of the Nile is its summer flood, and the low Nile of the winter is the exception.

This theory is referred to in *Ar. Nub.* 273, and is attacked by Diodorus, i. 38, and Aristides, ii. 341, who rightly say that if it were true, other African rivers ought to show the same phenomenon.

**αἰθρίου κτλ.** Evaporation is assisted "as the air is clear and the soil dry, even without cool winds."

[2] **τήκουσι,** "waste," i.e., the water drawn up from the Nile. The "south and southwest winds" are wet in Greece, but are not really so in Egypt.

[3] **ὑπολείπεσθαι,** "to let some remain behind with himself," i.e., as nourishment. This is the theory of Thales that the sun and the stars were fed by water; later, the Stoics adopted it in the form that the sun was nourished by the sea ( *Cic. Nat. D.* ii.

15 “cum sol igneus sit Oceanique alatur humoribus”); cf. for it Milton, *P.L.* v. 423–5:

The sun, that light imparts to all, receives  
From all his alimetal recompense  
In humid exhalations.

[4] **τέως**: i.e., in the winter = τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον below (§ 5); the land “being soaked with rains and furrowed with channels,” lets the rain flow into the rivers, unlike the ἀλεινὴ χώρα (§ 1) in Libya.

**οἱ μὲν**: the rivers of the north as opposed to the Nile.

## ii. 26

**τὸν ταύτη**: i.e., in Aethiopia.

## ii. 27

H. applies his theory to answer his other question why there is no wind from the river (19. 3 n.); he thinks no wind from the south could be expected, as it was too hot. It is needless to add that H. knew nothing of the causes of winds.

**ὡς κάρτα** is emphatic from its separate position.

## ii. 28

The name “Nile” is probably Semitic = “river,” the native name was Hāpi; for an image of the river-god cf. *BMG* p. 12. The source of the Nile was an insoluble problem till the latter half of the nineteenth century. H. wisely gives it up, but narrates a story which he heard on good authority, but thinks was meant “as a joke” (παίξειν). His narrative is attacked in two ways.

(1) He is accused of believing the story which he definitely rejects, e.g., by Strabo (819 Ἡρόδ. φλυαρεῖ ἠδυσμά τι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τερατείαν προσφέρων. Cf. Mure, iv. 387). This charge simply proves the carelessness of his critics.

(2) The second charge is more serious, and is as old as Aristides (ii. 344–5): If H. had been on the spot, how could he repeat a story so obviously false? Three answers may be given: (a) Stein thinks H. simply refers to the narrow bed of the river at Syene; but this explanation cannot be got out of the text. (b) Perhaps Sourdille (*H.E.*, 227 seq.) is right in saying that H. thought the town on the island “Elephantine” and Syene opposite to be only *one town*; this he called “Elephantine” and frequently mentions; Syene, on the other hand, he never mentions except here. He may well therefore have thought Syene to be some place, *unvisited by him*, away to the south; hence the *Saite’s story might be right*, and he gives it and criticizes it. (c) Hauvette’s (pp. 16, 17) view, however, is preferable, that H. means παίξειν to indicate definite rejection of the story, which he still goes on to criticize. It may be noted that H.’s account made so great an impression that Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 61) puts “angustiae et profunda altitudo nullis inquirentium spatiis penetrabilis” among the wonders of Egypt, to which Germanicus “gave his attention.”

A further point arises — what did the Saite really mean? Probably “he was speaking what (he meant to be) true” (§ 5 γινόμενα). Three views may be mentioned: (1) Maspero thinks (*E.M.* iii. 382 seq.) that H. has taken as geography what was really mythology. In the Ritual of Embalment the dead is addressed, “He (the Nile) gives thee the water which has come from Elephantine, the Nile which has come from the two gulfs, the Nou which has come from the two rocks.” A bas-relief has been found at Philae representing the Nile god in a cavern under a rock, pouring out two Niles (cf. *BMG* p. 8 for picture). Maspero further explains “Krophī” and “Mophī” to be “Qer Hāpi” (cavern of the Nile god) and “Mu-Hāpi” (water of the Nile god). He thinks that the priest also said that there were two Niles, one of Egypt, and one of Ethiopia; of these the former flowed along the right bank, the latter along the left. H. misunderstood his informant, and supposed the “Nile of Ethiopia” meant the Nile flowing towards Ethiopia, as opposed to the Nile of Egypt. (2) The *BMG* makes the two Niles the rivers of Upper and of Lower Egypt respectively. (3) Breasted (pp. 55–6) says there was supposed to be an underground Nile, by which the sun returned at night to the east; some thought it came up again as the Indus; this was connected with the real Nile at Elephantine, which was originally the limit of Egyptian knowledge to the south.

Maspero’s view is probably nearest to what the Saite said. It is quite needless to see the influence of Hecataeus (cf. 8. 3 n.) in the story.

**γραμματιστής:** the temple treasurer; this Saite was probably the only high official whom H. met. For Athena cf. 62. 1 n.

[2] **Syene:** now Assûan; its name “Suan” is as old as the Sixth Dynasty. Under the Ptolemies it succeeded Elephantine as the capital of Upper Egypt; it was the Roman frontier garrison-town; cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 61 “claustra Romani imperii.”

[4] For the inquiring turn of Psammetienus I cf. chap. 2.

## ii. 29

**αὐτόπτης.** This statement is especially attacked as untrue by Sayce (ad loc. and introd. p. 27; also in *JP* xiv). His arguments are (answers are added in brackets):

(1) Elephantine is an island — not a town [it is both, cf. Artace iv. 14. 2, and in Egyptian records is frequently called “a town”].

(2) H. makes Amasis bring stones from Elephantine (175. 3 n.); the red granite quarries were really at Syene (cf. “Syenite”). [But Egyptian sources also call granite “stone from Elephantine.”]

(3) H. could never have been at Thebes, or he would describe the great buildings there. [The argument *ex silentio* is always most untrustworthy; cf. also 143. 2 n.]

(4) Had H. been at Elephantine he would have known more of the Nile’s course above it. [But cf. notes on following chapters, which show that his knowledge was really considerable.]

Sayce’s attack is usually held to fail completely.

Elephantine = “Elephant town,” because here the Nubians brought their ivory for tribute (iii. 97. 3) or to exchange it for Egyptian products.

[2] H. is quite right in his description of the way in which a boat is towed up the first cataract—“from both sides” (δια-; ἀμφοτέρωθεν is really superfluous); he does not give the exaggerated difficulties which later writers ascribe to the cataracts, e.g., that the dwellers around were permanently deaf from the noise (Cicero, *Somn.* 5). “The foaming rapids of the Great Cataract are now things of the past” (Baedeker, 335), owing to the Nile Dam built just above.

[3] For the rest of this chapter cf. E. Sparig, *Herodot's Angaben über die Nilländer oberhalb Syene's*, Halle, 1889. He seems clearly right in identifying Tachompso with Djerar, an island south of Dakkeh, some 78 (Murray, p. 519 and map) miles from Syene; H. here, as usual, reckons the σχοῖνος at 60 stades (cf. Strabo, 804, and 6. 1 n.), which gives about 80 miles for the distance. This was the natural boundary of the two nations (§ 4); just below Djerar was Hierasykaminos, the southern limit of Egypt under the Ptolemies. H. makes no distinction between the first cataract, which begins just below Philae, and the Nile above it.

Others, however (e.g., Wiedemann), wrongly identify Tachompso with Philae; Strabo (818) calls Philae κοινὴ κατοικία Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων. σχοῖνος is then explained as the space a man could tow before being relieved, i.e., about 500 yards; cf. Jerome (on Joel iii. 18) “In Nilo solent naves funibus trahere, certa habentes spatia, quae appellant funiculos.” But this identification of Tachompso with Philae is not what H. says, and it leaves his “four days” quite unexplained. The distance from Syene to Philae could really be done in rather more than five hours, but perhaps the boatmen demanded such a fee of H. that he imagined it must mean a four days’ journey. At all events he never went up the cataract.

There is no lake either at Philae or at Djerar; but the Nile widens out above Philae, and at various places south of that island.

[4] H. does not give the time spent on “the lake,” i.e., between Philae and the second cataract at Wadi Halfa (where the boat was left ἀποβάς). If this be reckoned at four days, H.’s account gives 60 days from Syene to Meroe, i.e., 4 days for the rapids, 4 days for the lake, 40 days’ land journey, and 12 more by boat again. This corresponds to the estimate of Timosthenes, admiral of Ptolemy Philadelphus (60 days from Syene to Meroe, Pliny, *H.N.* vi. 183); “this is a very fair approximation to the truth” (Bunbury, i. 302).

[5] σκόπελοι κτλ.: the obstructions on the river, beginning with the second cataract just above Halfa. The river in modern times is usually left here by travellers; the railway from Halfa runs to Abu Hammed, where the Nile turns southwest; the caravan route went straight across the desert from Korosko, 90 miles below Halfa.

[6] The “island” of Meroe later was formed by the Nile and the Atbara (Astaboras), just south of Berber, and ruins of pyramids have been found in this region at

Bakarawiya, south of the junction of the two rivers. H., however, probably means the town of Napata, the northern capital of the Aethiopian kingdom, which lay (near the modern Merawi, which preserves the name) some thirty miles southwest of the fourth cataract, under the "holy mountain," Gebel Barkal. (So Sparig, and Hall in Murray, p. 552.)

H. had certainly never heard of the River Atbara (cf. iv. 50. 1), and the southern site for Meroe seems inconsistent with (30. 1) the statement that Meroe is only half way to the "Deserters."

If, however, Meroe be Napata, then the "twelve days' voyage" must be explained as *not continuous*, as H. had been told, but made up of two parts, one from just below Djerar (ut sup.) to Halfa, and one from El Debba (south of Dongola) to Merawi.

**Δία.** There is a temple of Amon (i.e., Zeus) at Napata, where he was worshipped in a ram-headed shape. H. is quite right in speaking of the theocratic character of the Ethiopian kingdom; the oracle at Napata chose the king (cf. Diod. iii. 5. 6 of the later Meroe). As Ethiopia had been conquered by kings from Thebes, the Theban deities naturally were more prominent there, and the high priests of Amon, expelled by the 22nd dynasty from Thebes, had retired to Ethiopia (Maspero, *Annuaire des E.G.*, 1877, p. 126 seq., gives interesting details as to the working of the oracle).

## ii. 30

**ἵσφ:** i.e., in 60 days; this estimate may well be exaggerated. As usual H. becomes less accurate as he gets further away from his own observations.

The **Deserters.** Some moderns (e.g., Wiedemann) have doubted the whole story, but it is now generally accepted. Maspero (iii. 498) points out that in the seventh century the military Mashauasha disappear from the monuments; he considers the divisions of ii. 164 seq. to be the new army arrangements of Psammetichus. For an interesting parallel under Apries to the desertion cf. statue of Nesuhor, in Louvre, with its inscription (*Klio*, iv. 152 seq.; Breasted, *R.* iv. 989 seq.).

Eratosthenes (in Strabo 786) calls these deserters Σεμβοῖται, i.e., ἐπήλυδες. They are variously placed in Abyssinia, on the Blue Nile, or in Sennaar (Bunbury), about 150 miles south of Khartoum, or where the Sobat joins the White Nile, about 400 miles south of Khartoum. It is in the last region that the Nile ceases to flow west and northwest and turns north (cf. 31 n.).

**Ἀσμάχ.** The translation "left" is a popular explanation, perhaps given by an interpreter; the real meaning of the word was "forgetting," i.e., it = "runaways." But the word for "left" in Egyptian is very similar in sound (Spiegelberg, *Z.Ä.S.* xliii. 95).

[2] The number 240,000 is doubtless much exaggerated.

Elephantine, Marea, Daphnae are the three gates of Egypt towards Ethiopia, Syria, and Libya. For Marea cf. 18. 2 n. and below. Daphnae has been identified as Tell Defenneh, near L. Menzaleh, between the Delta and the Suez Canal; it lies on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile (now a canal). (Petrie, *E.E.F.* iv. (1888) 47.) Here the earliest remains belong to the Ramesside age; but the fort was founded by Psammetichus I, and the oldest finds in it were mainly Greek (*ibid.* p. 48); then from the sixth century Greek remains disappear (p. 52). All this agrees with H.; cf. 107. 1 for Sesostris (i.e., Rameses II; but cf. app. x, §§ 5, 7) at Daphnae, and 154. 3 for the planting the Greeks on the Pelusiac arm, and their subsequent removal by Amasis. H., however, distinguishes Daphnae and “the Camps,” whereas Petrie makes them the same; probably both are right; one of the military “camps” lay outside the native town, but continuous with it. Daphnae guarded “the great highway into Syria” (Petrie *ut sup.*); cf. 141. 4 τὰ ὑτὴ εἰσὶν αἱ ἐσβολαί.

[3] ἔτι ἐπ’ ἐμεῦ: this reference to the Persian garrisons seems to show that H. was in Egypt after 454 B.C. (cf. app. ix, § 1). The garrison at Marea was given up, because the Libyans to the west were completely reduced (Stein, cf. iii. 91; iv. 167 seq.); this reason is more probable than that of Krall, viz., that the defence of the west was entrusted to native princes, e.g., Inaros and Thannyras (iii. 15). Sourdille (*H.E.* p. 3) thinks that H. had been told generally that “the Persian garrison system was the same” as the Egyptian, but says nothing special as to Marea, because he had not verified the statement as to the garrison there personally, as he had done at Elephantine and at Daphnae. This explanation seems over-subtle.

ἐξ Αἰθιοπίνῃ. One of the points attacked in the story is the implication that the fugitives traversed the whole of Egypt. The story is at least consistent; it would not be easy to stop “240,000” armed and organized runaways.

[4] δέξαντα. The grossness here (cf. 162. 3, the reply of Amasis) belongs to the story of a guide, catering for Greek taste; the native Egyptian had far too much respect for royalty to answer thus.

[5] Wiedemann denies that Egyptian influence on Ethiopia is so late; he considers that the story was invented to explain Egyptian influence in that country, and points out that Ethiopia had been conquered, as far as the second cataract, under the 12th Dynasty, not to mention later relations (cf. app. x, § 9).

## ii. 31

τεσσέρων. Cf. chaps. 29. 4, 30. I nn. for the figure.

ὅξει δὲ ἀπὸ κτλ. These words are taken two ways:

(1) The usual view, e.g., Rawlinson’s, is that H. means the Nile was flowing from east to west at the furthest point at which he knew of it, i.e., in the land of the Deserters.

(2) But this is not the natural sense of the passage, and it is better to suppose that H. conceives the Nile as flowing from the west in *all its course* above Elephantine (Bunbury, i. 266, 303), because:

(a) He compares it with the Danube, chap. 33.

(b) Europe is “beyond comparison” the broadest of his continents (iv. 42. 1 n.); but this could hardly be the case, if Africa were more than four mountains “broad” from north to south, as explanation (1) would make it.

(c) When Cambyses attacks the Ethiopians, at “the end of the world,” “on the sea to the south of Africa” (iii. 17. 5), he does not march up the Nile, but plunges into the deserts just south of Thebes. Obviously, then, the Nile is here conceived as coming not from the south but from the west. Some have tried to identify the Ethiopians with the Deserters, but this is flatly contradictory to H.

H. is at any rate consistent in this mistake. Its origin is no doubt the fact that the Nile from 21° to 23° S. Lat. flows northwest, and almost down to Philae (which is about 24°) is a little west in direction.

## ii. 32

The story of the Nasamones (cf. Bunbury, i. 306) is a good instance how valuable at times is a traveller’s tale; it reaches H. third-hand, and hence is naturally untrustworthy in detail; but in its main point it seems to be true. There is nothing impossible in a “well-equipped” native expedition crossing the Sahara and reaching the Niger, which at its nearest point comes within about 1000 miles of the oasis of Fezzan. That Negro land was really reached seems probable from the following points: the natives were entirely strange in speech (§ 6), black (§ 7), very small (§§ 6, 7), “all wizards” (chap. 33. 1). The story is accepted by R. Neumann (pp. 78 seq.) and by St. Martin (pp. 17–18), who, however, brings the explorers northwest to the oasis of Wargla in the Algerian Sahara.

**Κυρηναῖοι.** That H. had been in Cyrene is almost certain (cf. introd. § 16).

Etearchus is probably a Greek form of the Nubian Taharka.

**Ἄμμωνος.** The oracle of the ram-headed (cf. chap. 42 for the origin of the figure) Zeus was one of the most famous of antiquity. Croesus consulted it (i. 46), Lysander (Plut. *Lys.* 20), and above all, Alexander the Great; for it cf. 18. 2; iii. 25 It was in the oasis of Siwah, a great caravan centre. H. is always careful to distinguish it from its parent oracle, that of the Theban Amon, who was also ram-headed. For the connection of Cyrene and Zeus Ammon cf. the ram-headed god on the coins of Cyrene, Head, *H.N.* 865, 868.

[2] For the Nasamones cf. iv. 172, 182. They had most of the trade with the interior in their hands, and were also well known as freebooters; hence they were a likely people to turn explorers.

**Σύρτιν:** the greater Syrtis, as always in H.; he does not know the lesser one.

[4] **τὰ μὲν** (sc., οἰκέουσι): the construction changes to *παρήκουσι παρὰ*.

**βορῆην:** the Mediterranean Sea.

**Σολόεντος** (cf. iv. 43. 4); Cape Spartel on the coast of Morocco (near Tangier); others make it Cape Cantin (in latitude of Madeira).

**τὰ δὲ ὑπέρο:** adverbial, as is τὰ κατύπεροθε; for the threefold belt of North Africa cf. iv. 181 n.; for the Libyans iv. 168 seq.

[5] **ζέφυρον:** properly “westward”; but if it be translated strictly, the travellers would have had nothing but deserts and ultimately the Atlantic before them (see above). The word, however, is decisive against the theory of the journey, which makes the explorers only reach some river running into Lake Tchad; this would be *due south* of the Fezzan.

[6] The story of the “little men” (cf. iv. 43. 5), the Pygmies, is as old as Homer (*Il.* iii. 3–7), and recurs repeatedly in ancient writers. It was much doubted by modern writers till the explorations of Du Chaillu, Schweinfurth, and others proved completely the existence of these dwarfs, both north and south of the Equator (cf. *Rev. Hist.* 47 for a collection of the evidence on the subject by Monceaux). This is one of the best-known of the many instances in which H.’s “credulity” has been shown to be scientific. H. does not exaggerate their smallness as other writers do; their average height is said to be about 4½ feet. Dwarfs from the south were favourites at the Egyptian court as early as the Old Kingdom (cf. Breasted, *A.R.* i. 351, of the 6th Dynasty).

[7] The “swamps” (ἐλέων) are characteristic of all Central African rivers, and are abundant on the Niger. The town has been supposed to be Timbuctoo, but this was only founded about 1000 A.D.

Crocodiles were supposed to be peculiar to the Nile. So Alexander (*Arr. Anab.* vi. 1. 2), seeing crocodiles in the Indus, thought that he had found the source of the Nile.

## ii. 33

H.’s theory that the Nile rose in West Africa never had much popularity till Roman times; it was held by the learned Juba of Mauretania (*Plin.* v. 51). We may compare it with the theories of forty years ago, which identified the Lualaba, when discovered by Livingstone, with the Nile, till Stanley proved it to be the upper waters of the Congo. H.’s view is based (cf. also 31 n.) on (1) the supposed analogy of the Danube; cf. chaps. 33, 34, and especially ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτροων; as the Danube flows across Europe from the west, so the Nile is supposed to flow across Libya; (2) the story of the Nasamones.

[2] **τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι:** this is one of the maxims of Solon—τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανεροῖς τεκμαίρου; τε has no corresponding καί; chap. 34 continues the account.

[3] **Ἴστρος.** H. is much interested in this river, which he describes again in iv. 48–50 (where “it is the greatest of all rivers that we know”; cf. also iv. 99). Here he supposes it to rise in the extreme west of Europe. This view was held also by Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 13 ἐκ δὲ τῆς Πυρρήνης (τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ὄρος) ῥέουσιν ὃ τε Ἴστρος καὶ ὁ Ταρτησός; the Ister then “flows through the whole of Europe”). It

is difficult to see how the Greeks reconciled it with their knowledge of the Rhone, but it is suggested that this was looked on as a southern offshoot of the Danube. Older geographers had made the Ister rise in the Rhipaeian mountains, among the Hyperboreans; H. rightly ignored this mythical explanation, but his information was insufficient for an accurate account.

**Πυρήνη:** an old town at the foot of the Pyrenees (now Port Vendres); its trade passed to Massilia, and its name was transferred to the neighbouring mountains (cf. iv. 49. 2 n. for a similar transference of Ἄλπις and Κάρις).

**Κελτοί.** H. derives his information, indirectly at any rate, from the Phoenicians, and therefore speaks of the Celts as being “outside the Pillars of Hercules,” where the Phoenicians found them.

The “Pillars of Hercules” are not found in Homer, but in Pindar (*Ol.* iii. 44) they occur, as the limit of the world; by H.’s time they had been definitely fixed. For the legends connecting Heracles with the W. cf. iv. 8 seq. The name was partly due to the identification of Heracles with the Tyrian Melcarth, partly to the tendency (*Tac. Germ.* 34) to give him “quidquid ubique magnificum.” Strabo (169–72) discusses the legends as to them; but Pomponius Mela (i. 5. 27), as befits a Spaniard, is the first to give an accurate account of them. So far as they are a reality, they correspond to Calpe and Abila (i.e., Gibraltar and the African Ceuta).

The Kynesioi (Κύνητες, iv. 49. 3) are placed by Avienus (201 seq.) on the Guadiana. Their name disappears early from geography.

[4] **Ἰστρίην:** near the modern Kustendji: it lies some sixty miles south of the St. George’s mouth of the Danube.

## ii. 34

**ἀντίη κείται.** H. seems to be trying to construct a rough parallel of longitude (cf. app. xiii, § 4). If he meant that the Ister mouth is about opposite the west mouth of the Nile he is right (they are each about 28° E. Lat.); but his arguments are wrong, for Cilicia Trachea is east of all the Nile mouths and Sinope further east still.

[2] **πέντε.** Cf. i. 72. 3 n.

**ἐξισοῦσθαι.** H. ends with the statement with which he began. The comparison is based on the love of symmetry which he tries in vain to banish from his geography (cf. app. xiii, §§ 2, 7); but this does not lead him to distort the facts he knows, e.g., he rightly says that the Ister (iv. 99. 1) runs into the sea πρὸς εὐρον, though obviously this direction does not suit his theory here.

## ii. 35

*H.’s account of Egypt*, chaps. 35–98. This is the most valuable part of bk. ii (cf. app. ix, § 4). It opens with the famous paradox that everything in Egypt is the reverse of what it is elsewhere (§ 2). This point is borrowed by Sophocles (*O.C.* 337 seq.), who makes Oedipus contrast his daughters and his sons.

ὃ πάντ' ἐκείνω τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμοις  
φύσιν κατεικασθέντε καὶ βίου τροφάς.

(For the relations between H. and Soph. cf. introd. p. 7.) But it must be added that there are no verbal similarities in the two passages. The point is made by other Greek writers, e.g., Anaxandrides (Athen. 299), a comic poet ca. 370 B.C., draws an elaborate contrast between Greece and Egypt; his illustrations are from the treatment of animals, e.g., βούν προσκυνεῖς, ἐγὼ δὲ θύω τοῖς θεοῖς. It is even more exaggerated later, e.g., by Diod. i. 27 (as to incestuous marriages). Nymphodorus (a third-century writer, *FHG* ii. 380) absurdly puts the topsy-turvydom down to Sesostris, who wished to make his subjects effeminate and so prevent their demanding liberty.

As so large a part of the details furnished by H. are on religious matters, it may be worth while to sum up here the main points in which his account of Egyptian religion is defective or erroneous (cf. Sourdille, *R.* pp. 367–401):

(1) It quite fails to bring out the importance of certain cults, e.g., of Ptah, of Râ (the Sun), of Hâpi (the Nile), of Thoth (Hermes, who is only mentioned chap. 67, Ἐρμέω πόλις), of Hâthor (Aphrodite).

(2) It has far too much uniformity. H. speaks as if all Egypt had the same beliefs; "but no people is so destitute of the systematic spirit as the Egyptians." But cf. 43. 2 n.

(3) The religion is made too Greek:

(a) It is distinctly anthropomorphic; τῶγαλμα is made everywhere the centre of the temple worship, and H. seems to have conceived of this as usually in human form (46. 2); correspondingly the theriomorphic character of Egyptian religion is underestimated.

(b) Greek ideas, e.g., of mysteries and oracles, are wrongly introduced. (Some, however, maintain that the Egyptians really had mysteries in the Greek sense of the word; cf. 171. 1 n.)

(4) The magic, which is so marked a feature of all Egyptian religion, is ignored.

On the other hand, H.'s merits as an observer are now recognized. Erman, the leading German Egyptologist, writes (*R.*, 175): "Where our Egyptian sources fail us, we receive for the first time help from outside; about 450 B.C. H., an indefatigable and careful observer, travelled in Egypt. He observed exactly those things which are of special interest to us." He proceeds to sketch later Egyptian religion, mainly from the data given by H. (pp. 176–81).

[2] τὰ πολλὰ πάντα, "in almost all cases."

αἱ γυναῖκες: the monuments certainly show women marketing and men weaving, but these are the exceptions: H., struck by the contrasts to Greece, forgets to notice they are only occasional in Egypt.

**κρόκην**: the “woof” pushed home to its place in the warp (στήμων) by the κερκίς. This was done from below by the Greeks and Romans, and from above by the Jews (cf. John xix. 23, the seamless coat of Christ, “woven from the top”); the Egyptians used both methods, more usually the latter; H. is so far right, but they also used horizontal looms as well as perpendicular ones. For pictures of weaving see Wilkinson, i. 317; ii. 170 (horizontal), 171.

[3] **τὰ ἄχθεα** κτλ.: this contrast is wrong; all that can be said is that some loads were carried by men “on their heads,” e.g., the baker in Gen. xl. 16, while the women probably carried their babies “on their shoulders,” like the modern Fellahîn (cf. *BMG* p. 78).

**ἐσθίουσι**: the Egyptian upper classes certainly did not eat out of doors; H. only saw the Egyptians of the streets.

[4] H. is struck by the fact that he heard of no women in Egypt in positions like that of Hera’s priestess at Argos, and he (as often) generalizes from a single point. But he himself knew that there were women in the temples, cf. i. 182. 5 n.; ii. 54. 1. He is quite wrong in his statement; two contrary instances may be quoted; women under the Old Empire especially devoted themselves to Neith and Hathor, while under the Saites, the “consort of Amon” was the nominal ruler of Thebes.

Wiedemann has a more elaborate explanation. As the Egyptians called all the dead, men and women alike, “Osiris,” and made them male, he thinks that H. was told this, but misunderstood it, and, transferring it from the other world to the present one, supposed that no woman could appear before the gods as priestess. Wiedemann is very fond of charging H. with confusion; he seems to estimate the historian’s capacity by his own.

**τρέφειν** κτλ. Sons at Athens were, as usually in Greece, required to care for their parents; a law of Solon fixed ἀτιμία as a penalty for neglecting this duty (Diog. Laert. i. 55). In Egypt the duty of seeing to a parent’s grave was certainly imposed on sons; the law in chap. 136 implies this. H. is supposed to be referring to the comparative independence of Egyptian women (*BMG* p. 77), who were able to incur obligations on their own account; struck by this contrast to their dependent position in Greece, he states, in an exaggerated way, that daughters alone had duties to their parents. But this explanation seems very far-fetched.

## ii. 36

**ξυρῶνται**. H. says (37. 2) the priests shaved their whole body every third day; of this there is no evidence on the monuments, but other authorities confirm it (e.g., Diod. iii. 3 (vaguely) and Plut. *Mor.* 352; *De Is. et Os.* 4), and it is probable, in view of the extreme cleanliness of the Egyptians. He is too absolute in saying that all Egyptians shaved (τέως ἐξυρημένοι); in fact he himself says (iii. 12. 3) that in few countries are bald men so rare as in Egypt. Probably some classes, e.g., the priests of the New Empire, completely shaved (Erman, *E.* pp. 218–19), and most had their hair very short. But soldiers wore their natural hair, and so did artists, if we may

trust the curious self portrait of Hui (of the time of Amenophis III, eighteenth dynasty, *Z.A.S.* xlii. 130).

**κεκάρθαι.** So Achilles (*Il.* xxiii. 141) cuts off his hair on the death of Patroclus.

**ἰκνέεται:** sc., κῆδος, "whom the grief concerns."

[2] Only the lower classes in Egypt live with animals, and this is true of other countries as well; H.'s generalization is quite wrong.

**ὄλυρα.** Liddell & Scott, s.v., suggest "rye," but leave the question of its identity with "spelt," ξειά (s.v.), open. Wiedemann thinks it = "durra," which is often represented in the monuments, while "spelt" is absent from them. H. here (cf. chap. 77) again generalizes wrongly from his guide; the lower classes in Egypt eat bread made of "durra"; wheat and barley were both also used by the upper classes, but (*BMG* p. 82) wheat only "rarely" by the lower.

[3] **Φυρῶσι.** The monuments (e.g., the bakery of Rameses III, Erman, *E.* p. 191; but the work was also done by hand) show us dough being kneaded with the feet, as is still done in the south; Strabo, 823, also confirms the statement as to clay and dough. Dung is still collected for burning in Egypt, and in other eastern countries where wood is scarce.

**τὰ αἰδοῖα.** H. says (with Strabo, 824, and Diodorus), probably rightly (cf. app. ix, § 4), that *all* Egyptians were circumcised, Josephus (*Ap.* ii. 13) says only the priests. H. (104. 2, 3 nn.) is certainly wrong in saying that only the Egyptians with the Ethiopians and Colchians, who had learned it from them, practised the rite ἀπ' ἀρχῆς; it was widespread among both Semitic and non-Semitic tribes. Its primitive nature is shown by the use of "flint knives" (Exod. iv. 25; Josh. v. 2, R.V.). Some scholars hold (with H.) that it was introduced on sanitary grounds (καθαριότητος ἕνεκα); but no doubt originally it was a religious rite, by which a male was initiated as a full member of the nation or clan (cf. *Encyc. Biblica*, s.v.). The Egyptian evidence, which is comparatively scanty, is well summarized in Hastings (*Enc. Rel.* iii. 670–6); the majority of scholars seem to interpret it as showing that the rite was general in Egypt; some, however, think it refers only to the priests. It is curious that only once do the monuments lay any stress on circumcision, i.e., in describing the repulse of the uncircumcised "peoples of the sea" by Merenptah; even here the interpretation is disputed.

**ἔχει = φορέει;** in 81. 1 the two garments worn by men are described as a linen κιθών round the legs, and a woolen over-cloak. Roughly speaking, this is confirmed by the monuments, but only for members of the lower classes. H. is much too absolute. So far as men are concerned, he omits the cape introduced under the New Empire, and he quite fails to notice that the κιθών round the legs was often worn double (Erman, *E.* pp. 205–7). As to the Egyptian women, it is true that they, down to the eighteenth dynasty, wore only one close-fitting dress; but in H.'s day two, and sometimes three, garments were worn. The servants and the

women in the fields, however, wore only one (Erman, *E.* pp. 212–16). It is from these that H. generalizes.

[4] **κάλους**: H. is right that the Egyptians fastened the “sheet” of their vessels (for these cf. chap. 96) inside. Torr (p. 80), however, says the κάλος (Att. κάλωσ) is a “brailing rope”; these ran across the sail from the yard.

**γράμματα**. Egyptian writing is generally from right to left; but in drawing the individual signs they usually began on the left (cf. αὐτοί φασι ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ). H. is speaking of the direction of the writing as a whole, the natives of the formation of each special letter. He does not mention the older forms of Greek inscriptions, which are from right to left, or βουστροφηδόν, though he must have seen them.

There were really three kinds of Egyptian writing: (1) The hieroglyphic, in which the symbols are still recognizable pictures; this was sometimes from left to right, and sometimes up and down (like Chinese). (2) The hieratic, a shortened form of this; a few symbols remain as before, most become purely conventional. (3) The demotic, which developed still further out of the hieratic, and was known by the Egyptians as “the book script,” while the two first were “the Gods’ script.” The enigmatic, which was invented under the eighteenth dynasty, is only a way of writing hieroglyphs in cipher. H. fails to distinguish between (1) and (2), as he well might.

For Egyptian writing cf. *BMG* p. 36 seq., where an interesting account of the decipherment (pp. 41f.) is given, with a picture of the famous Rosetta Stone.

## ii. 37

**θεοσεβείες**: the religion (or superstition) of Egypt was proverbial. H. rightly lays stress on their cleanliness and their elaborate ritual.

**χαλκῶν**. The Egyptians did use vessels of bronze, but also of gold, silver, glass, etc. H. again generalizes from insufficient data.

[2] **περλάμνονται**. For shaving and circumcision cf. 36. 1, 3 nn.

[3] **λινέην**. It was forbidden to enter a temple wearing a woolen garment (81. 1); H. is right as to the priests wearing linen and sandals of papyrus. Cf. Exod. xxxix. 27–9 for the linen garments of the Jewish priests.

**λοῦνται**. Chaeremon (frag. 4, *FHG* iii. 498; Chaeremon was an Egyptian priest(?) of Strabo’s time, Strabo, 806) says they washed thrice daily; the difference between him and H. may well be due to variety of rituals. The symbol for a priest in the hieroglyphs is a man washing.

[4] **ἀγαθά**. The priestly colleges possessed lands of their own, to the extent (Diod. i. 21) of one-third of all Egypt; from these they and the sacrifices were maintained. H. means by οὔτε . . . δαπανῶνται that no individual priest had to keep himself. For the priests’ property and privileges cf. app. x, § 9, and Erman, *E.* pp. 298f.

**κρεῶν**. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 5 says the priests did not eat sheep or swine flesh.

**οἶνος.** H. says (77. 4) there are no “vines” in Egypt; here and elsewhere (e.g., chaps. 60, 121) he speaks of wine as common. As he mentions the importation of wine (iii. 6. 1) there need be no inconsistency. But certainly the monuments (cf. Erman, *E.* pp. 198–9) show an extensive cultivation of vines in Egypt, and certain kinds of its wines were famous, e.g., the Mareotic (Hor. *Odes*, i. 37. 14). Cf., too, Gen. xl. 11; Psalms lxxviii. 47. Probably, therefore, H. is mistaken in chap. 77. Others, however (e.g., Brugsch), accept his statement, and argue that the monuments belong to a period before H., and that in his day Greek competition had killed vine-growing in Egypt. This may be partially confirmed by the present state of things there; grapes are still grown, but wine is not made, as “Egypt is already amply supplied with cheap wines from every part of the Mediterranean” (Baedeker, p. lix).

**ἰχθύων.** H. is right that the priests were forbidden to eat fish. This food might not be offered in sacrifice; hence the Pythagorean refusal to eat fish may have come from Egypt; for it cf. Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* viii. 8; *Mor.* 728f. But fish was a frequent article of diet among the Egyptians generally, as H. rightly says (77. 4).

[5] **κνάμους.** H. is right that the priests did not eat beans; cf. the Pythagoreans again, and Juv. XV. 174 (Pythagoras) “ventri indulsit non omne legumen,” with Mayor’s notes for parallels. Diogenes Laertius (viii. 24, 34), in speaking of this Pythagorean abstinence, quotes Aristotle as giving various reasons, the most probable of which is that beans αἰδοίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι. The aversion to beans is supposed by some to have been derived by Pythagoras from Egypt (cf. 123 nn.); but it is common in many primitive civilizations, e.g., in India and in early Rome, where beans were supposed to tend to unchastity, while on the other hand they were especially used in funeral banquets; cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 95, the introduction to which (*Carabbas Library*, by F. B. Jevons, pp. 86–94) has an interesting discussion of the meaning of the superstition; he connects it with “sympathetic magic.” The Flamen Dialis might neither touch nor name beans; cf. Fowler, *Rom. Fest.* p. 110. For recent discussions, cf. Gruppe, *Myth. Liter.* (1908), pp. 370–1.

**τρῶγουσι:** cf. i. 71. 3, “munch” (like animals), i.e., things uncooked.

**ἀρχιερέυς.** H. is right here; there were grades of rank among the priests; the highest were in later (i.e., Ptolemaic) times the high-priest or prophet, the overseer of the ritual, and the scribe (28. 1).

**τούτου ὁ παῖς.** Stein takes this to mean that the son was admitted “into the college,” but “in the lowest position.” This, however, is not what H. says, and there seem to be clear cases on the monuments of son definitely succeeding father (as other Greeks, e.g., Diod. i. 88, besides H. state). But this was not the rule, and H. as usual generalizes too much.

## ii. 38

**Ἐπάφου:** i.e., Apis (cf. chap. 153), the holy calf of Memphis, by which the god, Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, was represented on earth. H. gives in iii. 28. 2, 3 (cf. ἄλλω

λόγω, § 2) an account of his origin and marks. It was from the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty that the Apis-cult became especially important; under the Ptolemies, as Serapis, he was the chief god in Egypt. The Greeks identified him with Epaphus, son of Zeus and Io (cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 850–1); but, apart from Aelian's contradiction (*N.A.* xi. 10), this is obviously mistaken. An account of the Apis is given in Maspero, pp. 37–9. They were buried in the Serapeum at Memphis, rediscovered by Mariette in 1851–2.

Any beast that bore the same marks, e.g., the “black hair” (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 31; *Mor.* 363, says “white or black”), was holy and could not be sacrificed. So red cattle were properly used as offerings (cf. Numb. xix. 2, the “red heifer”); but great freedom was allowed, as the monuments show. H.'s account is confused; he seems to mean that no beast could be sacrificed that had black hairs or that had the marks of an Apis; if it had *neither* of these sacred features it was marked as θύσιμον.

**καθαρόν** here = “fit to be sacrificed,” but below (§ 3) “without the marks of an Apis.”

[2] **τεταγμένος**. The title of these priests was “web” (i.e., pure). The σφραγιστής was appointed for the work of inspecting beasts.

The tongue of Apis was marked beneath with a “beetle” (*scarabaeus*).

**κατὰ φύσιν**: i.e., not “double,” as in an Apis.

[3] The “seal” used to mark the beast was a kneeling man with hands bound and a knife at his throat. (Plut. *ut sup.* p. 363.)

**σημαντρίδα**: cf. Cic. *Verr. II*, 4. 26, 58 for “cretula” used for seals.

**ἀσήμαντον**: because the “unmarked” beast might have been sacred, death was the penalty for killing it.

## ii. 39

**αὐτοῦ**: i.e., on the altar; but the Egyptians had no altars in the Greek sense.

[2] **κείνη** = τῆ ἐκείνου. Cf. 40. 2 κοιλίην κείνην for construction.

**φέρουσι** is superfluous, as it is repeated (φέροντες) in one of the two parts into which the sentence is resolved. The usage of transferring “curses” to the head of a sacrificed beast may be illustrated from the Jewish scapegoat (Lev. xvi. 21). Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 31 mentions it of red oxen, but H. is wrong in supposing it to be part of all Egyptian sacrifices, for in early times the head and the haunch were especially chosen to be placed on the tables of offerings. Hence Erman (*R.*, 180) thinks the curse was an innovation, due to foreign (i.e., Semitic) influence, as was also the burning described in 40. 3.

[4] **ἄλλου οὐδενός**. H. is wrong in making the refusal to eat the head universal; but it was sometimes given away (Wilkinson, pl. xi), and it certainly appears less often than other joints (*ibid.* ii. 28).

## ii. 40

H., in chap. 39, has described the libation and the killing which are common (he thinks) to all sacrifices; he now goes on to the “cleaning out” (ἐξαίρεσις) and the “burning” which vary; he describes them in the case of a sacrifice to Isis, for to her worship obviously the chapter refers (cf. 61. 1 n.); her festival is the “greatest” though that of Bast (chap. 59. 1) is “most popular” (προθυμότατο).

**ταύτην** really refers to ὄσπτην, but grammatically to δαίμονα. οἱ in place of the relative τῆ; cf. i. 146. 1 (τῶν and σφί); H. avoids repeating the relative when used in a different case.

[2] **κατευξάμενοι**: cf. 39. 2 for imprecations; but κατεύχομαι may be used of prayer for blessings.

**κοιλίην**: translate “clean out its belly”; for this sense of ἐξαιρέω cf. 86. 4; iii. 6. 2.

**κείνην** = τὴν κείνου.

ἐξ ὧν εἶλον. H. (cf. i. 194. 4) often uses this tmesis of the empiric aorist, in describing customs, etc.

ὄσφύν. The Greeks offered the “rump,” the Egyptians reserved it.

[4] **ἀποτύψωνται**: “when they have done mourning,” not “beating themselves,” as Macaulay. Cf. 73. 4 ἀποπειρηθῆ for force of ἀπό, and 42. 6, 61. 1 for τύπτονται, but in these places it has an accusative.

**τά**: i.e., the parts not burned, i.e., legs, rump, etc.

## ii. 41

The cow was the living symbol of Isis-Hathor, represented sometimes as a cow, at others as a woman with a cow’s head, at others as a horned woman. She was worshipped all over Egypt (cf. the emphatic πάντες ὁμοίως). The Greeks usually identified her with Demeter, but also with other goddesses. Isis is important in the Egyptian pantheon as the sister and wife of Osiris, and mother of Horus. H. is quite right that in Egypt (as among the Hindoos) cows were not sacrificed.

[2] Cf. i. 1 for Io’s story; H. avoids the usual Greek mistake of confusing her with Isis. Some make “Io” to be Egyptian = “the moon goddess,” but “the moon” is masculine in Egyptian.

[3] **οὗτ’ ἀνήρ**. For the separateness of the Egyptians cf. Gen. xliii. 32, the feast to Joseph’s brethren.

[4] **θάπτουσι**. It is wrong to say that dead cows were thrown into the river; this was only done when they were given to crocodiles. On the other hand the heads of oxen are found buried as H. describes. He is wrong in saying they were *all* removed to Prosopitis (cf. chap. 67 for a similar mistake); but his account of the composite burial is clearly confirmed by the mummies, which often contain the remains of several beasts, e.g., one found at Abûsir was made up of seven

(Maspero, *Caus.*, 247). Erman (*R.*, 177) says generally in reference to animal burial “H. is certainly correct in these facts.”

**τὸ κέρασ . . . ἀμφότερα:** in apposition to ἔρσενας.

[5] **Prosopitis.** This island lay between the Canopic and the Sebennytic Niles and a canal, in the south of the Delta. The Greeks made their last stand there, after the suppression of the revolt of Inaros (Thuc. i. 109. 4).

**Aphrodite** corresponds to the Egyptian Hathor; her symbol also was a cow; her chief temple was at Denderah. Her name is probably found in “Atarbechis,” which may well be the Ἀφροδίτης πόλις of Strabo (802), in the Prosopitic nome.

## ii. 42

**Διός.** Originally a local god, Amon became, with the rise of Thebes, the great god of Egypt, and was identified with the sun, as Amon RA. The Greeks therefore naturally called him “Zeus,” and this was the more easy as the ram was sacred to Zeus (cf. Farnell, *G.C.* i. 94–5). From his oracle at Thebes, which was itself of little importance, was derived that of Zeus Ammon in the oasis of Siwah (chaps. 32 n., 55).

For Amon’s temple at Thebes cf. 143 n. He is occasionally represented as κριοπρόσωπος (cf. Perrot et Chipiez, i. 395), but it is not his usual form.

[2] **ὁμοίως.** Various as were the cults of Egypt, Osiris and Isis were worshipped everywhere, at any rate in later times, i.e., in the days of H. This was partly due to political influences, i.e., the decline of Thebes which worshipped Amon, and the rise of Sais, partly to the confusion of Osiris with the sun-god (cf. Sourdille, *R.* 58–62). Osiris was usually identified by the Greeks with Dionysus, but also with Zeus, Hades, Eros, and other gods. The main points of resemblance to Dionysus are: (1) Osiris is originally a corn god (cf. Frazer, *Attis*, etc. pp. 268f.; but Egyptologists doubt this); (2) his mutilation by Set is parallel to that of Dionysus by the Titans; (3) his resurrection cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* chap. 35, p. 364 ὁμολογεῖ τὰ Τιτανικὰ (in the story of Dionysus) τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὀσίριδος διασπασμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀναβιώσεσι.

There is a marked similarity between the Dionysiac Ἀνθεστήρια and the rites of Osiris; both were a combination of joy and of mourning, of Shrove Tuesday and of All Souls’ Day (cf. Maspero, *Caus.*, 276–9, who discusses Foucart’s theory that the rites of Dionysus were Egyptian in origin; but against this see Farnell, *G.C.* v. 174 seq.). For the Osiris myth cf. 62 nn.

**Mendes** lay in the northeast Delta, near the Mendesian arm of the Nile; it was an important seat of the cult of Osiris; for his worship there cf. 46 n.

[3] **Ἡρακλέα.** The Egyptian Heracles is variously identified with Shu, the burning sun, or with Chunsu, a moon-god, the god-son of the Theban triad.

**κριὸν ἐκδείραντα.** No native authority confirms H.’s story, which seems to be an attempt to explain the ram-headed figure of Amon. Wiedemann thinks it

borrowed from Hecataeus, but there is no reason to believe this. It is not unlikely that the story may be connected with the meaning of the name "Amon," which = "the concealed one" (Manetho in Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 9; *Mor.* 354). At any rate the idea is Greek; so Pythagoras, when initiated in Crete, put on a black fleece (Porphyry *V. Pyth.*).

[4] **φωνήν**: "using a speech between that of the two nations." Cf. Th. vi. 5. 1 for the full construction.

[5] **τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο** forms one idea, "called themselves," and so takes cogn. acc., τοῦνομα, cf. καλέεται ἐπωνυμίην (i. 14. 3 n.).

[6] Brugsch says this feast is part of the great festival of the Theban Amon, which lasted five days; but there is no evidence on the monuments that the ceremony described by H. took place then. The ceremony seems to rest on the Egyptian idea that a god must die when he has begotten a son; Amon therefore, in the form of his ram, is killed when he has seen his son Heracles. Legrain (*R. de T.E.* xxviii. 1. 46) found many sheep bones at Karnak, so far confirming H.'s statement.

For τύπτονται τὸν κριόν cf. 40. 4 n.

## ii. 43

For the "twelve gods" and the "eight gods" (§ 4) cf. chap. 145 n. To H. the Greek Heracles is a mortal, the son of Amphitryon; he neglects the story that he is son of Zeus, according to his usual practice (cf. vi. 53. 2 n.). He makes the name Egyptian; the usual derivation was "he to whom Hera gives glory." H. here does what later was usual among mythologers, i.e., multiplies personalities to explain variant legends; so Varro actually counted forty-three bearers of the name "Hercules."

[2] **οἱ θέμενοι** for οἱ ἔθεντο, i.e., the poets, Homer and Hesiod (chap. 53).

**οἱ γονέες**. Heracles' parents were both descended from Aegyptus, brother of Danaus, who came from Egypt (chap. 171). For the genealogy and its importance in H.'s chronology cf. app. xiv, § 2.

[3] The argument is: had the Egyptians learned any divine names from the Greeks, they would have been those of the sea gods, Poseidon and the Dioscuri, but these are unknown to the Egyptian pantheon; *a fortiori* then it is unlikely that they learned that of "Heracles." The words ὥστε τούτων . . . Ἡρακλέος restate more strongly the preceding argument.

[4] The reign of Amasis, 570–526 B.C., is mentioned, as marking the end of Egyptian independence.

## ii. 44

This passage is interesting as one of the few in which H. tells us as to himself; we infer from it with some certainty (1) that he was in Egypt before he went to Tyre; (2) that he was a man of wealth, able to travel in pursuit of special knowledge.

The Heracles of Tyre is Melcart, the Baal of the Old Testament, a sun-god.

[2] **στήλαι**. The importance of columns in early worship is well known; cf. Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult*, *JHS* 1901, and 1 Kings vii. 21 (Jachin and Boaz).

**σμαράγδου**. This “emerald” was famous as the largest on record (Theoph. de lapid. 25), who adds εἰ μὴ ψευδῆς σμάραγδος. It is impossible to believe in so large a stone; perhaps it was a piece of green jasper or malachite. What is certain is that Wiedemann is wrong, who supposes it to have been a forgery of glass, and this in one of the richest temples of the East! Whether the light was really that of the emerald (as Stein) or due to reflection (as Larcher), can hardly be decided.

**λάμπωντος μέγαθος** Stein explains = μέγαθος (acc. resp.) τοσοῦτου ὥστε λάμπειν τὰς νύκτας; but some conjecture seems necessary.

[3] **ἄλλο**. This second temple was probably founded by Thasian merchants; for Thasos as a Phoenician colony cf. vi. 47 n.

**καί** emphasizes πέντε: “at least five”; cf. v. 59 for a similar reckoning of five generations from Cadmus to the period before the Trojan War, and app. xiv, § 2.

[5] At Sicyon Heracles was worshipped (Paus. ii. 10. 1) both as a god and as a hero, with variant ritual. The Athenians claimed to have first worshipped him as a god (Diod. iv. 39). H. carefully distinguishes between θύειν (for gods) and ἐναγίζειν (“inferias offerre,” for heroes, cf. i. 167. 2).

## ii. 45

**καὶ ἄλλα** answers to καὶ ὄδε ὁ μῦθος in next line. H.’s scornful attitude to his countrymen is characteristic; in this book we may compare chaps. 2 (rationalization of story of Psammetichus), 16 (as to the boundaries of Egypt), 20–2 (as to the rise of the Nile), 134 (as to Rhodopis), 143 (as to the genealogy of Hecataeus). There is no need to suppose that he is borrowing here from Hecataeus, who expresses a similar view in his genealogies, cf. frag. 332 (*FHG* i. 25) οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι πολλοὶ τε καὶ γελοῖοι. H. would be especially glad to reject a story attributing human sacrifices to Egypt.

**ὁ μῦθος**. The story of Busiris, to which H. here refers, occurs first in Pherecydes (frag. 33, *FHG* i. 79), and was made by Euripides the subject of a satyric drama; it occurs frequently in classical writers. Busiris is really the name of a town (“house of Osiris”), 59. 1, 61. 1.

**κατάρχοντο**: i.e., by cutting the lock of hair.

[2] H. seems right in denying that human sacrifices were performed in Egypt in his day; no exact representations of them have been found on the monuments, and the massacre of captives before a god after a victory is only a partial parallel. There are, however, traditions as to them in the past; cf. Diod. i. 88 (there were human sacrifices τὸ παλαιόν at the tomb of Osiris) and Porph. *Abst.* ii. 55 (Amosis put down the custom at Heliopolis). Manetho (in Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 73) speaks of human sacrifices “in the dog-days,” but uses the past tense; cf. Frazer, *G.B.* ii. 255, for their meaning. More valuable evidence still is given by the figures of slaves

(Ushabti “answerers”) found in the tombs of the wealthy. (For a fine collection of these in the Ashmolean see Guide, p. 87.) No doubt originally the slaves themselves were killed with their masters.

Probably the “Nile bride,” a noble maiden, who is said to have been thrown into the Nile annually before the canals were opened (Maspero, i. 24 and n.), was a similar symbolic representation of an old custom.

[3] εὐμένεια. H. fears that he may be thought to be depreciating the divine Heracles.

## ii. 46

δή refers back to 42. 2; for the “eight gods” cf. 145 n.

[2] αἰγοπρόσωπον: translate “with goat’s head and a he-goat’s legs”; τράγος is used because αἶξ is common in gender, see below σέβονται πάντας τοὺς αἶγας κτλ.

ἥδιον: a weakened comparative; cf. Latin *non erit melius*; the meiosis is characteristic of Greek courtesy; cf. 47. 2; i. 187. 2 for similar uses.

αἶγας. H. and other Greeks (e.g., Diod. i. 84; Pindar see below) say the beast was a goat, and they are confirmed by the nome coins (cf. *Br. Mus. Cat. Alexandria*, p. 347); the monuments, however, show the beast as a ram. Perhaps the monuments are wrong (Sourdille, *R.*, 166); cf. the mistake of representing both wolf and dog by a jackal.

The beast was the incarnation (*not* the symbol as H. thinks; cf. οὐτι τοιοῦτον) of Osiris, considered as the giver of fruitfulness; so it is called “the lord of maidens, the begetting ox.” H. is wrong in connecting it with Pan; the confusion is due to the fact that Min of Chemmis (chap. 91 n.), whom the Greeks usually identified with Pan, is goat-headed.

τούτων: i.e., τῶν αἰγῶν; the sentence repeats σέβονται κτλ.

ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἶς, *si vera lectio*, translate “Of the he-goats there is one especially honoured, and when he dies, great mourning,” etc.; but this is very harsh.

[4] ἀναφανδόν. The “marvel” was in the openness of the act; the Greeks believed that unnatural intercourse with animals regularly took place in secret at Mendes. The story is as old as Pindar (frag. 215; Strabo, 802). The fact is probably true, and was due to the belief that the ram was the god incarnate (cf. the Jewish prohibitions against such abominations, Lev. xx. 15–16).

## ii. 47

ἀπ’ ὧν ἔβαψε: cf. 40. 2 n., and κατ’ ὧν ἐκάλυψε (§ 3).

μιαρόν. H. is quite right as to the dislike of swine; they are very little represented on the monuments (but see below).

ἐόντες: concessive, “although they are.” Cf. chap. 164 for caste of swineherds.

[2] Manetho confirms the fact of this swine offering at a lunar festival. **Selene** (= “Nekhebet”) was the deity of El Kab, and on a tomb there large herds of swine are mentioned. (*Ann. du Service des Antiq.* xi. 163). Others suppose that Σελήνη here = Isis; cf. 41. 1 n. for her horns. H. is obscure here; he says that swine’s flesh was eaten in honour of Dionysus, but in chap. 48 he seems to imply it was sent away uneaten; perhaps then the flesh was eaten in honour of Dionysus and Selene together, but not of Dionysus alone.

**εὐπρεπέστερος**. For the comparative cf. 46. 2 n.; for the sentiment, i.e., reverential silence, cf. 3. 2 n. Plutarch gives the story (*De Is. et Os.* chap. 8, p. 354) that Typhon was pursuing a pig when he found the coffin of Osiris, and scattered its contents; he says, however, this story was rejected by many, and it is obviously a later invention.

**καταγίζει** (cf. 44. 5 n.) implies that it was a funeral sacrifice, i.e., connected with the dead Osiris.

[3] **σταιτίνας**. This offering of symbolic “dough” cakes is a genuine native custom, and is found elsewhere, e.g., among the Chinese the poor make paper votive offerings (cf. too Plut. *Luc.* 10 for it at Cyzicus). For such symbolism cf. Tylor, *P.C.* ii. 405.

## ii. 48

**δορπίη**: the evening meal; hence Schweighäuser translates “the eve of the feast.” This was the name of the first day of the Apaturia, which began with a meal at 6 p.m. The Egyptian day began at midnight, not 6 p.m., and Stein translates “the closing feast” (i.e., the δόρπον here ended, *not* began, the festival). But H.’s words “they keep the *rest of the feast*” imply that he at least thought that the δόρπον came first.

[2] For phalli at the Greek Dionysia cf. Farnell, *G.C.* v. 125, and Ar. *Ach.* 260–1. For their meaning, as assisting the powers of nature by sympathetic magic, cf. *EB*<sup>11</sup> s.v. Phallicism.

**νεῦον** strictly should be a gen. absolute; but as τὸ αἰδοῖον is a part of the ἀγάλματα, it stands in loose apposition; cf. i. 52 n.

[3] For the ἰρὸς λόγος cf. Plut. *Mor.* 365; *De Is. et Os.* 18 μόνον τῶν μερῶν τοῦ Ὀσίριδος (cf. 62 n.) τὴν Ἴσιν οὐχ εὐρεῖν τὸ αἰδοῖον . . . ἀντ’ ἐκείνου μίμημα ποιησαμένην καθιερωσαὶ τὸν φαλλόν, ᾧ καὶ νῦν ἑορτάζειν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους.

## ii. 49

**ἐξηγησάμενος**, “taught”; cf. κατηγοσάμενος below.

**ἀτρκεώς** refers to whole clause, not to any special word; translate “to speak accurately.”

**σοφισταί**: his descendants, e.g., Amphiarus, and still more the Orphic teachers (cf. 81 n.) of Greece, e.g., Onomacritus.

Melampus was placed in the fourth generation after Hellen. According to later writers he was an Egyptian or had travelled in Egypt; H. does not carry his rationalization of the myth so far.

**ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι:** an euphemism for the obscenities of the Dionysia, which Heraclitus (frag. 127) had called ἀναιδέστατα.

[2] **συστήσαι.** H. excludes the miraculous elements of the story (e.g., in Apollod. i. 9. 11), which make Melampus learn his lore from young snakes and from meeting Apollo. H.'s argument is as follows: the similarity of Dionysiac worship in Greece and Egypt might be explained by three hypotheses (cf. ἄν ἦν below for one apodosis): (1) the Greeks might have borrowed from the Egyptians; (2) the resemblance might be accidental (cf. συμπεσεῖν, "agree by mere chance"); (3) the Egyptians might have borrowed from Greece. Having accepted (1), H. proceeds to refute (2) and (3); (2) is rendered impossible by the facts that Dionysiac rites were not "like any other Greek rites, ὁμότροπα, and were known to have been "introduced lately" (νεωστί); (c) he rejects without argument (οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω).

**τοῖς Ἑλλησι** = τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τρόποις.

**νεωστί.** The recent origin of the rites was shown by legends like those of Lycurgus and of Pentheus; that Dionysus was a later element in the Greek pantheon is usually accepted by scholars; cf. Farnell, G.C. v. 87–92.

[3] **Cadmus** was usually placed three generations earlier than Melampus; he was the grandfather of Dionysus. Perhaps it was this which determined H.'s choice of legend; he wished to make the introduction of the new rite into Greece coincide in time with the birth of the god. Cadmus, as Stein says, was said to be (iv. 147 nn.) a Phoenician, not an Egyptian; but H. obviously thinks Cadmus must have known the rites of Egypt, as it was a neighbour of Tyre; so (chap. 116. 1, 2) he proves that Homer knew Paris had been in Egypt, because he mentions his visit to Sidon.

**καλεομένην:** cf. Thuc. i. 12. 3 for the Greek tradition that Boeotia did not receive its name till sixty years after the fall of Troy, i.e., long after the time of Cadmus.

## ii. 50

**οὐνόματα.** H. does not mean that the actual name came from Egypt; he himself continually mentions the difference of name, e.g., Amon and Zeus (chap. 42). But the name of a deity involved his personality, and so H.'s position is that the Greek deities were defined, and their attributes and cult settled, by Egypt; for name-less gods cf. Fowler, *Rel. Exp. of Rom.*, 119. H. is merely giving the inferences of himself and others, not genuine tradition; deeply impressed with the antiquity of Egypt, he was prepared to derive everything from it.

**πυνθανόμενος:** e.g., at Dodona (chap. 53. 3). H. contrasts his "inferences" (δοκέω) with the results of inquiry.

[2] Broadly speaking, H. is right that there are no Egyptian equivalents for these Greek divinities. For Poseidon and the Dioscuri cf. 43. 2; the Egyptians hated the

sea, and had no sea deities. H.'s statement is quite inaccurate on one point only; the Egyptian Maa, the goddess of justice, corresponds to Themis. It is true that an inscription at Philae (*CIG* 4893) equates Hera with Satis and Hestia with Anukis; but Satis is really quite unimportant in the Egyptian pantheon, and Anukis is only important in Upper Egypt.

For the Libyan origin of Poseidon cf. iv. 188.

[3] νομίζω is here used with dative on analogy of χράομαι. H.'s statement as to the absence of hero worship is accurate only in the sense that there was no subordinate order of demigods in the Egyptian pantheon corresponding to the Greek ἥρωες. But for the birth of mortals from gods cf. chap. 143 n., and the god, Imhotep, whom the Greeks identified with their Asclepius, had been actually a physician under the third dynasty.

## ii. 51

Ἐομέω. The ithyphallic Hermes, as a god of fruitfulness, was represented at the street corners in Athens (Thuc. vi. 27. 1); Pausanias (iv. 33. 4) says the rest of Greece learned this form of statue from the Athenians. It is true that there were no such statues in Egypt.

For H.'s views on the Pelasgians cf. app. xv; he uses the name here of the later Pelasgian settlement in Attica (as in i. 57. 2), not of the original Pelasgian inhabitants of Greece.

[2] These later Pelasgians began to be considered Greek after their settlement in Attica; the Athenians "already ranked as Greeks" (for τελεῖν ἐς cf. vi. 53. 1).

The Cabiri (cf. Daremberg and Saglio, s.v) are one of the most difficult subjects in mythology. The name is probably connected with καίω = "the burners"; so Aeschylus' tragedy on the subject seems to have borne the name of Κάειροι. Others connect the name with a Semitic root = "mighty," and derive the Greek Cabiri from those of Phoenicia, which became familiar to the Greeks as the figureheads of galleys. (So Bloch in Rosch. ii. 2540.) But the Phoenician Cabiri were eight in number, those of Greece vary from two to four. Probably then the Cabiri belong to the early stages of Greek religion and are in this sense rightly called "Pelasgic." They were worshipped in many places. e.g., Lemnos, Thebes (cf. Frazer, v. 136 seq., for their temple there), as local genii, subordinate to the Olympian gods; so H. makes them (iii. 37) the "sons of Hephaestus." But in Samothrace they had remained "cosmic deities of the first rank," and were identified with Hermes and Hephaestus. As the symbol of the ithyphallic Hermes shows, they were connected with fruitfulness. Some have identified the Cabiri with the Phoenician Πατάϊκοι (iii. 37. 2 n.), also used as figure-heads, but H. expressly distinguishes them, in spite of their likeness. He had obviously been himself initiated in their mysteries (cf. Ar. *Pax* 277-8).

[3] πρότερον: i.e., before they were driven out by the Samians (Strabo, 457).

τά in loose apposition to λόγον. The obscene story is referred to Cic. *Nat. D.* iii. 22.

## ii. 52

The Pelasgi worshipped divine powers, without having definite names for them (cf. 50. 1 n.), e.g., the sun, but not Apollo. So Preller (*Rom. Myth.* i. 48, 3rd ed.) says of early Roman religion, “most of the names of the oldest Roman gods have such a shifting indefinite meaning that they can hardly be regarded as proper names”; he quotes this passage in illustration.

ἔθνον δὲ πάντα: translate “in all their offerings called on gods.”

θεούς. H. forgets that he himself had proved (i. 57. 2) that the Pelasgi were βάρβαρον γλωσσῶσαν ἰέντες; his derivation from the root of τίθημι is as worthless as that of Plato (*Cra.* 397d) from the root of θέω (“I run”).

[2] For the oracle of Zeus at Dodona cf. *Il.* xvi. 233 Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ (cf. app. xv, § 2). It was admittedly the oldest in Greece; this fact is one of the arguments for the view that the Greeks entered their country from the northwest, not from the east. For the oracle cf. P. Gardner (*N.C.Gk.H.* chap. 14), Frazer (ii. 159–60), and Farnell (*G.C.* i. 38 seq.). Zeus, who is prominently an oracular god nowhere else in Greece proper, had the titles of Νάιος (i.e., a rain spirit) and Εὔδενδρος, i.e., he lives in the tree and speaks in its rustling. (For tree-worship cf. Tylor, *P.C.* ii<sup>3</sup>, p. 218; and Evans, *JHS* 1901.)

## ii. 53

This chapter is most interesting for estimating H.’s own views. It is clear that: (1) he has definite opinions as to chronology; Homer and Hesiod are contemporaries and four hundred years before his own day. (2) He recognizes the importance of Homer and Hesiod as fixing the canon of Greek mythology. Cf. his predecessor Xenophanes πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὀμηρός θ’ Ἡσίοδος τε / οἱ πλεῖστ’ ἐφθέγγξαντο θεῶν ἀθεμίστια ἔργα. It is not fair to blame H. (as Strabo does, 43) for not distinguishing the systematic theogony of Hesiod from the poetic treatment of Homer; this distinction is irrelevant to his point of view here. (3) He clearly distinguishes them from the other epic poets (cf. chap. 117). But on the other hand it is equally clear that: (1) his date is his own, not based on tradition nor universally accepted; (2) he does not realize that Homer and Hesiod simply gave form to ideas which had been gradually taking shape before their time, and that they embodied former lays in their works; (3) still less has he any doubts of the historic reality of the events described by the poets.

To sum up, his opinions have no objective value for the solution of the Homeric question, interesting though they are as showing the ideas of an educated Greek in the fifth century.

[2] ἐπωνυμίας: i.e., patronymics, e.g., Κρονίδης, local names, etc. Others make a contrast between θεογονίην (Hesiod) and ἐπωνυμίας κτλ. (Homer), explaining ἐπωνυμίας as = such epithets as γλαυκῶπις; but this seems forced. For the whole point cf. Hes. *Theog.* 73 (Ζεὺς) εὖ δὲ ἕκαστα Ἀθανάτοις διέταξεν ὁμῶς καὶ ἐπέφραδε τιμάς.

[3] **πρότερον**: i.e., Linus, Orpheus, Musaeus.

**τὰ πρῶτα**: i.e., chap. 52, as opposed to his own special views in this chapter (53). H. is careful to distinguish tradition from his private inference (cf. emphatic ἐγώ).

#### ii. 54

Sourdille (*H.E.* 184) well summarizes the differences between Greek and Egyptian oracles, of which H. is quite unconscious. (1) All Egyptian gods, not seven (cf. chap. 83) only, could prophesy; (2) but their responses were for king or priest, as representing the people, not for all, as in Greece; (3) nor had they a special **μαντεῖον**, apart from their ordinary temple. The oracles H. speaks of in Egypt were those of Greek settlers.

**χρηστηρίων**. H. proceeds from the Greek gods to the Greek oracles; some of these also in Greece he thinks of Egyptian origin. The story which he gives of the founding of Dodona is a rationalization of the myth (given in chap. 55). Sayce maintains (*JP* xiv. 275) that the “priests in Thebes” that H. talked with were “ciceroni” connected with some temple of the Theban Amun in the north of Egypt, and that H. never was in Thebes itself. Though there is no reason to doubt H.’s veracity, the story is clearly of Greek origin; H. may have heard it in Greece, and his guides would answer in the affirmative all his “leading questions”; the mention of “Phoenician robbers” is certainly more suited to Greeks than to natives of Upper Egypt. But Sourdille (*E.* pp. 175–89) thinks that there was probably a Greek community at Thebes, which had set up an oracle professing to be that of the Theban god (cf. 57. 3 n.); to this H. applied, thinking in all good faith that it was native (cf. the repeated emphasis laid on his informants, 54. 1, 55. 1), though it was really Greek.

The story as to the “priestesses” is an attempt to turn myth into history; it substitutes natural causes for the supernatural ones, which were, to those among whom the myths grew up, the real essence of the narrative. For a criticism of such rationalizing in H. and in Thucydides cf. Grote, i. 381 seq.

#### ii. 55

**προμάντιες**. In Homer (*Il.* xvi. 235) those in charge of the oracle are men, **ὑποφῆται**; Strabo (329) says women were appointed later.

[2] **φηγόν**: cf. 57. 3 n.

[3] H. seems to have met these priestesses himself. Cf. introd. p. 22.

#### ii. 56

**τῆς Ἑλλάδος** depends on **ἐς Θεσπρωτούς**.

**τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης** emphasizes the fact that the country was the same though the name changed; cf. i. 144. 1.

[2] **πεφυκίη**: the “natural” oak is a feature in all the stories.

[3] **κατηγήσατο**. The change to *oratio recta* is odd.

**ii. 57**

**πελειάδα.** “To speak like a bird” was a Greek expression for speaking unintelligibly. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1050 δίκην χελιδόνος ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη, (contemptuously) of Cassandra, and Ar. *Ran.* 681 Θρηκία χελιδών, of Cleophon. Various suggestions are made to explain H.’s unusual rationalism; there is supposed to be a reference to the fact that the aged were called in Epirus πέλειοι (Hesych.); others suggest that the priestesses were called “doves” metaphorically (cf. the title μέλισσαι for the priestesses of Ephesian Artemis), and that the myth grew up to explain the title. Such suggestions are ingenious but unnecessary. H.’s conjectures are quite in accordance with Hellenic ideas, and also quite valueless.

[3] At Dodona the voice of Zeus was heard in the leaves of the oak; cf. *Od.* xiv. 327–8 ὄφρα θεοῖο / ἐκ δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο Διὸς βουλήν ἐπακούσαι. So at Thebes the wind blew always in a prophetic grotto except for one day in each month (Hellan. frag. 152; *FHG* i. 66).

**ἰρῶν.** There were two kinds of divination from sacrifices, viz., δι’ ἐμπύρων and ἰεροσκοπία (watching the fire and examining the entrails); no trace of either has been found in Egypt.

**ii. 58**

H. proceeds to another borrowing, that of processions, etc.

There are many points of resemblance between the religious festivals of Greece and of Egypt. An important part of these in the latter country were the processions (πομπαί) in which the image of the deity was taken to visit (προσαγωγή) another deity; others explain προσαγωγή = πρόσοδος, i.e., the procession to the temple with sacrifices, etc. For the whole cf. Claudian (*Cons. Stil.* 570 seq.):

Sic numina Memphis

In vulgus proferre solet: penetralibus exit

Effigies, . . .

. . . Nilotica sistris

Ripa sonat.

**δὲ ἅρα** = the more usual δ’ ὧν, i.e., whether the divination be like or not, “at all events” the festivals have much in common.

**ii. 59**

H. now proceeds (chaps. 59–63) to describe six famous festivals: these were celebrated throughout all Egypt on the same day (62.2); but every district in Egypt had its special festivals. The fact that H. says nothing of the festival of the rising of the Nile is urged (Sourdille, *E.* p. 7) with good reason as showing that he arrived in Egypt after the inundation had begun; cf. 19. 2 n.

**οὐκ ἄπαξ.** H. shows the inferiority of Greece; there, of the four great festivals, the Olympian and the Pythian came once in four years, and the Isthmian and Nemean twice in the same period, i.e., only six festivals in four years.

**Bubastis**, now Tell Basta ( $\frac{1}{4}$  mile south of Zagazig), was a town in the East Delta on the Pelusiac Nile. It was the capital of the twenty-second dynasty. H. obviously had a weakness for it (cf. 40. 1 n.); he calls its temple “the most attractive” that he knew (137. 5); cf. also 154. 3 for the planting of the Greek mercenaries near. The goddess worshipped here was Bast; H. and other classical writers give her the name of her town, instead of her own. He wrongly identifies her with Artemis; she had more in common with Aphrodite, e.g., in the licentious nature of her festival (60. 2). She was represented with the head of a cat, like Pacht in Middle Egypt, and Sechemt at Thebes and Memphis.

## ii. 60

No confirmation is found on the monuments for this feast at Bubastis; but there was a similar one for five days, in the month Thoth, at Denderah, the details of which correspond closely to the description here.

The **κρόταλα** and flutes are genuine Egyptian instruments; κρόταλα = “rattles”; others translate “cymbals”; H. does not mention the σεῖστρον, which is the most common of all. Clapping of hands, to mark time, was as common in ancient as it is in modern Egypt.

[3] **καί** makes the figure more emphatic (cf. 44. 4). The number is exaggerated; Wiedemann well compares the 70,000 pilgrims who, according to Mohammedan belief, go to Mecca every year, and whose number is made up by angels, if it would otherwise fall short.

## ii. 61

**Busiris**. There were several places of this name, i.e., “town of Osiris.” H. (59. 2) says this one was “in the midst of the Delta,” i.e., he probably means the capital of the Busiris nome, on the left bank of the Sebennytic Nile.

**πρότερον**. Cf. chap. 40; for τύπτονται cf. 40. 4; it takes an accus. *ad sensum* here as in 42. 6.

**τόν**: Osiris, whom (as usual, cf. 86. 2; 132. 2) H. does not name.

[2] The Carians were the mercenaries of Psammetichus (152. 5). They may have brought the usage of self-mutilation into the Egyptian rite; cf. for it the “prophets of Baal” at Mount Carmel (1 Kings xviii. 28); it was expressly forbidden to the Jews (Lev. xix. 28).

## ii. 62

The ruins of Sais lie near Sâ el Hagar, about half a mile east of the Rosetta Nile. Neith, “the mother of the sun,” who was especially worshipped at Sais, was identified with Athena; like her, she has for emblems (on the coins of the Saitic nome) an owl on her right hand and a lance in her left. Her worship spread widely under the twenty-sixth dynasty, when Sais was the capital of Egypt. In her attributes and her representation on the monuments she is another form of Isis;

hence her feast, here described by H., is a part of the mourning for Osiris (like that at Busiris, chap. 61).

[2] τὰ λύχνα. For this “feast of lamps” cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 39 βούν διάχρουσον (cf. 132. 1) ἱματιῶ μέλανι περιβάλλοντες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ (Isis) δεικνύουσι for four days; then on the 19th of Athyr (November) the body of Osiris is found with loud shouts. Cf. Juv. viii. 29 “Exclamare libet populus quod clamat Osiri Invento” (cf. Mayor’s notes for references). The lights, then, are to assist the goddess in her search; the story is splendidly used by Milton in the *Areopagitica*, where he compares the search for Truth to the search of Isis for Osiris. Others, however, see in the “lights” simply a reference to Osiris as “lord of the Sun” (Bähr). Brugsch and Sourdille (*R.* 85–7) identify the “feast of lights” with another Osiris feast, that in the month Choiak, at the time of the winter solstice. Cf. Insc. of Denderah, *R. T. E. et A.* iii. 49, iv. 27 for the “34 boats” and their “365 lights.” As the feast described by H. is clearly connected with Osiris, either of these views is more probable than that of Maspero (p. 794), that it is the Egyptian “All Souls Day” (the 17th of Thoth) that is here referred to. The festivals of chaps. 61 and 62, though both Osiris feasts, are probably distinct from each other.

ἐμβάφιον: a “vessel” full of salt steeped with oil; hence the wick burned slowly. It seems better to explain it thus than to suppose a reference to the oil of the σιλλικύπρια (chap. 94), which is separated from the moisture it contains by the use of salt (cf. Plin. xv. 25 “sine igni et aqua sale aspersum exprimitur”).

For the story of Osiris cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* chaps. 13–19 and Erman, *R.*, 32 seq. (mainly from Egyptian sources). It is, briefly, as follows (the references in H. ii are inserted after each point): Osiris, the beneficent ruler and civilizer, was killed by his brother Set (Typhon). (For Osiris’ πάθηα cf. chap. 171.) His wife, Isis, set out to search for his body, leaving her son, Horus (Apollo), at Buto to be protected from Set (chap. 156). The body of Osiris was found, but Set again obtained possession of it, and cut it into fourteen pieces, which were only rediscovered by Isis after long and patient search (cf. chaps. 47, 48, 62 nn.). Wherever she found a part she erected a tomb; but the various members were reunited, and restored magically to life by the jackal god Anubis. As Osiris, however, could not rule a second time on earth, he became lord of the other world, Amenti, “the hidden place” (cf. chaps. 86 n., 123). His son, Horus, after a long struggle, defeated Set (iii. 5) and reigned in his stead (chap. 144)

Almost all these points are referred to by H., but always with reserve (cf. chap. 3 n.). It is noticeable that H. thinks of Osiris as buried at Sais (chap. 171), and never even mentions Abydos in Upper Egypt, which was especially considered his tomb, and where, accordingly, wealthy Egyptians had themselves buried, φιλοτιμουμένους ὁμοτάφους εἶναι τοῦ σώματος Ὀσίριδος (Plut. ut sup. chap. 20). For the whole Osiris myth in H. cf. Sourdille (*R.* chap. 3, especially pp. 87–9).

ii. 63

**Buto**, a town in the northwest Delta on the Sebennyitic Nile, was probably near the village of Ibtu; cf. Petrie (*E.E.F.* xxvi. (1904–5), pp. 36–8); it was famous for its oracle (cf. chaps. 152, 155). Leto is the Egyptian Uat, the patron deity of the Lower Delta.

**Papremis** (cf. chaps. 71, 165 for the “nome” of Papremis) was the site of the battle in 460 B.C., when Inaros defeated Achaemenes (iii. 12.4); its exact position is uncertain, but Sourdille (*E.* p. 90 seq.) shows that probably it was the original native town which was absorbed later by the Greek Pelusium (so Rhakoti was absorbed by Alexandria). His arguments, briefly, are: (1) identity of position; Papremis was on the Egyptian frontier, on or near the Nile (Diod. xi. 74); H. says Pelusium is “the entrance” into Egypt from the east (141. 4, the story of Sethos); (2) the Coptic name of Pelusium is “Peremoun,” which may well be derived from Papremis; (3) πηλούσιον is a Greek adjective, and was probably the name of the settlement of the mercenaries in the territory of Papremis (cf. 165 n.). It is noticeable that H. never calls Pelusium a “town.”

H. says the god worshipped here was Ares (59. 3); whom he means is uncertain. Some explain “Ares” as the Egyptian Anhur (Greek Ἄνουρις), the son of Ra; he stands in Ra’s boat, and clears his course of snakes and hippopotami; his title was “foe-smiter.” More probably, however, Ares = a form of Set, i.e., Typhon (Sourdille, *R.*, 188 seq.); for (1) they have a common character of violence. (2) The hippopotamus, sacred in Papremis only (chap. 71), was the symbol of Typhon (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 50); of it the Greeks said τῆ μητρὶ βία μίγνυσθαι, which explains the story told by H. below. (3) Papremis was somewhere in the northeast Delta, near the Serbonian Lake (cf. iii. 5 n.).

ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα: i.e., opposite those in the entrance.

[2] Transference of “shrines” of this kind is represented on the monuments, both on men’s shoulders and (as H. says) on “four-wheeled wagons.” Erman (*E.*, pp. 278–9) quotes a picture from a grave at Thebes, commemorating the return to life of Osiris, in which the ceremony is followed by a battle (πληγήν) as here; cf., for similar car-battles in northwest India, *JRAS*, 1884, p. 29.

[3] οὐδένα. For a similar miraculous escape from wounds in a religious ceremony cf. iv. 180. 2.

[4] ἀπότροφον: i.e., brought up apart from his mother. The story may be an explanation of the Egyptian title “ka-mutf,” i.e., husband of his mother, applied to Amon and other gods; but probably it is a Greek invention (see above).

συμμεῖξαι, *coitum habere*; cf. iv. 114. 1; the sense elsewhere in H. is *colloqui* (e.g., iv. 151. 2). He probably uses an ambiguous word designedly, though the *sensus obscenus* is clear.

## ii. 64

H. fears that the story which he has just told may lead to depreciation of Egyptian morals; he therefore hastens to point out that they do not practise such rites as those of Mylitta (i. 199; though even there ἔξω τοῦ ἰσοῦ, § 3). He is right in his general statement, but there were exceptions; cf. i. 182 n. (at Thebes). The reason he gives for the licence of other countries is a Greek speculation; he does not understand the real meaning of the impure Semitic rites (for which cf. i. 7. 4 n.; ii. 48. 2 n.).

[2] Animals were supposed to act on direct impulse from the gods, and to show their will (Tac. *Germ.* 10). This mention of animals skillfully forms the transition to the next division of H.'s work (chaps. 65–76), the account of the “Sacred Beasts.”

## ii. 65

[2] ἐοῦσα: concessive; for the beasts of Libya cf. iv. 191. Egypt is comparatively free from beasts, owing to the extent of cultivated land and the small amount of waste.

ἐόντα agrees with θήρια understood from θηριώδης. Strictly taken the words mean that *all* beasts were sacred everywhere in Egypt; but this is absurd, and inconsistent with H.'s own details. The respect paid varied from nome to nome; cf. Juv. xv. 36 “numina vicinorum odit uterque locus.” H. quite fails to distinguish the various kinds of animal worship (Sourdille, *R.*, 235 seq.): (1) animals worshipped by individuals as fetishes. Of this class there is little evidence, though no doubt such worship was widely spread among the lower classes; (2) individual animals supposed to be gods incarnate. Cf. chap. 46 (the goat at Mendes); iii. 27–8 (Apis at Memphis); (3) whole classes of animals sacred to a god. Strabo, 803, distinguishes these clearly, θεοὶ μὲν οὐ νομίζονται ἱεροὶ δέ. Most of H.'s details refer to (3). For animal worship in general cf. 75. 3 n.

ἀνειται: properly “are let go”; hence ἀνήμι is used either with ἰσός (as here) or without (cf. Plato, *Leg.* 761c ἄλλος ἀνεμμένον = “consecrated”).

φεύγω: cf. for this reserve 3. 2 n.

[3] The office of “caretaker” of the beasts was certainly not always hereditary: H. is too absolute.

[4] εὐχάς. The “vows” are obviously for the restoration of children's health; so Diodorus (i. 83) understood this passage; he mentions the various kinds (*not* “fish” only) of food given to the beasts, and that land was set apart for their maintenance. Rob. Smith (*Kinship*<sup>2</sup>, p. 179; *Rel. Sem.* p. 330) compares the Arabian sacrifice (“acica”) at birth of a child, when its head was shaved and a sheep sacrificed for it; by devoting its hair it was admitted into the family.

[5] τὸ δ'. The antecedent for this is τούτου understood with ἡ ζημίη.

ἴβιν. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 27, 78 implies that it was a capital offence to kill an ibis, a snake, a cat, a dog, or a crocodile. Diodorus (i. 83 ad fin.), who was himself present, relates

that Ptolemy Auletes was unable to save from death a Roman who had unintentionally killed a cat, although he and his people alike were at the time most anxious for Roman friendship.

## ii. 66

H.'s good sense suggests the difficulty that animals protected so strictly would multiply unduly, and to meet this he accepts an explanation which, though fictitious in itself, is based on two rightly observed natural facts; these are that it might be thought, from the noise she makes, that the process of impregnation is painful to a she-cat, and that tom-cats do in some cases kill their young, if they seem to attract the mother's attention too much.

[3] It is quite true that cats will run into a burning house.

[4] ἐσάλλονται . . . ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα. This should either be a genitive absolute or the sentence should end τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐστι; but the events described in the participle γινόμενα and in the verb καταλαμβάνει are looked on as identical (cf. vii. 157. 2 ἀλῆς μὲν κτλ.).

[5] ξυρῶνται: H. forgets his own generalization (36. 1) that the Egyptians, unlike other men, let their hair grow in bereavement.

## ii. 67

For **Bubastis** cf. 59. 1. A great cemetery has been excavated there, with many bronze figures representing cats, and also cats' skeletons; but they were very rarely mummified there (Naville, *Bubastis*, 54); H. is right that dead cats were transferred, but it is not true that all cats were brought to Bubastis, for similar cemeteries have been found at Sakkara, at Beni Hasan, and elsewhere; the mummied cats at Beni Hasan were brought to Europe a few years ago and sold as manure. Cats were honoured all over Egypt in ancient times as they are to this day.

H. makes a like exaggeration as to "sparrow-hawks" (ἰσηκας) and "ibises," the mummies of which have been found in many places besides Buto and Hermopolis; he himself (chap. 65 ad fin.). implies that these were sacred birds everywhere.

κύνας. Dogs, wolves, and jackals were sacred to Anubis, the dog-headed god, who was (like Hermes) ψυχοπομπός; hence a jackal is often represented as guarding the door of Hades. Mummied dogs have been found at various places, but at Cynopolis, the chief centre of their worship, the great majority of the mummies are of jackals; H. puts the three kinds together.

For the worship of "ichneumons" and "field-mice" (μυγαλαῶς) cf. Strabo, 812, 813; it is confirmed by the monuments.

ἰσηκας. The "sparrow-hawk" was specially honoured in Egypt; it was sacred to the sun; Osiris also is represented by a sparrow-hawk. So, later, its picture stood for "god" in the hieroglyphs.

**Ἐρμέω** = Egyptian Thoth; his chief city, Hermopolis, was near the modern Ashmunên, some 180 miles south of Cairo; there were others of the same name. Many ibis mummies have been found there.

[2] **ἄρκτους**. The bear only appears on the monuments as a present from foreign nations. As, however, it certainly was found in North Africa, Sayce is not justified in saying “it did not exist in Egypt,” still less in gratuitously suspecting H. of confusing it with the hyena. A “bear” of the archaic period is figured in *BMG* (p. 86).

H. is right that the Egyptian wolf is much smaller than the European variety.

## ii. 68

For the supposed borrowing by H. in this chapter and in chaps. 70, 71, 73 from Hecataeus cf. introd. pp. 22–6. It has been thought that the style in chaps. 68, 69 resembles that of chap. 73, and “shows the epitomator” (C. Müller, on Hec. frag. 294; *FHG* i. 22). But, if Porphyry’s statement be worth anything, it implies that the *description* of the crocodile is not borrowed, since only “the capture” of it is mentioned by him. Full of marvels as H.’s account is, he is moderate compared to his successors, e.g., Seneca (*Q. Nat.* iv. 2. 13) tells a marvellous story, on the authority of an eyewitness, the Roman prefect Balbillus (*Tac. Ann.* xiii. 22), of a battle between crocodiles and dolphins at the Heracleot mouth of the Nile.

**μῆνας**. The crocodile does not hibernate; but it is much less seen in the winter, when apparently it lives for long periods without food.

[2] **τὸ πᾶν**. H. is quite right here; the crocodile sleeps on shore by day in the summer.

Aristotle’s description (*Hist. An.* v. 33, 558a 17–24) is worth comparing with that of H.: ὁ δὲ ποτάμιος κροκόδειλος τίκεται μὲν ᾧὰ πολλά, τὰ πλεῖστα περὶ ἐξήκοντα, λευκὰ τὴν χροάν, καὶ ἐπικάθηται δ’ ἡμέρας ἐξήκοντα (καὶ γὰρ καὶ βιοῖ χρόνον πολύν), ἐξ ἐλαχίστων δ’ ᾧων ζῶν μέγιστον γίνεται ἐκ τούτων· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ᾧον οὐ μεῖζόν ἐστι χηνείου, καὶ ὁ νεοττός τούτου κατὰ λόγον, ἀυξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἑπτακαίδεκα πῆχεων. λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὅτι καὶ ἀυξάνεται ἕως ἂν ζῆ. The whole of the latter part of the passage is borrowed, in several cases verbally, from H. Aristotle (*ibid.* i. 11) also repeats the statement as to the crocodile “not moving its under-jaw,” and (*ibid.* 9. 6) the account of the τροχίλος; the verbal similarities are not so marked in these passages. In ii. 10 Aristotle inserts most of H.’s other particulars, i.e., as to the crocodile’s habits by day and night, as to its eyes and teeth, and as to its claws and skin. In this last passage the resemblance is again most marked. For the relations of H. and Aristotle on this subject cf. Diels, *Hermes*, xxii. 430–2, where the passages are given in full.

**ἑπτακαίδεκα**. Some ancient writers give even larger estimates, e.g., Phylarchus (frag. 26, *FHG* i. 340) speaks of one just over forty feet. The Nile crocodile only reaches fifteen feet in length, but further east another species is often over twenty feet long, while one monster of thirty-three feet is on record; *EB*<sup>11</sup> vii. 479.

**γλωσσαν.** The tongue of a crocodile is very small; it is more accurate to say with Pliny (*H.N.* viii. 89) “linguae usu caret.”

**οὐδὲ κινέει.** This statement, like that as to “no tongue,” was often made in antiquity, but is of course wrong; the crocodile raises its head to bite, and so presents the deceptive appearance of moving its upper jaw.

[4] **τυφλόν.** Aristotle (ut sup.) corrects to φαύλως; both statements are wrong, for the crocodile sees excellently in water.

**τροχίλος.** The service rendered by the τροχίλος seems to be a genuine piece of native information. There are no leeches in the Nile, but eyewitnesses say that the “Spurwing” actually does pick flies and other morsels out of the crocodile’s mouth. Curzon (*Monasteries of Levant*, p. 150) says he has seen a crocodile warned of danger by a kind of plover (“ziczac”). For the whole subject cf. letters in *Spectator*, Feb. 13 and 20, 1909. The τροχίλος became a proverb for those who serve the great through fear, *PG* ii. 691.

## ii. 69

The crocodile was sacred to Sebak or Sobk, who was represented with a crocodile head. As the calf Apis was the incarnation of Ptah, so was the sacred crocodile, Σοῦχος, at Arsinoe (called by the Greeks “Crocodilopolis”) in the Fayûm, an incarnation of Sebak. (Cf. Strabo, 811–12, for an account of a visit to this creature and how it was fed.) The crocodile was worshipped at many other places, but H. is right in mentioning specially “those that dwell round Thebes and L. Moeris,” and in making the people of Elephantine especially hostile (but see Sayce, *JP* xiv. 268–9).

[2] **ἀρτήματα.** The holes bored for these “pendants” can still be seen in the skulls of mummied crocodiles. λίθος χυτή was a kind of glass, an older name for ὕαλος.

**θήκησι.** The labyrinth (ii. 148. 5) was built partly for the burial of the sacred crocodiles. The most extensive finds of mummied crocodiles have been near Monfalût, some 220 miles south of Cairo.

[3] The Egyptians called the crocodiles “em-suh” (“that which is born of the egg”); hence the name χάμψα, in which the aspirate has become prefixed. For the Ionic name, κροκόδειλοι, cf. alligator, i.e., the Spanish *al lagarto* (“the lizard”).

## ii. 70

For the bearing of chaps. 70, 71 on the relations of H. and Hecataeus cf. 68. 1 n., and introd. pp. 22–6.

**δελεάση;** sc., ὁ θηρευτής; supplied from ἄγραι.

**κατ’ ὧν ἔπλασε:** cf. 40. 2 n. In spite of its sacredness the crocodile was hunted in some places, e.g., at Tentyra (Ael. *N.A.* x. 21). Crocodiles are now seen only occasionally, even as high up as Abu Hammed, i.e., above the Third Cataract (Baedeker, p. 322).

The hippopotamus now is not seen north of the Third Cataract, but the monuments show that it was once found even in the Delta; Hogarth (*A.A.L.*, 100) says there is good evidence for one having been killed there in 1818, and traditions of it still survive in the marshes. H. is wrong in his negative statement, for it was a sacred animal in some places, e.g., Thebes, though hated in others as the symbol of Set (Typhon); there seems no other trace of its connection with Paprensis. Of H.'s description it can at best be said that it is highly impressionist. The hippopotamus has not a "cloven hoof," nor has it a "horse's mane" and "tail" (it really is almost hairless); and it is much bigger than an ox. But its teeth are prominent, the lower ones are often over five feet long, and it is certainly σιμός. The resemblance to a horse can be well seen in Dugmore's photographs (*Camera Adventures*, 1910, p. 90). H., or his informant, however, must have had a very flying glimpse of behemoth. Aristotle *Hist. An.* ii. 7, 502a 9–15, copies H.'s account almost verbally without naming him; he corrects him by substituting κέρκον ὑός for the "horse's tail," and by *half*-concealing the tusks (ὑποφαινομένους); on the other hand he says that the hippopotamus is only "as big as an ass," which is a change for the worse.

ξύστων is the part, "the shaft," ἀκόντιον the whole. The hide was more frequently used for whips, the well-known "Kurbash," and for shields.

## ii. 72

ἐνύδριες: perhaps = a kind of ichneumon; "otters" are not found in the Nile.

Strabo (812) says that the "Lepidotus" was honoured by "all the Egyptians alike," with cows, dogs, cats, sparrow-hawks, and ibises. It was also called κυπρίνος = "carp." Wilkinson thinks it = the "dog-fish" of the Nile.

ἔγχελυν: there is no trace on the monuments of the "eel" being considered holy; but the Greeks certainly jested at the Egyptians' respect for it, e.g., Anaxandrides (in *Athen.* 299; cf. 35 n.).

χηναλώπεκας. The "vulpanser" was sacred to Keb (who was compared to the Greek Κρόνος), the god of the earth. Mummies of it have been found at Thebes.

## ii. 73

The account of the phoenix is one of the passages which Porphyry says was stolen by H. from Hecataeus (cf. chap. 68 n.). The phoenix is usually said to correspond to the "böin" (or "bennu") of Egyptian theology. It was represented on the monuments as a "heron," and was the symbol of the rising sun, and also of the resurrection. It was especially revered at Heliopolis. Round this symbolic bird grew up a great mass of myth (cf. e.g., Plin. *H.N.* x. 2; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 28). H. reproduces one specimen of this, but expressly says that he does not believe it. The later and more familiar form of the story is that the phoenix came to Heliopolis and burned itself on the altar, and that from the ashes the new phoenix arose; it was this myth which was used by the Fathers to illustrate the Resurrection (cf. Clemens Rom. ad Cor. i. 25–6). Manilius (in Plin. ut sup.) connected the life of the

phoenix with the “great year” (of 540 years), after which “significationes tempestatum et siderum easdem reverti.”

δι ἐτέων. Pliny (ut sup.) gives 540 years’ “interval,” Tacitus (ut sup.) 500, but says some gave 1,461 years, i.e., a “Sothic period” (cf. chap. 4 nn.); there is no trace of these huge figures on the monuments. It need hardly be said that the phoenix became a proverb for age (*PG* ii. 712).

[2] The bennu of the monuments has not these gorgeous colours, which Pliny (ut sup.) repeats; some suppose that H. is confusing it with a golden pheasant. Sayce says this passage proves that H. had never seen the monuments; it only proves that H., like other men, made mistakes.

περιήγησιν, “outline.” It is impossible to say where H. got his idea of the likeness to the eagle.

[3] Ἀραβίης: i.e., the region of the rising sun, where myrrh is found (iii. 107).

#### ii. 74

H. here speaks of the cerastes, a snake about two feet long; it has been found mummied at Thebes. Maspero (*M.A.E.* ii. 405) says a serpent was looked on by the lower classes at Thebes as the embodiment of Miritskro (Merseker), goddess of healing; H. may have been misled by this into calling it not venomous, which is quite wrong.

#### ii. 75

Βουτοῦν: this is not the Buto mentioned in chaps. 59, 63 (which was in the Northwest Delta). It is doubtfully identified with Amt, near Tanis, in the Northeast Delta (*E.E.F.* v. 37, 1888); here Uto (Uat) was certainly worshipped. But Sourdille (*E.* p. 76 seq.) argues ingeniously that the words here show Buto was outside the Delta (in “Arabia”) and off H.’s main route. He thinks that H. conceives the serpents as coming from the south, and turning west, through “a pass” (ἐσβολή), along the line of the canal described in 158. 2–3. Hence he places Buto somewhere near the Bitter Lakes. The “great plain” of § 2 then is that north of the Wadi Tumîlât (158. 2 n.).

πτερωτῶν. The “winged snakes” are mentioned again in iii. 107 as guarding the frankincense trees; cf. for the belief in them, Isaiah xxx. 6, where “the viper and the fiery flying serpent” are mentioned among the terrors of the “land of trouble and anguish” to the south. Probably the snakes are a reality; Strabo says the region near the Bitter Lakes was full of serpents, which lay hid in the sand; but their “wings” are a mere traveller’s tale. Sayce supposes that H. is trying “to give probability and local colouring by telling the tale in the first person; he compares the valley of the roc in the Arabian Nights. But H. simply says that he *saw* a number of snake bones piled up, the rest of the story is what he was *told*.”

Other explanations are: (1) that of Brugsch, that “locusts” are meant. The ibis certainly kills locusts; but in no other point does the explanation fit H.’s statements.

(2) The story is supposed to have a mythological origin. The goddess of Buto was represented as a snake with hood inflated and with wings; but the representation is certainly not that of a “water-snake” nor are its wings “like those of bats” (76. 3).

(3) Sourdille (*E.* p. 75) suggests that the tree-lizard of the East, which has a collar which it expands, was once found in the region east of Egypt, and may be the “winged snake.”

[3] Whether the sacred ibis really kills snakes or not is disputed; at all events the Greeks thought that it did. Cf. Diod. i. 87 (also 86) for this and other explanations of animal worship; he gives a list of creatures worshipped by the Egyptians because they were useful; cats and ibises are both mentioned as killing snakes. It need hardly be said that this explanation of animal worship is an afterthought; its origin is to be sought in the superstitions of primitive peoples (cf. 65. 1 n).

Sourdille (*R.*, 251) sums up (with regard to H.’s account of the worship of animals): “the striking point is not the inaccuracy of the points related; a great number of them agree with what appears to have been the case; but they are too generalized, too systematized” (cf. 67. 1 nn.).

## ii. 76

H. is singularly accurate in his description of the two kinds of ibis (cf. *EB*<sup>9</sup> s.v.), but is wrong in saying that the black kind was the sacred one: the *Ibis religiosa* is not all black, but white with a black head, neck, etc., as H. describes the common ibis. The black ibis only appears to be black at a distance; seen close, it is dark chestnut in colour, with a brilliant gloss in parts. Strabo says the sacred ibis was in his day a perfect nuisance in the streets of Alexandria.

κροέξ: the “corncrake” is really smaller than the ibis.

## ii. 77–98

*An account (with digressions) of the manners of the Egyptians (αὐτῶν, chap. 77. 1), as contrasted with the animals already described.*

## ii. 77

σπειρομένην. H. contrasts “cultivated” Egypt (i.e., Upper Egypt and the south parts of the Delta) with the marshes of the Delta (chap. 92).

μνήμην: not “practising the memory,” but “caring for the records of the past.” For λογιώτατοι cf. i. 1. 1; “most skilled in history.”

[2] συρμαῖζουσι. The medical papyri fully confirm this prominence of “purging” in Egyptian treatment.

[3] Λίβυας. For the healthiness of the Libyans and its alleged cause cf. iv. 187.

**οὐ μεταλλάσσοι.** H.'s view is that of his contemporary, Hippocrates; cf. *Aph.* iii. 1 αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὥρέων μάλιστα τίκτουσι νοσήματα. For the accuracy of his statement cf. *EB*<sup>9</sup> vii. 302 (s.v. Egypt): "The climate of Egypt, being remarkably equable, is healthy to those who can bear great heat": the daily range of temperature in the Libyan desert is 35°, but in Egypt the range is less (Baedeker, p. lx). Even in classical times, consumptive patients were sent to Egypt (cf. Pliny (the younger) *Ep.* v. 19, who sends his freedman Zosimus).

[4] **ἀρτοφαγέουσι:** cf. 36. 2 n. and Hec. frag. 290 (*FHG* i. 20) Αἰγυπτίους ἀρτοφάγους φησὶν εἶναι, κυλλήστιας ἐσθίοντας, τὰς δὲ κριθὰς εἰς ποτὸν καταλέοντας.

**ἄμπελοι.** For absence of vines cf. 37. 4 n. Diodorus (i. 34) says the Egyptian beer was called ζῦθος; it was considered to be as necessary for the dead in the other world as for the living in this. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* x. 418) noted that a man drunk with wine lay on his face, while beer laid him on his back.

[5] **τὰ δὲ ἄλλα:** translate "which they consider to belong to the class of birds or fishes." For salting birds cf. Wilkinson, fig. 99, i. 290.

## ii. 78

**νεκρόν.** Plutarch (*Mor.* 357; *De Is. et Os.* chap. 17) and Lucian also mention this custom. It has not been confirmed by the monuments, but Maspero (*AEG*, 1876, p. 186) points out that the little wooden figures, so common in museums, of a mummy on a bier "exactly correspond to the description of H." The lesson which it was intended to teach (ἐς τοῦτον ὥρέων κτλ.) is found in native poems; cf. the two versions (time of the New Empire) quoted by Erman, *E.* 386–7, e.g., "cast behind thee all cares and mind thee of the joy, Till there cometh that day when we journey to the land that loveth Silence."

For the same lesson elsewhere cf. 1 Cor. xv. 32, and Petronius *Satyricon* 34, where a "larva argentea" is shown to the guests.

**γραφή:** i.e., by painting, ἔργω by the shape of the wooden figure. Stein says the figure was that of Osiris, the lord of the dead; for every righteous man became "an Osiris" on death; cf. 86. 2 n. for H.'s silent reference to Osiris in his account of embalming: Plutarch, however (ut sup.), says "it was not a memorial of the passion of Osiris," but rather "a reminder χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ ἀπολαύειν ὡς πάντα αὐτίκα μάλα τοιούτους ἐσομένους."

**πάντη** cannot here = "in all directions" as usually; translate "quite, altogether."

## ii. 79

**πατρίοισι:** the conservatism of the Egyptians was as marked as that of the Chinese; for an even stronger assertion of this cf. 91. 1. Here H. proceeds (chaps. 79, 80) to add two apparent exceptions.

**ἐπάξια** here and in vii. 96. 2 must = "worthy of mention"; but in vii. 96 παραμέμνημαι immediately precedes.

[2] The Greek Linus corresponds to Adonis, the Syrian Tammuz (cf. Ezek. viii. 14 “the women weeping for Tammuz”), the Lydian Atys, the Mysian Hylas; cf. H.’s remark “his name varies from tribe to tribe.” All these were conceived of as beautiful young men, beloved of the goddess, and perishing untimely. The story is said to be a sun-myth (Sayce, s.v. “Tammuz” in *Hastings Dict. Bib.*). Frazer, however (*G.B.* ii. 115 seq.), with more probability, says it represents “the death and resurrection of vegetation.” For the connection of the reaper’s song with the myth cf. *ibid.* pp. 253–8. If Frazer is right in explaining the story of Osiris (*ibid.* ii. 137 seq.) in the same way, it is only natural that Linus-Maneros should have been introduced into the Osiris myth (cf. *Plut. De Is. et Os.* chap. 17). For Adonis worship, which was especially a female cult, cf. *Theoc. Id.* 15 and Milton, *P.L.* i. 446 seq., of Tammuz

Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured  
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate  
In amorous ditties all a summer’s day.

Linus, who was worshipped in Argos, was said to be the son of Urania, killed by Apollo from jealousy of his voice (*Paus.* ix. 29. 6–7); but there are other versions of the story. The name is as old as Homer (*Il.* xviii. 570), who makes it a reaper’s song. In Hesiod (*frag.* 132) it has a wider extension; he says of ἀοιδοί

πάντες μὲν θρηνοῦσιν ἐν εἰλαπίναις τε χοροῖς τε,  
ἀρχόμενοι δὲ Λίνον καὶ λήγοντες καλέουσι.

It is said to be the Eastern cry, “woe unto us,” raised at the festival; the Greeks first borrowed this as ἀλινον (cf. *Soph. Aj.* 627), and then, by a mistaken etymology, interpreted it as “alas for Linus.”

ὡυτός. As the context shows, H. means the “same person,” not name.

[3] H. (chap. 99) calls the “first” king Menes, and perhaps he is meant here; others suppose a reference to some earlier god-king. The name “Maneros” does not occur on the monuments; perhaps it means “come thou back” (*maa-ne-hra*, a formula which occurs in the Book of the Dead).

μούνην. There were certainly other “hymns” in Egypt; probably H. refers to the “tune”; the monotony and uniformity of all oriental popular songs is well known; from their sad character they reminded the Greeks of the Linus song.

## ii. 80

For the Lacedaemonian custom cf. the story in *Cic. Sen.* 18, of the Lacedaemonian envoys setting the Athenians an example of respect for old age. Respect to parents is a frequent subject in the papyri; it is so common, however, among all nations (cf., e.g., *Levit.* xix. 32 “Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head”), that it seems strange H. should deem it worthy of notice.

[2] In early Egypt complete prostration had been usual, but under the New Kingdom only the lower classes practised this, while the higher made a deep

reverence, as here described. H. had seen this in the streets, though he did not mix with the upper classes (cf. 36. 2, 3 nn.).

## ii. 81

**κιθῶνας**; for dress cf. 36. 3 n.; for the *Καλασίριες* 164. 2 n.

[2] The Orphic rites spread widely in sixth century Greece; their popular character, as opposed to the exclusiveness of the old worships, led to them being patronized by the tyrants; Onomacritus, “the Orphic apostle” (Busolt, ii. 364), was a friend of the Pisistratidae (vii. 6. 3 n.); so too Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, encouraged the worship of Dionysus (v. 67. 5), with which the Orphic rites were closely connected. (Cf. Gomperz, *Gk. Thinkers*, ii, 137.) For the Orphic doctrines and their relation to those of Pythagoras cf. Gomperz (ibid. chaps. 2 and 5; Busolt, ii. 362 seq.): a shorter account is given by Bury (pp. 311–18). The teaching was at once cosmological and religious; the latter is the more important. The Orphic sect taught the doctrine of metempsychosis (cf. 123. 2 n.); they laid stress on the worship of Chthonian deities, and on initiation into mysteries, and on other methods of purifying the soul from sin. Gruppe, however, in Rosch. iii. 1105, s.v. “Orpheus,” denies that an “Orphic sect” can be proved; there were, he thinks, numerous associations, the members of which looked on Orpheus as their founder, and followed similar practices, but these were disconnected and were no “more united as a sect than modern vegetarians or wearers of Jäger clothing” (pp. 1107–8).

**Ὀρφικοῖσι**: neuter here, “Orphic Rites”; there is an antithesis between *καλεομένοισι* and *ἐοῦσι*, they were “called Orphic” but “were really Egyptian, brought by Pythagoras from Egypt” (cf. 53. 3 for disbelief in a primitive Orpheus). There is no contradiction between this passage and the statement as to *τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον* in 49. 2; H. means that Melampus brought Dionysiac mysteries from Egypt, Pythagoras copied rules of life.

## ii. 82

**μείς**. Each month in Egypt was consecrated to a god, from whom sometimes its name was derived. The days of the month too were assigned, the first to Thoth, the second to Horus, the third to Osiris, etc.

H. is right that horoscopes were much cast in Egypt. The day on which a man was born determined his fate, e.g., a man born on the 9th Phaophi would live to be old, on the 23rd would be killed by a crocodile; no child born on the 23rd of Thoth could live, etc. Cf. Papyrus Sallier IV, now in the Br. Mus., for a calendar of this kind.

**οἱ ἐν ποιήσι**, “those who have employed themselves in poetry”; the contemptuous reference is to books like Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, and also to the oracular poems attributed to Orpheus and Musaeus.

[2] **τέρατα**, “prodigies,” i.e., for forecasting the future, as the context shows; although no collection of prodigies has been found in Egypt, there is abundant

evidence that they were observed and explained; but such collections were more frequent in Chaldaeae.

#### **ii. 83**

H. is right in saying that in Egypt there was no official prophet like the Pythia at Delphi; the gods themselves communicated their will through dreams (cf. Gen. xli for those of Pharaoh), but cf. 54. 1 n.

For Heracles cf. 42. 3 n.; for Athena 62. 1 n.; for Ares 63. 1 n.; for Apollo chap. 156; for Artemis 59. 1 n.; for Zeus 42. 1 n.; for Leto chap. 156.

#### **ii. 84**

The Egyptians are already famous as physicians in the *Odyssey*; cf. iv. 227–32 Helen has drugs from Egypt where *πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα / φάρμακα*. Maspero (p. 89) doubts whether H. does not exaggerate; there were general practitioners as well as “specialists”; for an Egyptian oculist cf. iii. 1. 1.

For Darius’ Egyptian physicians and their drastic methods of treatment cf. iii. 129, 132.

Egyptian medical science goes back to the Old Kingdom, e.g., in the Br. Mus. Papyrus 10059 some prescriptions date from the time of Cheops; it was a curious mixture of sense and magic, e.g., it was believed that a decoction of a black calf’s hair kept off grey hair. A specimen of it is the famous papyrus edited (1875) by Ebers. It greatly affected European medicine; Erman (*E.* 364) quotes a curious instance of an old Egyptian prescription for determining the sex of an unborn babe, which survived down to late in the eighteenth century.

#### **ii. 85**

**κατ’ ὧν ἐπλάσατο**: cf. 39. 2 n. The practice of mourners smearing themselves with mud is still found in Egypt; that of uncovering the upper part of the body, and “girding themselves up” below the breasts, is seen on the monuments. Cf. for it Homer, *Il.* xxii. 80 *κόλπον ἀνιεμένη, ἑτέρηφι δὲ μαζὸν ἀνέσχευ* of Hecuba. Diodorus (i. 72) gives a similar account of the mourning for the Egyptian king. There are resemblances also in the burial ceremonies of the Spartan kings, which H. (vi. 58. 2) compares to those of barbarians in Asia.

[2] **οὕτω**. The funeral procession is represented on the monuments much as H. describes it.

#### **ii. 86**

Embalming was connected with the Egyptian idea as to the soul, the Ka; the continued existence of this depended on the survival of the body; if the body perished, the soul perished. No doubt the means of preventing this were originally suggested by the dry air and sand of the desert, which parched the flesh and prevented decay; then artificial means were invented; Anubis was said to be their author (cf. Maspero, i. 112, 178 seq.). H.’s account of embalming is on the whole very accurate; it should be compared with that of Diodorus (i. 91), which is

somewhat fuller, and with Budge, *The Mummy*, 1893, pp. 173–84. It may be noted: (1) Mummied bodies are found exactly as described, some preserved by bitumen and some by saltpetre. (2) They have a hole bored from the “nostrils” (μυξωτήρων) to the brain and an opening in the “flank” (λαπάρην). (3) Obsidian or flint knives (λίθω) are frequently found in graves with mummies; for the use of these primitive implements in religious ceremonies cf. Josh. v. 2 (R.V.), “knives of flint” for circumcision. (4) The linen wrappings and the “wooden figure (ξύλινον τύπον) in form of a man” are familiar in all museums. (5) H. is often too absolute in his statements; he makes invariable what was only usual. (6) It is curious that he makes no reference to the Book of the Dead, the formulae of which were at first inscribed on the coffin, while later the whole collection was bound up inside the bandages. For the various forms of this and other funeral literature cf. *BMG* pp. 58 seq.

**κατέαται**, “set themselves to this very thing”; cf. *κατίζω* in 126. 1, but there the local sense is more clearly present.

**τέχνην**. Diodorus (ut sup.) says the calling was hereditary, and H. implies the same; this was usual, but not an absolute rule.

[2] **οὐκ ὄσιον**: the reference is to Osiris; the mummy was made like him, in order that the dead man might obtain access to the realm where he ruled (cf. Maspero, i. 182 seq.); the dead man in fact became an Osiris. H. declines to mention the name “in regard to such a matter,” cf. chap. 3 nn. for parallels to, and explanation of, this religious reserve; Wiedemann thinks H. omits the name “because he had no clear conception of Egyptian mysteries.” This is incredible; H. was familiar with hundreds of names in Egypt, and yet we are to suppose that he did not recognize that of Osiris, the most familiar of all.

**δευτέρην**: Diodorus says that the best embalming cost a talent of silver, the second twenty minae, the third very little; there were more varieties than he and H. describe.

[3] **οὕτω**: i.e., “by a crooked iron,” corresponds to the ἐγγέοντες φάρμακα. “The skulls of mummies are found to contain absolutely nothing” (Budge), which confirms H.

[4] **ἐξεῖλον**: translate “they clean out the belly completely”; cf. 40. 1 n. ἐξεῖλον is taken up by ἐκκαθήραντες. The viscera extracted were placed in four jars, popularly but wrongly called “Canopic jars,” each covered with the head of a genius, a son of Osiris (cf. Erman, *E.* p. 306, for picture).

[5] **νηδύν** = κοιλίην above. For the spices cf. iii. 107 seq. It is curious that H. does not mention the “asphalt” employed; perhaps he thought it merely a foundation for the more expensive materials. “Frankincense” was not used, because it was sacred to the gods.

**ὀπίσω**: they “sew up the back passage,” i.e., to prevent the entrance of air.

λίτρον is either “saltpetre” (Stein) or “soda” (Wiedemann); the object of this pickling was to remove the moisture and fat, and to harden the skin. The Papyrus Rhind agrees with H. as to the length of time for embalming, “seventy” days; it seems, however, to have varied; cf. Gen. 1. 3 for “forty” days (in the case of Jacob).

[6] σινδόνης is the general word, βυσσίνη gives the special material, “linen”; H. is right, as the bandages were universally made of linen (Budge, p. 190).

κόμμι. “Gum” exuding from the acacia is mentioned, 96. 1. No doubt the finer sorts for embalming were imported.

[7] The mummy was kept “upright” for a time, till the death sacrifices, etc., ceased; then it was transferred to a lower “vault,” where it was laid down. The vaults of the rich were often hewn out of the hills, because of the dryness of the air there. It seems probable, however, that in the Fayûm the mummies were kept above ground, owing to the dampness of the soil.

## ii. 87

σκευάζουσι. The Greek is much compressed; H. means σκευάζουσι (νεκρούς) τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι, while the second sentence really = τῶν τὰ μέσα βουλομένων . . . φευγόντων (τοὺς νεκρούς) σκευάζουσι.

[2] κέδρου. A sort of turpentine seems meant; H. has, however, misunderstood the object of its use; this was to check corruption till the λίτρον had done its work. The discharge (ἐξιέϊσι) was that of humours generated before the “pickling” was complete. H. was misled by the fact that in a mummy only skin and bones are left, and inferred the cause wrongly.

ἔδρην is used instead of ὀπίσω ὁδός (cf. 86. 5), for variety.

ἔσηθήσαντες: i.e., by means of κλυστήρες.

ἐπιλαβόντες, “checking.”

## ii. 88

συρμαίη: oil made of radishes; cf. 77. 2 for its purpose. Here, too, the work of preservation was done by the λίτρον.

## ii. 89

οὐ παραυτίκα: this delay in embalming women is confirmed by archaeology; cf. report of *E.E.F.*, 1908, p. 19.

## ii. 90

τούτους. *Constructio ad sensum* with ὅς δ' ἄν κτλ.

[2] For the sacredness of the dead drowned or destroyed by a crocodile cf. Griffith, *Z.A.S.* xlvi. 132, and *Nat. Home Reading Mag.*, June, 1904; the evidence is later than H., but the belief may well be earlier than the surviving evidence. *Ael. N.A.* x. 21 says mothers even rejoiced when their children were killed by crocodiles.

## ii. 91

The visit to Chemmis, which H. here implies, is denied by Sayce ad loc., and (more in detail) *JP* xiv. 267–8. He argues (1) Chemmis is not near Neapolis (Kenneh), but eighty-four miles away; (2) the description of the temple and its statues is quite un-Egyptian. He is answered by D. D. Heath (ibid. xv. 227 seq.), who points out that H. is describing a non-Egyptian building; it may be noted that he uses *πρόπυλα*, not the usual *προπύλαια*. Heath conjectures that H., writing from memory, has put “Chemmis” for “Coptos,” which latter town is close to Neapolis. It is probable, however, that Neapolis is wrongly identified (see below).

**Χέμμις:** now Akhmîm (*not* the island of Chemmis in the Delta; cf. chap. 156), used to be called by the Greeks “Panopolis,” as being the shrine of “Chem” or “Min” (the hieroglyph is variously read), who was usually identified with Pan, as being ithyphallic and “on account of his Priapic nature.”

**Νέης πόλιος:** this is usually thought to be Neapolis (now Kenneh), which lies opposite Tentyris on the right bank of the Nile; but it may well have been quite a different town, on the site of the later Ptolemais; this last was only about six miles from Chemmis.

**ἴρόν** here = *τέμενος*, the whole sacred enclosure (so Heath, who well compares, i. 181. 2, that of Belus at Babylon); it is called below *τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ*.

**Περσέος.** The identification of Perseus with “Chem” it is impossible to explain for certain; perhaps it was connected with Chem’s title “Peh’resu,” which sounded like “Perseus.” At all events it is as baseless as the story that (vii. 61) the Persians derived their name from this hero. The whole story is Greek in (1) the idea of an anthropomorphic god, who leaves his temple and can be traced by his footsteps; (2) the organized games; (3) the character of the prizes. There must have been a Greek settlement at Chemmis; but Maspero’s (iii. 649 n.) suggestion that it may really have belonged to the time of the “Philhellene” Amasis (cf. *Hec. frag.* 286, *FHG* i. 20 for possible similar Greek settlements on islands in the Nile, called “Ephesus, Chios, Samos,” etc.) must be rejected, as quite inconsistent with ii. 178.

For games in the worship of Chem at Edfu cf. Lepsius, *D.* iv. 42 b (vol. ix); but they are quite un-Greek in character.

The footstep of Heracles stamped in rock by the Tyras (iv. 82) was also “two cubits”; cf. that of Buddha in Ceylon, which measures about 5½ by 2½ feet, or that of St. Peter in the Domine Quo Vadis Chapel at Rome.

[4] **ἔχοντα**, “extending over every kind of contest,” i.e., the “meeting” embraced running, jumping, wrestling, javelin, and discus.

[5] **Δαναόν.** According to Greek story Lynceus was the nephew and son-in-law of Danaus (cf. *Hor. Odes*, iii. 11. 37f.), and four generations removed from Perseus. The connection of the Perseidae with Egypt is a genuine Argive legend, not like the late invention (Diod. i. 29) which makes the *γηγενής* Erechtheus come from Egypt to Athens. Perrot and Chipiez suggest (*L’Art Mycénéen*, 77–8) that perhaps

soldiers of fortune belonging to northern tribes, who, after having served in Egypt, were expelled and settled in Argolis, were considered to be Egyptians; but this is the merest conjecture. Genuine Egyptians certainly never settled in Greece. No historical conclusions can be drawn from the legends, though for other reasons early intercourse between Egypt and the Aegean, especially Crete, is certain. Cf. *JHS* xii. 199 seq. (1891) and E. Meyer i. 172, 228, 291, 510, 520–3.

H. (vi. 53. 2) lays stress on the Egyptian ancestry of the Spartan kings, as descendants of Perseus; this all Greeks affirmed. He is supposed by Panoffsky (p. 55) to be here (ii. 91) borrowing from Pherecydes, who told the story of Perseus (cf. frag. 26, *FHG* i. 75); but there is not the least evidence for this.

ἐκμεμαθηκότα, “because he was thoroughly familiar with.” The participle is put out of place for emphasis.

## ii. 92–95

*The customs of the inhabitants of the marshes as opposed to those of ἡ σπειρομένη Αἴγ.* (chap. 77. 1).

(For this part of Egypt cf. Hogarth, *A.A.L.*, 99 seq.)

H. is right in treating of the marshmen separately; the marshes had a distinct history, and were a refuge for those expelled from Egypt, e.g., the blind Anysis (137. 2), Psammetichus (151. 3), and Amyrtaeus (140. 2). So in Roman times they made the “Bucolic” rebellion (A.D. 172). They were less civilized and cleaner than the other Egyptians, and H. exaggerates their resemblance (τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται).

## ii. 92

μῆ: monogamy seems to have been the rule in Egypt, though Diodorus (i. 80) says rightly that all but the priests had as many wives as they pleased. Kings and wealthy men, however, had a numerous harem; e.g., Rameses II had nearly 200 children.

συννοικέει. We should have expected the participle (cf. i. 85. 1).

[2] This lotus (*Nymphaea Lotus*) is to be distinguished from the Cyrenaean lotus (cf. 96. 1 and iv. 177 n.), which is that of Homer. It is of two kinds, the white and the blue; it was actually cultivated for food. Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* iv. 8) describes the method of obtaining “the fruit”; he, like H., compares the head (κωδύα) in size to “the poppy” (μῆκωνι) and the root to a “quince” (μῆλον). The lotus was used in the ritual of the dead, and so became a symbol of immortality.

[3] ἐπιεικέως, “moderately”; a ἅπαξ λεγ. in H. We should expect ἐοῦσα, but it and the predicate στρογγύλον are attracted loosely into the gender of μέγας. Stein, however, makes στρογγύλον a substantive = “a round body.”

[4] ἄλλα: the *Nymphaea Nelumbo* of Linnaeus, known as the “Egyptian bean” (cf. τρωκτά, “kernels”). It does not grow in Egypt, nor is it found on the older monuments; probably it was introduced by the Persians. It is represented in the

famous Nile statue of the Vatican. H. is wrong in saying that the κάλυξ grows on a separate stalk, right as to its rose colour.

[5] ἐπέτειον. H. lays stress on the “annual” growth of the papyrus, because only the young shoots could be eaten; the old were too wooden. It was once so common that it is the hieroglyphic symbol of Lower Egypt; its growth was restricted later, to enhance its price (Strabo, 800), and it has now disappeared. H. only refers indirectly to its manifold uses; for these cf. 37. 3, shoes; 96. 3, sails; 7. 36, cables; v. 58. 3 n., writing material.

διαφανεῖ, “red-hot”; cf. iv. 73. 2, 75. 1, of the stones used in the Scythian vapour-bath; but there πυρί and ἐκ πυρός are added.

## ii. 93

ἰχθύες. That fishes migrate to the sea for breeding is of course a fact; to it has been added this strange myth, which Aristotle (*Gen. An.* iii. 5, 755b 6) rightly calls εὐήθη καὶ τεθρολημένον and shows to be impossible; ὁ γὰρ πόρος ὁ διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰσιὼν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν φέρει, ἀλλ’ οὐκ εἰς τὰς ὑστέρας; he attributes it to Ἡρόδοτος ὁ μυθολόγος.

[2] The eggs are compared to “millet seeds” (κέγχρων); translate “by a few grains at a time.” It would have been simpler if H. had written either τῶν ῥῶν κατ’ ὀλίγα or τῶν κέγχρων κατ’ ὀλίγους.

[4] δῆ. Stein says this particle and the use of the optative after a present show that H. is speaking “ironically,” and that he does not accept the purpose of the fish as a real fact.

[5] γίνεται and πίμπλαται are coordinated, as frequently in H., for the sake of vividness, though the former is really subordinate.

H. is wrong both in his facts and in his inference. The parts furthest from the Nile fill first not last, and the fishes are brought by the water, which comes through channels and not by irrigation. From these inaccuracies Sourdille (*E.* p. 7) concludes that H. was in Egypt only after the Nile rise had begun.

## ii. 94

οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα is the same as οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι (chap. 92).

σιλλικυπρίων: the castor-oil plant, *Ricinus communis*; H.’s name is due to the fact that it grows in Cyprus.

ἄγρια, “of a wild kind,” opposed to the Egyptian variety described.

## ii. 95

κώνωπας. H. rightly lays stress on the number of flies in Egypt, but it is not likely that he is right as to their being unable to fly high; men slept on the roof for coolness.

[2] Stein accepts H.'s statement that the fishing-net was used as a mosquito curtain, Wiedemann denies it, and F. Ll. Griffith says "it is beyond belief" (*A. and A.*, 192). It may be true; but more probably H. confuses the fishing-net and a coarse mosquito curtain.

## ii. 96

H., like a true Greek (may we add, like a Greek merchant?), is always interested in boats and navigation. Cf. the similar description of the skin-boats on the Euphrates (i. 194). The peculiarity of these βάριδες is that they were built up of short pieces of wood, and hence had not the ordinary framework (νομεῦσι, "ribs," § 2) of a Greek ship. Stein, however, is clearly wrong in saying they were "rafts," with low sides; they had a keel (τρόπις, § 3) and a high stern and prow, as is shown in the tomb picture of their building (Lepsius, *D.* ii. 126, vol. iv), at Beni Hasan.

For models in Br. Mus., Third Egyptian Room, cf. *BMG* p. 102. H. mentions no iron, perhaps intentionally; in this case the "barides" would resemble the ironless boats of Ormuz on the Persian Gulf, which M. Polo (i. chap. 19) describes.

**ἀκάνθη:** the *Mimosa Nilotica* ("acacia"), so called διὰ τὸ ἀκανθῶδες ὅλον τὸ δένδρον εἶναι πλὴν τοῦ στελέχους (i.e., on the main stem) Theoph. *Hist. Pl.* iv. 2; he says δωδεκάπηχυς ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐρέψιμος ὕλη τέμνεται (i.e., beams "for roofing"). It is of two kinds, ἡ μέλαινα . . . ἄσηπτος, διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ναυπηγίαις χρῶνται. As a rule, however, the timber from it was much shorter, and hence the "baris" was built in the way described below; Egypt was destitute of proper ship's timber. Nile boats are still built of acacia planks. Uni, fetching alabaster (Breasted, i. 323) from Hatnub, builds a boat of acacia, nearly a hundred feet long and fifty wide. Noah's ark was built of acacia wood (Gen. vi. 14 "gopher wood").

For the "Cyrenaean lotus" cf. iv. 177 n.

**πλινθηδόν.** The short pieces (ξύλα) were arranged "like bricks," i.e., in alternate layers, so that their joins might not come together.

[2] **γόμφους.** The "long bolts at frequent intervals" (πυκνοῦς) were, so to speak, the string, on which the short pieces were "strung"; they were driven in vertically to the layers.

**περιείρω** is a ἄπαξ λεγ.

**ζυγά.** The "cross-pieces" served at once to hold the framework together, and as a sort of deck.

**ἀρμονίας;** the "joins" were "caulked" with the fibre of the papyrus, which would then be fixed with tar.

**ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν:** for the aorist and the tmesis cf. 39. 2 n.

[3] **πηδάλιον.** As a rule a Greek ship had two steering oars at the stern, "fastened to the sides just below the gunwale"; but in the "barides," the "steering oar passed through the after end of the keel" (Torr, pp. 74–5).

ἴστῳ: it was not usual to find acacia wood of sufficient length for a mast; but cf. Theophrastus, *ut sup.*

οὐ δύναται: H. is quite right in saying that the vessels were not sailed up stream, and in implying that they were usually “towed.”

[4] θύρη. The framework of the “crate” was of “tamarisk wood,” over which a “wattle of reeds” was worked. The object of this was not (as H. says) to catch the current, but to keep the vessel straight as it drifts with the stream; steering is of course impossible with a drifting boat, as boat and stream are moving at the same pace. Chesney (ii. 640) describes an almost exactly similar method of guiding with the skin-boats of the Euphrates (cf. i. 194 nn.).

λίθος τετρημένος: the original form of anchor (cf. Hom. *Od.* xiii. 77); here by lessening the speed of the boat it made it possible to steer with the πηδάλιον (§ 3).

ἀπίει: i.e., the boatman.

ἐπιφέρεσθαι: i.e., the “crate” is “on the surface,” so opposed to the λίθος, which is ἐν βυσσῳ.

[5] βᾶρι: an Egyptian word, used by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 554 et al.) of Persian vessels.

ταλάντων: about 1/40 of a ton; cf. i. 194. 3, those on the Euphrates are of “5,000 talents burden.”

## ii. 97

The comparison to “islands” is made by other ancient writers (e.g., Strabo 788) and is quite accurate; so too is the account of the cruise in flood-time, if it is understood to mean that the canals were at that time full; by these only could a man sail διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου.

[2] οὐκ οὔτος. The predicate, “the usual course,” is implied. H. first states this for the part above Naucratis, and then, in the words ἐς Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, makes the same statement for the part below Naucratis, repeating διὰ πεδίου. For Cercasoros and Canopus cf. 15. 1 nn. The sites of Anthylla and Archandropolis are uncertain.

From this chapter Sayce infers (*JP* xiv, p. 260 seq.) that H. was in Egypt at the time of the inundation, which is right; he even fixes the date of his arrival at Naucratis (about July 20)! But he also infers that H. was in Egypt *only* during the inundation, which is a good instance of an argument with an undistributed middle.

## ii. 98

For similar assignments to the royal family cf. Xen. *An.* i. 4. 9 (Syrian villages for the Queen Mother’s ζώνη, and *ibid.* ii. 4. 27). They were also given to private individuals, e.g., Themistocles received Lampsacus, Magnesia, and Myus, to provide his table (Thuc. i. 138. 5; Plut. *Them.* 29). Cicero (*Verr.* III, 33, 76) quotes “Persian gifts” as familiar.

[2] Ἀρχάνδρου. Pausanias (ii. 6) makes him son (*not* grandson) of Achaeus (cf. vii. 94, where Danaus and Xuthus, father of Achaeus, are synchronized); hence some have proposed to translate τοῦ Φθίου “the Phthiotian”; but the order of the words makes this impossible. It is idle to force consistency on independent legends.

## ii. 99

With chap. 99 begins the third part of book ii, i.e., the history of Egypt. This divides (at chap. 147) into two parts: (1) the story of Egypt as told by the Egyptians themselves, and (2) that which is based in part on the evidence of other nations, i.e., the story after the opening of Egypt to the Greeks by Psammetichus. H. recognizes the difference in the evidence for these two parts, though he does not appreciate how great it was (cf. chap. 147 n. and app. x, § 10; introd. § 27).

**Μίνα.** The Egyptian form MNA left the vowel to be supplied; hence the various forms Μήνης (Manetho), Μήνας (Diodorus), Μινάϊος (Josephus). Menes was long considered an invention, and used to be quoted as an instance of H.’s credulity; but the tomb of the king (Aha) identified with him was discovered in 1897 at Nagada near Abydos (Petrie, i. 17), and more fully explored in 1904 (King and Hall, pp. 57, 64). He seems to have united the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and so to begin a new epoch (ca. 3400 B.C.).

**τοῦτο μὲν:** repeated in § 4 τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῶ, and answers to τοῦτο δέ at end of chapter.

**ἀπογεφυρῶσαι,** etc., lit. “dammed off,” i.e., by diverting the river’s course (§ 2) and “making it a new channel” (ὀχετεῦσαι), he secured the site for building Memphis.

**τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας, κτλ.:** translate “he made with dykes the bend (which lies) to the south.” The Nile makes a great bend to the east, fourteen miles to the south of Memphis; but “it is impossible to say if there is any truth in H.’s tradition” (Maspero, p. 53). Breasted (p. 37; cf. also *E.E.F.*, 1905, p. 39) accepts it, and Murray (pp. 188–9) shows that its distance from Memphis here given is very accurate.

[3] ἔτι καὶ νῦν. H.’s words imply that the Persians were in undisputed possession of Memphis (cf. app. ix, § 1). There is no trace of lakes near Memphis; H. may be misled by the Nile flood filling the canal, the Bahr Yûssûf; its dry bed can still be seen to the north and west of Memphis. But Diodorus (i. 96) speaks of the Acherusian lake near Memphis, the circuit of which city he makes seventeen miles, and Murray (ut sup.) accepts this as a fact. Cf. 97. 2 for the time of H.’s visit.

**τὸ ἱερόν.** This temple—that of Ptah—is most important as the probable source of H.’s information as to Egyptian history (cf. app. x, § 10).

## ii. 100

**βύβλου.** These lists, which recorded a king’s stature, character, and deeds, as well as the length of his reign, are mentioned by Diodorus (i. 44); on them Manetho based his history. (For them cf. app. x, § 1.) Where H. obtained his “330” it is

impossible to say; on it he bases (142 n.) his calculation as to the length of Egyptian history; but, apart from other difficulties, H. is wrong in making the kings all succeed each other; no doubt several of the dynasties were contemporary.

**Αἰθίοπες:** chap. 137 mentions an Aethiopian invasion, that of Sabacos; but these “18” seem to be different.

[2] For Nitocris at Babylon cf. i. 185 n.; for this Egyptian queen cf. F. Petrie, i. 105, and Hall, *JHS* xxiv. 208–13. Nitocris is placed by Manetho at the end of the sixth dynasty; he calls her εὐμορφοτάτη τῶν κατ’ αὐτήν, ξανθὴ τὴν χροιάν, and attributes to her the third pyramid (cf. 134 nn.). But her very existence seems doubtful; the Neterkara of the sixth-dynasty monuments was probably a king, *not* a queen. (For the origin of the confusion see Hall, *ut sup.*) There was also on the Turin papyrus a Queen Neitakerti, who may be the original of H.’s Nitocris; perhaps she belongs to the period of confusion under the fifteenth to the seventeenth dynasties; but there was no trace of the story told by H.

The name may be connected with Nitocris, who was made priestess of Thebes by her father, Psammetichus I (cf. for her, Cairo Museum, No. 673, p. 208, E.T.); H. had heard much of this Saite house.

[3] **καινοῦν**, “ostensibly she handselled it.”

[4] **σποδοῦ**: she would be choked by the ashes. Ctesias (48, 51, 52, pp. 76–7) mentions this as a Persian punishment used by Darius Ochus; cf. also Val. Max. ix. 2. 6, and Ovid, *Ibis* 317.

## ii. 101

**τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων:** dependent as a sort of possessive genitive on κατ’ οὐδὲν λαμπρότητος. Others, e.g., Krüger, suppose the accusative τοὺς ἄλλους β. is attracted into the case of the dependent clause (cf. τοῖσι in i. 24. 5), and translate “the other kings were in no way distinguished” (lit. “were at no point of distinction”).

Probably H. means by “Moeris” the great king Amenemhêt III (cf. app. x, § 5) of the twelfth dynasty (for his portrait cf. *BMG* p. 218; for the construction of Lake Moeris see chap. 149 nn.). Diodorus also calls him Moeris, Manetho, Λάμαρις or Λάβαρις. He received a nickname from this lake (probably to distinguish him from other kings, called “Amenemhêt”); but his real name, in its Greek form μαρ(ρ)ῆς, had a somewhat similar sound (*Z.A.S.* (1906) 43, p. 86). His date is probably 1849–1801 B.C.; hence it is clear that H. is wrong in placing him only ten generations before Psammetichus (cf. app. xiv, § 3).

[2] **προπύλαια.** The entrance to the Egyptian temple was through a pylon in the outer wall, i.e., a gate flanked by towers, shaped like truncated pyramids; the court inside was full of pillared halls; the pylones and the pillared court inside, leading to the wall of the actual temple, together form the προπύλαια. H. mentions four of these in this temple at Memphis, to north (here), to west (chap.

121, Rhamsinitus), to east (chap. 136, Asychis), to south (chap. 153, Psammetichus).

## ii. 102–110

*The story of Sesostris.*

### ii. 102

Sesostris has been variously identified. Of the Greeks, Diodorus (i. 53) puts him seven γενεαί (i.e., “dynasties”) after Moeris, thus identifying him with Rameses II; this has been very largely accepted. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 60. But it is better to suppose that his name at any rate is that of the great conqueror of the twelfth dynasty, Senosret III (Usertesen), who was the first invader of Syria. Manetho (*FHG* ii. 560) puts “Sesostris” at this date. With his name, however, were associated (Meyer, i. 281) some of the later glories of Thothmes III and Rameses II (cf. chaps. 106, 107 nn.), and the whole was developed into a mythical figure, which bears even less resemblance to the truth than the mythical Alexander to the real Alexander. Maspero, however (p. 267 n.), explains the name = “Sestourî, a nickname for Rameses II (Greek writers used this in place of the Pharaohs’ real name); cf. the loose use of “Caligula” for the emperor Caius.

[2] Strabo (769) is more definite and says Sesostris penetrated south to the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb (Δειϋή), and crossing them, returned through Arabia. All this is fiction; the only Egyptian campaigns to the south were against the Nubians (chap. 110 n.); the North Sûdân was occupied; Senosret II also conquered some of the Semitic tribes in North Arabia (F. Petrie, i. 172–3). Egypt did not fully establish its rule on the Red Sea till the time of the Ptolemies.

[3] H. cautiously gives his authority for the conquests of Sesostris to the north and east; Strabo (769) takes him over “all Asia”; Diodorus (i. 55) makes him cross the Ganges and overrun all India to the ocean; no doubt this detail was invented to make him outrival Alexander, just as he is made to conquer the Scythians (chap. 103) in order to surpass Darius (chap. 110). Really, however, no Egyptian conqueror ever penetrated beyond North Syria except Amenhotep II, who actually crossed the Euphrates.

[5] It was an Egyptian custom to set up columns in record of conquest, but the addition of sexual emblems (given more fully, Diod. i. 55 et al.) is a Greek invention.

### ii. 103

H. seems to be referring to actual monuments in Thrace, but unluckily he does not say what they were; the conclusion he bases on them is obviously false, but this does not prove (cf. 106 nn.) that he had not seen them.

### ii. 104

It has been inferred from this passage that H. was twice in Colchis and twice in Egypt, which is unlikely, if not impossible. He may well have seen Egyptians in

Asia Minor, before his travels in the Black Sea, which almost certainly preceded his visit to Egypt (cf. introd. pp. 14, 19).

[2] **μελάγχροες**. H. has already (57. 2) said the Egyptians were “black”; this was the usual Greek idea (so Aesch. *Supp.* 719); it is an exaggeration of the “brown” colour; the Colchians were “black” in the same sense; so Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 212 (376) calls them *κελαινώπεις*. The hair of the Colchians was short and curly, as contrasted with the lank locks (*εὐθύτριχες*, Arist. *Gen. An.* v. 3, 782b) of the Scyths. H.’s ideas of Egyptian appearance have been somewhat confused by the numerous negro slaves he saw in the streets of Memphis. As the Egyptians themselves shaved wholly or in part (36. 1 n.), the “woolly hair” is the more inexplicable. Various attempts have been made to find a basis for H.’s “discovery” (*νοήσας πρότερον*) of the identity of the Colchians with the Egyptians (cf. Wiedemann, p. 408); the least improbable is the suggestion that the Persian king had deported Egyptians to Colchis. But it is most likely a mistake altogether.

For circumcision in Egypt cf. 36. 3 n. H.’s method—to infer identity of race from similarity of custom—is modern, though its sufficiency is doubted; here certainly his conclusion is wrong. His information as to Phoenician usage in Greece (§ 4) is curious.

[3] **Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ**. For these cf. iii. 5. 1 n. H. does not distinguish the Jews from the other inhabitants of Palestine; the Philistines were not circumcised (cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 26 and *passim*), nor all the Phoenicians (Ezek. xxxii. 30). Josephus (*A.J.* viii. 10. 3), however, is wrong in saying the Jews alone in Palestine practised the rite. For Σύριοι in general cf. i. 6 n. H. here extends them beyond the Halys to the river Parthenius, which lay in the very west of Paphlagonia, though in i. 72 he kept them east of the Halys.

For the Macrones who live on the southeast of the Black Sea cf. iii. 94.

## ii. 105

H. seeks to confirm his point by reference to the similarity of Egyptian and Colchian manufactures. His familiarity with Greek trade-names is interesting (cf. introd. p. 17). Some have proposed to read *Σαρδιηνικόν*, supposing the Colchian linen was imported via Sardis; but Pollux (v. 26) quotes H. for *Σαρδοδικόν λίνον*. It is more probable that some Colchian word had been wrongly changed to the familiar *Σαρδοδικόν*; of course the linen had nothing to do with Sardinia. Strabo (498) says the Colchian linen was famous (*τεθρούληται*); the passage implies a criticism of H.’s Colchian theories.

## ii. 106

**αὐτὸς ὄρων**. At the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb near Beyrut there are three monuments cut in the face of the limestone rock, on one of which the name of Rameses II can be read; they commemorate the victorious campaigns of his early years (e.g., “year 4”). Beside them, in contempt, Esarhaddon has cut the account of his conquest of Egypt (ca. 670 B.C.; cf. Breasted, pp. 424, 556). They are figured in

Lepsius, D. iii. 197. There is no trace of the αἰδοῖα on them now, nor is it likely there ever was.

[2] In the pass of Karabel, south of the road from Smyrna to Sardis, two monuments have been found, of which one (figured in Rawlinson) corresponds to H.'s account. For it cf. Garstang, pp. 171 seq. The road from "the Ephesian territory to Phocaea" is clearly not the road along the coast, but one more inland, round Mount Sipylus.

[3] πέμπτης: translate "4½ cubits high" (not "2½" as Sayce). Cf. i. 50. 2 τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον = "2½ talents." The σπιθαμή is 12 "fingers," i.e., half a cubit; others make it only 10 fingers, i.e., 7½ inches. The figure is really about 7 feet high.

H. has misplaced the weapons; the bow is in the right hand, the spear in the left; ὠσαύτως, the rest of the dress "corresponded," being both Egyptian and Ethiopian; the bow was especially the Ethiopian weapon, cf. vii. 69. The dress, however, is not really Egyptian; the high cap and the shoes with points turned up are "Hittite."

[4] The inscription (now illegible) is above the figure in the corner, not on the breast. It is not likely that H. or his guide could translate it, nor is the rendering here ("with my shoulders"; others conj. ὄπλοισι) at all in epigraphic style.

[5] Memnon is not the Egyptian king whose musical statue was famous (cf. Paus. i. 42. 3; Frazer, ii. 530; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 61), but the king of Ethiopia, son of Aurora, who came to help Priam (*Od.* iv. 188; xi. 522); cf. "the Memnonian palace," v. 53; "Memnonian Susa," v. 54. 2; "Memnon's road" (Paus. x. 31. 7, though Frazer, ad loc., argues this was not H.'s "Royal Road"). The original Memnon is identified by Robertson Smith with Adonis, a god "first dead and then alive" (cf. *EHR*, 1887, p. 307), and became the centre of many strange myths; for the birds at his grave cf. *Ael. N.A.* v. 1 and Frazer, *P.*, v. 387. The stories of "Memnon" belong to a later stage of mythology, when men placed the Homeric "Aethiopians" in Africa; but the name is Egyptian.

If, as is possible, the myth of Memnon is a reflection of a great Anatolian "Hittite" empire, the view rejected by H. was correct. The statue at Karabel certainly resembles those at Boghaz Keui and elsewhere; it probably is that of the Hittite war-god. The great Egyptologist, Lepsius, however, like H., thought the figure Egyptian.

Ramsay (*H.G.A.M.*, 60) thinks H.'s topographical details are impossible, and considers that he never went "more than a few miles from the coast" (of Asia Minor), and so had never seen the monument he here describes; H. had been told there were three roads to Sardis, viz., from Phocaea, from "the Ephesian territory," and from Smyrna, and that two of them were marked by monuments, i.e., the Karabel relief and the "Niobe"; these three roads H. confuses and makes into two. This criticism of Ramsay's is not usually accepted; but even if H. has confused the roads, it does not follow that he had never traversed them. If Ramsay be right that

H. never left the coast, the historian would be convicted of a serious *suggestio falsi*; though he does not say distinctly that he had seen the Ionian monuments, he certainly implies that he had done so and that he had traversed the roads.

The whole chapter is most interesting as showing: (1) the care of H. to use archaeological evidence; (2) his mixture of accuracy and inaccuracy in the use of it; the latter is easily explicable, considering the difficulties under which his observations were conducted; the figures are high up above the road; (3) his ignorance of history before the seventh century. He has no idea of the limitations of Egyptian power, or of the existence of great Anatolian powers in the past.

#### ii. 107

The story of Sesostris' brother seems to be quite unhistorical, though it occurs in different forms in Diodorus and in Manetho; the latter (Joseph. *Ap.* i. 15) identifies Sesostris and his brother with Aegyptus and Danaus. Perhaps the harem conspiracy against Rameses III when old (Breasted, pp. 498 seq.) may be the origin of the story; but there is no resemblance in details, and it is more probably an echo of the myth of the strife of Set and Osiris (62. 2 n.).

#### ii. 108

[2] οί: ethical dative. For a pronoun's transposition cf. οί γάρ με κτλ., i. 115. 2. This use of captives to carry out public works is historical (cf. Exod. i. 11); some of the works are mentioned in chap. 110.

For a picture of a colossus thus dragged cf. Rawlinson, ad loc. For a list of the buildings of Rameses II cf. Petrie, iii. 72 seq. The canal system, to which H. refers in i. 193 and iv. 47, for comparison with Babylonia and Scythia, is not the creation of any individual king; irrigation was essential to the very life of Egypt. What H. (§ 4) gives as cause is really effect; the cities were built on canals, not the canals made for the cities.

οὐκ ἐκόντες, "without intending it." Diodorus (i. 57) makes this the main motive. H. is not happy in his remark τὸ . . . ἵππασίμην, chariots and horses do not appear on the Egyptian monuments before the eighteenth dynasty.

[4] ὄκως τε (if τε be read) only occurs here; cf. οἶος τε, ἐπέιτε (this last only in H.). H. is right that the "spring" water in Egypt is "somewhat brackish" (πλατυτέροισι).

#### ii. 109

It is true that all the land of Egypt, except that of priests and soldiers (so H. himself, chap. 168), was held of the king and paid to him one-fifth of the produce; the Jewish story attributed this arrangement to Joseph (Gen. xlvii); there is no reason for assigning it to any one king (Meyer, i. 224, puts it as early as the fourth and fifth dynasties). Probably, however, there was a basis of truth for the tradition which connected land taxation with the conquering Sesostris; as kings developed a

spirited foreign policy, the burden of taxation on their subjects was organized and increased. H. is wrong as to lots being equal.

[2] Translate “might pay in future in proportion to the rent fixed” (cf. ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορῆν above); i.e., rent was diminished in proportion to the amount of land lost, but the rate of assessment was unchanged.

[3] The πῶλος was a concave, hemispherical “dial,” so called from being shaped like the vault of the sky; on this a shadow was cast by the γνώμων (a “pointer”), which marked the time of day by its direction, and the chief seasons of the year (the solstice, equinox, etc.) by its length at midday. The period from sunrise to sunset was divided into “twelve parts,” which of course varied in length with the season of the year. Diogenes Laertius (ii. 1) says Anaximander invented the γνώμων: but this need only mean that he introduced it from Egypt. It is most natural to suppose (cf. *Dict. Ant.* s.v. Polus) that H. is speaking of one “compound instrument.” Others, however (e.g., *Dict. Ant.* s.v. Horologium), think that he means to distinguish the γνώμων and the πῶλος. Both certainly were used independently of each other; the γνώμων was the earlier, in the form of a pillar, which measured time by the length of its shadow. That geometry was an Egyptian invention was the general belief of the Greeks. For the whole subject cf. the *Eudemian Summary* (based by Proclus, ca. 450 A.D., on the history of Eudemus, ca. 330 B.C.). This is translated in Gow’s *Hist. of Gk. Math.*, pp. 134 seq. (a short paraphrase in Smith, *D.B.* s.v. Euclides). According to this (for other evidence cf. Gow, p. 131) geometry was invented because the Nile floods destroyed all ordinary boundaries (cf. Strabo 787 for the same statement). Thales introduced geometry into Greece; but it was the Greeks who made it a science; in Egypt it was confined almost entirely to the practical requirements of the surveyor (Gow, 126).

## ii. 110

Cf. 102. 2 n. and *BMG* 213 seq. for the campaigns of the twelfth dynasty in the south; the rock temples of Abusimbel witness the activity of Rameses II in Nubia; but many other Egyptian kings beside Senosret III and Rameses II gained victories over the Nubians.

**ἀνδριάντας.** At Mítrahîneh (near Memphis) are two colossal statues of Rameses II lying overthrown; the larger of these is about forty-two feet, which corresponds to H.’s “thirty cubits” (Baedeker, p. 141); for cast of its head cf. *BMG* 245. For other statues in the temple at Memphis cf. 121. 1, 141. 6 n., 176. 1.

[3] The story of Darius’ concession is an invention of Egyptian vanity; but it is characteristic of his conciliatory policy (cf. vii. 7. 1 n.).

## ii. 111

**Φερῶς** is simply the title “Pharaoh” turned into a proper name (cf. its use in *Genesis*, *passim*). The story of H. is merely “a satire on the truth of women,” and the town of “Red Earth” (§ 3) is a purely imaginary place; Diodorus (i. 59), who tells the same tale, calls it Ἴερα βῶλος. Maspero (*C.P.*, pp. xlii. seq.) points out that

the tales in the papyri are equally unfavourable to feminine chastity; but, like the similar tales of mediaeval Europe, he thinks them due mainly to male unfairness.

[2] ὀκτωκαίδεκα: cf. 13. 1 n. for height of Nile rise.

The disgusting remedy is a genuine piece of Egyptian medicine; Maspero (*Caus.*, p. 315) suggests that it was employed for the natural ammonia in it, and thinks it was sometimes really effective.

ἑκατόν. The obelisk now at Heliopolis is only sixty-six feet high, but a great part of it is buried by the rise of the soil level; it was erected by Senosret I, of the twelfth dynasty (Baedeker, p. 117). The largest obelisk in the world, that before the Lateran, is over a hundred feet high, and no doubt still larger ones have perished; but H.'s figure, 150 feet, is suspiciously big.

## ii. 112–17

*Homer and Egyptian history.*

### ii. 112

The words, "a man of Memphis," imply that Proteus was of a different family from the previous kings. Homer (*Od.* iv. 126) makes Polybus king in Egyptian Thebes at the time of the Trojan War, and Manetho (*FHG* ii. 581) identifies him with the last ruler of the nineteenth dynasty, whom he calls Θούωρις. Diodorus (i. 62) follows H. Perhaps H. has confused an Egyptian title, Proutî, with the familiar "Proteus." It is suggested that, as Proteus is a sea-god in Homer (*Od.* iv. 385), H. may have identified him with the fish-god (Dagon) of the Τυρίων στρατόπεδον (112. 2). At any rate, H. does not commit the absurdity of Diodorus (*ut sup.*), who explains the famous transformations of Proteus as a myth due to the Egyptian custom of the king wearing lion skins and other articles on his head, to inspire terror and reverence.

[2] In 154. 1 στρατόπεδα is used for the Greek settlements on the Pelusiac Nile; the alien quarter in a town was of the nature of a camp. Aphrodite is called ξείνη to distinguish the Phoenician Astarte from the Aphrodite of Egypt (Hathor, cf. 41. 5 n.). H. is probably wrong in identifying her with Helen (cf. vi. 61 n.).

This temple of "Proteus" was found by Petrie (1907–8). As H. says, it lies south of the Ptah τέμενος, and the only tablets of Hathor found were dug up here; this agrees with his statement as to the "foreign" Aphrodite (*E.E.F.*, 1908, p. 15). The temple seems also contemporary with the date that H. gives for the Trojan War, i.e., the thirteenth century B.C. (145. 4 n.).

### ii. 113

H. is supposed to have borrowed this story of Helen in Egypt from Hecataeus (cf. Diels, *Hermes*, 22). In the fragments attributed to that writer, Menelaus is certainly brought to Egypt (frag. 287, *FHG* i. 20), and Helen is in some way connected with Canopus (frag. 288). But H.'s account differs in important details; e.g., he does not mention Pharos (contrast frag. 287), and his story of the slaves has nothing to do

with frag. 318. We know there was a great variety of legends about Helen (cf. especially Stesichorus, frag. 32, who said that only a phantom of Helen was taken to Troy). Hence the connection of H.'s story with Hecataeus is at least unproven.

For the Canopic Nile cf. 15. 1 n. There was a "curing station" (ταριχειαι) also near the Pelusiac Nile (ibid.).

[2] H. seems to have visited this temple, but no Egyptian parallel has been found for such a general right of asylum as H. speaks of. The temple, however, is a reality (cf. Strabo, 788, who makes it one of the western boundaries of Egypt).

[3] The name Θῶνις comes originally from *Od.* iv. 228 (cf. chap. 116. 4), where the wife of Θῶν makes presents to Helen; his name was combined with the early town, Thonis, on the Canopic Nile (Strabo, 800), and he was made an Egyptian official.

## ii. 116

[2] **παρεποίησε**: he "introduced an inconsistent digression"; in this sense the verb is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον.

**ἀνεπόδισε**, "he never corrected himself"; lit. "cause to step back"; this passage indicates clearly H.'s implicit belief in Homer.

[3] These lines are in *Iliad* vi (289 seq.); only bk. v is now called the "Prowess of Diomedes"; hence H. clearly did not know the present division into 24 books.

[4] The passages from *Odyssey* iv (227 seq., 351–52) are probably interpolations; there is no reference to them below. And the presence later of Menelaus and Helen in Egypt is (to say the least) a very indirect proof of the wanderings of Paris.

## ii. 117

[3] H. rejects the Homeric authorship of the *Cypria*, as later he doubts it of the *Epigoni* (iv. 32 ad fin.). The *Cypria* told the origin and the first part of the Trojan War; the main figure in its action was Aphrodite, hence its name.

## ii. 118

It is characteristic of the later rationalization of the Epic story that as much stress is laid on the treasures as on Helen herself; for a like contrast between Homeric romance and the common sense of H. contrast *Il.* iii. 156 seq. and chap. 120. 1.

## ii. 119

In the story of the misconduct of Menelaus there may be an echo of early struggles between Egypt and the races inhabiting Greece and the Aegean (cf. the story of Odysseus as to the raid against Egypt, told to Eumaeus, *Od.* xiv. 257 seq.). But it is more probably an Egyptian invention, a retort to the Greek charge of human sacrifices (chap. 45) brought against Egypt. So it is quoted by Plutarch (*De Mal.* 12), in connection with the story of Busiris, as a mark of the "philo-barbarism" of H. Plutarch also says Menelaus was much honoured in Egypt.

[3] The sacrifice of Iphigenia is a familiar parallel. Ἐντομα ποιεῖν is used in vii. 191 for sacrifices to allay a storm, but nothing is there said of their being human.

There was a "harbour of Menelaus" in Libya (iv. 169. 1).

## ii. 120

[3] οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ = *numquam non*, "on every occasion."

For the scepticism of εἰ χροῖ τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῖσι κτλ. (so unlike H.) cf. Thuc. i. 9. 4 εἶ τω ἴκανος (sc., Homer) τεκμηριῶσαι and the sayings of many other Greeks, e.g., Solon, frag. 29 πολλὰ ψεύδονται ἀοιδοί. The whole chapter is an instance of Greek rationalizing criticism.

## ii. 121

Diodorus (i. 62) makes Remphis succeed Proteus; he does not tell the tale of the thieves, but only that the king was famous for avarice. The kings of the twentieth dynasty almost all bear the name "Rameses" (III to XI), from which H.'s "Rhampsinitus" is formed by the termination "nitus"; this seems to correspond to the name of Neith, the goddess of Sais (Maspero, *A.E.G.*, 1877, 133). With this imaginary king, whose name blends Theban and Saite elements in an impossible way, H. combines Rameses III, who certainly was a temple-builder at Memphis; he was also renowned for his wealth (cf. *BMG* p. 250); his treasures can still be seen at Medînet Habu (Baedeker, p. 322). So far history confirms the framework into which H. has introduced a popular tale; for the prevalence of robberies of royal tombs under the twentieth dynasty cf. *BMG* p. 250. The tale itself is one of the most familiar pieces of universal folklore; we may compare it to that of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, or to that of Trophonius and Agamedes (Paus. ix. 37. 3, who gives an almost exact epitome of the first two parts, *a* and *b*, of the story of H.). A list of twenty-eight variants of the story, from all parts of the world, is given by Frazer (*P.*, v. 177). The king's daughter's question, the device of the thief, and the marriage that ends the story, all show that it belongs to fairyland, not to the world of reality.

For a further discussion of it cf. Maspero, *C.P.*, pp. xl. seq., 180 seq., who maintains that it is, if not Egyptian in origin, at least thoroughly "egyptianized."

**θέρος, χειμῶνα.** The identification of these statues is more than suspicious; the Egyptians divided the year into three seasons, not two, those of the inundation, of growth, and of the harvest. And only one instance is known in Egypt of symbolic statues of this kind (Sourdille, *R.*, 215).

## ii. 121a

For treasure houses of this kind in Egypt cf. the twelve crypts at Dendera (Baedeker, p. 244), the entrances to which were once closed by movable stones; also Maspero, *ut sup.*

[3] οὐκ ἐς μακρόν, "at once."

## ii. 121d

**ποδεῶνας.** In the plural, the “ragged ends of a skin,” where the feet and tail have been; hence, in the singular, the mouth of a bottle, formed by one of these ends being left open while the others were sewed up. This end was “tightly bound round” (ἀπαμμένους. Liddell & Scott, however, seem to take this = “hung on the ass”). The ass-driver, pulling at the skins, as if to pull them straight (ἐπισπάζαντα), looses the ends.

[3] **κατασκευάζειν**, “repack” the ass’s burden, the balance of which had been spoiled.

[6] For this mark of insult cf. 2 Sam. x. 4 (Hanun’s treatment of David’s embassy). Wiedemann shows that some of the Egyptian soldiers, especially the police, wore beards, and that H. therefore is not to be charged with introducing a foreign detail into the story.

## ii. 121e

**δεινὰ ποιέειν**, “showed himself very angry” (cf. iii. 14. 6); more common in the middle voice = “to think it shameful” (cf. 133. 2).

## ii. 121f

The vanity of the Egyptians was proverbial, and this touch brings it out clearly.

## ii. 122

**συγκυβεύειν.** For the Egyptian fondness for dice cf. *BMG* p. 87; they were buried in the tombs (*ibid.* p. 178). For the bringing up of a token from the lower world cf. Maspero, *C.P.*, 118–19; Satni in the tomb wins the magic book after playing a game; the tale is preserved in a Ptolemaic papyrus.

Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* chap. 12) says that Hermes won from Selene (Isis), when playing at draughts, a seventy-second part of each day, and that out of these the five “intercalary days” (cf. 4. 1 nn.) were made up.

**ἀντημερόν.** For the offering of the “new garment” to the goddess cf. 1 Sam. vi. 7.

[3] **λύκων.** Perhaps H. means “jackals” (cf. 67. 1 n.). Erman (*R.*, 177; cf. p. 15) sees a reference here to the two Wepwawet gods, the jackal-headed “guides” of the dead.

## ii. 123

**ὑπόκειται κτλ.** For this principle, so often forgotten by H.’s critics, cf. vii. 152. 3.

Demeter and Dionysus are Isis (chap. 41 n.) and Osiris (chaps. 42 nn., 62. 2 n.). H., having introduced the subject of the world below, brings in another doctrine as to life after death, which he thought the Greeks had borrowed from Egypt. Whether metempsychosis was really a doctrine taught in Egypt is uncertain. Wiedemann rightly says that it is inconsistent with the preservation of the body by embalming, and that the number 3,000 is quite insufficient for Egyptian ideas; he therefore supposes that H. confused the doctrine of immortality, which in a certain form (cf.

Maspero, *M.A.E.* i. 48 seq.) the Egyptians undoubtedly held, with that of metempsychosis, and wrongly attributed the latter to Egypt. H. would be the more likely to do this, as the Egyptians believed the souls of the blessed could at will take any form they pleased (Sourdille, *R.*, 365). Gomperz (*Gk. Thinkers*, i. 126–7) considers the doctrine of metempsychosis rather Indian than Egyptian, and seems to believe that the Greeks had been brought into relation with the Indians by their common subjection to Persia. He also quotes Egyptian doctrines as to the changes of the soul's abode, which H. may have misunderstood.

[2] The number 3,000 recurs in Plato *Phdr.* 249a, but only for the “truly philosophic soul.” Empedocles, who is certainly referred to in οἱ ὕστερον, gives “30,000 years” (ὥραι frag. 115, ed. Diels) as the period for the purification of sinful souls. By οἱ πρότερον H. means probably the Orphic teachers (cf. 81. 2 nn.), and certainly Pythagoras (cf. iv. 95–6). Whether Pythagoras was in this matter the pupil of Pherecydes, “qui primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos” (Cic. *Tusc.* i. 16. 38) is doubtful (cf. Gomperz, i. 542). H. avoids censuring Pythagoras by name, perhaps because he was a Samian (but cf. i. 51. 4 for similar reticence).

The doctrine of metempsychosis was widely diffused in the sixth century, and it is possible that it may have been taught at Croton before Pythagoras came there, by the mysterious Orpheus of Croton (cf. Gruppe, in Rosch. s.v. Orpheus, p. 1131, who accepts H.'s statement that it was an Egyptian doctrine).

## ii. 124–36

*The pyramid-builders.*

### ii. 124

Their names, Khufu, Khâfra, and Menkaura are correctly given, but their chronological position (2840–2680 B.C.) is entirely wrong; they belong to Manetho's fourth dynasty, while H. puts them after a king of the twentieth dynasty, and only three generations before Psammetichus (666 B.C.). For explanations of H.'s mistake cf. app. x. § 10, or (better) Petrie's ingenious theory (*JHS* 28. 275) that H. composed bk. ii in twelve divisions of about equal length, and that chaps. 100–23 (two sections) have been wrongly placed before chaps. 124–36, which should really precede them; the order should be roll 7 (207 lines), chaps. 124–36; roll 8 (222 lines), chaps. 100–15; roll 9 (224 lines), chaps. 116–23: the coincidence in number of lines is at any rate very curious.

For casts of the statues of the pyramid-builders in the Br. Mus. see *BMG*, pp. 196, 199, 200; that of Chephrên is “one of the leading examples of ancient art” (Petrie, i. 54).

**κατακληίσαντα.** This impiety is contrary to the monuments, on which “Cheops” figures as a temple-builder. “What H. relates is only the copy of a popular story” (Maspero, p. 77). The sufferings of the Egyptian people under the pyramid-builders had coloured tradition as to them. H. as a Greek would be the more ready to accept the accusation of impiety, because the mere building of such gigantic

masses offended the Greek sense of moderation. Similarly, in the story in the Papyrus Westcar (now in Berlin), Chufu impiously appeals to the magicians to defeat the will of the god Ra. Cf. chaps. 126, 128 nn.

[2] ἔλκειν. For the transport of great masses by human labour cf. Breasted, i. 694 n., the colossal statue of Thuthotep (under the twelfth dynasty) drawn by 172 men in four double rows (picture, *ibid.* 159).

[3] κατὰ δέκα. This must mean that a gang of 100,000 worked for three months, and were then relieved by another gang. For relays of workers cf. 1 Kings v. 13–15, and for forced labour *ibid.* ix. 21 (both of Solomon). Meyer (i. 233; so too Petrie, *Pyramids*, p. 210), however, thinks the three months are those of the rising of the Nile; the blocks were cut all the year round, but transported during the period when field-work was impossible. Petrie says: “Such a scale of work would suffice for the complete building in twenty years as stated by H.” H.’s informant may have meant this, but if so H. certainly misunderstood him.

δέκα ἔτεα. The μέν corresponds to the δέ of § 5; the road and the “chambers” (§ 4 οἰκημάτων) took ten years, the pyramid itself twenty.

τῆς ὁδοῦ. Two roads can still be traced, one to the first, the other to the third pyramid; their object was to serve as an inclined plane, up which the stones could be dragged from the Nile level to the edge of the plateau, which is a hundred feet above the plain (cf. ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου).

πυραμῖς: an Egyptian word = “a building with a sloping side”; *BMG* p. 170.

[4] διώρυγα. H. had never been inside the pyramid; a connection with the Nile is impossible, as the underground chamber in the centre of the pyramid, though a hundred feet at least below its ground level, is yet thirty-six feet above the river level. H. gives further particulars as to the “channel of masonry” in chap. 127. 2. Sourdille (*H.E.* p. 12) thinks that H. has, by a confusion of memory, attributed to the pyramids of Gizeh the subterranean water which is really found under other pyramids, e.g., at Hawara, near the Labyrinth.

[5] H.’s measurements of the pyramids can best be estimated from the following table (fractions are neglected):

	Petrie	Herodotus	Diodorus (i. 63)	Pliny
<i>Great Pyramid</i>				
Length of side (average)	756	800	700	883
Height (original) (present 451)	481	—	> 600	—
Height (along sloping side <sup>1</sup> )	(approx.) 720	800	—	—

<i>Second Pyramid</i>				
Length of side	706		600	—
Height (present 469)	472	“40 feet in size inferior to the other” (chap. 127.3), i.e., along sloping side		
Height (along sloping side)	(approx.) 670		—	—
<i>Pyramid of Mycerinus</i>				
Length of side	346	280	300	—
Height	215	—	—	—
Height (along sloping side)	(approx.) 330	280 (but see 134.1 n.)		—
<sup>1</sup> It seems to be generally agreed that this is the height given by H.; it is calculated as 19/20 of the base.				

The modern figures are taken from Murray’s *Egypt*, pp. 170 seq. It is there pointed out that “nine modern writers have equally (with the ancients) varied in their calculations.” Petrie sums up (ut sup. 159), “the accuracy with which H. states what he saw and relates what he heard, the criticism he often applies to his materials . . . all this should prevent our ever discrediting his words, unless compelled to do so.”

## ii. 125

H.’s account of the building of the pyramid is creditably free from marvels: contrast the stories in Diod. i. 63 of the “mounds” by which the stones were taken to the top, etc.

**κρόσσαι:** cf. iv. 152. 4 and vii. 188. 1 with nn. for the derivative *πρόκροσσοι*. Translate “some call “battlements,” others “steps” (literally “altar steps”).” They are called *στοῖχος* below (§§ 2, 3), when the whole “row” of them is taken into account.

[2] **τοὺς ἐπιλόιπους.** “The rest of the stones,” i.e., to fill up the triangular gaps between each “step.” The great pyramid when finished presented a smooth surface, though in the present day the stripping off of most of its stone covering (here described, §§ 2–5) has made it once more “like steps.”

**μηχανῆσι.** Petrie writes (ut sup. p. 212): “for the ordinary blocks of a few tons each it would be very feasible to employ the method of resting them on two piles of wooden slabs, and rocking them up alternately to one side and the other by a spar under the block, thus heightening the piles alternately, and so raising the stone.” He goes on to show how this method could be applied to the largest blocks in the pyramid, of fifty tons and upwards. But the explanation of Choisy (*L’Art de bâtir chez les Égypt.*, 1904, p. 80 seq., with pictures and diagrams) is better, viz., that

the stones were raised with “ascenseurs oscillants”; these resemble in shape the wooden framework, used to support temporarily arches in England; ancient models of them are in the Br. Mus., the Louvre, and at Cairo (cf. app. ix, § 4).

[4] **τοσαῦται**. H.’s good sense has made him put first what is obviously the right alternative; the constant shifting of one “contrivance” from row to row is impossible.

[5] H.’s description is right, whether we suppose that the whole pyramid was planned and carried out *at once* (cf. Petrie, *ut sup.* p. 163, for a discussion of this question), or that a pyramid grew with the length of its builder’s reign, being continually extended. This “accretion” theory of Lepsius is now in favour again. In either case the “step formation” must come first, and then the “filling up of the angles” (ἐξεπιούθη).

[6] **συρμαίη**. For the use of the “radish” as a purge cf. chap. 77. 2; the “onions and garlick” were for relishes not “food” (σιτία, § 7).

**εὖ μεμνήσθαι**. It can hardly be inferred from this, as some have done, that H. trusted his memory in his observations, and made no notes. He only wishes to emphasize the accuracy of a surprising statement. Diodorus (i. 64) and Pliny here repeat H. Maspero (*A.E.G.*, 1875, p. 18) explains this strange inscription as a prayer to Osiris, scribbled by an Egyptian tourist, that he might obtain the blessings of food, etc., and mistranslated by the guide. It would be a kind of parody of the inscriptions usual on tombs, praying that Osiris would give (such blessings) to the departed.

It is simpler (with Murray, *ut sup.*, p. 163) to suppose that the royal inscription was mistranslated; the onion plant was the hieroglyph for “nesut” (“king”), and the papyrus and the lotus were used in spelling his titles as “Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt.” But if this be the explanation, H.’s memory as to the exact place failed him; there were no official inscriptions on a pyramid, except close to the entry of the actual tomb-chamber; this one must have been in a temple near. Some, however, have thought that H.’s guide was as unable to read hieroglyphics as H. himself, and that he concealed his ignorance by a complete invention, which he meant also to be a joke.

[7] Το ἄλλον supply some word like ἐπόνεον (out of οἰκοδόμεον) by zeugma. ὁκότε is causal; cf. ὅτε (= “since”), iii. 73. 1.

## ii. 126

**ὁκόσον δή τι**: the words that follow seem to show that this phrase implies uncertainty on the part of H.; cf. i. 157. 2. He is confirmed by the monuments (Breasted, *A.R.* i. § 180) in saying that one of the three small pyramids near the Sphinx, to the southeast of the Great Pyramid, is that of the daughter of Cheops; Vyse, 2. 183, says its workmanship is similar to that of the Great Pyramid.

The rest of the story is a fable, to cast discredit on the pyramid-builders (cf. i. 93 and ii. 121 for similar stories as to the “Tomb of Alyattes” and as to Rhampsinitus).

As Maspero points out (*A.E.G.*, 1875, p. 21) the story-tellers of Memphis took the great names of history and “made them odious and ridiculous.” He compares the romance of Setné (or Satni) for a similar motive, i.e., the sacrifice of a woman’s honour to obtain an end otherwise unattainable. In this tale too Rameses II (under one of his names) and Menephtah both figure, but the latter has become a distant ancestor instead of a son (*ibid.*, 1878, p. 171, where the story is given almost in full, pp. 142–69). H. himself may have heard it in Egypt.

## ii. 127

The Chephrên pyramid is a little larger than H. says. It is hard to believe that a king who reigned fifty years could be succeeded by a brother who reigned fifty-six years. The monuments give the name of Tetfrâ between, who seems to have been quite unimportant. Maspero (p. 76) suggests that Chephrên was his brother, and so really the son of Cheops. Manetho (*FHG* ii. 548) gives Souphis (= Cheops) sixty-three years, Souphis (= Chephrên) sixty-six years, Mencheres sixty-three; these figures are absurd; Meyer (i. 234) gives Cheops twenty-three years, on the authority of the Turin and other papyri.

The words ταῦτα γὰρ . . . Χέοπα (end of 2) seem to be a later addition: they interrupt the antithesis ἐς μὲν τὰ . . . ὑποδείμας δέ. The words ταῦτα . . . ἐμετροσάμην are parodied by Aristophanes (*Av.* 1130). Diodorus (i. 64) tells us there was an ἀνάβασις up one side of this pyramid.

[2] οἰκήματα. H. does not mean there were no “chambers” at all in this pyramid, but that there were none like those surrounded with water, which he was told (wrongly) were under the pyramid of Cheops (chap. 124). As a matter of fact there were two chambers under that of Chephrên.

[3] λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ: the red granite of Syene; H. is right, for “the first layer” (δόμον) of stones was faced with this material, as was also the second.

τῆς ἐτέρης: genitive after the idea of comparison in ὑποβάς; τὸν αὐτὸν μέγεθος, “to attain the same size,” is added to explain ὑποβάς. ἐχομένην is local here.

## ii. 128

ποιμένος. This story may contain the one reference in H. to the conquest of Egypt by the “Hyksos” or Shepherd kings. For the extent of their rule and for their chronology cf. app. x, § 6, and *BMG* pp. 224 seq. The Egyptians called them “Shasu” (“robbers”); hence “Hyksos,” “the rulers of the robbers.” Their rule was a time of oppression and degradation, and so may have been blended in popular memory with the times of the pyramid-builders. H.’s informants suppressed all mention of this conquest. Possibly “Philitis” is connected with “Philistines,” a tribe which may have formed part of these invaders.

## ii. 129

ἀνοιξαι. Contemporary evidence confirms H.’s tradition of the piety of Menkaura. Of course, however, the temples were not “opened,” for they had never been

closed (cf. 124. 1 n.). It need hardly be added that his justice, in which “by gifts from his own purse he satisfied the wrath of him who found fault after the sentence,” is a popular myth.

[3] A coffin, of which the lid bears a cow’s head, has been found of the time of Chephrên (Lepsius, *D.*, ii. 14, vol. iii); there is no evidence, however, of its occupant’s rank, nor even that it was a human being’s. Lepsius says that queens were identified with Isis, whose symbol the cow is. For a picture of Isis with horns, and the sun between them (132. 1), cf. Maspero, i. 132.

#### ii. 130

αὐτή ἢ βοῦς. The pyramid-builders had nothing to do with Sais, and H. has wrongly introduced them into a rite which clearly was connected with the story of Osiris (cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 39, quoted on chap. 62). For a mummy, no doubt that of Osiris, in a sacred cow, cf. *R. de T.* iv. 26; but it is only about 18 inches long (not life-size, as in chap. 132). It used to be thought that Psammetichus II had the second name of “Menkaura,” and that H. was referring to some monument of his; but this theory is now given up.

[2] γυμναί. The Egyptians never represented women in statues quite naked; but the linen fabrics were so fine and clinging as to be transparent. For such a dress cf. figure in Erman, *E.*, 214, and Maspero, *C.P.*, 124; Maspero adds in a note that the linen fabrics in the museum at Cairo quite confirm the tradition (cf. the “Coae vestes” of the Romans).

#### ii. 131

The chapter is interesting as a specimen of H.’s attempts at criticism; Egyptian wood statues, being made in pieces, like dolls, were particularly liable to lose their forearms.

[3] The καί simply emphasizes ἡμεῖς; there is no reference to other travellers (e.g., Hecataeus, suggested by Wiedemann).

#### ii. 132

[2] See 62. 1 n. for the connection of Neith, the goddess of Sais, and Isis. The ceremony is part of the festival of Osiris (cf. τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεόν, and the bringing out of the cow symbolized Isis’ search for Osiris).

For τύπτωνται cf. 39. 4 n.; for religious silence cf. 3. 2, 86. 2 n.

#### ii. 133

[3] συνταχύνειν: intrans. here as in iii. 72. 1. Mycerinus was to have reigned forty-four years (“150” with Cheops and Chephrên); H. does not tell us in what year the oracle came, so that the actual length of his reign is uncertain.

[4] λύχνα πολλά. The “many lights” are borrowed from the Osiris festival (see above); for the λυχνοκαΐη cf. chap. 62 nn.

Matthew Arnold's poem on Mycerinus is well known. As Wiedemann says, the endeavour to cheat the oracle is a Greek trick; but the mention of the marshes as "places of pleasure" (ἐνηβητήρια) is quite in accordance with Egyptian usage. The sarcophagus and the wooden coffin of Mycerinus, with portions of his mummy, were found in this pyramid by Vyse in 1837; the former was lost on its way to England, but the coffin and the mummy are in the first Egyptian room at the Br. Mus. (No. 6647, Case B; *BMG* p. 201); it has been held that the coffin is a late restoration of the Saite period, *Z.A.S.* xxx, p. 98, but this is doubtful.

## ii. 134

The genitive ποδῶν depends on καταδέουσιν in the usual way; πλέθρων is probably to be taken with κῶλον, "on each side of three plethra"; but the construction is curious, as is also the deliberate anacoluthon of εἰούσης.

**τετραγώνου:** cf. i. 178. 2. Petrie (ut sup. p. 160) explains doubtfully the discrepancy by referring H.'s figure (280) to "the base of the limestone part," which really was 275 feet.

H. is right in saying that half the pyramid was cased with "red granite" (λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ).

[2] **Ῥοδώπιος.** H. shows his usual sense in rejecting this preposterous attribution, which is made by Diodorus (i. 64, as an alternative) and by Strabo (808); he shows it is contrary both to probability and to chronology. Two explanations are given of the origin of the story:

(1) It has been held that additions were made to the pyramid by a later queen (the Nitocris of Manetho, cf. 100 nn.), and that the Greek fiction as to Rhodopis was a version of the story of her work.

But "the Manethonian story of Nitocris and the pyramid is an impossibility" (Hall, *JHS* xxiv. 208).

(2) It is more probable that we have here an adapted popular story. The modern Arab tale that the third pyramid was haunted by a beautiful naked woman, who drove men mad, may easily be very old; perhaps it is connected with the "red painted" face of the Sphinx and its inscrutable smile. This may be the explanation of the Greek fiction which we have here, and, in a modified form, of Manetho's version (cf. 100 nn.).

Rhodopis was a real person; her name seems to have been Doricha (though Athenaeus, 596, denies this). Greek fancy played about her, as it did later about Phryne and Thais, e.g., Strabo (ut sup.) attributes the "shoe" part in the Cinderella story to her.

[3] **διέδεξε:** used impersonally in an intransitive sense (cf. iii. 82. 3). The sentence beginning ἐπεῖτε γάρ is an anacoluthon.

[4] The story of Aesop is told by Plutarch (*De Sera* chap. 12, 557a). Croesus had sent him to distribute four minae to each of the Delphians, but Aesop sent back the

money to Sardis; enraged at this, the Delphians unjustly condemned him to death for sacrilege, and executed him. Afterwards they suffered from “strange diseases,” until they made atonement by paying compensation to Iadmon. The story was obviously unknown to H. (cf. i. 54), and also that of Aesop’s residence at the court of Croesus (Plut. *Sol.* 28 ad init.).

Myers (*Hell.*, p. 454) quotes this passage and vi. 139 as proofs of the higher morality of Delphi, which cares for the lives of women and slaves.

Tradition credits Aesop with written works; but the passage as to his γέλοια (Ar. *Vesp.* 566) seems only to imply oral tradition; at all events the fables that bear his name have been held, since Bentley, to be forgeries. It has been denied that Aesop is a real person, but the evidence of H., who may well have met at Samos some of the family of Iadmon, is conclusive against this scepticism.

## ii. 135

ἐς Αἴγυπτον. No doubt Rhodopis was brought to Naucratis, with which both Samians and Mytilenaeans had a special connection (178. 2, 3); it was famous for its ἑταῖραι (Athen. 596).

[2] ὡς εἶναι Ῥοδῶπιν: translate “for a Rhodopis, but not enough for her to attain to,” etc.; cf. iv. 81. 1 for construction; but it is very harsh.

[3] τοῦτο τό = τοιοῦτον οἶον; cf. iv. 166. 1.

ἀναθεῖναι, “to attribute to her” (cf. 134. 2); the word is used = “dedicate” three lines below.

[4] H. is obviously writing as an eyewitness, and this part of the story may be Delphic tradition. The altar of the Chians was found by the French in 1893, on the spot indicated by H.; to judge from Pausanias it was in this part of the precinct that dedications were most numerous; cf. ix. 81. 1 and Paus. x. 14. 7 with Frazer, v. 309–10 and 631.

βουπόρους: large enough to roast a whole ox. For the magnificent feasting of Delphi cf. i. 51. 2. Athenaeus (ut sup.) says the “spits” were περιβόητοι, and quotes Cratinus as to them.

[6] Charaxus was a wine merchant; for a new fragment of Sappho “chiding” him, but apparently not for *this* amour, cf. *Class. Rev.* xxiii. 103–104.

## ii. 136

Menkaura was succeeded by two nameless kings and then by Shepseskaf (Meyer, i. 235). Diodorus (i. 65) makes Bocchoris succeed Mycerinus, and (i. 94) says that he “settled the laws of contract”; he also (ibid.) mentions Sasyches as the second of the lawgivers of Egypt (see below). This last may be the king meant by “Asychis,” but if so, he is out of place, for he seems to belong to the second dynasty. H.’s confusion is unexplained.

[2] ἀποδεικνύντα (sc., τινα): “that a man might by assigning . . . on these terms” (οὕτω).

τήνδε . . . ζημίην. If H.’s account be right, this “penalty” is the real point of the law; the “whole grave” was transferred to the creditor, though he could not disturb mummies already placed in it. But Erman (*R.* 190) thinks that the reference may be really to the perpetual charge of graves vested in the class of χοαχύται, who were paid a stipend; these charges were hereditary sources of profit, and so could be alienated or pledged by their holders.

[3] ἐκ πλίνθων. What pyramid H. means is disputed. Stein, on account of the reference to the λίμνη (§ 4), thinks one of the brick pyramids by Lake Moeris is meant; there are also two brick pyramids at Dahshûr, some twenty miles south of Gizeh.

[4] πλίνθους εἴρυσαν. This passage is parodied by Aristophanes (*Av.* 1144–6).

## ii. 137–41

These chaps. contain a distorted version of Egyptian history during the time of the great Assyrian conquests. At this period an Ethiopian dynasty ruled in Thebes, though native Egyptian princes, under the protection of Assyria, held their ground, as H. says (cf. chap. 152 n.), in the Delta. H. turns the twenty-fifth dynasty (725–667 B.C.) of Manetho into a single king, Sabacos (137. 1); there were at least four kings in it, of whom Shabaka was one; the last, Tanut-Amen, was expelled by Esarhaddon. Popular tradition remembered only Sabacos; he seems to correspond to “So, king of Egypt” (2 Kings xvii. 4), who incited Hoshea of Samaria to resist Assyria, and so brought about his destruction. It is needless to say that H., here as elsewhere, completely fails to appreciate the greatness of Assyria (see chap. 141 n.).

## ii. 137

Ἄνουσι. Manetho (frag. 64–65) says Bocchoris of Sais preceded the Ethiopian conquest. Two suggestions are made to reconcile H. with Manetho. (1) That Bocchoris is called “Anysis” by H., from the name of his town, while Manetho calls him a “Saite” from his nome (so the eleventh dynasty is called “Theban,” though really from Hermonthis). (2) It is simpler to suppose that Anysis was not a king, but only a local chief, like Necho the father of Psammetichus (152. 1).

The site of Anysis is very variously identified, e.g., by Sayce with Hanes (? Heracleopolis Magna), near the Fayûm (*JP* xiv. 283). It may be the same as Anytis (chap. 166), which seems to be in the Delta.

[2] For the marshes cf. chaps. 92 seq. nn.

[3] The account in H. is based on two facts of Eastern life: (1) Imprisonment as a punishment was unknown; the criminal, however, became a state slave for shorter or longer period. (2) Town sites are usually higher than the country round; the mud houses rapidly fall into ruins, their remains are not removed, but levelled as

a foundation for their successors. Greek imagination, however, always attributed the result of a long process to an individual act. For a curious result of this rise of height cf. 138. 2; the temple is below the city level. A similar feature is often seen in modern churches, but on a less scale.

[5] For Bubastis cf. 59 n. The “city” at Bubastis is contrasted with the temple.

#### ii. 138

The temple was excavated by M. Naville for the *E.E.F.* (1887–9); an account of the results is given in the eighth memoir (1891; also in part in the tenth, 1892). The destruction had been so complete that no light is thrown on H.’s account of the buildings; but M. Naville confirms his accuracy as to (1) the island-like nature of the site; (2) the depressed position of the temple; “the account is clearly that of an eyewitness” (p. 3); (3) the direction and the length of the road (§ 4) which is traceable (p. 60). H. is partially mistaken in assigning the smaller temple to Thoth; his name occurs in the inscriptions, but the building was probably a treasury (*ibid.*).

[4] Hermes, i.e., Thoth. He was connected with the worship of Osiris (cf. Diod. i. 15–16), and was identified by the Greeks with Hermes as being ψυχοπομπός. For pictures of him in the judgement hall of Osiris cf. *BMG* p. 140.

#### ii. 139

τέλος; not “end of” but “completion of”; translate “final departure.” Cf. the Homeric τέλος θανάτοιο.

[2] πρόφασιν: in the unusual sense of “suggestion.” Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 662 ἐπὶ προφάσει θηρός (v.l. προφάνσει).

όκόσον refers to the participle ἄρξαντα, not to the main verb ἐκχωρήσειν.

[3] Wiedemann says that this story of voluntary retirement by the last Ethiopian king is found on the monuments; but really the Ethiopians retired before the Assyrians.

#### ii. 140

This chapter is important for H.’s chronology.

(1) For its bearing on the date of Amyrtaeus (cf. iii. 15 n.).

(2) H.’s figure, “more than 700” (§ 2), hopelessly contradicts the data given elsewhere. Anysis is divided from Psammetichus I only by the reign of Sethos; as Psammetichus succeeded 663 B.C., Anysis would have died about 700. But Amyrtaeus belongs to the middle of the fifth century (see above), and so the interval should be 250, not “700” years.

It has been proposed to alter the text; but it is clear that H. has combined variant traditions without being aware of it. (Cf. app. xiv, § 3.)

[2] If this island had a real existence at all, it is obvious that it must be as hard to identify it as it was to find it; we can only say that it is conceived of as in the Delta region.

## ii. 141

Neither Manetho nor the monuments know the name of Sethos; and the repulse of Sennacherib from Egypt probably belongs to the reign of Tirhaka (701–667 B.C.). Sethos may have been a local priest, ruling in Lower Egypt under the Ethiopian, and turned by popular tradition into a king; but probably “Sethon” is indeclinable and = “Setne,” the popular form of the priests’ title; for this turning of a title into a proper name cf. 111. 1 n. (Griffith, *High Priests of Memphis*, 9). The name “Satni” is common as that of the hero of various popular Egyptian tales.

**Αἰγυπτίων:** a *constructio ad sensum*, as if H. had written ἀλογίητι ἔχθειν. For the warrior caste cf. chap. 164.

[2] The mention of Arabians here (and below) may well be right; Sennacherib, like Cambyses later (iii. 5), probably had Arabian guides across the desert. Josephus, however (see below), blames H. for the statement.

[3] The parallel to the account in 2 Kings xix is very marked, but the childishness of H.’s tradition is in strong contrast to the dignified simplicity of the Jewish one. The sudden break-off in Sennacherib’s inscription (the Taylor cylinder now in Br. Mus.) confirms the fact of the disaster to his army. For the mouse as a symbol of plague cf. 1 Sam. vi. 4–5 and Iliad, i. 39, where Apollo, as sender of plague, is invoked as “Sminthian” (from σμίνθος, a mouse). There is an interesting Egyptian parallel in the vision of Ptah seen by Merneptah, before his victory over the Libyans and their allies (Breasted, iii. 582); “but the form of the inscription ἐς ἐμέ and the pointing of the moral are both Greek” (Griffith, *ut sup.*).

[4] Pelusium; cf. 154 n. Josephus (*A.J.* x. 14) says that H. recorded a siege of Pelusium by the Assyrians; this would naturally have come in here.

[6] Here, as elsewhere (cf. i. 24. 8), a votive offering has determined the form of the tradition. The statue had originally nothing to do with the events described, but represented the god Horus, to whom the mouse was sacred; the Greeks explained it from the legends of Apollo. Strabo (604) tells a story of mice eating σκύτινα τῶν ὀπλων, at Amaxitus in the Troad, where (at Chryse) Apollo was commemorated by a statue of Scopas, with a mouse under his foot. Spiegelberg however (*Z.A.S.* 43, 94), thinks that the story was older than the statue, and was attached to this by Semitic settlers (cf. 112. 2 Τυρίων στρατόπεδον).

## ii. 142

Chaps. 142–6 are a digression, before the history of the twenty-sixth (Saite) dynasty. H. urges three points, the two first of which he has already made: (1) the antiquity of Egypt (cf. 2. 1 n.); (2) the obligations of Greece to Egypt for its Pantheon (cf. chaps. 49–50 nn.); (3) the mistaken views of the Greeks as to the human origin of their gods. The figure 341 H. obtains by calculation, i.e., he counts

after Menes (chap. 99) and “the 330 kings enumerated from a roll” (100. 1 n.), the 10 kings whose reigns he describes (102–41), i.e.,  $1 + 330 + 10 = 341$ . He confirms his calculation by the list of High Priests at Thebes (143. 2).

The calculation is worthless, for (1) even if we knew the source of the “330” and could trust it, many of the kings were contemporary with each other. (2) H.’s “10 kings” are counted twice over; they were already included in the “330.” (3) It is absurd to suppose that a king’s reign averaged a generation (cf. i. 7. 4 for a lower estimate). (4) H. knew the priesthood was in his day hereditary (37. 5); but he had no right to assume it had always been so. Stein well compares the calculation with an attempt to estimate the duration of the Papacy from the portraits of the Popes at San Paolo.

[2] **μύρια**. For this calculation cf. app. xiv.

**ἐπιλοίπων**. H. is wrong in his arithmetic;  $41 \times 33\frac{1}{3} = 1,366\frac{2}{3}$ , i.e.,  $26\frac{2}{3}$  more years than he gives (cf. i. 32. 4 n. for another miscalculation).

[3] **ὑπολοίποισι**: the Saite kings who ruled after Sethos.

[4] By these words H. means: “the sun rose four times away from his previous quarter” (as he explains, ἔνθα τε νῦν . . . καταδῦναι), i.e., had changed his place of rising four times, rising in the east for two periods and in the west for two. For belief in this phenomenon cf. Plato, *Plt.* 269a, who connects it with the story of Thyestes. H.’s own views about the sun (chaps. 24–5) are quite as impossible. But H.’s Egyptian informant must have meant something different, i.e., that from Menes to Sethos there were four “Sothis periods” (complete or incomplete) of 1,460 years each (cf. 4 nn.). Only at the beginning of a period did the time of the calendar correspond to the real time; hence the sun might be said to “rise four times (only) from his proper place.”

**ὑπὸ ταῦτα**, “during this period” (cf. ix. 60. 3 for ὑπό). H. refutes by implication his countrymen’s beliefs in a Golden Age, in a Deluge, etc.

## ii. 143

This passage is important as illustrating (1) the fact that H. used the *Γῆς περίοδος* of Hecataeus as a guide-book. (2) His somewhat depreciatory tone to his predecessor. The word *λογιοποιός*, however, is not itself contemptuous. (3) The origins of Greek chronology (cf. app. xiv, § 4).

**ἑκκαίδέκατον**. The figure seems small; there were twenty generations from Leonidas, the contemporary of Hecataeus, to Zeus (vii. 204).

[2] **ἐὼν μέγα**. It is strange that H. only refers in this cursory manner to the gigantic buildings at Thebes (Karnak); this is one of the passages used by Sayce to prove that H. never went (p. xxvii) up the Nile beyond the Fayûm. Sayce also affirms (*ibid.* and nn. here) that the statues seen by H. were at Memphis, not at Thebes; of this he gives no proof. (For his argument cf. 29 nn.) It may be taken as certain that H. had never been in the great pillared hall with its 140 columns; only high

officials were admitted to this; but he may well have been in the chambers on the south of the great court. H. has been partially confirmed by M. Legrain's discovery of a number of statues at Karnak in 1904 and 1905; over 16,000 objects were taken out of a pit, of which 600 were statues; only some of these, however, were of priests, and wood was the exception, not the rule, as material. Cf. *R. de T.* xxvii. 67; xxviii. 148. Wood, however, is a material which perishes easily, and we may accept the summing up of Sourdille, who (*H.E.*, 190–8) discusses the whole subject fully, "it is at least certain that many priests obtained permission to dedicate their statues, that some of these were of wood, that inscriptions enable to follow for generations the history of many families" (p. 198). H., in fact, as usual, generalizes too much from data correct in themselves.

**τοσούτους:** i.e., 341 (142. 1); H. writes loosely, meaning a number corresponding to the number of kings. Hecataeus actually would have seen 345, for he visited Egypt some 140 years (i.e., four generations) after the time of Sethos (the 341st king).

[4] **οὐ δεκόμενοι:** this is too absolute (cf. Sourdille, *R.*, 56). The Pharaohs were by title the "sons of Ra," and stories of divine fatherhood occur on the monuments, e.g., Amenophis III is son of Amon at Luxor. H., in fact, contradicts his own statement elsewhere (cf. i. 182. 1 nn.). In Egyptian, *πίρωμις* = "the man," here wrongly translated "the gentleman." The mistake spoils the point of the priests' answer, viz., that *mortal* had been born of *mortal*, without a god coming in, for this long period. Whether the mistake be due to the interpreter's vanity, or to H.'s desire to outdo the family distinctions of Hecataeus, must remain uncertain.

"Piromis," as a proper name, may have been familiar to H., for it occurs in an inscription from Halicarnassus, l. 17 (Newton's *Essays*, p. 427, l. 17).

## ii. 144

**τοιούτους:** of human shape, and so mortals.

[2] Manetho (frag. 1) puts Horus last of the first set of god-rulers (145 n.), not, as H. here, just before mortal rule; by a similar mistake H. puts Osiris among the last set of god-rulers (145. 1). But the Turin Papyrus and the monuments alike put immediately before Menes the "Horus worshippers" as rulers (Meyer, i. 192), which explains H.'s statement here. Horus, as the god of light, was identified with Apollo. For his story and that of Osiris cf. 62. 1 n.; for Osiris, also 42. 2 n.

## ii. 145

Chaps. 145–6 must be read with chaps. 43–5; they illustrate (1) H.'s pseudo-chronology for early times; (2) his fondness for correcting his countrymen; (3) above all his views on Egyptian religion. He divides the Egyptian pantheon into three classes, the eight original gods, the twelve others born from them, and a third series, of indeterminate number, born from the twelve. He seems to mean this as a classification of Egyptian gods in general (145. 1); but if this is his meaning, he is inconsistent, for he says elsewhere (chap. 42) that only Isis and

Osiris were worshipped by all the Egyptians. He further identifies these gods with the rulers of Egypt before the period of Menes (πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, 144. 2). The origin of his information may have been chiefly Memphis, for it is the temple of Ptah (Hephaestus) to which he continually refers (cf. app. x, § 10); but he also refers to Mendes (46. 1). How far Egyptian tradition really underlies these statements of H. is disputed. Brugsch (*Religion der Alten A.*, p. x) explains the "eight" as corresponding to the eight original "cosmogonic" deities, while the "twelve" are made up by the addition of Thoth, the "thought" of the original god personified, and of the divine Triad of Toum, Hathor, and Harpocrates (the father, mother, and son). H.'s third series of gods he explains as local gods, to whom "special worships were founded after the pattern of the cosmogonic twelve (p. xi).

It will be seen at once that, if this were the real Egyptian view, H. has reproduced it very inaccurately; but Maspero (*M.A.E.* ii, 184–7, 237 seq.) rejects Brugsch's whole system as "an attempt to get from polytheistic texts a monotheistic theology." It must suffice to say here (1) that the usual division of the Egyptian pantheon was into three "nines," of which the first was far the most important; the "enneads" of Heliopolis were the best known; (2) that H. is wrong in putting Osiris in his third class (chap. 145); he belonged to the great "ennead"; (3) that he is right, according to Egyptian ideas, in making the gods to have been rulers of Egypt.

Sourdille (cap. 2) criticizes H.'s views on Egyptian religion generally; he sums up: "H.'s starting-point is really Egyptian (e.g., the threefold division), his development rests on conceptions entirely different" (p. 54).

For the calculations and inconsistencies of this chap. cf. app. xiv, § 2.

[2] πρόσθε: cf. 43. 4.

[4] Ἐομέω. The oldest authority for this scandal against the virtuous Penelope is Pindar (Servius on Verg. *Georg.* i. 16). It was this Pan who was reported "dead" by the mysterious voice in the Aegean during the reign of Tiberius (Plut. *De Def. Or.* 17, *Mor.* 419).

## ii. 146

ἀμφοτέρων: i.e., Dionysus and Pan; there is no construction, but περί may have fallen out before πάρεστι. If the text be sound, however, ἀμφοτέρων must mean "the Greek and the Egyptian views"; translate "A man can adopt whichever of these two," etc.

ἀποδέδεικται: i.e., that Pan is the Egyptian god of Mendes (chap. 46), and that Melampus brought the worship of Dionysus from Egypt (chap. 49).

εἰ μὲν γὰρ κτλ. H.'s argument is that the cases of Heracles on the one hand and of Dionysus and Pan on the other were not parallel (κατά περ Ἡ. κτλ.). Heracles (chap. 43) was the son of Amphitryon, who after a long life had been identified with an Egyptian god; but as to Pan and Dionysus, their stories (§ 2) showed they had never existed as men. They had not become "famous" (φανεροί) like

Hercules, and so “taken the names of gods who had existed before.” The Greeks therefore, he thinks, borrowed them from Egypt, and made the date of the introduction of their worship (ἀπ’ οὗ ἐπέϋθοντο κτλ.) into the date of their birth. Stein ingeniously shows that this actually was done in the worship of Dionysus; Melampus, its mythical founder (49. 3), was a contemporary of Labdacus; for their respective great-grandsons, Amphiaraus (cf. *Od.* xv. 241 seq.) and Polynices, were both among the “Seven against Thebes.” But Labdacus and Dionysus were contemporaries, as both grandsons of Cadmus; therefore to the Greek genealogers, Melampus would be a contemporary of Dionysus (cf. app. xiv, § 2).

[2] ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ: in iii. 111. 1 H. says the Arabs say that cinnamon grows “in the land where Dionysus was brought up” (i.e., Ethiopia). Cf. iii. 97. 2 n. for the Ethiopians who worship Dionysus round Νύση ἢ ἰσῆ; also 29.7 nn. It is noticeable, however, that H. only gives the connection between Dionysus and Ethiopia as the belief of Greeks and Arabs, not as his own.

## ii. 147–82

*The history of Egypt under the Saite dynasty, when the Greeks had renewed their intercourse with it.*

### ii. 147

H. rightly emphasizes the change in the character of his sources (147. 1; cf. 154. 4 and app. x, §§ 10–11).

[2] ἄνευ βασιλέως. H. for once drops his Egyptian sympathies and ironically says the natives “though freed” could not get on “without a king.” Diodorus (i. 66) calls the state of Egypt ἀναρχία.

δωδέκα. There is no trace of this “dodecarchy” on the monuments; Diodorus (ut sup.) repeats the figure, and adds that the twelve ἡγεμόνες ruled fifteen years, and that the victory of Psammetichus was at Momemphis. H.’s story seems to correspond to the broad facts, though it has been made too symmetrical, and adorned with religious motives by his priestly informants at Buto. The number “twelve” is probably a Greek interpolation; Maspero (iii. 488 n.), who compares the “twelve great gods” (chap. 43) which the Greek version gave, says the monuments give us the names of more than twenty petty rulers at this time. The rivalry of chiefs at this period in the Delta is illustrated by a contemporary demotic romance published in 1897 (cf. Petrie, iii. 321 seq.). Lying between the Assyrian and the Ethiopian conquerors (cf. apps. ii, § 3; x, § 9), they had gained a state of semi-independence.

For Necho, perhaps the chief of them, cf. 152. 1 n.

### ii. 148

λαβύρινθον. The name is Greek, perhaps connected with λαύρα (an “alley”); for the connection cf. Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 117 seq., 228, and v. 119. 2 n. It properly belongs to the great pre-hellenic palace of Knossus; as there was a direct

connection between Minoan civilization and the twelfth dynasty culture, the Greeks were justified in their comparison.

The building here described by H. (also by Strabo 811) was originally built by Amenemhêt III (101. 4 n.), and was continued by his daughter (queen 1791–1788); only their names have been found among the ruins, and no trace of the work of the twenty-sixth dynasty. H. is therefore wrong in attributing it to the “twelve kings”; but most classical writers are also wrong (e.g., Strabo). Manetho (frag. 35; ii. 560), however, rightly gives it to a king of the twelfth dynasty, calling him “Lamares” which seems to be one of the names of Amenemhêt III (cf. Meyer, i. 281 n.). The “Labyrinth” was considered one of the “seven wonders of the world”; it was not only a temple, but also the seat of government; each nome had its own set of chambers in it.

**Κροκοδείλων . . . πόλιν.** For this town cf. 69. 1. It lies close to the modern Medînet-el-Fayûm. Strabo (811) says the Labyrinth was 100 stadia from it.

ἤδη, “so far,” with λόγου μέζω (cf. Liddell & Scott s.v. I. 5).

Although the Labyrinth has perished its foundations remain, and their area is “enough to include all the temples of Karnak and Luxor” (Petrie, i. 188); they measure 1,000 feet by 800; it was identified by Petrie in 1888; for a description cf. his “Hawara,” *E.E.F.*, 1889, pp. 5–8.

[2] For the temple at Ephesus cf. i. 92. 1 n., for that of Samos, iii. 60. 4 n., where H. says it was “the greatest of all temples we know” (i.e., of Greek temples). For the bearing of this passage on the date of H.’s visit to Egypt cf. app. ix, § 1.

[4] The chief differences between the accounts of H. and of Strabo are:

(1) H. says there were twelve ἀυλαί, Strabo (787, 811) implies there were more—one for each of thirty-six nomes; but he also seems to give the number as twenty-seven.

(2) H. says the “courts” had “openings facing each other” (§ 4), Strabo that they were ἐφ’ ἓνα στίχον, and that they opened on a long wall.

(3) H. says nothing distinct (but cf. § 7) of the absence of wood or of the monolithic roofs, Strabo nothing of the “underground chambers” (§ 5).

It would be impossible to construct a building according to the description of either H. or Strabo; and it is obvious that a “labyrinth” defies description, at any rate by a mere visitor led through part of it as was H. (§ 5). It is therefore needless to attempt to account for the contradictions, etc., by supposed later additions to the Labyrinth during the 450 years between the visits of the two travellers.

**κατάστεγοι.** The courts were “covered in,” not open as usual; H. conceives them as arranged six a side, along a corridor, from which, being no doubt higher, they were lighted. Stein compares the pillared hall at Karnak, where also the walls and pillars are covered with “figures carved on” (τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων (§ 7); cf. 136. 1). H. is right that the main feature of the building was the great number and the

equal size (speaking generally) of its chambers; there was not the usual great central court, for it was not dedicated to any one deity (cf. Petrie, *ut sup.* p. 7).

[6] **στεγέων** seems to be the same as οικήματα just below, i.e., the minor “chambers” as opposed to the “courts.”

**είλιγμοί**, “the goings this way and that,” not “winding ways.” The **παστάδες** are “pillared corridors” between the “chambers.”

[7] **ζῶα**, “hieroglyphics”; cf. i. 70. 1 n.

For the pyramid at Hawara cf. Petrie, i. 184 seq.

## ii. 149

Lake Moeris (for the name cf. 101 n.) “was the natural basin of the Fayûm oasis, regulated and utilized by Amenemhét III” (Petrie, i. 192, with whom Breasted, pp. 193–4, agrees). The Fayûm in its lowest parts is over 120 feet below the sea level, and was originally filled with water by the Nile; some parts of it, however, e.g., the site of Arsinoe, were inhabited even under the Old Empire, and more of it was reclaimed by the great kings of the twelfth dynasty, especially Amenemhêt III. He also regulated the flow of the Nile, using the lake to hold the surplus of the high Nile, and then letting the water go as it was wanted. In fact his work was an anticipation of the Barrage and the dam at Assouan. Owing to the rise in height of the Nile valley on the east side, Lake Moeris gradually became useless for controlling the Nile flood, but the work of reclamation was greatly extended under the Ptolemies. Only the Birket Karûn is now left, on the northwest of the district; this lake is thirty-four miles long.

The topography of Lake Moeris was finally settled by Major Brown (*The Fayûm and L. M.*, 1892); for a good summary cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayûm Towns (E.E.F.*, 1900, pp. 1–17); they say H.’s “mistakes, such as they are, are those of an uncritical eyewitness”; while Strabo, on the other hand, claims to have seen what had ceased to exist 200 years before his time (p. 8).

Other views of Lake Moeris are briefly: (1) that of Linant (published 1843), who first explored the district, that Lake Moeris was on the east side of the Fayûm, held up by huge dykes. This, though long accepted, is now given up. (2) Maspero (p. 131) and Meyer (i. 293) both deny that the lake had anything to do with the regulation of the Nile flood. It will be noticed that H. says nothing as to this.

**ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι**. This figure—about 400 miles—is much exaggerated; the size of Lake Moeris is estimated by Petrie (*Hawara*, p. 2) at about 130 miles; the coast-line is about 180 miles.

[2] **Χειροποίητος**. H. is wrong in calling the lake “artificial.” Strabo (811) rightly says that it is a “natural” (φυσικά) reservoir, but that the sluices (κλειθρα) by which the water is controlled were artificial.

**ἐν μέση**. The nose of one of these colossi, which were not “in the middle of the lake,” but on its east edge, is in the Ashmolean at Oxford (Room II); it is in finely

polished quartzite; their pedestals are still at Biahmu, 4½ miles north of Medînet. They were statues of Amenemhêt III, probably about 39 feet high, or, with their pedestals, 60 feet. H. had only seen the statues from Arsinoe across the lake, and had accepted the greatly exaggerated figures of his guide. (Petrie, *Hawara*, p. 60 and pl. xxvi).

[3] Nissen (*Metrologie*, p. 889, in *I. Mü., Hand. der A. W.* i) says that **δίκαϊαι** here = “of full length,” as opposed to the short stade of “148” metres used by H. in reckoning marches. But H. really seems always to reckon the stade at the same length, i.e., about 200 yards. **δίκαϊαί εἰσι** really = ἴσαί εἰσι, i.e., “are equivalent to.”

[4] The canal (**διώρουχα**) is the Bahr Yûsûf, which leaves the Nile about 200 miles to the south, just below Siût.

[5] Here as elsewhere (cf. app. ix, § 1) the orderly arrangements for government seem to imply that the Persians were in peaceful possession of Egypt. Sayce (F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun*, 1891, pp. 40–1) gives a translation of a Ptolemaic papyrus as to the revenue from the “fish-pots.”

## ii. 150

The interest of this chapter is the light that it throws on H.’s comparative method, and also on the date of his travels. It is natural to suppose that he heard the Nineveh story, presumably in Chaldaea, before he was in Egypt (cf. introd. p. 5).

**τετραμμένη**. The “lake lies north and south” (149. 1); but it had some extension to the west. Translate “with its western parts turned inland along the mountain which lies south of Memphis,” i.e., the Libyan chain, which starts above Memphis and runs south.

[2] **ὀρύγματος**: of the lake (149. 2), not the underground channel, as to the existence of which H. does not commit himself; he seems to distinguish it (in § 1) from the lake by adding **καί**.

[3] Sardanapallus, so far as he is historical, is Assurbanipal (cf. app. ii, § 3), the last of the Assyrian conquerors; Ctesias (*Assyrice* frag. 15, p. 429) wrongly made him the last king of Nineveh, a compound of effeminacy and desperate bravery, as he is represented in Byron’s drama. The story of the treasure-house is that of Rhampsinitus over again (cf. chap. 121).

## ii. 151

This chapter obviously owes its colouring to Greeks; the fulfillment of an oracle by the persons who try to evade it is a common feature in these myths.

[2] **κυνέην**. The origin of this folk-tale is perhaps found in the name “Psamtek.” This seems = “son of a lion”; but it was also explained as “drinking-bowl maker,” Petrie, iii. 321. Stein, however (cf. 162. 1 n.), thinks Psammetichus was wearing the “royal helmet,” and incurred suspicion by using this for a libation.

## ii. 152

Manetho (frag. 66; *FHG* ii. 593) gives three kings of the Saite dynasty before Psammetichus I; of these the third was Necho, father of Psammetichus; he represented one of the families which divided the rule of North Egypt; the centres of the other were Tanis and Bubastis (Maspero, iii. 378–9, 489). Necho is mentioned in Assurbanipal's Annals (*RP*<sup>1</sup> i. 57 seq.; *B.M.G.A.*, 221–2, with picture of the cylinder) first among the twenty kings set up by Esarhaddon in Egypt (*ibid.* 61); they were expelled by Taharka, but restored by Assurbanipal (p. 62). When they revolted against Assyria, Necho alone was restored to his throne (p. 64). There is no mention of his being killed by the Ethiopians, but it is probable. H., here as elsewhere (137. 1 n.), combines all the Ethiopian kings into one; for Necho is mentioned by Assurbanipal in 667 B.C., while Sabacos (Shabako) died before 700. Necho really fell before Tanut Amen, who shared the power of Taharka, the last of the four Ethiopian kings. Cf. for his stele Breasted, iv. 919 seq.

[3] **χρησμός**. Under this oracular form is concealed the important part played by Greek mercenaries in the rise of the Saite dynasty. We learn from the Assyrian inscription (*RP*<sup>1</sup> i. 69) that Gyges of Lydia sent help to Psammetichus, who was also encouraged to throw off the Assyrian yoke by the revolt of Babylon under Shamashshûmûkin (Maspero, p. 572).

## ii. 153

**κολοσσοί**. Egyptian architecture did not employ caryatides. H. means square columns adorned with a statue in front, probably of Osiris, as in the Ramesseum. For Epaphus cf. 38. 1 n.

## ii. 154

For the "camps" at Pelusium and for the "remains" there (§ 5) cf. 30. 2 n.; for Bubastis, 59 n. The rivalry between Ionian and Carian made separate camps desirable.

[2] **ἐρμηνέες**. The "interpreters" formed one of the seven "classes" (chap. 164).

[3] Amasis came to the throne at the head of a native reaction (163. 2); he therefore removed the foreigners from their important post on the east frontier; but he saw that the support of the Greek mercenaries was necessary, and so attached them more closely to his own person. If we may trust a demotic chronicle in the Louvre, Amasis assigned the mercenaries some of the lands and revenues of the temples of Bubastis, Memphis, and Heliopolis (Revillout, *RE* i. 59); cf. iii. 16 n. For the double policy of Amasis, giving back with one hand what he had taken away with the other, cf. the treatment of Naucratis (178 nn.). Steph. Byz. (s.v. mentions τὸ Καρικόν, the Carian quarter, in Memphis, with its mixed population.

[4] **ἀτρεκέως**: cf. 147. 1 n. The word ἀλλόγλωσσος occurs in the great Abusimbel inscription (cf. Roberts, *Epigraphy*, i. 151f.) for the "mercenaries," Greek and other, of Psammetichus II, as opposed to his native troops; the former are commanded by a special commander, Potasimto (cf. Maspero, iii. 537–8 nn.).

**πρωῶτοι.** For the Egyptian dislike of strangers cf. 91. 1; H. has never heard of the Hyksos (cf. app. x, § 6) or of Libyan settlements in Egypt.

[5] **ὄλκοί.** Liddell & Scott take these = “the fixed capstans” of the docks: more probably it = “the slips,” on which ships were built or repaired.

## ii. 155

For the town and oracle of Buto cf. 63. 1 n.

[3] Each side of this shrine was a monolith, and a square of sixty feet (τούτοισι, “in these respects,” i.e., height and length). These dimensions seem incredible, both on general grounds and because the shrine would be the same height as the portico. For a still existing monolith shrine set up by Amasis cf. 175. 3 n.

**παροροφίδα:** probably not the projecting cornice of the roof but the “gable” (τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ ὀρόφου καὶ τοῦ στέγους, Pollux i. 81).

## ii. 156

**δευτέρων,** “of the things next in importance,” as opposed to **θωμαστότατον.**

The floating island is mentioned in frag. 284 of Hecataeus (*FHG* i. 20) ἐστὶ μεταρσίη καὶ περιπλέει καὶ κινέεται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος (cf. introd. § 20). Hecataeus’ form of the name, **Χέμβις,** is nearer to the Egyptian “Chebt” than the form here, **Χέμμις.** It is hard to detect in this passage “the mocking tone” towards his predecessor which Diels (*Hermes* xxii. 420) imputes to H. The idea of floating islands was familiar to the Greeks, e.g., Delos; a modern instance on a tiny scale is the island in Derwentwater; but it need hardly be said that the “astonishment” of H. is justified.

[5] The Egyptians did not conceive of Bubastis as the sister of Horus; either H. himself infers the relationship from that of Apollo and Artemis, who were identified with them, or (more probably) he is telling a local Greek myth, heard by him in Egypt.

[6] It is interesting to note the confidence with which H. speaks of “all preceding poets” (cf. vi. 52 n., introd. § 18). Aeschylus is only mentioned by him here; the tragedy in question is lost; Pausanias (viii. 37. 6) repeats the charge. The harsh word ἤρπασε may perhaps be significant of H.’s jealousy of Aeschylus, as being before him in his discovery of the relationship; it is more natural, however, to suppose that H. forgets his Orientalism, and speaks with resentment of a distortion of the usual Greek mythology.

## ii. 157

The long reign of Psammetichus is confirmed by Manetho (frag. 66; ii. 593) and by the monuments. For his portrait cf. Br. Mus. Egyptian Saloon, No. 20. The capture of Ashdod, though not recorded on the monuments, is historical. Egypt had learned the danger of having Assyria as her immediate neighbour; now that power was breaking up, it was the policy of the Saites to extend their influence over Syria. The length of the siege, however, is a difficulty; it has been explained as

a confusion in tradition, i.e., Psammetichus is made to take after “twenty-nine years” the town which he really took in the twenty-ninth year of his reign. But this is pure conjecture, and it is more probable that Psammetichus took advantage of the Assyrian weakness caused by the Scythian inroad (i. 105 n.), in which case his aggression in Syria would belong to his later years. The figure “twenty-nine” is probably an exaggeration due to Egyptian inaccuracy.

## ii. 158

**διώουξε.** Necho’s naval projects were part of his scheme of resistance to the new power of Babylon, which had risen on the ruins of Assyria. The cities of Phoenicia were always hostile to the great Eastern empires, and it was obvious that the naval force of Egypt would be doubly effective in supporting them, if the Red Sea fleet could join that of the Mediterranean. We may compare the increase in the power of Germany due to the Kiel canal.

The Nile canal was first made by Sethos I (nineteenth dynasty, 1326–1300 B.C.; cf. Petrie, iii. 13); it was represented in one of the scenes in the hall at Karnak. It had, however, silted up by Necho’s time. The work of Darius is confirmed by inscriptions (Hogarth, *A. and A.*, 184) found between the Bitter Lakes and the Red Sea; Darius says, “I ordered to dig this canal from the Nile which flows in Egypt to the sea which begins with Persia. This canal was dug” (Weissbach and Bang, 1893; *Die Alt-Pers. Keilinsch.*, 39; Meyer, iii. 60 adopts this view); the inscription was formerly translated in the opposite sense, to mean that Darius gave up his work (so Prášek, ii. 111). The canal was again rendered navigable under the Ptolemies, and with some variation of direction by Trajan (but this is uncertain); it finally was closed in the eighth century A.D. The remains of the canal at Belbês show that it was some 50 yards wide and 16 to 17 feet deep; cf. vii. 24 (the Mount Athos canal) for the breadth—“two triremes abreast.”

[2] **ἤκται.** It was from the Nile to the Bitter Lakes; here it turned almost at a right angle, following thenceforward pretty much the line of the Suez Canal. The part of it running west and east was on the line of the “Fresh Water Canal” (dug 1858–63); it was made along the natural depression, the Wadi Tûmilât, through which Lord Wolseley advanced in the Tel el Kebir campaign of 1882.

**Patumus** is the Pithom of Exod. i. 11, about ten miles west of Ismailia, the Egyptian Pi-tûmû (i.e., place of the god Tûmû), and has been excavated by Naville (*E.E.F.*, 1903, 4th ed.). For “Arabian” cf. 8. 1 (“the Arabian Mountain”), for the geography generally 8. 3 n.

**κατύπερθε** in both cases = “south of.” The subject to ὀρώουκται is “the canal,” and τὰ πρὸς Ἄ. ἔχοντα is an accusative of respect, with τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Ἄ. depending on it as a partitive genitive. Some, however, make τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα subject.

[3] **μακροή** is almost equivalent to a participle = “extending.”

[4] ἀπαρτί. H. repeats this “exact” figure (which = about 115 miles) in iv. 41, but it is too great; the narrowest part of the isthmus is only seventy miles “from sea to sea.” Strabo (803) gives “1,000 stades” from Pelusium to the Red Sea; this *road* measure may be the cause of H.’s mistake. But Posidonius made it even greater, putting the breadth at “less than 1,500 stades.”

[5] The figure “120,000” is doubtless exaggerated; Mehemet Ali lost only 10,000 in making the Mahmûdieh Canal (from the Nile to Alexandria). Strabo (804) says the canal was stopped by Necho’s death.

## ii. 159

H. is perhaps anachronistic in making Necho’s fleet (in the seventh century) all “triremes”; but Thucydides (i. 13. 2) says triremes were built at Corinth in 704 B.C., and the Cypselids were connected with the Saite dynasty (cf. the name “Psammetichus” among them).

[2] ἐν τῷ δέοντι, “as he needed them”; it would have been natural to mention here the story of the circumnavigation of Africa (iv. 42 nn.).

Μαγδάλω. The battle was really fought at Megiddo, where the coast-road comes out on the plain of Esdraelon: here Thothmes III had beaten the Syrian confederates nearly 1,000 years before. H. confuses this name with “Migdol,” the border fortress of Egypt on the northeast (cf. Exod. xiv. 2; Jer. xlv. 1).

ἐνίκησε. The campaign is described in 2 Kings xxiii and 2 Chron. xxxv. The “good” Josiah was of the Prophets’ party, which urged submission to the powers of the Euphrates valley; there was, however, always a philo-Egyptian party in Judaea.

Κάδυτιν. Only mentioned here and in iii. 5. 1, where H. describes it as “about the size of Sardis” (Hec. frags. 261–2 speaks of Κάνυτις and Κάδυτος). It has been identified with Jerusalem, and its name explained as = “the holy” (cf. the present Arab name “El Kods”); Necho perhaps took Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxvi. 3). But it is clear from iii. 5 that Cadytis was on the coast, at the south end of the road from Phoenicia to Egypt; and H.’s comparison with Sardis, which may rest on his own observation, would certainly not suit Jerusalem, in the days of humiliation after the return from the Exile. Gaza, on the other hand (certainly captured by Necho), was always an important station of the trade-route from Egypt to Syria, and had special connection with Arabia; cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, 182–3.

Some consider that H. is wrong in placing the capture of Gaza in this campaign; Maspero, however, thinks that it was taken on Necho’s return from the Euphrates (cf. Jer. xlvi. 2, “the flood from the north,” which overwhelms the Philistines). It is noticeable that H. knows nothing of the defeat at Carchemish (604 B.C.; cf. Jer. xlvi. 2) which Nebuchadnezzar inflicted on Necho.

[3] ἐσθῆτι. This dedication was a compliment to his mercenaries, many of whom were Carian. The Branchidae temple (cf. i. 46. 2 n.) had been plundered by the

Persians before the birth of H. (v. 36. 3), but there is no need to suppose that he got this fact from Hecataeus.

**ἑκκαίδεκα.** Manetho gives Necho only six years (frags. 66–7: *FHG* ii. 593–5); funeral monuments, however, in the museums of Florence and Leyden confirm H., showing that Necho died in the sixteenth year of his reign. Some (needlessly) try to reconcile the two figures by making Necho rule nine years as regent with his father.

## ii. 160

Psammis is called on the monuments Psamtik (like his grandfather), by Manetho (ut sup.) ψάμμουθις. His coffin (now in the museum at Gizeh) is too small for an adult (*Z.A.S.* xxii. 80); the early death thus implied agrees with his short reign. His most important act was an expedition against Ethiopia (161. 1); it is to this that the graffiti at Abusimbel belong (cf. 154. 4 n.).

The story of the Eleans (transferred by Diod. i. 95 to Amasis) is interesting as showing how completely the Greeks had the English ideas of “sportsmanship,” and how strange these were to other nations; for the impartiality of the Eleans cf. the repartee of Agis in Plut. *Mor.* 215, and more generally Athen. 350.

## ii. 161

[2] **πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι.** Manetho (frag. 66) gives Apries nineteen years, i.e., 589–570 B.C.; but he reigned nominally with Amasis for three years (chap. 169 n.). H.’s “twenty-five” is by any reckoning excessive.

**Τυρίω.** After the second capture of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre in vain for thirteen years. On the retirement of the Babylonian, Apries’ fleet gained the victories here spoken of; this early success of sea-power is more probable than Josephus’ story (x. 11) that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Egypt and killed the king “in the twenty-third year of his reign” (i.e., 582–581); the Jewish historian probably misinterpreted the prophecies (cf. Jer. xliii. 8–13 and Ezek. xxx. 10–19). Nebuchadnezzar, however, in a fragmentary inscription (for which cf. 27. 2 n.), mentions a campaign, perhaps victorious, against Amasis in 568 B.C., and Wiedemann thinks that Egypt was overrun by the Chaldaeans as far as Syene; to this invasion he referred the inscription of Nesuhor (cf. 30. 1 n.), and he still maintains his view, though the Nesuhor inscription has been proved to refer to a revolt of an Egyptian garrison and not with a Chaldaean war. The question must be left open (as by Meyer, i.<sup>1</sup> 497); on the one hand the silence of H. as to such a defeat is easily explicable by the vanity of his Egyptian informants, and Egypt would have been an easy prey, being weak from internal divisions (chaps. 162–3); on the other hand, the prosperity of the reign of Amasis renders a Chaldaean conquest unlikely.

[3] **προφάσιος** = “cause” (i. 29. 1). For the fulfillment of this promise cf. iv. 159; the “cause” was the offered alliance of the Libyan tribes against Cyrene; Apries, true to the policy of his family, was extending his hold along the Mediterranean coast.

[4] No doubt Apries sent his “Egyptian” troops, because his Greek ones could not be trusted against Greeks. The contemporary inscription (169 n.) seems to confirm H. as to the motives of the Egyptian army; “Haunebu (Greeks), one knows not their number, are traversing the North land . . . he (Apries) hath summoned them” (King and Hall, p. 434).

**ii. 162**

κυνέην. The royal “helmet” is familiar on the monuments.

[3] The whole conspiracy has considerable resemblance to Jehu’s (2 Kings ix); but the superiority of the Jewish narrative in dignity and vividness is marked (cf. 141. 3 n.).

**ii. 163**

[2] Momemphis lay on a canal from the Canopic (the western) arm of the Nile to the Mareotic Lake. For the rivalry of Egyptians and natives cf. 154. 3 n. Marea was the frontier post on the west (30. 2 n.).

**ii. 164**

γένεα. H. states his belief in the Egyptian caste system still more clearly in vi. 60, and it was generally believed among the Greeks, though the actual divisions vary, e.g., Plato (*Tim.* 24) gives three, ἱερεῖς, δημιουργοί, and μάχιμοι, of whom the δημιουργοί are divided into νομεῖς, θηρευταί, and γεωργοί; Diodorus (i. 73–4) gives the same division, putting τεχνῖται for the θηρευταί (cf. also Isoc. *Bus.* 15–16; Strabo 787; all, however, make the priests and the military the two first). The Greek belief was too systematized; as a matter of fact there was no strict division of hereditary castes; members of the same family could belong to different classes. But it is true that certain functions were hereditary (e.g., Brugsch enumerates fourteen royal architects in succession from one family at this period), and that the “soldiers” and the “priests” were separated from the mass of the people; so too were certain degraded callings, e.g., that of swineherd (47. 1). Possibly the hereditary tendency grew stronger in the last days of Egyptian independence, under the Saite reaction (Meyer, i.<sup>1</sup> 470–1).

[2] οἱ μάχιμοι. Maspero (iii. 499 seq.) thinks that this organization was the work of Psammetichus after the desertion of his warriors (30 n.); also that the Hermotybies represented his hereditary supporters, and were perhaps of Libyan origin, while the Calasiries were pure Egyptians and had been supporters of the rival house in the Egyptian Delta. The names given by H., however, do not altogether bear out this division, e.g., that of Nathos is placed by Stein in the Egyptian Delta. It is impossible to settle the question, for several of the nomes are differently identified, e.g., those of Chemmis and Papremis (63. 1 n. and iii. 12), and some names in the second list are otherwise unknown.

Three points as to the division are probable: (1) it did not include the Greek mercenaries. Hence Gutschmid’s view must be rejected that the name Λαβαρεῖς, given by Aristagoras (Steph. Byz. s.v.) to the Hermotybies, is connected with

Labara in Caria; (2) that it lasted till Persian times, cf. ix. 32. 1 for the divisions in Mardonius' army; (3) the organization was, at least mainly, for Northern Egypt. "Thebes" (166. 1) alone represents Upper Egypt. The strength and the danger of the Saites alike lay in the Delta.

Spiegelberg (Z.A.S. 1906, xliii. 87–90) says both Καλασίριες and Ἐρμοτύβιες are Egyptian words and = "young men" and "riders" respectively; Καλασίριες was used originally of Nubian troops; but in H.'s day the old sense was forgotten, and both names were applied to infantry. From the Καλασίριες the "fringed robe" (81. 1) derived its name, but ἡμιτύβιον ("apron," Ar. *Plut.* 729) is a Greek word, not Egyptian (as Pollux vii. 71 wrongly says).

**νομῶν.** This division dates from a very early period, Breasted (p. 30) says from pre-dynastic times; it lasted till Roman times. "The nomes were sharply distinguished by religion, customs, and historical development," Meyer, i. 177. Under the Old and the Middle Kingdoms, the power of the nomarchs had become largely hereditary. For a list of the nomes and an account of their organization cf. Maspero, pp. 25 seq., or *BMG* pp. 16–17, but H.'s lists correspond to neither. The number is variously given by Greek writers; the Egyptians sometimes fix it at forty-four, twenty-two for each part of Egypt. For the nomes cf. Steindorf, *Die ägyptischen Gaue* (1909), who thinks the divisions varied greatly at different periods (cf. *CR* xxv. 56).

## ii. 165

**Χεμμίτης.** The position of this nome between "Saite" and "Papremite" seems to show it was in the Delta, and connected with the island (chap. 156) in the Buto lake, not with the town in the Theban nome (chap. 91). The number 160,000, like the "250,000" of chap. 166, is excessive. It is probably only an instance of the weakness of ancient statistics; Wiedemann, however, accepts it as including not only the standing army, but the reserves of "veterans," etc., who were settled in the soldier nomes, and who could be called up, if necessary, for land defence.

## ii. 167

H. is the founder of the comparative method for the study of politics, but he has made enough progress with it to see that a prejudice against handicraft, being common to almost all nations in a primitive stage, is not, of necessity, a proof of borrowing. The only thing he is sure of is (cf. δ' ὧν = "at any rate") that the Greek prejudice is general; for it cf. Arist. *Pol.* vii. 4. 6; 1326a the βάνασσοι are not a real part of the city, and vii. 12. 3; 1331 A the βάνασσος is not to come unsummoned to the ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά. In Laconia the manual arts were practised by Perioeci; cf. Strabo 382 for the τέχνηαι δημιουργικαί of Corinth.

## ii. 168

**γέροια:** for the corresponding privileges of the priests cf. chap. 37. Diodorus (i. 73) says that one-third of the land was set apart for the warrior caste; each warrior received his allotment, which returned to the general stock on his death (cf. 168. 2

οὐδαμὰ ὧστοί). In the Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus (3rd cent. B.C.; edited by Grenfell, 1896), the land is measured in ἄρουραι as here.

πῆχυς. Cf. i. 178. 3 n. where H. distinguishes the “royal” from the ordinary cubit, as being three fingers longer. The Egyptian (i.e., Samian) cubit was 525 millimetres, the “royal” 532.8.

[2] ἐν περιτροπῇ: cf. iii. 69. 6. The land was held on a sort of feudal tenure.

ἄλλοι: if this is read (see critical apparatus) it must mean “another thousand.”

ἀρουστήρ = κοτύλη, i.e., nearly half a pint.

## ii. 169

H.'s account is shown to be very incomplete by a contemporary inscription which is unfortunately much mutilated and variously restored (cf. Petrie, iii. 351, and Breasted, iv. 996 seq.); it describes the battle as fought in the “third year” of Amasis. H. has blended in one two defeats of Apries; he had been allowed nominally to continue on the throne (the joint rule is marked by various monuments); then he rebelled with the Greek mercenaries, and was killed. Cf. 161. 4 n. H. is correct in saying that he received royal burial, and that there was an interval between his first defeat and his death.

[2] For the proud confidence of Apries cf. Ezek. xxix. 3.

[5] The Egyptians were fond of imitating plants in the capitals of their columns; the lotus and the papyrus on these are more common than the palm; cf., for a popular account, Baedeker, cxxxiii seq. (with illustrations).

τοῦ ἰροῦ. In iii. 16. 1 Amasis' tomb seems to be in the palace. Probably temple and palace formed one continuous building; cf. 130. 1, where the sacred cow at Sais is in “a chamber of the palace.”

διξὰ θυρώματα. Some translate a double table or platform (cf. θύρη, 96. 4); but probably “a double door,” i.e., a door with two leaves.

## ii. 170

οὐκ ὄσιον. The reference is to Osiris (cf. 3. 2, 86. 6 nn.). There were graves of Osiris (the Greek “Serapea”) all over Egypt, wherever parts of his body had been found (62 n.); another explanation was that Isis buried coffins of Osiris in many places to deceive Typhon (Strabo 803). These stories are late inventions; the real explanation is that as the cult of Osiris became a sort of general worship in Egypt, various local deities were identified with him.

[2] λίμνη. Such artificial pools were common in Egyptian temples; over them the funeral bark was rowed in grand funerals. The pool at Delos, to the north of Apollo's temple, has been discovered in the recent French explorations there (cf. *PW* iv. 2471). H. had clearly been in Delos before his Egyptian visit.

## ii. 171

**μυστήρια.** For the real meaning of these cf. Farnell, *G.C.*, iii. 130–1. In Egypt and in Greece alike they were marked by the four elements of secrecy, sacrifice, dramatic mimicry, and the communication of a *ἱερὸς λόγος*. But some, including H. probably, and certainly Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 35; *Mor.* 364), have thought that they contained also doctrines of great importance, e.g., as to immortality; this is very doubtful. Cf., for the relations of Greece and Egypt in this matter, Sourdille, *R.* pp. 305–6, and for the supposed derivation of the Eleusinian mysteries from Egypt, Farnell, iii. 141–2 (who rejects the view, cf. 42. 2 n. for a similar theory). For a description of Osiris rites cf. chaps. 61, 62 nn.

[2] **εὐστομα κείσθω:** probably a fragment of an old hymn. The *Θεσμοφόρια* was really a feast of the sowing time; it was celebrated in Attica from the 10th to the 13th of Pyanepsion (end of Oct.). H. also speaks of it at Ephesus (vi. 16. 2); and it was at the *Θεσμοφόριον* (vi. 134. 2) of Paros that Miltiades was seized with his mysterious panic. The festival was that of married women only; for it cf. B. B. Rogers, *Thesmophoriazusae*, introd., or Farnell, *G.C.* iii. 85 seq.; for similar festivals cf. v. 61. 2. H. derives it from Egypt because he identifies Isis with Demeter; to Isis, as to Demeter *Θεσμοφόρος*, was attributed the introduction of agriculture and settled law (Diod. i. 14); but it is not likely the worships were connected; similar rites arise independently in different races.

For Danaus cf. 91. 5 n., for H.'s views on Pelasgians app. xv, for the Arcadians οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες, viii. 73. 1.

## ii. 172

**Σιούφ.** Now Es-Seffeh, a village near Sais; hence Amasis is often called “Saite.”

**δημότην.** The monuments speak of Amasis as brother-in-law of Apries; but he may have been a “man of the people,” and this connection formed after his accession.

[3] The story of the “foot-pan” is referred to in Aristotle (*Pol.* i. 12. 2, 1259b) and frequently elsewhere, especially in patristic literature; it is purely Greek, alike in the political and in the social ideas underlying it.

## ii. 173

H. in iv. 181. 3 gives a fourfold division of the day, ὄρθρος, ἀγορῆς πληθυσούσης (vii. 223), μεσαμβρίη, ἀποκλινομένης ἡμέρης; from iii. 104. 2 (ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος) it is clear that “market time” was about 9 to 11 a.m. μέχρι ὅτεν = μέχρις, cf. i. 181. 3.

[3] **τὰ τόξα κτλ.:** this saying has become a proverb—“Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo” (Hor. *Odes*, ii. 10. 19). Greek fancy wove a web of legends round Amasis, as round Croesus and many other historical persons of the sixth century (cf. i. 29. 1; app. i, § 9). H. as usual avoids the exaggerations of later writers, e.g., that Amasis was a great magician. His account is confirmed by a fragmentary demotic chronicle (cf. 154 n. and *RE* i. 66 seq.). The character of Amasis would appear the

more shocking to his subjects, as the Egyptian king was a religious person, whose life was a round of regular routine (cf. Diod. i. 70 for his obligations, a sketch which Diodorus rightly says (69 ad fin.) is based on native records).

The repetition of the subject ὁ γὰρ is Homeric.

#### ii. 174

The stories in this chapter also are Greek in their mixture of knavery and shrewdness. The behaviour of Amasis may be compared to that of Prince Hal, as Henry V, to Chief Justice Gascoigne and to Falstaff in *Henry IV*, part two, act v (scenes 2, 5).

#### ii. 175

Only huge mounds now remain at Sais which mark the ancient inclosure; but H.'s description is confirmed by Champollion, who says, "this 'circonvallation de géants' surpasses in height the largest works of the same kind."

The colossi stood before the portal, the sphinxes guarded on each side the approach. H. rightly notes that in Egypt the sphinx (unlike the monster of Oedipus) had a man's head. The reality of such creatures was firmly believed; Strabo (775) quotes Artemidorus that among the Troglodytes there are sphinxes, dog-headed men, and other marvels.

[2] εἴκοσι: for this estimate cf. 9. 2 n. For the red granite quarries of Syene cf. 29. 1 n.

[3] As the shrine was lying on its side, H. has given the height as length, and the breadth as height. A smaller monolith chamber of Amasis still exists at Thmuis in the Delta, about 23 feet high, 13 wide, and 11½ deep (for picture cf. Maspero, iii. 643).

#### ii. 176

Maspero, iii. 641, gives a picture of an Osiris lying on his stomach with head raised, which may perhaps give an idea of this "recumbent colossus"; the statuette, however, is only about 6 inches high. Wiedemann thinks H. means the colossus had never been raised into position; but this is not what he says. Strictly ὑπτίον must = "on its back."

#### ii. 177

εὐδαιμονῆσαι. The age of Amasis, as the last king of independent Egypt, was a golden age; Diodorus (i. 31) gives the number of "considerable villages and towns in old times" as over 18,000, and as over 30,000 under Ptolemy Lagus.

[2] θανάτῳ. This law, "the most drastic poor law on record," is a great exaggeration of the Egyptian custom of taking a sort of census of inhabitants and their occupations; but such a punishment for idleness is impossible, though Plutarch (*Sol.* 17) says that at Athens Draco made death the punishment for ἀργία, and that Solon, here as elsewhere, modified his severity. Pollux (viii. 42) gives the

penalty as ἀτιμία, and some (e.g., Theophrastus, *Plut. Sol.* 31) transfer the law to Pisistratus, who did his best to encourage industry (*Ath. Pol.* chap. 16). The law, in its milder form, is in the spirit of Solonian legislation, as shown in his law that all sons were to be taught a trade (*Plut. Sol.* chap. 24); but if it had anything to do with him, it could not have been borrowed from Amasis, who became king 570 B.C., more than twenty years after Solon's legislation (cf. app. xiv, § 6). There was a law against idleness later at Athens (cf. *Dem. Eubul.* 1308, § 37).

ἐς αἰεὶ simply means "they follow it still," a statement which, though untrue, H. may well have believed.

## ii. 178

In this chapter (as in chap. 154) there is a contradiction as to the policy of Amasis; he gains the throne at the head of a native reaction, and yet is a "philhellene." Probably both aspects of his policy are true, and their fundamental and inevitable inconsistency ruined at once his reputation (chaps. 172–4 nn.) and his country; the Saites depended on foreign arms to defend Egypt (iii. 11), and yet these very defenders were hated by the Egyptians. It may be added that H. probably derived much information from the Greeks of Naucratis; to them at any rate Amasis was an undoubted benefactor.

Among the Hellenic friends of Amasis were Solon (cf. 177), Polycrates (iii. 39), and Pythagoras (introduced to him by Polycrates), *Diog. Laert.* viii. 1. 3.

ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν. This passage raises two distinct questions: (1) Did the Greeks settle at Naucratis before the time of Amasis? (2) When did H. think they settled there?

To take (2) first. This passage by itself might mean that the colony at Naucratis dated from Amasis; many, e.g., Hogarth (*BSA* v. 46), think this the "natural interpretation." But H. (135. 1, 5) implies the earlier presence of a Greek community at Naucratis, and his whole story of the Saites implies that the Greeks had free access to Egypt before the limitations of Amasis. H.'s authority then is at least doubtful as to the date of Naucratis.

As to (1) Strabo (801) says πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ ψαμμητίχου τριάκοντα ναυσὶ Μιλήσιοι (κατὰ Κυαξάρην δ' οὗτος ἦν τὸν Μῆδον) κατέσχον ἐς τὸ στόμα τὸ Βολβίτινον εἴτ' ἐκβάντες ἐτείχισαν τὸ λεχθὲν κτίσμα (i.e., τὸ Μιλησίων τεῖχος just mentioned) χρόνῳ δ' ἀναπλεύσαντες ἐς τὸν Σαῖτικὸν νομὸν καταναυμαχήσαντες Ἰνάρων πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν. This may well be a piece of genuine tradition, that Miletus took a prominent part in assisting Psammetichus; Inarus would be one of his rivals, possibly one of "the dodecarchy." For further evidence that Miletus founded Naucratis cf. *Athen.* vii. 283; for the Greeks in Egypt before Amasis cf. chap. 154 nn. and *Steph. Byz.* s.v. Ἑλληνικόν.

The archaeological evidence is variously interpreted. Petrie and E. A. Gardner, who explored the site in 1884–6, held that the early date was proved, *E.E.F.* 1886–8,

Naucratis; cf. P. Gardner, *N.C.G.H.*, 187 seq.; on the other hand, Hogarth, who resumed the digging in 1899, maintains that nothing had been found inconsistent with the later date, of about 570 B.C., which Hirschfeld and others had always maintained on epigraphical evidence (for this cf. Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, 159 seq., 323 seq.).

The site of Naucratis was conclusively identified by Petrie at Nebîreh on a canal from the Canopic Nile, outside the Delta.

[2] The Hellenion was identified by Petrie with an enclosure capable of holding 50,000 men, to the south of Naucratis (cf. P. Gardner, *ut sup.*, pp. 209–10 for a description); this, however, was in the Egyptian quarter of the town, and was probably a native fort to overawe the strangers. The real site was discovered in 1899 on the north of the town (*BSA* v. 42 seq.). In this were found a number of dedications to θεοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλήνων or Ἑλληνίοις; this unusual form marks the composite character of the colony, which was forced into unity in face of their barbarian neighbours; cf. v. 49. 3, 92. n 5 for the only other uses of Ἑλληνίος in plur., both in impassioned appeals to Greek sentiment. The lists here are interesting as indicating the comparative commercial importance of Greek towns in the seventh century; it is to be noted that Aegina is the only representative of old Greece.

**Ῥόδος:** the towns of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus, not synoecized till 408 B.C.

[3] **προστάτας:** these were the “consuls” or trade representatives of the towns; the magistrates of the city were perhaps called τιμοῦχοι (Hermias, *FHG* ii. 80–1, an interesting passage as to the feast to the Grynean Apollo in the prytaneum at Naucratis). The officers of the towns probably stood to the magistrates as the heads of the trade-guilds to the authorities of a mediaeval town.

**ὄσαι δὲ ἄλλαι:** religious and trade privileges were closely connected.

## ii. 179

**τὸ παλαιόν:** in the days of Amasis, as contrasted with H.’s own day. Naucratis was the treaty port, as Canton and Nangasaki were originally in China and in Japan.

**περιάγειν:** by internal navigation, over canals and the various arms of the Nile.

## ii. 180

**κατεκάη.** For the burning of the Delphic temple cf. i. 50. 3 n. H., by adding ἀυτόματος here, refutes, perhaps intentionally, the story that it was set on fire by the Pisistratidae (Philoch. frag. 70; *FHG* i. 395).

**ἐπέβαλλε:** impersonal here with a construction like ἔδεε; used personally it takes the dative.

[2] **στυπτηρίης.** The Egyptian “alum” was the best; it was used in dyeing; Wiedemann suggests that it was used for making the wood fireproof. Stein thinks

that ἀργυρίου is to be supplied to μνέας: more probably H. intends to contrast the liberality of the king with the meanness of the Greeks.

## ii. 181

The alliance with Cyrene was a natural reversal of the policy of Apries.

Wiedemann says the story of the marriage is a fabrication; his reasons are: (1) The uncertainty as to the bride's parentage (but this really confirms the story's accuracy; a fiction would have left no doubt on the subject). (2) The improbability that Cambyses would give up a valuable hostage, when intending to attack Cyrene. (3) The fact that Ladike is not mentioned on the monuments. It is always dangerous to reject a well-authenticated tradition on merely *a priori* grounds; Maspero, iii. 646, accepts it.

[2] Βάττου. Stein thinks Battus II, "the happy," who came to the throne about 574 B.C. (iv. 159), is meant; but the dependent position of Ladike seems to agree rather with the circumstances of Battus III, iv. 161.

[3] ἀπολωλέναι. The tense expresses proleptically the certain doom.

[5] H.'s details go far to prove that he had seen the statue.

## ii. 182

εἰκόνα. "A portrait made like with painting," probably a picture on wood, such as are found on mummies of the Graeco-Roman period. It was no doubt the work of a Greek artist. We may compare the Egyptian portraits in the National Gallery (nos. 1260–70), though these are of the second or third century A.D.

θώρηκα. For the corselet cf. iii. 47. 3 n.; the groundwork was linen threads with "figures (ζῶα) embroidered in gold and cotton"; cf. Ezek. xxvii. 7 "fine linen with brodered work from Egypt."

τῆ Ἡρα. For the Heraeum cf. iii. 60. 4.

[2] Λίνδον. The real reason for this dedication was that the usual trade-route from the Aegean to Egypt was by Rhodes (cf. chap. 178; Thuc. viii. 35. 2) and Cyprus. Phaselis (178. 2) was important on this route.

Κύπρον. H. knew nothing of the conquest by Sargon, 709 B.C. (5. 104 n.); Amasis was the "first" Egyptian to conquer Cyprus.

As H. introduces his long digression on Egypt with a reference to the conquest of the Greeks (chap. 1. 2), so he skillfully concludes with a similar reference.

## Book III

### iii. 1

The δῆ refers back to ii. 1, after the long digression on Egypt.

The personal motive is characteristic of H. (cf. introd. p. 45); the alliance of Egypt with Lydia (i. 77) and mere lust of conquest (i. 153. 4) were fully sufficient causes for the attack on Egypt.

For the Egyptian doctors cf. 129. 2 (their failure against Democedes) and ii. 84.

### iii. 2

The law that the Persian king should only marry from the families of "the Seven" (84. 2 n.) may not yet have been passed; but Amasis knew his daughter would be regarded as a sort of captive; the chief wives were always Persian. The story that Cambyses was the son of an Egyptian princess was given by Dinon (*flourit* ca. 360 B.C.) and Lyceas of Naucratis (*FHG* ii. 91; iv. 441); that of H. in chap. 1 is even more incredible; a daughter of Apries would have been at least 40 in 529 B.C.; Ctesias (frag. 8. 225) for once agrees with H. The story of chap. 2 is due to the vanity of a conquered nation (as H. saw), claiming a share in its conqueror (cf. app. iv, §4); but all the variants are probably derived from Egyptians, who wished that their own country should have a share in suggesting its own conquest. The princess is the heroine of Ebers' famous romance, *Eine ägyptische Königstochter*.

### iii. 4

No doubt the story of Phanes was familiar to H. from his childhood; the name (which is not a common one) is read on a vase found in many fragments (now in the Br. Mus.) by Petrie (Naucratis, 1886; *E.E.F.*, p. 55, pl. 33).

**Ἀραβίων βασιλέα.** H. wrongly considers the Arabians as *one* nation; Cambyses' ally would be simply a powerful chief.

For the dangers of this desert cf. the sufferings of the retreating French in 1799 (Lanfrey, i. 297).

A unique coin found at Halicarnassus and now in the British Museum bears the inscription φαινός ἐμὶ σῆμα, "I am the sign of Phanes." It is at least as early as 525 B.C., and may have been struck by the mercenary captain to pay his men. But it is more usually connected with Ephesus, and the inscription is then translated "I am the sign of the bright one"; cf. Head, *H.N.* p. 571.

### iii. 5

For Kadytis cf. ii. 159 n.

The Palestine Syrians are here distinguished by H. from the Phoenicians (so too in ii. 104); their lands also are distinguished in i. 105 (probably), iii. 91. 1, and iv. 39. 2; in ii. 106. 1 he applies the term to include the coast north of Mount Carmel. But the

most important reference is vii. 89, where H. distinguishes the “Syrians in Palestine” from the Phoenicians, and then goes on (§ 2) to use “Palestine” of all the coast land, including Phoenicia, “as far as Egypt.” He never uses it of Phoenicia alone. Here he means “Philistines,” who were still powerful in his time (Zech. ix. 5); it is true that he says they were circumcised (ii. 104. 3), but he says (ibid.) the same of Phoenicians. Either the neighbouring tribes had begun to copy the Jews in this rite, or H. confuses the Jews and the coast peoples. He cannot have meant by the “Palestine Syrians” “the Jews” only, for they were at this time very unimportant.

[2] The ancient geographers did not usually extend “Arabia” to the Mediterranean, nor does H. himself in iv. 39. He means here that the ends of the trade routes from Arabia to the Mediterranean were under Arabian control (cf. iii. 107 seq. for this spice trade); he writes τοῦ Ἀραβίου, “in possession of the Arabian,” not τῆς Ἀραβίης, for the Arabs of South Palestine as dependent allies (not subjects) of the Persians cf. 88. 1 n.

**Jenysus** must have been a little further from Egypt than the once important port of Rhinocolura (Strabo 781), as Titus marched from Pelusium (a day west of Mount Casius) to Rhinocolura in three days (Joseph. *B.J.* iv. 11. 5), and H. allows “three days” from Mount Casius to Jenysus. Its name has been traced in “Khan Jûnes,” the traditional site of the casting-up of Jonah; but this is too far from Egypt, and its name “resting place of Jonah” obviously dates from Mahometan times.

For Mount Casius and the Serbonian Lake cf. ii. 6. 1 n.

[3] The Egyptians called the Serbonian Lake Τυφῶνος ἐκπνοαί (Plut. *Ant.* chap. 3), and Strabo (763) describes it ὡς ἂν ζέοντος ὕδατος, and says ἀναφυσᾶται κατὰ καιροὺς ἀτάκτους. Typhon, the hundred-headed (Τυφῶς Κίλιξ ἑκατόγκρανος, Pind. *Pyth.* viii. 16) son of Tartarus and Gaia, was placed by Homer, *Il.* ii. 783 εἰν Ἀρίμοις—probably in Cilicia. Afterwards his burial place was transferred to Etna (Pind. *Ol.* iv. 11), and to other volcanic regions. When he was identified with the Egyptian Set (ii. 144. 2 n.), it was also placed in Egypt.

### iii. 6

[2] The “demarchs” were local headmen, under the nomarchs (cf. ii. 177. 2 n., and for the nome names ii. 164 n.).

H.’s story is confirmed by the name “Ostrakine” (Joseph. *ut sup.*) which, lying half-way between Mount Casius and Rhinocolura, was “waterless.” Steindorf in 1904, visiting the oasis of Siwah, came upon a collection of broken pottery which he thought might be the remains of a water store such as that described here.

**παλαιόν:** sc., κέραμον. Translate “being emptied (ἐξαίεόμενος) is carried where the former jars have been carried.”

### iii. 7

**σάξαντες:** sc., κέραμον. Others less probably supply ἐσβολήν, i.e., “having provided the invasion with water.”

### iii. 8

The fidelity of the Arabs is still proverbial. Cf. Kinglake, *Eothen*, chap. xvii, p. 202 (ed. of 1864).

**τῶν βουλομένων:** in loose apposition to ἀμφοτέρων κτλ. The employment of a mediator is an Oriental characteristic (cf. Heb. viii. 6).

**δακτύλους.** For touching “thumbs” with blood, etc., cf. the cleansing of the leper (Lev. xiv. 25, 28).

**λίθους ἑπτὰ.** The number “7” is of course sacred. For stones as a witness cf. Gen. xxxi. 45–8, “Galeed,” and Josh. xxiv. 26–7. On the whole of this passage, so important anthropologically, cf. Robertson Smith, *R.S.*, 315–16, and Tylor, *P.C.* ii. 381. By the mixture of blood the stranger was admitted to fellowship with the tribe, or if an Arab of a different clan (ἀστός), to fellowship with the clan. No doubt, in the rite originally, the parties tasted each other’s blood; the idea was that “the blood is the life.”

The gods appealed to are in H. the common gods of the race; but the touching of the stones goes back to an earlier time, when “the new tribesman has to be introduced to the god” (of the particular tribe). For other instances of blood covenant cf. Lydia, i. 74, Scythia, iv. 70, Armenia, *Tac. Ann.* xii. 47, and, among the Balonda on the Zambesi, Livingstone, *Travels* (1855), p. 488.

[3] **τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρήν.** For the Arab hair cutting cf. Jer. ix. 26 R.V. “those that have the corners of their hair polled, that dwell in the wilderness” (cf. also Lev. xix. 27). The custom was forbidden to the Jews because the heathen dedicated their hair to their gods (Robertson Smith, *ibid.* p. 325). Translate “they cut it in a ring (περιτρόχαλα used adverbially), shaving round under the temples.” It was in cutting the hair on the temples that the Arabs were different from the Greeks.

Orotalt is explained (Movers, *Phön.* i. 337) as “ignis dei,” i.e., the sun or the star Saturn; Alilat (i.e., Al-Ilat, “the goddess”) is at once the moon and the evening star. The pair correspond to the Baal and Ashtoreth of the North Semites; they are at once heavenly deities, and the powers of destruction and reproduction. Robertson Smith, however (*Kinship*, 298 seq.), says that they are the great nature goddess and her son (and husband) Dusares. H. (i. 131. 3 n.) gives a list of the various names of the goddess, to which we may add “Argimpasa” (4. 59). For other unconvincing explanations of “Orotalt” cf. Gruppe, *Myth. Liter.* (1908), p. 579.

### iii. 9

[2] There is no “great river” running into the Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα (here = “Red Sea”; but cf. i. 1 n.). The conduit of skins, however, seems to be a distorted version of a real fact. Chesney (*Euphrates Exped.* ii. 657) says it “represents the primitive

Kanáτ," i.e., subterranean water-course, common in Western Asia; Elphinstone (i. 398) says he has heard of them thirty-six miles long. For these (between Media and Parthia) cf. Polyb. x. 28 and (in the desert of Kerman) M. Polo i. chap. 20 (i. 124).

### iii. 10

The "Psammenitus" of H. and the "Psammicherites" (or Psammecheres) of Manetho (*FHG* ii. 594) are both transliterations of the Egyptian name "Psamtik." The Greeks varied as much in their rendering of Oriental names as English scholars do in dealing with Indian ones.

Ctesias (9. 66) calls him Amyrtaeus, confusing him with the fifth-century rebel (15. 3 n.); in his story, Combaphes, a eunuch, plays the part of Phanes and "betrays the bridges."

[2] The length of the reign of Amasis is correctly given; for H.'s accuracy in Saite chronology cf. app. x ad fin.

[3] Maspero (iii. 660) quotes the Egyptian story that the French invasion of 1797 was foretold by rain at Luxor; he adds that he never heard of rain at Luxor during six winters there. Rain, however, is now more frequent in Upper Egypt; cf. Budge, *Sûdan*, i. 71, where he gives a gruesome story of the effects of a storm in 1887. At Thebes it rains a little three or four times a year.

### iii. 11

[3] ἔμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος. For the blood pledge among the Scyths cf. iv. 70. Stein conjectures that this "brotherhood of the sword" was connected with the worship of the Carian Zeus Στροάτιος. For a similar ghastly pledge among desperate men cf. Sall. *Cat.* 22. For human sacrifices before a battle cf. the doubtful story of Themistocles before Salamis (from Phaneas, Plut. *Them.* chap. 13); for the whole subject of human sacrifices among the Greeks cf. vii. 197 n.

### iii. 12

[4] πίλους, "felt caps," added to explain τιάρας: cf. ἀξίνας σαγάρις (vii. 64). Wilkinson (ii. 74) says that both the monuments and modern experience confirm H.'s statement as to the hardness of Egyptian skulls.

For the whole passage cf. introd. § 5 and app. ix, § 1; it dates H.'s visit to Egypt as in or after 460 B.C.

### iii. 13

[3] οἱ προσεχέες. i.e., the Libyans west of Egypt; for their names and customs cf. iv. 168 seq.

For the surrender of Cyrene by Arcesilaus III cf. iv. 165 n.

### iii. 14

[2] Cf. the foreboding of Hector as to Andromache (*Il.* vi. 456 sq.) and Lord Leighton's picture.

[5] For the seven royal judges (Pers. Dâtabara = θεσμοφόρος) cf. app. vi, § 2 and chap. 31. Their office was as dangerous as it was honourable (v. 25; vii. 194). They are to be distinguished from the seven “princes of Persia” (cf. iii. 70 n.), though the number (like “twelve” in the various juries of mediaeval England) constantly recurs, e.g., Cyrus (Xen. *An.* i. 6. 4) summons a court of the seven noblest Persians to try the traitor Orontas.

As the Mytilenaeon trireme had a crew of 200 (cf. vii. 184. 1) the number of Egyptians executed was 2,000 (200 x 10).

[10] ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδῶ is probably an intentional echo of the words of Priam (*Il.* xxii. 60).

### iii. 15

[2] The custom seems to have been usual in the East; so Pharaoh Necho appointed Jehoiakim to be king over Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 34), and Nebuchadnezzar, Zedekiah (*ibid.* xxiv. 17).

[3] Inaros, the Libyan king (12.4 and Thuc. i. 104, 109–10), rebelled in 460 B.C.; his rebellion was the cause of the disastrous Athenian expedition (459–454). Ctesias (chap. 36. 73) tells us that after his surrender his life was spared for five years; but he was then given up to the Persian queen-mother, Amytis, who impaled him in vengeance for his killing her son Achaemenes.

The names of Thannyras and Pausiris have not been found on the monuments, but these seem to show some of the Egyptian royal family as governors. The general control, however, was given to Aryandes (iv. 166).

Amyrtaeus was ruler of Lower Egypt, and took part in the revolt of Inaros; the last certain mention of him is in 449 B.C. (Thuc. i. 112), when he was still holding out in the Marshes (cf. ii. 140); he may be the “king of Egypt” (Plut. *Per.* 37) who sent corn to Athens 445–444, but Philochorus (frag. 90; *FHG* i. 399) says this came from Psammetichus, king of Libya, the son of Inaros. The old view, that he is the “Amyrtaeus” of the twenty-eighth dynasty (405–400 B.C., Man. frag. 70; *FHG* ii. 596) is impossible, not so much because of the length of reign (cf. ii. 140 for a curiously exact parallel), but because this second Amyrtaeus was succeeded by another native dynasty, not by a Persian nominee, as H. here states.

[4] αἶμα τάρου. This was the fabled cause of the death of Themistocles (cf. *Ar. Eq.* 83–4 and Plut. *Them.* 31); the blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker (*Arist. Hist. An.* iii. 19).

### iii. 16

According to the inscription on a statue (the Naophorus) in the Vatican, set up by Uza-hor-ent-res, admiral of Amasis and Psammetichus III (*RP*, x. 49; cf. Petrie, iii. 361–2), Cambyses at first paid respect to the goddess Neith, cleansed her temple, and restored her revenues, which had been alienated for the Greek mercenaries. This was a reversal of the policy of Amasis (ii. 154 n.), and along with the outrage

on his mummy was an appeal to the party in Egypt which had hated him. It was also the usual Persian policy towards the religion of subject peoples. Cf. Cyrus in Babylon (C.C. 27 seq. in *RP*<sup>2</sup>, v. 167), and also his attitude towards the Jews (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23).

This inscription, however, is not inconsistent, as some maintain, with H.'s story of the outrage on Apis (chap. 29), which took place after the disastrous expedition against Ethiopia; it speaks of a period of "great woe in all the land," and Uza-hor-ent-res himself left Egypt (perhaps fleeing from Cambyses), and was recalled by Darius (§ 7). Moreover, panegyrics on a monarch's piety are apt to be misleading (cf. "our most religious and gracious King, George IV," though the parallel is only a partial one). Maspero, therefore (iii. 668 seq.), accepts H.'s narrative as to Cambyses (as does also Meyer, i.<sup>1</sup> 508 doubtfully); but it is rejected by many as due to Egyptian hatred of their conqueror; Duncker (vi. 170) argues that Egypt would never have remained quiet, had its religion been outraged thus. (See further chap. 29 nn. and app. v, § 3.)

**ταφῆς:** cf. ii. 169 n.; the name of Amasis is found to have been erased in several monuments at Sais and elsewhere.

[2] For the impiety of polluting fire by burning a dead body cf. app. viii, § 4, and i. 86 n. (the story of Croesus); i. 131. 2 n.

[5] ἡλικίην, "stature" (cf. Matt. vi. 27).

The mummy of the queen of Amasis from Thebes is in the British Museum; the gilding on it shows it was not burned.

### iii. 17–26

*Expeditions of Cambyses to south and west.* It will be at once obvious how much less H. knows here of the country south of Egypt than he does in ii. 29 seq. For the explanation of this cf. introd. p. 14.

The "long-lived Ethiopians," as described by H., are a mythical people (cf. chap. 20). His account of them is partly based on Homer (*Il.* i. 423; *Od.* i. 23, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαΐαται ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, with whom Zeus (*Il.*) and Poseidon (*Od.*) go to feast), partly on travellers' tales (chap. 18); its exaggeration is natural, as they live at the end of the world to the southwest (iii. 114); so they are "the tallest and fairest of men" (cf. the beauty of Memnon and ἀμύμονες, *Il.* i. 423; *Od.* xi. 522). The tradition of the Egyptian priests would agree with this; Napata was the seat of a strict theocracy; cf. Diod. iii. 5 for the priestly control of the Ethiopian kings. But the Ethiopians who "border on Egypt" (iii. 97. 2 n.) were a real part of the Persian Empire, now probably conquered by Cambyses (cf. app. v, § 4).

### iii. 18

For the "table of the sun" cf. Pomponius Mela, iii. 87, who repeats H., and Paus. vi. 26. 2, who treats it as an impossible fable. It is probably a misunderstood myth; the Egyptians spoke of a "meadow of offerings," to which the souls of the dead came

to eat; this was easily turned into a fact, as food was actually left on the tombs (Maspero, iii. 667 n.). The informants of H. give this myth a Greek colouring by bringing in the sun, and he is the more ready to believe the tale because of the Homeric "feasts" of the Ethiopians (see above)

Heeren (*African Nations*, i. 327 seq.) finds a foundation of fact for the story in the record of Cosmas (sixth century A.D.), who says the traders in the land of Sasu exposed joints of meat in dumb commerce for gold (cf. iv. 196 for similar methods). This explanation is interesting, but the evidence of Cosmas is too late and doubtful to be accepted. Vases, with *animals* (not men) feeding from an altar-like table, were found (1909) at Karanòg in Nubia, which may perhaps be explained by the "table of the sun" (Woolley and MacIver, *Karanòg*, 1910, p. 56). The same explorers (ibid. p. 55) confirm H.'s statement that Dionysus was worshipped at Meroe (ii. 29).

προαστίω, like the "changing officials," is a Greek touch.

### iii. 19

Ἰχθυοφάγων. The "fish-eaters" are placed by Pausanias (i. 33. 4) on the south coasts of the Red Sea; cf. Diod. iii. 15–20 for a marvellous account of them. The Persian messengers went "from Elephantine" to "fetch" them, as the place whence the caravans started southeast from the Nile.

[2] οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσειν. Cf. viii. 22. 1 for a mother-city claiming of her colonies the piety here shown by the Phoenicians.

[3] Grote (iv. 142) supposes that Cyrus had received the submission of the Phoenicians (so Xen. *Cyr.* i. 1. 4); but H. (iii. 34. 4), probably rightly, makes the Persians say that Cambyses προσεκτῆσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν. This annexation explains in part (cf. app. v, § 2) why Egypt was not conquered till the fifth year of Cambyses. It is noticeable that Tyre, which had resisted Assyria and Babylonia desperately, yielded without a struggle to the Persian power, probably because under its local autonomy and religious institutions (chap. 16 n.) were respected.

Cyprus revolted from Egypt (ii. 182. 2) to Persia.

### iii. 20

The gifts resemble those sent to noble Persians; cf. iii. 84 n.

The ἀλάβαστρον was a pear-shaped vessel without handles.

[2] τὸν ἄν . . . κρινῶσι μέγιστον. Nic. Damasc. frag. 142 (*FHG* iii. 463) adds the interesting fact that succession was usually in the female line; but failing a proper heir, the most handsome was selected.

### iii. 21

[2] κατόπται. For the fear of spies cf. Gen. xlii. 9.

[3] τόξα. For the Ethiopian bows cf. vii. 69; the unstrung bow was the symbol for Ethiopia in the hieroglyphs. Bruce (*Travels*, iv 42, ed. of 1805) says the Abyssinian bows are so adorned with bands of hide that in the end they become unbendable.

iii. 22

[4] ὀγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα. Cf. Psalms xc. 10 for this limit of life.

ἀνέφερον: sc., ἔωτούς. For this sense cf. i. 116. 2 ἀνενειχθείς.

iii. 23

Sparig ingeniously explains the longevity of the Ethiopians by the African counting only five months to the year. Speke (*Discovery of Source of Nile*, 1863, p. 511) found this in Unyoro on the Upper Nile, and perhaps the same short reckoning prevailed earlier on the Middle Nile.

[3] A similar "lightness" is attributed to an Indian river, the Silas (Megasthenes, frag. 19; *FHG* ii. 415).

[4] πέδησι χρυσέησι. The whole story is a traveller's tale; but gold was once produced abundantly in Ethiopia.

iii. 24

ἔξ ὑάλου. Perhaps H. means some form of transparent porcelain; but probably the marvels here described are as fictitious as Cinderella's "glass" slipper.

γυψώσαντες. The "whole" plastered body was adorned with "painting" (γραφή), not merely the front.

[3] The plastered and painted mummy "appears in everything like the "naked corpse"" (ἀντῶ τῶ νέκυϊ).

[4] ἀπαρχόμενοι. The "offerings" to the dead are a touch of reality in the fancy picture; cf. Budge, *The Mummy*, 328.

iii. 25

For the facts in this chapter cf. app. v.

iii. 26

Ἵοασιν πόλιν. H. here uses "Oasis" as a proper name for the so-called "Great Oasis," that of Khargeh, which lay on the parallel of Thebes, "seven days' journey" away (the figure is fairly right). For the oases cf. iv. 181 nn. H., however, is hopelessly confused; the Oasis of Ammon, that of Siwah (cf. ii. 32; iv. 181. 2 nn.), was much further north, in the latitude of the Fayûm, from which it could be reached in fourteen days. It is most unlikely that the Persians attacked it from the "Great Oasis." Perhaps H. had heard of the small oasis, which lies near the "Great Oasis," and confused it with that of Siwah. St. Martin, pp. 40-1.

As to the nature of the "Aeschrionian tribe" it is impossible to speak definitely. The *Etym. Mag.* (s.v. Ἀστυπάλαια) speaks of two tribes, the Astypalaeian and the Schesian, which may be parallel to the "Aeschrionian"; certainly Αἰσχρίων is

found as a proper name at Samos. On the other hand, the four Ionic tribes (v. 66. 2 n.) were almost certainly found there; two of them occur at Perinthus, a colony of Samos (Busolt, i. 279 n.). It is very curious to find Greeks 400 miles from the sea, and Dahlmann thinks H. is misled by some similarity of sound: it is safer, however, to accept so definite a statement about emigrants from a city which H. knew well (cf. introd. p. 3 and iii. 60 nn.).

Strabo (791) compares oases to islands, and the familiar legend of the "isles of the blest" might well occur to a Greek traveller. But Spiegelberg (*Z.A.S.* 42. 85–6) has shown that H.'s derivation is meant to translate an Egyptian word, though it is inaccurate, and that it was derived from a native. Maspero (*M.A.E.* ii. 422) says the idea that the oases were homes of the dead is a very old Egyptian one.

[3] **νότον μέγαν**. The modern view is that the simoon is deadly because it dries up the wells, not because it buries with sand. Duncker (vi. 166), however, quotes an instance early in the last century of a caravan, 2,000 strong, perishing in a sand-storm. As the Ammonians are found among the subjects of Darius, probably the expedition succeeded (cf. app. v, § 4).

### iii. 27

For the Apis cf. ii. 38 n.

### iii. 28

[2] "Which is not hereafter allowed (οἴη; cf. i. 29. 2) to conceive again in its womb." The mother-cow was kept in a stall near the Apis stall (Strabo 807). The Egyptians thought the Apis was conceived ὅταν φῶς ἐρείσῃ γόνιμον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψῃται βοῶς ὀργώσης (Plut. *Mor.* 718; cf. *ibid.* 368).

**κατίσχειν**: intransitive; "comes down upon."

[3] H.'s account of the Apis is confirmed by the statues (cf. Rawlinson for picture), although Aelian (*N.A.* xi. 10) says that the Egyptians called it "insufficient," for there were really twenty-nine signs; cf. Plin. *H.N.* viii. 184 for one of these "candicans macula cornibus lunae crescere incipientis." Mariette (Maspero, p. 37) says "the beetle, vulture" (*not* "eagle"), etc., did not really exist (cf. εἰκασμένον), and well compares the dragon, lyre, and bear seen by the astronomers among the stars. The MSS. reading τετράγωνον is usually altered to τι τρίγωνον, to make H.'s account correspond with the rest of the authorities.

In colour the Apis was "black" (as H. says), not white with black spots as Plut. (*De Is. et Os.* chap. 43; *Mor.* 368), or πολύχρους (as Ael. *ut sup.*).

### iii. 29

Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 44) says Cambyses *killed* the Apis, and gave the carcass to his dogs; H. as usual avoids these later exaggerations. But many modern historians (e.g., Brugsch, ii. 299–300) reject the story altogether, because an Apis στήλη (No. 354 in the Louvre) represents Cambyses as adoring the bull-god; this belongs to the sixth year of his reign. Maspero (iii. 668 n.), however, accepts H.'s story.

Wiedemann (*Gesch. Aeg.*, 1880, p. 229) argues that the faulty execution of the Apis monument just mentioned shows it was executed secretly by the priests; moreover, its evidence is contradicted by another Louvre "column," set up under Darius to commemorate an Apis born in the fifth year of Cambyses; he (p. 230) conjectures that this second monument was deliberately antedated, so as to ignore the cruel death of the last Apis; this hypothesis is probable, because it explains how two sacred bulls could be represented as existing at once, a thing in itself impossible.

### iii. 30

ἐμάνη. H. records, without accepting, the supernatural explanation of madness; he gives a natural one, chap. 33. As to Cleomenes' madness, he, among various explanations (vi. 75 seq.), inclines to the supernatural (chap. 84).

Σμέρδις. His real name was Bardiya; Aesch. (*Pers.* 774) calls him Mardos. For the change from Bardiya to Mardos cf. Megabates (Mega = the Persian Baga). The initial Σ was added because the name was confused with the real Greek name Σμέρδις (for which cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1311b 29), on the supposed analogy of σμικρός and μικρός. Ctesias (8. 65), who calls him "Tanyoxarces" (which seems to be a nickname, Maspero, iii. 655), makes him satrap of Bactria and some adjacent districts, but this statement is of little value. For a full analysis of the various versions of his story cf. Duncker, vi. 175 seq.; but his results are very doubtful.

The B.I. (i. 10) puts the murder before the expedition to Egypt. It obviously was kept a secret, for otherwise a pretender would have had no opportunity (cf. Perkin Warbeck's personation of the young Duke of York); this secrecy explains the divergence of traditions. Ctesias (10. 67) makes the murderer personate Smerdis for five years, by arrangement of Cambyses, and then seize the throne on his death. This, however, is an impossible solution of what is the real difficulty, i.e., how did the heir apparent disappear unnoticed?

[2] ὄψιν. For a similar dream-warning against a dangerous man cf. i. 209.

### iii. 31

τὴν ἀδελφεήν. Cyrus and Cassandane (ii. 1) had three daughters, Atossa (see below), this nameless one, the "Roxana" of Ctesias (chap. 12. 67), and Artystone, the favourite wife of Darius (iii. 88; vii. 69).

[2] Incestuous marriage is praised in the Avesta, and was freely practised under the Sassanians; instances occur in other Persian kings, e.g., Artaxerxes II married two of his own daughters (Plut. *Artax.* chap. 23). This "Persarum impia religio" (Catullus, xc. 4), however, was mainly the practice of the Magi.

For the royal judges cf. 14. 5 n.

[5] The immutability of Persian law (cf. Dan. vi) has passed into a proverb.

[6] ἄλλην: Atossa, who was successively the wife of Cambyses, of the pretender Smerdis, and of Darius (chaps. 68, 88). For her influence cf. vii. 2; her name has

become proverbial for a reigning Sultana (cf. Pope, *Moral Essays*, ii. 115 seq.); her sons were Xerxes, Masistes (vii. 82), Achaemenes (vii. 97), Hystaspes (vii. 64).

### iii. 32

[2] ἐκείνω: i.e., Cambyses. These stories are often said to be inconsistent with the general narrative of H., which makes the murder of Smerdis a secret; but a mere suspicion, such as must have been current, would be fully sufficient to explain the sister's reproach.

[3] θριδάκα. The parabolic "stripping of the lettuce" is quite Eastern.

### iii. 33

The ἰσὴ νοῦσος, epilepsy, was supposed to be specially divine, from its resemblance to the ecstasies of the diviners. Hippocrates (*Morb. Sacr.* 1) denies that it is more supernatural than other diseases; H. himself here seems inclined to be sceptical.

ἀεικές: here and in vi. 98. 3 = "improbable."

### iii. 34

ἀγγελίας. For the office of chamberlain cf. i. 114. 2 n.

[4] θάλασσαν: cf. 19. 3 n. Duncker (vi. 185) sees in the story of this murder an invention of "poetical justice," which punishes Prexaspes for killing the son of Cyrus, by slaying his own son.

### iii. 35

[4] ἐπίσκοπα: i.e., ὥστε τυχεῖν τοῦ σκοποῦ.

"The god himself," i.e., Mithras; "the arrows of the sun" are a familiar figure.

[5] ἐπὶ κεφαλῇν, "on their head"; i.e., head downwards (cf. ἐπὶ κ. φέρεσθαι, chap. 75. 3). Stein and Rawlinson, however, translate "to the neck," and this is a more usual form of punishment in the East. For burying alive generally cf. vii. 114 n.

### iii. 36

[4] Κροῖσος . . . ἔθεε ἔξω. Cf. the similar escape of David, 1 Sam. xviii. 11, and for seizing occasion to punish old offences cf. 1 Kings ii. 32, 44.

[6] καταπροῖξασθαι: a favourite word with H. (cf. iii. 156. 3; v. 105. 1; vii. 17. 2), always in future and with a participle to express act: "shall not with impunity."

### iii. 37

[2] Ἡφαίστου . . . ἰρόν. For this temple cf. ii. 101. 2 n.

For the Πατάϊκοι and the Κάβειροι cf. ii. 51 n. The name of the Πατάϊκοι was perhaps connected with that of Ptah, but this is most uncertain (cf. Rosch., iii. 1676). They were fat dwarfs with gorgon-like features; cf. Perrot and Chipiez, iii, fig. 21, p. 65. Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 190 uses Πατακίῳν = a trickster. H. here confuses

the image of Ptah (Hephaestus) with those of the Khnoumou, “the sons of Ptah”; these were dwarfs, with bent legs, long arms, and a huge head. Ptah himself was represented as a mummy, with head and hands free.

### iii. 38

This chapter is most characteristic of H. and of the general Greek attitude to religion; cf. Xen. *Mem.* iv. 3. 16, the well-known answer of Delphi, given repeatedly, that the gods were pleased with worship νόμῳ πόλεως.

Strabo (805) says that he saw traces of the outrages of Cambyses on the temples of Heliopolis. The mad king was even credited with the destruction of the statue of Memnon, though this was really ruined by an earthquake in the time of Augustus. Cambyses, to Egyptian imagination, played the part that Cromwell is credited with in English cathedrals.

Zeno later declined to condemn nations that ate their dead; burial, he held, was a matter not of principle but of convenience. The point illustrates well the cosmopolitanism of the Stoics.

[4] **Καλλατίας**. For a discussion of this cannibalism and for modern instances cf. iv. 26 n.

The name Callatiae (from Sans Kâla = black) points to the aboriginal inhabitants of India; they are otherwise unknown except for a vague reference in Hecataeus (frag. 177, *FHG* i. 12); perhaps they are the same as the Παδαῖοι of chap. 99.

The passage from Pindar (frag. 169), which H. here quotes, is preserved in Plato, *Grg.* 484b, where it refers to a “natural law” that “the stronger should rule the weaker.” νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς / θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων — οὗτος δὲ δῆ, φησὶν — ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον / ὑπερτάτα χειρὶ. H., quoting from memory, gives the passage a more general sense. Myres, *A. and C.*, 157, says that νόμος is “the formal expression of *what actually happens . . .*”, “it answers to our *law of nature . . .* a more or less accurate formulation of the actual course of events.”

### iii. 39–60

*The story of Polycrates*. H. explains its disproportionate length in chap. 60; the story bears throughout marks of his personal observation, e.g., chaps. 39. 4, 54, 60 (cf. for H.’s knowledge of Samos elsewhere, 146. 2, and for the Heraeum, introd. § 25, p. 30). The connection of events in Samos, however, with the course of Persian history was closer than H. suspected; Amasis had endeavoured to protect Egypt, in accordance with the usual policy of the Saite dynasty, by forming a league of maritime states; but the desertion of Cyprus and the submission of Phoenicia to the Persians (19. 3 n.) changed the balance of power, and Polycrates went over to the side of the stronger. H. ignores the real reasons of the policy of Polycrates, and gives us instead a story illustrating the Nemesis attendant on good fortune (chaps. 40–3), which hides the treachery of Samos. But even in H. (chap. 44) it is made clear that Polycrates was really the aggressor against Egypt.

The date of Polycrates' accession is about 532 B.C. as given by Eusebius (cf. Busolt, ii. 508); we know that (1) he died before Cambyses (chaps. 125–6), i.e., before 521 (cf. chap. 66 n.); (2) Thucydides (i. 13) speaks of him as *τυραννῶν ἐπὶ Καμβύσου*, which renders impossible the statement that he “flourished” not later than 550 B.C. (Diog. Laert. ii. 1); (3) Eusebius (Armenian Version) gives the sixteen years of Samian “rule of the sea” as from 531 to 515, i.e., to the fall of Maeandrius (cf. Myres, *JHS* xxvi. 91, 101, for slightly different figures). Alexis of Samos (frag. 2; *FHG* iv. 299) says that Polycrates had gained his influence by lavish liberality. Polyaeus (i. 23) describes how he seized the city during a festival (cf. Cylon at Athens, Thuc. i. 126) and was victorious by the aid of Lygdamis (cf. 120. 3 for a curious detail as to his conspiracy). His friendship with Lygdamis (cf. i. 61) and his enmity to Lesbos (cf. 39. 4 with v. 94) are the proofs given for his supposed friendship with Pisistratus.

### iii. 39

*ἐπαναστάς* might imply a revolution against any form of government; but it is probable that an oligarchy was ruling in Samos, having been restored after the overthrow described in Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 57; *Mor.* 303 seq.

[2] For Syloson's story cf. iii. 139 seq.; his son bore the family name Aeaces (iv. 138).

[3] For the use of penteconters, not triremes, cf. i. 163. 2 n.

*τοξότας*. These “bowmen” were “native Samians” (45. 3).

[4] *νήσων*. Cf. Thuc. i. 13. 6 for the conquest of the islands by Polycrates, and iii. 104. 2 for the honour paid to Delos. The rivalry of Samos and Miletus was perpetual (cf. the events of 494, 440, 412–404 B.C.), and probably explains the variations in the general foreign policy of both states.

### iii. 40–43

The story of the ring of Polycrates is one of the best illustrations of the doctrine of Nemesis (cf. *φθονερόν* below and in i. 32. 1 n.). Diodorus (i. 95) rationalizes the story by making Amasis break off the alliance because he (Polycrates) dislikes tyranny. Reinach (*R.A.* 1905, vi. 9) thinks H.'s story is a development of the yearly custom of throwing a ring into the sea as a claim of lordship (cf. the “Marriage of the Adriatic” at Venice, Byron, *C.H.* iv. 91); he quotes i. 165, vii. 35, but these are irrelevant. Cf. Cook, *CR* xvii. 409 for a similar wild suggestion.

### iii. 40

[2] *ἐναλλάξ πρήσων* sums up τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχέειν . . . προσπταίειν.

[4] For the attempt to avert great calamities by small ones cf. Livy v. 21. 15, the prayer of Camillus, “ut eam invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo publicoque populi Romani liceret.” He fell as he prayed, and interpreted the mishap ὡς γέγονεν αὐτῷ κατ' εὐχὴν σφάλμα μικρὸν ἐπ' εὐτυχία μεγίστη, Plut. *Cam.* 5. But, like Polycrates, he did not escape subsequent disaster.

**ἀκέο.** The present implies that the “remedy” was to be repeated, “if good luck hereafter did not befall him in due alternation with misfortunes.”

### iii. 41

**σφρηγίς.** The stone in the ring was engraved, as Theodorus (i. 51. 3 n.) was a gem-cutter as well as a metal-worker; Paus. viii. 14.8 (cf. Frazer, iv. 237) implies that it was an emerald; hence Pliny (*H.N.* xxxvii. 4) is repeating a guide-book legend when he says that the ring was given by Augustus to the temple of Concord, and that the stone was a sardonyx. As Theodorus had been dead for half a century, the ring was to Polycrates an irreplaceable heirloom.

### iii. 42

[2] Cf. Juv. iv. 45 seq. (the fisherman’s gift to Domitian) for a grandiose parody of Herodotean simplicity. Mahaffy (*Soc. Life*, p. 169) quotes the invitation to the fisherman as illustrating the simplicity of Greek court life; but the whole story is a folk tale (cf. Frazer, *ut sup.*), and the details can hardly be pressed.

### iii. 44

[2] **τοὺς ὑπώπτειε μάλιστα.** For the employment of dangerous citizens on foreign service cf. Miltiades in the Chersonese (vi. 35. 3, though H. there gives a religious motive) and vii. 222 n. So Napoleon used Spaniards in the north of Europe (Oman, *Penin. War*, i. 367 seq.), who would have been dangerous at home.

**τριήρεσι.** The mention of “triremes” seems inconsistent with 39. 3, and is tacitly corrected by Thuc. i. 14 φαίνεται . . . ταῦτα (i.e., early naval powers, including that of Polycrates) . . . τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ’ ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα. In the story (41. 2, 124. 2) a penteconter (*not* a trireme) is used.

### iii. 45

“At Carpathus,” i.e., they had put in at this island, which lies between Rhodes and Crete, at the southeast exit from the Aegean.

[3] **τοὺς ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου.** The variety of traditions is remarkable; probably the story of the victory of the aristocrats is due to Samian vanity.

[4] **ὑποπρῆσαι.** For the tyrant holding the families of his subjects as hostages cf. Shakespeare, *Richard III*, v. iii. 61.

### iii. 46

**οἱ ἄρχοντες,** “authorities” (cf. vi. 106 n.); i.e., the kings and senate as well as the ephors who, even in the sixth century, were beginning to usurp the control of foreign affairs (cf. ix. 7 for the first definite instance, in 479 B.C.). For the Spartan government and policy at this period cf. app. xvii.

**ἐπιλεληθέναι.** For this “laconic repartee” in the original Doric cf. Plut. *Mor.* 232d; on p. 223 he gives it to Cleomenes.

[2] **θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι**: translate “they had used ‘sack’ needlessly,” lit. “they had been superfluous with the ‘sack’”. The rude brevity of the retort is characteristic. Others (e.g., Grote, iv. 169) translate “your wallet is superfluous,” i.e., the words alone were enough. (Cf. Theophrastus, *Char.* 13 for περιεργία.) The story is told by Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* ii. 23) of the Chians, seeking leave to import corn from Laconia. Some think this the original occasion, and find here an instance of the composite nature of H.’s history (cf. chap. 80 nn.); but the Chian story is probably an invention based on H.’s narrative, and it is difficult to think that Chios needed to import corn, or that Laconia could export it, before 500 B.C. The version of H. is therefore preferable.

### iii. 47

This passage is interesting as the only definite reference in H. to the Messenian wars (cf. v. 49. 8). It supports the later tradition that the second Messenian war had an international character, Argos, Arcadia, and Pisa being allies of Messenia (Strabo 362), Elis (Strabo 355), Corinth, and Sicyon (Paus. iv. 15) of the Lacedaemonians. Thucydides (i. 15) is thought to deny this by implication when he writes ἐκδήμους στρατείας πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἐπ’ ἄλλων καταστροφῆ οὐκ ἐξῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, except in the Lelantine war. Busolt (i. 606 n.; cf. also p. 580 n.) therefore sees in the introduction of Corinth and Sicyon a reflection of the political grouping of the fifth century (e.g., at Mantinea 418 B.C.). But Samos would be exceedingly likely to assist the Lacedaemonians, as allies of Corinth, and Thucydides systematically depreciates the importance of Greek history before his own century.

**κρητῆρος**. For a description of the bowl cf. i. 70. 1. The story well illustrates H.’s tendency to confuse occasions with real causes. There is no reason to doubt that the theft of the bowl (which H. must have seen at the Heraeum) was a provocation to the Lacedaemonians; but for the attack on Polycrates the Lacedaemonians had motives of general policy: for these and for their attitude to tyranny cf. app. xvi, § 10. Plutarch (*De Mal.* 21) for once makes a point when he asks ποίου γὰρ ἔνεκα θώρακος ἢ τίνος κρατῆρος ἑτέρου Κυψελίδας ἐξέβαλον κτλ. (cf., however, Grote, iii. 43 and appendix ut sup. for a criticism of Plutarch’s list of tyrants expelled by the Lacedaemonians).

[3] **ἀρπεδόνη ἐκάστη**. Pliny (xix. 12) says the “distinctness” of the “threads” in the θώρηξ was so often tested by sightseers that “parvas iam reliquias superesse hac experientium iniuria.” For the work cf. Ezek. xxvii. 7, “fine linen with broided work from Egypt.”

Amasis was trying no doubt to induce the Lacedaemonians (αὐτοῖσι) to join an anti-Persian league (cf. i. 46 n.).

For the dedication at Lindus cf. ii. 182. 1.

### iii. 48

The chronology is inextricably confused (cf. app. xiv, § 6). The “insult” was about 550 B.C., and yet it is in the time of Periander, who died ca. 585. Plutarch (ut sup. chap. 22) puts the events “three generations” before Polycrates, and tells us from independent sources (Dionysius of Chalcis, *flourit* ca. 350; frag. 3, *FHG* iv. 396) that it was Cnidians (not Samians) who restored the boys to Corcyra; he confirms this by an appeal to honours granted by Corcyra to Cnidus. H. may have been misled by his Samian informants. The tyrant’s brutality, however, may be accepted as a fact, characteristic of the Oriental leanings of the Cypselidae. (Cf. app. xvi, § 4.)

[3] **σιτίων . . . ἐργόντωγ**. For starving out suppliants cf. Thuc. i. 134. 2; for the Samian evasion of their obligations to the Corinthians, under colour of a religious festival cf. Judges xxi. 19, the Gibeonites at Shiloh.

### iii. 49

**διάφοροι**. For the standing feud between Corinth and Corcyra cf. Thuc. i. 13. 4, 38.

### iii. 50–53

For H.’s account of the Cypselidae cf. v. 92 nn. and app. xvi, §§ 3–4.

The historical facts in these chapters are—(1) that Periander killed his wife; (2) conquered his father-in-law Procles (52. 7); this conquest is important as probably being the occasion of the independence of Aegina (v. 83. 1); (3) reduced Corcyra to subjection; (4) (probably) that Lycophron ruled for a time in Corcyra; (5) that Periander left no son to succeed him; his successor was Psammetichus, son of his brother Gorgus (Arist. *Pol.* 1315b 26).

The rest of the narrative is romantic embroidery, moral tales such as the Greeks loved, which may be called “the beginnings of the novel” (cf. Nitzsch, *RM* 1872, p. 228). The style, especially in chaps. 52 and 53, is characteristic of the age of the “Seven Wise Men” (cf. i. 27 n.), among whom Periander was reckoned; the proverbs “Obstinacy (ἡ φιλοτιμία) is an evil thing,” “Do not heal evil with evil” (53. 4, see below), etc., are not adornments, they are the real base of the story.

### iii. 50

For horrible details as to Melissa cf. v. 92 g. Periander had killed her in a fit of jealousy; this is darkly hinted at (52. 4).

### iii. 52

For the κήρυγμα cf. Soph. *O.T.* 236 seq.

### iii. 53

[3] **διαφορηθέντα**, “spoiled”; cf. i. 88. 3.

[4] For the proverb μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ cf. Soph. *Aj.* 362 and Thuc. v. 65. 2 (Agis) *διανοεῖται κακὸν κακῷ ἰᾶσθαι*.

**τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα.** For the contrast of justice and equity cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* v. 10 τὸ ἐπιεικὲς . . . ἐπανόρθωμα νομίμου δικαίου, and (still better) *Rhet.* i. 13 τὸ παρὰ τὸν γεγραμμένον νόμον δίκαιον.

### iii. 54

The town of Samos lay on the south slopes of “the hill” Ampelus, which is some 700 feet high (H. says 900, chap. 60. 1), and which stretched away to the west above the plain; at the southwest extremity lay the Heraeum. The Lacedaemonians attacked both by sea, i.e., on the south, and by land (κατὰ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον), on the north or northwest. H.’s familiarity with Samos is noticeable (cf. chap. 39).

[2] **ἐπεξήλθον.** This sortie may have been made to protect the Samian water supply (cf. 60. 1 n.).

### iii. 55

[2] **Ἀρχίη.** H.’s mention of his informant here (cf. introd. § 23, p. 28) throws light on the character of his evidence; his account of the siege is based partly on local Samian tradition, partly on the family tradition of Archias.

Pitane was the aristocratic κώμη (= the Attic δῆμος) at Sparta; the others (Paus. iii. 16. 9) were Mesoa, Cynosura, Limnae (cf. Thuc. i. 10. 2 for the survival of the κῶμαι).

For the λόχος Πιτανήτης cf. ix. 53. 2 n.

**ἐτίμα.** Archias was ἐθελοπρόξενος (Thuc. iii. 70) of Samos at Sparta.

The significance and the recurrence of the names are to be noted. Plutarch *De Mal.* chap. 22 says that Archias had a tomb δημοσίᾳ κατεσκευασμένον: this no doubt was set up after the fall of Polycrates by the Samian aristocrats.

### iii. 56

**ὄρμηται,** “has gone abroad” (λέγεσθαι is expegetic); cf. iv. 161.

**ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην:** gives one reason why H. lays so much stress on “this first expedition”; it was part of the long struggle between Europe and Asia. The “second” is that of 479 B.C. (ix. 96 seq.). The addition of “Dorians” is emphatic; the Achaean Lacedaemonians had taken part in the Trojan war.

[2] **καταχρυσώσαντα:** cf. for “gilded” κίβδηλοι στατήρες *CIG* i. 150, p. 237.

### iii. 57

Siphnos, one of the Western Cyclades, was assessed at nine talents’ tribute in 425 B.C., a large amount in proportion to its size; it had previously paid three talents (Hicks, nos. 48 and 64). It was the only *island* that was allowed a mint in the Confederacy of Delos (Holm, ii. 228), and this privilege was withdrawn during the Peloponnesian war (Hill, *Sources*<sup>2</sup>, p. 425).

[2] For the mines of Siphnos cf. Paus. x. 11. 2, who tells that they were submerged because the Siphnians failed to pay their tithe to Apollo, and Bent, *JHS* vi. 195–8.

The treasury at Delphi (cf. Paus. x. 11. 2) was discovered by the French explorers in 1893, and the remains fully confirm H.: “the building is more lavishly decorated than any other found at Delphi” (Frazer, *P.*, v. 272 seq.). Homolle, the French discoverer (ibid. 629), now assigns the treasury to the Cnidians, *not* to the Siphnians (but see Dyer in *JHS* xxv. 314–15).

The style of sculpture exactly agrees with H.’s dating.

**διενέμουντο.** For division of mine profits in the ancient state cf. vii. 144 n.

[3] That increased display of wealth was likely to tempt raiders and called for special “precautions” (φράσασθαι), was an obvious prophecy.

[4] **Παρίω:** the earliest known instance of the use of Parian Marble. Cf. v. 62. 3.

### iii. 58

[2] In Homer μιλτοπάρηος and φοινικοπάρηος only occur twice each; the ships are usually black, cf. Torr, *A. S.* p. 37; the “red” colouring came in with the development of the Euxine trade; cf. μίλτος Σινωπική.

### iii. 59

With the purchase of Hydreia cf. the attempt of the Phocaeans (i. 165. 1) to purchase the Oenysian Islands.

Hydreia lies to the south of the Argolic peninsula, while Cydonia is on the northwest of Crete; both acts were probably part of a movement to isolate Aegina and to extend the relations of the Corintho-Samian alliance (see below). For a similar attempt at Cyrene cf. iv. 163 n. The Aeginetans resented this trespass on their preserves (for their friendly relations to Crete cf. the proverb Κρής πρὸς Αἰγινήτην); hence they “joined the Cretans” to expel the intruders, and secured their hold of Crete by a colony at Cydonia (Strabo 376). This connection explains the hostility of the town to Athens (Thuc. ii. 85. 5).

[2] **καὶ τὸν . . . νηόν.** The words are probably a mistaken addition, as Dictyna was a native goddess.

[3] **καπρίους.** The Samian vessels were called ὑπόρρωροι (Plut. *Per.* chap. 26), and were supposed to resemble pigs from their heavy build.

**τὸ ἱερόν.** For this temple, whence the famous Aeginetan marbles came to Munich in 1812, cf. Frazer, *P.*, iii. 268 seq. It was first assigned to Zeus Panhellenius, then to Athena; but A. Furtwängler (cf. his splendid book on Aegina, Munich, 1906), who excavated it in 1901, has proved by inscriptions found *in situ* that it was dedicated to Aphaea. This goddess (Paus. ii. 30. 3) was also connected with Crete, and hence the dedication here for a Cretan victory is most appropriate to her. Furtwängler would read Ἀφαίης (for Ἀθηναίης) here; he points out that Pausanias knows nothing of an “Athena” temple in Aegina, although he quotes another passage of H. (v. 82 seq.) in the very next section (ii. 30. 4).

[4] Amphicrates seems to have been of the family of Procles, who led to Samos the Ionians expelled from Epidaurus by the Dorians (Paus. vii. 4. 2). For the overthrow of the monarchy at Samos cf. Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 57, where he speaks of the subsequent hostility between Samos and Megara, a member of the Aeginetan commercial league. Our scanty references to these early wars in the Aegean all tend to establish the theory of the rivalry of two great trade-leagues; Miletus, Aegina, Megara, and Eretria, trading mainly with the northeast, are ranged against Corinth, Samos, and Chalcis, whose main sphere is the west (cf. v. 99. 1 n.).

### iii. 60

Ἐμήκυνα. H., apart from his interest in Samos (cf. introd. p. 3), made it his object to describe great works everywhere (cf. i. 93. 1). For Samos generally cf. V. Guérin, *Patmos et Samos*, 1856.

ὄρυγμα. The object of the "tunnel" was to bring the water from the other (i.e., the north) side of Mount Ampelus; the "channel" in it (ἄλλο ὄρυγμα) is not quite "thirty feet" deep at the outlet, and decreases in depth as it approaches the spring from which it issues; this was to give sufficient fall for the water, but H. had of course only seen the outlet on the south side; as the boring was begun on both sides, the engineering skill required was very considerable. The work is a good instance of the way in which the tyrants "courted popularity by providing for the needs of their people," and may be compared with the contemporary aqueduct of Pisistratus (cf. E. Gardner, *Athens*, 26–7). The tunnel was discovered in 1882 (cf. *Mittheil. des Deutsch. Archaeol. Instit.* 1884 (Athen.), 163f., with two plans, or Tozer's *Islands of Aegean*, 167 seq.). On the whole the accuracy of H. is strikingly confirmed, though he exaggerates the length of the tunnel, which is really about 1,100 feet.

[2] σωλήνων. Remains of the "pipes" have been found, both leading from the spring to the hill, a distance of some half mile, and in the tunnel itself through the hill.

[3] χῶμα. The mole extended from the western horn of the Old Harbour and more than half closed it. Its remains can still be seen about six feet below the surface. H. is right as to its length, but the sea at present is only ten fathoms deep (Guérin, pp. 203–4).

[4] νηὸς μέγιστος. H. means of Greek temples: those of Egypt were larger. The Heraeum was 346 feet long and 189 broad (Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 348, makes it 350, but other estimates are given; Guérin, p. 225), which is larger than any known Greek temple in the East, except that of Ephesus, which was finished later; H. (ii. 148) mentions these two temples as "notable" Greek works. The temples at Acragas and Selinus are about the same size; the Olympieium at Athens was on a larger scale, but remained unfinished till the time of Hadrian. Pausanias (vii. 5. 4) says the Heraeum was "burned down" (κατακαυθῆναι) by the Persians, but that θαῦμα ἦν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς λελυμασμένον.

For Rhoecus cf. Murray, G. S. i. 74 seq.; he was connected with Theodoros (i. 51. 3 n.). His name has been found on a sixth-century vase at Naucratis. He probably began the temple half a century before, and it was finished under Polycrates. For these ἔργα Πολυκράτεια cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1313b 24 who says they were intended to produce ἀσχολία καὶ πενία τῶν ἀρχομένων; he does not mention the desire to provide wages for the poorer classes, though no doubt this motive was present with ancient (cf. Plut. *Per.* 12) as well as with modern despots. Aristotle compares them with the Pyramids and with the buildings of the Cypselidae and the Pisistratidae. The building policy of tyrants from the days of Cypselus to Napoleon III's "Haussmannization" of Paris is a commonplace of history. The Samian Alexis says (*FHG* iv. 299) that Polycrates also developed the agricultural wealth of his island. For his commercial and industrial activity cf. Ure in *JHS* xxvi. pp. 132–3.

### iii. 61–87

*The death of Cambyses, the rising of the Pseudo-Smerdis, and the accession of Darius.* For the real history of these events cf. app. v.

### iii. 61

The B.I. mentions only one pretender, "Gaumata," and of course says nothing of his resemblance to Smerdis; on this point, which is probable in itself, H. is supported by Ctesias and Justin (i. 9); it is not inconsistent with the caution spoken of in 63. 2, 68. 2. The B.I. (i. 11) confirms H. as to the usurpation being unopposed. Justin has the name "Cometes" right, but gives it to the chief plotter, not the actual pretender, whom he calls Oropastes. H.'s "Smerdis" is required to explain the prophetic dream, cf. 30. 2, 64. 1. "Patizeithes" is probably a title = "Padishah."

### iii. 62

No Ecbatana is known in Syria, and the attempts to explain the name (see Rawlinson ad loc.) are unconvincing. The religious coincidence is more than suspicious.

### iii. 64

[3] The curved scimitar (ἀκινάκης) needed a "cap" (μύκης) to guard its point; the same accident happened to Perseus with less fatal results; hence the name Μυκῆναι (Paus. ii. 16. 3).

The coincidence (as to the position of the wound) is also suspicious; cf. the legend that Salome, who danced off the head of St. John, was herself beheaded by floating ice. The B.I. (i. 11) says: "Afterwards Cambyses, killing himself, died," which seems to imply suicide.

[4] **χρηστήριον.** It is odd that Cambyses should pay attention to an Egyptian oracle; but the whole story of "the fiends which palter with us in a double sense," is clearly invented, cf. Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*, iv. 5 (ad fin.) (following Holinshed):

It hath been prophesied to me many years  
I should not die but in Jerusalem,  
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land.  
But bear me to that chamber, there I'll lie;  
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

A similar story is told of Julian the Apostate.

ἄρα is emphatic, "as is now proved"; cf. iv. 64. 3 and passim.

### iii. 65

[3] τὸ μέλλον . . . ἀποτρέπειν. The fatalism has a true Oriental ring, as well as being characteristic of H.; cf. i. 91; iii. 40 seq.

[5] τιμωρέειν: the parallel to 32. 2 upsets Meyer's theory (see app. v, § 2) that chaps. 32 and 65 come from "different sources."

[6] βασιληίους. Histiaeus (v. 106) swears to Darius by these. So Darius in the Persepolis inscription invokes Ormazd and "the gods of his race."

For the theory that the conspiracy was Median cf. app. v, § 6.

[7] For the threefold curse of unfruitfulness cf. vi. 139. 2 n.; Soph. *O.T.* 25–7, 269; and Deut. xxviii. 17–18; cf. also the oath of the Amphictyons (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 111).

### iii. 66

[2] ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας. Manetho seems to give Cambyses ten years (frag. 68), Ctesias eighteen (xii. 67). A Babylonian contract has been found (*SBA* vi. 484) dating from the eleventh year of his reign, which shows that Cambyses was associated with Cyrus as king of Babylon (cf. *C.C.* i. 35; *RP<sup>2</sup>* v. 168, and Meyer, *Forsch.* ii. 471). So far as the length of his sole rule is concerned H. is right, and is confirmed by the Apis Stelai (Wiedemann, *Gesch. Aegypt.* 1880, 219–20), and by the Canon of Ptolemy, which gives Cambyses eight years (including, of course, the seven months of the usurper, 67. 2).

### iii. 67

B.I. i. 13 confirms H. that the conspiracy succeeded for a time. It says nothing of the popular acts of the Pseudo-Smerdis, but they are probable in themselves; cf. the constitutional character of the reign of Richard III for similar conduct in a usurper.

### iii. 68

Φαρνάσπεω . . . παῖς. For the position of Otanes see chap. 84. He was the son of Socris (not of Pharnaspes, B.I. iv. 18). H.'s mistake may perhaps be due to a confused tradition as to his ancestor (*abavus*) Pharnaces, who married Atossa, the aunt of Cyrus, probably the grandfather of Cyrus "the great" (Diod. xxxi. 19). Meyer (iii. 18), however, rejects this whole pedigree as a late fiction. From him

descended the royal house of Cappadocia; Diodorus and Ctesias (14. 67) substitute for "Otanés" his son Anaphas or Onophas (H. vii. 62).

[2] H. wrongly lays the scene at Susa (cf. 70. 3), because it was to him, as to all Greeks and Jews (cf. Neh. i. 1), the capital of the empire (v. 49 n.); the B.I. (i. 13) puts the final struggle at Sictachotes (Sikayauvatish), a Median fort.

The "Acropolis" is the βασιλήιον τεῖχος of 74. 3.

[3] Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. This was usual in the East; cf. chap. 88. 2 and Absalom's conduct 2 Sam. xvi. 21.

[5] διέσπειρε. In view of these precautions, the ease with which Phaedyimia communicated with her father is strange; H. is telling merely the popular tale.

### iii. 69

[5] τὰ ὦτα ἀπέταμε. For such mutilations cf. iii. 118, 154, and ix. 112, and the rigorous justice of the younger Cyrus (Xen. An. i. 9. 13; also B.I. ii. 13); no mutilated person could ever reign. Perhaps the story is based on a play of words, the Persian word for Magian being interpreted "a man having no ears" (JRAS, 1890, p. 822).

[6] Cf. Esther ii. 12 for the harem arrangements.

### iii. 70

The names of Darius' confederates are given as follows:

Herodotus	Darius (B.I. iv. 68)	Ctesias (14. 67)
Otanés	Intaphrenes son of Veispares	Onophas
Aspathines	Otanés son of Socris	Idernes
Gobryas	Gobryas son of Mardonius	Norondabates
Intaphrenes	Hydarnes son of Megabignes	Mardonius
Megabyzus	Megabyzus son of Dadoes	Barisses
Hydarnes	Ardomanes son of Basuces	Ataphernes

As to the list it should be noted (1) that H. gives all the names right except Aspathines, who seems to be Aspachana, the quiver-bearer of Darius (cf. Nakhsh-I-Rustam Inscip.); (2) that Ctesias has only one right, Hydarnes, and that in two cases (Onophas and Mardonius) he gives the names of their sons (cf. Gilmore, *Ctesias*, 148 for an attempted explanation); (3) that the families of all the conspirators except Intaphrenes (for obvious reasons) are prominent in the later history.

Some have maintained (e.g., Niebuhr) that H. is wrong in making the number seven an accident; the Seven were the heads of the great Persian families, who naturally took the lead in a "national movement." So later we have the "seven counsellors" (Ezra vii. 14), and the seven princes of Persia who "saw the king's

face" (Esther i. 14). But the coincidence of the number "seven" is probably an accident (cf. for other "sevens" iii. 14 n. and Esther i. 10, the "seven chamberlains"), for:

(1) It is hard to see how the number of the "counsellors" could have been maintained when one of the conspirators (Darius) had been raised to the throne, and another (Intaphrenes, iii. 119) attained.

(2) Plutarch (*Prae. Ger. Reip.* chap. 27, *Mor.* 820) says the conspirators' descendants had the right to wear the upright tiara, the royal badge; but he attributes this to their part in the conspiracy.

(3) Darius in the B.I. seems to imply that the number was fortuitous. He adds "a Persian" to the name of each conspirator; but this is to lay stress on the national character of the movement, not to show that the men were especially privileged.

H. therefore is probably right on this point, though the "seven counsellors" may well be a real institution, and though the descendants of the conspirators were rewarded with great privileges (84 n.).

[3] ἐκ Περσέων. Here, and in i. 209, Hystaspes is satrap of Persia; this may be a confused reference to the fact that he represented the younger Achaemenid line; he was really satrap of Parthia (B.I. ii. 16).

### iii. 72

[4] This sophistry is an attempt at consistency with H.'s own statement (i. 138) that among the Persians "to lie is held most disgraceful"; it is purely Greek (cf. discussion in Plato *Resp.* ii and Xen. *Cyr.* i. 6. 27 seq.).

### iii. 74

H. here unites with his main story as to the discovery of the conspiracy, the story of Prexaspes. Ctesias (13. 67) briefly says that the murder of Smerdis was revealed to "the army" by Izabates, who had been one of the three persons privy to it. The tale is, however, very improbable; the Magians were not likely to have put up Prexaspes to speak, for the strength of their position lay in its being unchallenged, and the act here described could only excite suspicion.

[2] τὰ πάντα μυρία: cf. iv. 88. 1 n.

### iii. 76

[3] ἰρήκων κτλ. Cf. the omen in Tac. *Ann.* ii. 17. 2 (Germanicus to his legions) "irent, sequerentur Romanas aves," and Aesch. *Pers.* 205 seq., where Atossa is dismayed by the sight of an eagle attacked by a hawk.

### iii. 77

καταιδεόμενοι. Some see in this a reference to the special privilege of the "seven Persian grandees" (chap. 70 n.). But it seems less definite than the right claimed by Intaphrenes (chap. 118; cf. chap. 84).

### iii. 78

[3] The rooms, opening on to the central court, would have no external windows. Darius affirms (in the B.I.) three times that he slew Gomates himself. Aeschylus (*Pers.* 776) assigns the deed to Artaphrenes, substituting the familiar name (v. 25 and *passim*) for the unfamiliar Intaphrenes.

### iii. 79

[3] **μαγοφόνια**. Rawlinson accepts H.'s story: "the festival served as a perpetual warning to the priests against trenching on the civil power" (so in part, Darmesteter, *SBE* IV, introd. p. 50). Ctesias (15. 68) also mentions the commemorative festival. Bähr (ad loc.) seems to suggest that the festival was one of purification, at which the Magi slew all the creatures of Ahriman, and that it had nothing to do with the conspiracy. This view is not probable.

### iii. 80

Stein makes θόρυβος subject of ἐγένετο, and translates "when the confusion had died down, and when more than five days had since passed"; but it is easier to take ἐγένετο as impersonal. The sense is the same. Sextus Empiricus (*Math.* ii. 33) says "the Persian nobles have a custom, when their king is dead, to spend the five following days in lawlessness," in order to learn how evil ἀνομία was. This custom, if a fact, may be referred to here; but Sextus Empiricus is probably giving a mere inference from H.

The discussion of the conspirators which follows (chaps. 80–2) is most important in three respects.

(1). *Its bearing on the composition of H.'s work.*

(a) He refers to criticisms on it (vi. 43); hence it has been inferred that book iii was written and published before book vi (cf. introd. p. 13 n.). The more probable inference, however, is that H. went on adding to his work after parts of it had become known to the public.

(b) It is quoted as proof of the theory that H.'s history is partly a compilation from the works of previous authors (cf. 46. 2). Maass (*Hermes*, xxii. 581 seq.) thinks that the arguments are borrowed from a sophistic dialogue, probably one of the "negative arguments" (καταβάλλοντες λόγοι) of Protagoras, and that the same source was used by Isocrates (*Nicoles* 14 seq.). The resemblances, however, between H. and Isocrates are merely accidental, and Meyer (*F.* i. 201–2) completely demolishes the theory; he sums up (cf. 81. 2 n.) "Maass makes H. a simpleton if he imagines that he could impose on the public inventions of his good friend Protagoras as historical facts."

(2) *The historical reality of the facts.*

H. vouches for this in the strongest way, "they were said, in spite of all objections" (δ' ὤν).

Probably H. is following the account of a Hellenized Persian (cf. *JHS* xxvii. 40); the questions actually discussed were—“Should the Persians revert to the natural condition of the old Iranian society, and let all clans live under their immemorial customs?” or “should they continue the centralized monarchy?” i.e., the liberty claimed was simply the rights of the great nobles (cf. Mahaffy, *G.L.* ii. 32 n., and on the Oriental idea of “Liberty,” Beavan, *House of Seleucus*, i. 3 seq.).

(3) *The passage is the beginning of Greek political philosophy.* (Cf. Freeman’s *Sicily*, iii. 644 seq., for the threefold division of constitutions and early references to it.) H. here, as always, clothes Persian ideas in the phrases of his own countrymen (cf. i. 96, the story of Deioces), as all men of genius do, e.g., Shakespeare’s Venetians are Elizabethan Englishmen and Racine’s Greeks are courtiers of Le Grand Monarque. It is against this arbitrary introduction of speeches that Thucydides (by implication) protests in i. 22. 1; his own speeches he claims were appropriate to what the occasion demanded.

[3] The essence of the Greek tyrant was that he was “irresponsible”; it is curious that Arist. does not use the word ἀνυπεύθυνος of the tyrant, though he lays stress on the fact.

[4] ὕβρι κεκορημένος. On the close connection of κόρος and ὕβρις cf. viii. 77 n. Darius (B.I. i. 13) lays stress on the cruelty of the Magian.

ἀρίστοισι. For this feature in the tyrant cf. Plato, *Resp.* viii, p. 567; he must remove all who are ἀνδρεῖοι, μεγαλόφρονες, φρόνιμοι, πλούσιοι. Tyranny is πονηρόφιλον (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1314a, with Newman’s notes; Sall. *Cat.* 7 “regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt”; and Tac. *Ann.* i. 80). Stein takes ἀριστοι, κάκιστοι in the political sense, “best-born,” etc., but this is less likely.

[5] For the difficulty of intercourse with a tyrant cf. the fable of the lion and his courtiers, and Tac. *Ann.* i. 12.2 contrasted with iii. 65. 3; Tiberius is equally offended by free speech and by servility.

For the lawless lust of tyrants cf. the long list of brutalities in Arist. *Pol.* 1311.

[6] This line might be the text for the panegyric on democracy in the Funeral Speech (Thuc. ii. 37); “equality of opportunity” is the boast of Pericles. For H.’s own praise of ἰσηγορίη cf. v. 78.

The three marks of democracy are (1) election by lot (cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1294b 7 and Headlam, *Lot at Athens*, p. 11 seq., which discusses admirably the purpose of the lot); (2) responsibility of officers (*Pol.* ii. 12.4, 1274a: Solon gave the Athenians ἀναγκαιοτάτη δύναμις, i.e., to elect their officers and to call them to account); (3) popular control of all measures.

### iii. 81

[2] οὐτ’ ἐδιδάχθη. The ordinary antithesis between learning from others and perceiving for oneself; cf. Thuc. i. 138. 3 of Themistocles οἰκεία συνέσει καὶ οὐτε προμαθῶν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὐτε ἐπιμαθῶν. The reproach against democracy is

its lack of intelligence (ἀξυνετώτερον), and its consequent unprofitableness (ἀχρήσιου); cf. Hes. *Op.* 296 ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέη μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων / ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὐτ' ἀχρήσιος ἀνήρ.

This passage is supposed by Maass (see above) to resemble Isocrates, *Nic.* 18, who would not prefer τοιαύτης πολιτείας μετέχειν ἐν ἧ μὴ διαλήσει χρηστὸς ὦν μᾶλλον ἢ φέρεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους μὴ γιγνωσκόμενος ὁποῖός τις ἐστὶ; but the meaning is quite different; H. refers to the blind impulses of a mob, Isocrates to merit lost in a crowd.

### iii. 82

[2] **ἀρίστου.** Darius assumes the king will be “the best” (such an one διαφέρων κατ' ἀρετήν, Arist. *Pol.* iii. 13, p. 1284b must rule); he takes no account of the παρῆκβασίς of monarchy, the bad rule.

[3] **στάσις:** cf. Thuc. viii. 89. 3 for internal jealousies as the weakness of an oligarchy.

The aorists ἀπέβη, διέδεξε are gnomic, i.e., they express the usual result (cf. ἀφεφάνη below).

[4] **ἐς τὰ κοινά:** parallel to ἐς τὸ κοινόν above. The antithetical style of the Sophists is very traceable here.

**παύση.** Cf. the hopes that Alcibiades in 408 B.C. would prove a “saviour of society” at Athens (Diod. xiii. 68), and, on a larger scale, the acceptance of the Napoleonic rule as a salvation from “the Red Terror.” So Deioces was made ruler by the Medes (i. 97), to save them from ἀνομία. For the origin of tyranny generally cf. app. xvi.

[5] **ἡ ἐλευθερίη.** H. here leaves generalizations on Greek politics and inserts a Persian argument, an appeal to the services of Cyrus to his country; perhaps there is the beginning also of the idea which inspires the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon—that Cyrus is the ideal monarch.

### iii. 83

The special position of the house of Otanes seems to be a fact, but it was probably of earlier date; he may have been of Achaemenid blood (68. 1 n.); at any rate his daughter Phaedyia had married Cambyses; Xerxes married his grand-daughter, Amestris.

With the gifts appointed for him (84. 1) cf. what is “done to the man (Mordecai) whom the king delighteth to honour” (Esther vi. 8–9), though the Jewish writer has made the honours more distinctly royal. For less romantic parallels cf. vii. 88. 1 and 106. 1.

The most honourable gifts were (Xen. *An.* i. 2. 27) a horse with a golden bridle, and a golden necklace, bracelet, and scimitar. Ctesias (*Persica* 22. 69) adds “a golden mill” (μύλη).

### iii. 84

**δικαιότατα**, “fairest,” i.e., to themselves; it is explained by the rest of the chapter.

[2] **τῶν ἑπτὰ**. For the position of the “Seven” in general cf. 70 n. The rule as to marriage seems to have been observed (88. 3; vii. 2. 2).

They received also great grants of territory, probably free of tribute; from Hydarnes descended the rulers of Armenia (Strabo 531), from Otanes those of Cappadocia (68 n.). This is the origin of the strange tale in Plato (*Leg.* iii. 695c) that Darius divided his kingdom in seven parts among the conspirators.

[3] **ἐβούλευσαν**. Darius succeeded in right of birth (cf. app. v, § 7); but the colouring of the story is correct: the Persians, as sun-worshippers, honoured sunrise (cf. vii. 54. 1), and the horse was sacred among them; cf. *CR* xxvi. 50. For auguries by horses cf. Tac. *Germ.* x.

### iii. 85

**ἵπποκόμος**. The story of the trick is given by both Justin (i. 10) and Ctesias (15. 68). The name Oebares occurs in Nic. Damasc. frag. 66 (*FHG* iii. 400) as that of the adviser of Cyrus in his conspiracy against Astyages; it is explained ἀγαθάγγελος. H. is combining a popular legend (for another fragment of it cf. 86. 2 and Nic. Damasc. ut sup. 405, the signs from heaven) with a misunderstood inscription on a monument of Darius (88. 3 n.).

### iii. 86

[2] **ἀστραπή . . . καὶ βροντή**. These signs, “thunder and lightning,” the omens of the supreme god, Ormazd, “confirmed” him as king; they “happened as it were in agreement” with the horse-omen sent by the sun-god Mithra. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* i. 6. 1 for similar signs to Cyrus, when beginning his attack on the Medes.

### iii. 88

**Κύρου τε . . . Καμβύσεω**. Stein takes this to mean that there had been a general rising against Cambyses. (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 8. 2 definitely states this.) If this be right it explains the postponement of his Egyptian expedition till his fifth year. But probably H. only refers to the reduction of Phoenicia and Cyprus (19. 3 n.).

The “Arabians” serve in the Persian army (vii. 69), where they are coupled with the Ethiopians of Africa, and are included in the official lists of provinces (cf. app. vii, § 1) next to Egypt. Hence Rawlinson (on ii. 8) is probably right in putting these Arabians between the Nile and the Red Sea. H.’s statement here as to Arab independence (cf. iii. 7 seq.) refers to a different set of tribes, i.e., the nomads to the south and east of Palestine. The Persians, wiser than the Assyrians, did not attempt to conquer the wild tribes of the desert, but made friends with them. The Arabs had pressed north, as early as the fifth century, into the regions desolated by the Assyrian raids. (Meyer, iii. 86 seq.) They controlled the spice trade (chap. 107); hence they give the Great King yearly 1,000 talents of frankincense.

[2] For Artystone cf. vii. 69. 2.

[3] ἰππεύς. Neither at Behistun nor on his tomb at Nakhsh-I-Rustam is Darius represented on horseback. (For illustrations of these monuments cf. Maspero, iii. 681–3, 736–7.) But H. may well have seen some equestrian “relief,” now destroyed, resembling the façade of Tagh-I-Bostan (Perrot, v. 534).

### iii. 89–117

This division of H.’s work describes the Persian empire as organized by Darius; it consists of two parts, very unequal in length and in authenticity; chaps. 89–96 give an official statistical account of the Empire (cf. app. vii and bk. vii. 61 n.); chaps. 97–117 describe the more remote dependencies and are largely made up of travellers’ tales. Holdich (*Gates of India*, 1909, p. 17) writes: “twenty-five years ago our military information concerning ethnographical distributions in districts immediately beyond the northwest frontier was not better” (than that in H.), and “the tribes have mostly survived to bear valuable testimony to the knowledge of the East in the days of H.”

### iii. 89

ἐν Πέρσῃσι goes with ποιήσας ταῦτα; the contrast is between the acquisition of royal power and the organization of the empire.

H. only here and in i. 192. 2 uses σατραπήν, in both cases with an explanation (ἀρχή); his usual word is νομός. Aeschylus uses no form of the word at all, and Thucydides only σατραπεία; Xenophon is the first to use σατράπης; the ruler in H. is ὑπαρχος (cf. vii. 194 n.). σατράπης, i.e., “Khšátrapâvan,” is found twice in the B.I. and seems = “upholder of the crown”: it is found first in Sargon’s list of Median chiefs, apparently as a proper name. The office existed before Darius; cf. B.I. ut sup.; i. 153. 3 (Tabalus); iii. 120 (twice, Oroetes and Mitrobates); iii. 70. 3 (Hystaspes) and iv. 166 (Aryandes). The innovation of Darius (for its importance cf. app. vi, § 4) consisted in his introducing a regular tribute for the whole empire; perhaps also he substituted government officials for native feudal princes (so Stein, who compares i. 134. 3, and says the Median system there described lasted to the time of Darius).

The main, though not the entire, source of Persian revenue, was the land tax (vi. 42. 2). The sums given by H. are those due to the royal treasury, not the whole amount raised in the provinces.

προστάσων. Rawlinson (and others) takes this as opposed to ὑπερβαίνων, “generally he joined, but sometimes he passed over the nearer tribes.” He (ii. 563) argues that this was done because the divisions were “ethnical rather than geographical,” an arrangement especially convenient among the nomadic tribes of the far East. But grammar (there is no μέν, δέ) and political sense alike render this impossible; and as a fact H.’s list of tribes is geographically arranged, except perhaps for the Utii (93. 2 n.) and the sixteenth satrapy (93. 3 nn.). ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς π. therefore must be taken parenthetically, and τὰ ἑκάστῳ . . . νέμων repeats κατὰ ἔθνεα . . . προστάσων in another form. Translate “he fixed the

tributes to come in to him, nation by nation, while he joined their neighbours with each nation, and, as he got further from the centre (ὑπερβαίνων τ. π.), he distributed the more remote nations in various groups." Thus each satrapy consisted of the ἔθνος whose name it bore (e.g., Ionia), and of the tribes grouped with it (e.g., with Ionia went Magnesia, Aeolis, etc., 90. 1).

[2] **κατὰ τὰδε** would most naturally refer to iii. 90 seq.; the rest of this chapter would then be a later addition on the part of H. But as the text stands **κατὰ τὰδε** must refer to the two coin standards which are here explained, a heavier (Babylonian) for silver coinage, a lighter (Euboic) for gold; these were in the proportion of four to three. H., however, substitutes the slightly heavier Attic talent for the Euboic; there were 33,660 grammes in the Babylonian talent, 26,400 in the Attic, i.e., (roughly) 60 Babylonian minae = 78 Attic, the proportion given here.

< ὀκτώ και > **ἑβδομήκοντα**. Reizke's (Mommsen, *Röm. Münz.*, 23–4) conjecture to add ὀκτώ και is usually accepted; he confirms it by a second emendation in 95. 1 (q. v.). The MSS. here, however, have only **ἑβδομήκοντα**, and this reading is as old as Pollux (ix. 86).

[3] **ἄλλα**. For Darius' first coining Darics cf. iv. 166. 2 n.; for their value cf. Head, *H.N.*, 826. They were worth twenty silver σίγλοι, about £1 2s., and were almost identical with the Croesus staters, but had three per cent. of alloy.

**χαλεπός**. This epithet with ἥπιος is an echo of *Od.* ii. 232–4.

### iii. 90

In vii. 77. 1 the Καβηλέες are identified with the Lasonians; H. reproduces two sources without troubling to reconcile them. For the Καβάλιοι cf. Ramsay, *C.B.*, 265–6; they lay on the borders of Lycia and the Roman province of Asia; their important town, Cibyra, Strabo (631) says was founded by Lydians (hence they are called οἱ Μηίωνες in vii. 77. 1). For the **Milyans** cf. i. 173. 2 n.

The **Hytennians** were perhaps the only Pisidian highlanders subject to Persia; for the independence of these mountaineers cf. Xen. *An.* i. 1. 11; the Ἐτεννεῖς in the third century B.C. were able to raise 8,000 hoplites (Polyb. v. 73). Cf. v. 25 n. for the two first satrapies as always united under one ruler. The second satrapy was officially called Sparda (= Sardis) from the name of its capital; cf. chap. 120.

[2] The Hellespontines are the Greeks of Northwest Asia Minor.

For the **Thracians** cf. vii. 75 n., where they are called "Bithynians," and the story of their immigration is given; the Mariandynians were well known to the Greeks from their neighbourhood to the colony of Heraclea (Xen. *An.* vi. 2. 1).

For the **Syrians** (= the Cappadocians) cf. i. 72 n. The name is one of several proofs that H. did not borrow this list from Hecataeus, as some have suggested: Hecataeus (frag. 194; *FHG* i. 13) calls this people Λευκόσυροι (contrast too his Τίβαροι (frag. 193) with Τίβαρηνοί in iii. 94). Darius gives the native name

“Katapatuka” in his list of conquests. The official name of the third satrapy was Dascylitis (Thuc. i. 129. 1).

The third satrapy was hereditary in the house of Pharnaces, who was descended from one of the “Seven” (cf. 84. n.).

[3] H. here uses **Cilicia** in the wide sense, as including not only (1) the strip of coast, but also (2) the Taurus region to the north as far as, and even beyond, the Halys (i. 72. 2), and (3) the country to the northeast (the later Commagene) as far as the Euphrates (v. 52. 3). Hence the tribute of this satrapy was a heavy one, 500 talents (v. 49. 6). As, however, 140 talents was spent in the province, it is only reckoned as 360 talents in the total (chap. 95). Cilicia was held by native rulers who all bore the Semitic name *Συέννεσις* (cf. i. 74. 3; v. 118. 2; vii. 98. 1); perhaps this was a title (cf. “Pharaoh”). Their dependence on the central power varied according to its strength or weakness.

The “white horses” were sacred to the sun-god Mithra (for their sacrifice cf. vii. 113. 2 n.); hence one is paid for each of the 360 days in the year. They were also sacred to Ormazd (vii. 40). Strabo (525) says there was a similar tribute of horses, besides other cattle, from Cappadocia and from Media (1,500 and “about 3,000” horses respectively).

For the tribute in kind cf. i. 192 n. and app. vi, § 8.

### iii. 91

**Posideium** lay south of the Orontes, on the slopes of the Syrian Mount Casius, which originally formed the southern boundary of Cilicia; in later times this lay further north, at the Syrian gates. Amphilochus was supposed to have led eastwards some of the Greeks from Troy; he settled them in Pamphylia (vii. 91, a passage which supplements this).

For the independence of the Arabians cf. chap. 8; they, however, brought annual gifts (97. 5). For *Συρίη ἢ Παλαιστίνη* cf. 5. 1 n.

The fifth satrapy was called by the Persians “beyond the river” (Ezra v. 6; vi. 6); it, however, included, at any rate later, a district east of the Euphrates (Arr. *Anab.* iii. 8. 6).

[2] **Βάρκις**. For the conquest of Barca by Aryandes, the satrap of Egypt, cf. iv. 201; for Lake Moeris ii. 149 n.; the revenue from it was 240 talents a year. The whole passage (cf. app. ix, § 1) implies that the Persians were masters of Egypt when it was written. For the “White Fort” cf. 13. 2 and Thuc. i. 104. 2.

[3] **ἐπιμετρομένου**: i.e., “120,000” (medimni) “in addition to” (ἐπί) the tribute.

[4] **νομὸς ἑβδομος**. H. so far has arranged his satrapies geographically; he continues to do so from the 8th to the 12th (or perhaps the 13th); but his 7th satrapy is in the extreme northeast of the empire, southeast of the Paraphamisus (now Hindu-Kush) Mountains. H. had little or no idea of the arrangement of the eastern half of the Persian empire. He joins the Gandarians and Dadicae in vii. 66,

where he says they were equipped like the Bactrians. The Gandarii are called by Hecataeus (frag. 178; *FHG* i. 12) an "Indian tribe"; Strabo (697) puts Gandaritis in the valley of the Cabul; they and the Sattagydi ("Thatagush") come in the first list of provinces (B.I. i. 6), where they are followed by Arachosia. Hence Meyer, iii. p. 97, puts them down as conquests of Cyrus. It is possible that their earlier conquest may explain their curious place in the list, especially as none of them joined in the general revolt against Darius. The Aparyti are otherwise unknown, but Holdich (*Gates of India*, 28, 31) puts all these tribes in the Indus valley, and identifies the Aparytae with the modern Afridi.

**Σούσων.** H. now starts from the head of the Persian Gulf, and gives the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th satrapies in order from south to north. The official name of the Cissian satrapy was Susiana; it corresponded to the ancient "Elam."

### iii. 92

**Βαβ. καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης.** H. here as always (cf. i. 178. 1 n.) unites Babylonia and Assyria; they are distinguished in the inscriptions. Assyria was properly the district on the east (i.e., left) bank of the Tigris, which H. calls Matiene (v. 52). He seems to include all Mesopotamia (a name first found in Polyb. v. 44) in the Assyrian satrapy; probably this was the arrangement of Darius (cf. C. F. Lehmann, *WKP*, 1900, p. 962, n. 6), which lasted till Xerxes, on his return from Greece (Arr. *Anab.* vii. 17. 2), punished Babylon for revolt (i. 183. 3 n.). Perhaps the huge size of the satrapy was a special honour to its first satrap, Zopyrus (160. 2). For its importance cf. i. 192; it fed the Great King and his army for two-thirds of the year.

For the **Paricani**, 94. 1 n., probably the Παρητακηνοί should be read here, whom H. calls a Median tribe (i. 101. 1). They lived (near the modern Ispahan) in the mountains separating Persia and Susiana from Media, and forming the watershed of the Choaspes (cf. Strabo 744 for their position and predatory character). The name of the Ὀρθοκορυβάντιοι (otherwise unknown) is explained by some as "dwellers in the mountain."

[2] **Κάσπιοι κτλ.** These four tribes, none of which occur elsewhere, for the Caspii here are not the same as those of 93. 3, must have lived to the northeast of Media, on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. Perhaps they represent the satrapy of Hyrcania (cf. chap. 117 and vii. 62. 2), the omission of which is a perplexing feature of this list. Hyrcania, however, does not occur in any of Darius' lists (cf. app. vii, § 1), though it is mentioned in the B.I. (ii. 16) along with Parthia. It (Strabo 507 seq.) was more important in Parthian than in Persian times (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 1).

The **Bactrii** or Bactriani lived in the basin of the upper Oxus: their capital was the modern Balkh. The Aegli may be the Ἀύγαλοι of Ptolemy, vi. 12, a Sagartian tribe south of the Jaxartes. The huge 16th satrapy (93. 3) included the wilder nomad tribes, and surrounded the more settled Bactria on three sides, north, west, and south: their warriors (vii. 66. 1) were equipped like the Bactrians.

### iii. 93

H.'s 13th satrapy lies northwest of Media, while the 11th lies northeast of that country. Pactyice here adjoins Armenia and is obviously not the district of the same name which adjoined India (chap. 102. 1 q.v.).

[2] The 14th satrapy seems to have consisted of the whole of the western part of the Iranian plateau to the Persian Gulf, for it included "the islands." Hecataeus (frags. 170, 183; *FHG* i. 11–12) writes ἐκ Μύκων εἰς Ἀράξην ποταμόν, apparently giving these as the northern and southern limits of Asia. All the names except the "Thamanaeans" occur in Darius' inscriptions; these are joined again with the Σαράγγαι in 117. 1.

The Sagartians (Persian nomads in i. 125) and the Utians (cf. B.I. iii. 40, Yautiya, "a district of Persia") seem to have been connected with the ruling race, but may have been made tributaries for not having assisted Cyrus in his attack on the Medes.

The Sagartians are described (viii. 85) as horsemen armed with lassoes. The Sarangians are the Δράγγοι of Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 21), and lived in the modern Seistan. The name of Μύκοι seems to survive in the modern Mekran, the southern province of Persia. Strabo (765) speaks of Macae on the coast of Arabia opposite. Some have seen in the Οὔτιοι the Οὔξιοι of Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 17. 1, who lived partly in the mountains south of Susa, and levied blackmail even on Persian kings; but they are geographically separated from the rest of the 14th satrapy by Persia proper, and it is more probable the Utii lived near the Persian Gulf.

The islands are those in the mouth of the Persian Gulf (cf. vii. 80), off the now much-talked-of port of Bander Abbas.

The practice of deportation was usual with the military monarchies of the old world, especially in the East (cf. 2 Kings xv. 29; xviii. 11, 32); for instances in H. cf. vi. 3 n.

[3] The 15th satrapy seems to lie in the extreme northeast beyond Bactria; the Amyrgian Sacians have the same commander as the Bactrians (vii. 64. 2 n.).

The **Caspii** (not the Caspii of 92. 2) are mentioned in vii. 67. 1 and 86. 1 among the Eastern tribes of the army; perhaps they are the inhabitants of Cashmere, but this is not probable, as in that case they would have the mountains between them and the Sacae.

For the position of the 16th satrapy cf. 92. 2 n. All the tribes in it occur on the monuments of Darius. The Parthians, afterwards so famous, lived in the modern Khorasan, southeast of the Caspian. The Chorasmians lay northeast of them, on the lower Oxus (cf. Arr. *Anab.* iv. 15). The capital of Sogdiana, the tribe further to the northeast, was Samarcand; the name Soghd is still borne by the district between the Oxus and the Jaxartes (Wilson, *Aria.*, 129). The Areii (in vii. 66 called Ἄριοι—not the same as the Ἄριοι, the old name of the Medes, vii. 62. 1 n.) lived in West Afghanistan, where their name may survive in "Herat." Darius calls them "Haraiva."

### iii. 94

The 17th satrapy seems to correspond to Beloochistan. H. does not use the later name Gedrosia, for which cf. Arr. *Anab.* vi. 22 seq. On the coast of this country still lives a primitive race which is dark brown (the Brahvî, but see below); so too, on the southeast corner of Arabia, Curzon speaks of the scanty survivors of a "dark aboriginal race living in the rocks by C. Mussandum" (ii. 447). This race had of course no connection but that of colour with the Ethiopians of Africa (for whom cf. iii. 17. 1 n. and vii. 70. 1). Lassen (*I.A.* i. 390) thinks the dark race was perhaps once widely spread in Asia; he quotes the Mahâbhârata for "black dwellers in the Himalaya." But he denies that it survives in Beloochistan. The Paricanii are otherwise unknown, but may well be the inhabitants of the interior. Their name is explained by some as = "worshippers of demons," by others (e.g., Holdich, p. 34) as the Sansk. "Parvaka" (= mountaineers). H. couples them in vii. 68 with the Utians and Mycans, and the Ethiopians with the Indians (vii. 70. 1).

The 18th satrapy seems to have consisted of the southern and eastern parts of the mountainous region which, beginning with the basin of the upper Aras, stretches west to the upper Euphrates and south to the upper Tigris. For the Matieni cf. i. 72. 2 n.

The **Saspeires** lay north of Matiene; they occupy a "small" district between Media and Colchis (i. 104; cf. iv. 37). Rawlinson, iv. 223, identifies their name with the "Iberians," but this is very doubtful.

The **Alarodii** are only mentioned here and in vii. 79, where they are again joined with the Saspeires and armed like the Colchians. Sir H. Rawlinson (*ibid.* iv. 245 seq.) sees in their name a survival of the "Urarda" (cf. Ararat) of the Inscriptions; this is generally accepted (Maspero, iii. 55); they were a Semitic race who preceded the Aryan Armenians in the mountain region northwest of the Assyrian plain (round Lake Van), and who fought the Assyrians at first for supremacy, then for independence. After H. they disappear, being absorbed by the Armenians.

[2] The 19th satrapy lay north and northwest of the 18th, north and northeast of the 13th (93. 1), and south of Colchis. All the tribes in it, except the Moschi, lay on the coast of the Black Sea (cf. Xen. *An.* iv. 8 for the Macrones—whose name survives in the Makur Dagh—and v. 5. 2 for the Tibareni); their armament resembles that of the Colchians. The Mares only occur here (and in vii. 79) and in Hec. frag. 192 (*FHG* i. 12).

The **Tibareni** and **Moschi** (Assyr. "Tabali and Muskana") are the Tubal and Meshech of Ezek. xxvii. 13 (cf. 32. 26), where they are among the "merchants of Tyre," trading in slaves and brass; they had long resisted the Assyrians, and seem to have been finally driven into the mountains by the Cimmerian invasion (cf. i. 15 n.). They were independent later (Xen. *An.* vii. 8. 25).

Ἰνδῶν. Two questions arise:

(1) *What knowledge had H. of the Indians?*

The following points may be accepted.

(a) H. thinks that the Indians are the most remote nation known on the east; beyond them is desert (98. 2; iv. 40. 2). This idea is based partly on some rumour as to the great deserts east of the Indus, partly on ignorance. As H. knows nothing of mountains in these parts, it is difficult to think (as Rawlinson) that he refers to the great deserts north of the Himalaya.

(b) The subject Indians are the inhabitants of the lower Indus valley and the modern Sind and part of the Punjab east of the Indus. The wealth of the satrapy compels us to believe that much of the country which is now desert, e. g in Sind, was then irrigated and fertile; but even in Strabo's (p. 697) time part of the south Indus valley was θηρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις σύμμετρος.

(c) Beyond this region H. knows (i) vaguely of a great population; the Indians are the most numerous race in the world (see below). (ii) Most of them are utter barbarians (chap. 98 seq.). So far as his stories are true, they can only refer to the primitive Dravidian races, who were left behind in the hilly country on the frontier by the tide of Aryan conquest. (iii) But he has accurate information of the Indian canoes and cotton dresses (98. 3, 4) and of their respect for animal life (100. 1).

(d) H. as usual is free from the ridiculous tales which later writers give, e.g., Ctesias (cf. 98. 3; 102 nn.).

(2) *How far were they under Persian rule?*

(a) H. (iv. 44. 3) tells us that Darius, after the voyage of Scylax, subdued some Indians and used the Indus as a waterway. This agrees with Darius' inscription at Persepolis, where he puts India among his conquests. H. (102. 1 n.) seems to limit the tributary Indians to the region in northwest India. It is noticeable that Strabo (687) is ignorant of these Persian conquests.

(b) It is probable that Darius received regular gifts from the trans-Indus tribes, though by the time of Alexander, the Persians had lost all authority beyond that river.

H.'s statements here and in v. 3. 1 as to the number of the Indians are implicitly contradicted by Thucydides (ii. 97. 5–6), who says that with the Scyths no nation in Europe or Asia could be compared. Thucydides' narrow Hellenism involves him in a double error: (1) He does not know that the Scyths proper were a comparatively small race (app. xi, § 6). (2) He ignores the great populations of the East, of which H. has dimly heard.

**ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια.** The 360 talents, being paid in gold, have to be multiplied by 13 for the reckoning (95. 1).

### iii. 95

The reading (cf. chap. 89. 2 n.) ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια (for the τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια of most MSS.; see app. crit.) seems almost certain. For (1) the sum

total of all the tributes (less the 140 talents spent in Cilicia, chap. 90. 3) is 7,600 Babylonian talents. This—taking the ratio of 60 : 78 (chap. 89. 2)—gives 9,880 Euboic talents. (2) If the value of the Indian gold be added, i.e.,  $360 \times 13 = 4,680$ , we have the total 14,560 talents.

This reading then both preserves the proper relation of gold and silver, and makes the addition of H. correct, while the other text does neither. For the ratio of the precious metals (really 13.3, not 13) cf. Böckh, i. 38 seq.; it varied, but was often reckoned as 10 : 1 (Lys. xix. 42–3, re the property of Conon; Xen. *An.* i. 7. 18, 3,000 darics = 10 tals. = 60,000 drs.; Livy xxxviii. 11). The modern proportion is about  $15\frac{1}{2} : 1$ . As the Persian gold was the purest (cf. iv. 166. 2), H. rightly gives a higher ratio than the usual.

[2] τὸ δ' ἔτι κτλ. is equivalent to “I calculate in round numbers, not in fractions.”

### iii. 96

νήσων: i.e., the Greek islands in the Aegean.

[2] θησαυρίζει. Strabo (731) says there were 40,000 talents found by Alexander in Susa and Persia; cf. also Arr. *Anab.* iii. 16. 7 (50,000 at Susa alone). Cf. Plut. *Alex.* 36, and v. 49. 7 n.

### iii. 97

[2] Αἰθίοπες. For Cambyses' conquests and the Ethiopian gifts cf chap. 17 n.

Nysa, the birthplace of Osiris, is placed by Diodorus (i. 15) in Arabia Felix; here and in ii. 146. 2 it seems to be in the Upper Nile valley; cf. *Homeric Hymn* i. 8 σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτου ὄρεων. Stein identifies it with Gebel Barkal, the “holy mountain,” near the Fourth Cataract and Meroe. The legends of Dionysus place it also in Greece, India, and elsewhere. It seems better to connect οἱ with the main subject, “the Ethiopians near Egypt,” not with “the long-lived Ethiopians.”

σπέρματι: cf. 101. 2; for the Callatiae cf. chap. 38.

[3] συναμφοτέροι, “both,” i.e., “the Ethiopians and their neighbours” (see above).

διὰ τρίτου, “every second year” (so διὰ πεντ. below, “every four years”); cf. the biennial tribute from the South to Solomon (1 Kings x. 22). In the outlying parts of the Persian Empire, the old system of “gifts” (as opposed to “tribute”) survived. Cf. *BMG* pl. xvi, p. 175 for a picture from the Theban monuments of Ethiopians bringing ebony, gold, etc. For Duncker's theory of the great southern extension of the Persian Empire, based on this passage, cf. app. v, § 4.

[4] ἀγίνεον. The Circassian beauties are still sold for the Turkish harems.

### iii. 98

τοιῶδε: cf. chaps. 102–5. The passage beginning ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς to the end of 101 is a digression on the independent Indians; it reads like a later addition. Lassen (i. 388 seq.) lays stress on its importance as evidence for the extension of primitive non-Aryan tribes into northwest India. He (ii. 635) quotes from an Indian epic, a

fish-eating people living on the Sarasvati; this flows into the Run of Cutch, a little east of the Indus. He (ii. 633) says the κάλαμος is not the bamboo proper (*Bambusa arundinacea*), out of which Indian bows are made (vii. 65), but a similar plant, the “Kana,” which grows over fifty feet high, and correspondingly thick. Ctesias (*Indica* 6. 248), with characteristic exaggeration, says that “two men could hardly span it with extended arms.”

[4] The φλοῦς (Att. φλέως) is the *Arundo ampelodesmon*; cf. Postans, *Sindh*, 60, for its use by the Miami, a fisherfolk on the Indus, for “mats” (φορμουῖ), etc. H. perhaps is borrowing from Pseudo-Scylax (cf. iv. 44).

### iii. 99

ὄς ἂν κάμη. For this cannibalism cf. iv. 26 n. The name Padaci may be derived from the Sans. “padja” (bad). Cf. Tibullus, iv. 1. 144–5 “Impia vel saevis celebrans convivium mensis / ultima vicinus Phoebus tenet arva Padaeus.”

### iii. 100

κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον. Lassen (ii. 635) points out that this is the oldest Western mention of the Brahman hermits (e.g., of their vegetable diet—ποιηφάγεουσι). But if so, H. confuses them with the aboriginal black population (cf. 101. 1).

### iii. 101

ἐμφανής. For this lowest depth of bestiality cf. i. 203 n.

[2] Aristotle twice refutes this (*Gen. An.* ii. 2, 736a 10; and *Hist. An.* iii. 22, 522a); he says that H.’s mistaken argument from the black skin is refuted by the white teeth of negroes.

### iii. 102

The name “Pactyice” perhaps = “mountain border land.” Hence it is applied to the districts both on the northwest (cf. 92. 1) and on the southeast of the Iranian plateau (Lassen, i. 434). It perhaps survives in “Pushtoo,” the Afghans’ name for themselves. In vii. 85. 1 the “Pactylic” type of dress is contrasted with the “Persian.” For **Caspaturus** cf. iv. 44. 2 n. These Indians are the only Indians of Aryan stock whom H. knows, apart from the confused reference in chap. 100. They are called Δέρδαι in Strabo 706 (Ind. Darada). They lived on the southern slopes of the Hindo-Koosh in Kafiristan.

For the story of the ants cf. Bunbury, i. 229f., or (more fully) Lassen, i. 850. We may note as to it (1) Nearchus, Alexander’s admiral, had seen the skins of the “gold-digging ants” which are “like those of panthers” (Strabo 705); Strabo quotes the story, with additional details (e.g., that meat is put out to distract the attention of the ants), from Megasthenes, who went as ambassador to Sandracottus at Patna ca. 300 B.C., and “from others” (706); Megasthenes places it in a plain “3,000 stadia round, τῶν προσεφώνων καὶ ὀρεινῶν Ἰνδῶν.” (2) It was often repeated in the Middle Ages, e.g., in a twelfth-century letter of Prester John (quoted by Bähr, ad

loc.), who gives the ants seven feet and four wings. Busbecq. (*Ep. Turc.*, 4) says that in 1559 a Persian ambassador brought, among other gifts, to the Sultan Soliman at Constantinople, an Indian ant “magnitudine canis mediocris, animal mordax et saevum.” (3) That ants dug up gold is a genuine Indian story; cf. Wilson, *Ariana*, pp. 135–6 (quoting the *Mahâbhârata*), who says the gold paid as tribute was called “ant gold” (Pippîlika).

There are three facts underlying the story: (1) that ant-heaps contained gold dust; (2) that certain animals and their skins were exported; these may have been marmots, some of which are spotted like panthers; they are certainly burrowing animals; (3) gold is abundant in the mountain chains northwest of India. It is to be noted that H. does not claim to have seen the ants himself, as Ctesias did the still more fabulous Martichora (*Indica* frag. 5. 356).

[3] The word *σειρηφόρος*, “pulling by a trace,” seems elsewhere used only metaphorically (Aesch. *Ag.* 842; Ar. *Nub.* 1300).

### iii. 103

**γούνατα τέσσερα.** H. is of course mistaken in giving a camel two knees and two thighs in *each* of its back legs; but his mistake is due to careful, though unscientific, observation. We may note that (1) he took the heel of the camel for a second knee: this mistake is not unnatural, as a glance at a camel will show, owing to the length of the camel’s metatarsal bone. He then *infers* that, as it had two knees in each leg, it would also have two thighs. (2) The camel appears to have more than one joint in its legs when it kneels to receive a load; Aristotle (*Hist. An.* ii. 1, 499a), who corrects H. without naming him, points out that this is due to the way in which the camel doubles its legs under it (*διὰ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῆς κοιλίας*), as if it were double-jointed. For other explanations of H.’s blunder see Bähr, ad loc.

**τὰ αἰδοῖα**, “veretrum retro versum habet,” which is a fact.

### iii. 104

[2] **θερμότητος κτλ.** This passage, as to the climate of India, well illustrates H.’s mistaken views of the earth’s shape. As he supposes it to be flat, the Indians on the extreme east have the sun nearest to them, and so hottest, in the early morning; this lasts till the time of the “market’s breaking-up” (i.e., about 10 a.m.); as the sun goes west, the day gets cooler. Rawlinson, however, thinks that H. may be reproducing inaccurately a real account of the contrast between the hot mornings and the cool afternoons, when the sun is behind the hills, of the high Indian valleys.

For *ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος* cf. ii. 173. 1 and iv. 181. 3.

### iii. 105

[2] **καὶ παραλύεσθαι**, “are actually cut loose when they begin to drag.”

M. Polo says that the Tartars in their raids ride mares for a similar reason.

### iii. 106

[2] The **τοῦτό μιν** here corresponds to *πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβ.* (107. 1).

**μέζω.** This statement is partly an inference from § 1, partly a case of “*omne ignotum*,” etc. As a matter of fact the African elephants and lions are larger than the Indian varieties.

For the Nisaeen horses cf. vii. 40. 2 n.

**χρυσός.** India is really poor in gold. H.'s statement is partly based on the (exaggerated) mineral wealth of Northwest India, partly on a mistaken inference from the dress of the natives (Lassen, i. 238). Our own ancestors similarly exaggerated the wealth of India.

[3] **καρπὸν εἶρια . . . προφέροντα.** This is the first Western mention of cotton, which, however, grows on a shrub and not on a tree; for the Indians wearing it cf. vii. 65. 1.

### iii. 107

**ἐσχάτη.** As H. thinks Arabia “furthest” to the south, he has no conception of the great southern extension of Africa and India. Arabia was reckoned the land of spices, because the trade was mainly in Arab hands; “white incense” (*λιβανωτός*) grows in Arabia and on the coast of Africa opposite; the brown variety grows in India. (M. Polo, ii. 396, 445 seq.)

All the names are Semitic: *κασίη* = Heb. Kezi”a, *λιβανωτός* = *levônâh*, *σμύρνη* = *môr*, Ass. *murru*, *λήδανον* = *lõt*, Ass. *ladunu*, *κιννάμωμον* = *kinnâmôn*, probably foreign (cf. 111. 2, 112. 1 for the origin of the names, and Liddell & Scott s.v. *κιννάμωμον*).

The marvels and dangers related by H. (whose knowledge of them is perhaps due to his being a merchant himself) are the fictions of traders anxious both to conceal their market and to enhance the value of their products. The *Φοινικικὸν ψεῦδος* was proverbial; cf. Paus. ix. 28. 2 for a Phoenician snake-story; but according to him the sweetness of the balsam took away the deadliness of its guardian snakes. For the spice trade cf. Mövers, *Phoen.* iii. 1. 104; it was already established in the seventh century B.C.

[2] **στυράξ** is also a Semitic word; it is translated “balm” Gen. xliii. 11. It was an inferior kind of incense and grew especially in Syria.

For winged serpents cf. ii. 75. 1; H. here may be adding an Egyptian touch to his Phoenician information. For an expedition to Punt, the land of spices, under the eighteenth dynasty cf. *RP*<sup>1</sup> x. 11, and Brugsch, i. 352 seq.

### iii. 108

**ἐχίδνας.** H. carefully distinguishes “vipers” from other snakes (109. 3).

**πρνοίη.** Xenophanes had taught there was a divine power ruling the universe *νόου φρενί* (*RP*, ed. 1888, 89b). In Anaxagoras this intelligence tended to be

divorced from divinity; in H. it develops into a belief in a divine providence that is kind. The early use of the argument from Final Causes is very curious.

[3] ἐπικυῖσκεται: the “superfoetation” of the hare is recorded by Aristotle (*Gen. An.* iv. 5, 773a), though with fewer details than by Herodotus. Platt (*Oxf. Tr.*, 190) quotes Sundevall, “it is not so much the rule as the author thinks, but still it does occur.” There are four stages of the young: “with fur,” “bare,” “just formed,” “just conceived.”

[4] λέαινα. Aristotle without naming H. (*Hist. An.* vi. 31, 579a 2) rightly styles this story as to the lioness ληρώδης; it was invented, he says, to account for the scarcity of lions. The lioness breeds once a year, and has usually three cubs. H. fails to explain how under his system the race of lions survives at all.

ἐσικνέεται καταγράφων, translate “he penetrates scratching it down.”

### iii. 109

φύσις: i.e., from eggs, according to the “nature” of serpents.

[2] ἀποθνήσκει. H.’s vivid imagination conceives the serpent pair as a sort of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. Dryden (*Absalom and Achitophel* i. 1013–15) has a fine simile, based on this snake story, for the witnesses to the Popish Plot:

Till, viper-like, their mother plot they tear,  
And suck for nutriment that bloody gore  
Which was their principle of life before.

[3] κατὰ τοῦτο, “on this ground,” i.e., because collected in Arabia.

### iii. 110

Cassia and cinnamon are both aromatic barks and closely allied; when powdered they are almost indistinguishable. In modern times most of the cassia comes from China, the best cinnamon from Ceylon, whence the name of the plant (*C. Zeylanicum*).

θηρία πτερωτά. Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* ix. 5) describes a similar danger to cinnamon gatherers, but from venomous snakes.

### iii. 111

ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος. H. probably means Ethiopia; cf. 97. 2 n.

[2] ὄρνιθας. The great birds acting as retrievers are familiar in the story of Sindbad the Sailor; there and in M. Polo (iii. 19), they bring up diamonds. “The dry sticks” (κάρφρα) are the familiar form in which cinnamon is still exported. Theophrastus (ix. 4. 5) gives a much fuller account of cinnamon: it grows in ravines in Arabia; the best part is the young shoots, the worst that near the roots; altogether five qualities are distinguished.

### iii. 112

**λήδανον.** Dioscorides (περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς i. 128), who wrote about the time of Nero, says οἱ τράγοι τὴν λιπαρίαν ἀναλαμβάνουσι τῷ πώγωνι γνωρίζωσιν καὶ τοῖς μηροῖς προσπλαττομένην διὰ τὸ τυγχάνειν ἰξώδη, ἣν ἀφαιροῦντες ὑλίζουσι (“strain”) καὶ ἀποτίθενται ἀναπλάττοντες μαγίδας (“cakes”); Pliny (*H.N.* xii. 76) tells a similar story.

**χρήσιμον:** i.e., for mixing with many kinds of myrrh. Dioscorides (ut sup.) says it was used to keep hair from falling off.

### iii. 113

The construction is ἡδύ (“the sweet smell”) ζεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης θεσπέσιον ὡς (cf. θαυμάσιον ὡς, ἀφόρητος οἶος iv. 28. 1).

For the “Sabean odours from the spicy shore / Of Araby the Blest,” where for “many a league / Cheered with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles,” cf. Milton, *P.L.* iv. 162–5. Agatharchides, a Greek official of high rank in Egypt (ca. 150 B.C.), described not only this (Diod. iii. 45–6) but other marvels in Arabia, e.g., that the sweet-smelling woods were guarded by numerous and deadly “purple snakes,” and also the relaxing effect of the odours; these H. Judiciously omits.

**οἶων.** The Barbary sheep is not now confined to Arabia, but is found in many parts of Africa and North Asia (e.g., the *Ovis Steatopyga* of Pallas in Asiatic Russia). Its tail is said in some cases to weigh over 70 lbs.; it is still at times protected by wheeled boards. (Wood, *Nat. Hist.* i. 679–81.) M. Polo notes these sheep in Persia (i. 18), and says they were “as big as asses.”

The play on ἔλκος and ἔλκειν is as old as Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 168–9.

### iii. 114

**ἀποκλινομένης:** lit. “Ethiopia, as midday declines, extends West,” etc.; but the phrases for time and for space are confused; “as midday declines” = the quarter where midday declines. H. means that Ethiopia is the remotest land he knows to the southwest. The Ethiopians here are “the long-lived”; cf. chap. 17.

### iii. 115

This chapter illustrates a main principle of H.’s geography; he insists on the evidence of eyewitnesses (iv. 16). Hence he will not accept the existence of sea on the northwest of Europe, and so reaches a wrong conclusion by a right method.

**Ἡριδανόν.** Three stages may be noted in the use of this name: (1) It seems to have been a general name for rivers. Cf. the Rhodanus (and perhaps the Rhenus) and the Radaune near Dantzig. It may contain the root of the Greek ῥέω, while the “dan” can be compared with Danube, Don, Dniester, etc. This is not inconsistent with H.’s remark that the name is Greek; in the form Ἡριδανός it fits into hexameter verse, and may be connected with ἥρι “early,” so that “it would be originally an epithet of the sun” (Tozer, *A.G.*, 35, who compares “Phaethon,” “the shining deity”; see below for his place in the myth). (2) Hesiod (*Theog.* 338) is the

first Greek to use it, coupling it with the Nile and the Alpheus, but without locating it. Aeschylus (Plin. *H.N.* xxxvii. 32) made it = the Rhone, which he puts in Spain. (3) H.'s contemporary Pherecydes first made it the Po. This identification was probably due to two causes, (a) myth had connected the origin of amber from the tears of Phaethon's sisters with the Eridanus, (b) the amber route struck the Mediterranean at the head of the Adriatic, i.e., not far from the Po (cf. for amber route iv. 34 nn.).

What H. refuses to accept is the Eridanus of legend and its connection with the growth of amber; Strabo (215) is even more sceptical.

ἔούσας is emphatic: "really exist."

The **Cassiterides** are identified by Strabo (175–6) with the Scilly Isles, where there is no tin. Originally, however, the name "tin islands" must at any rate have included Britain; it was afterwards applied to imaginary islands; cf. Rice Holmes, *Anc. Britain*, 483–8, for a full account of the ancient evidence and of modern views as to it; a shorter one is in Tozer, *ut sup.* pp. 37–8. H. declines to commit himself to any of the stories, which were the result of the ignorance as to the islands. This ignorance was due to Phoenician exclusiveness; Strabo (176) tells how one of their merchants ran his ship on a shoal, to destroy his Roman pursuers. Cf. Diod. v. 22 (quoting Timaeus) for tin-mining in Britain and the tin route across Gaul; the metal was brought from Ictis (St. Michael's Mount) to Corbilo on the Loire (for this cf. Strabo 190), and thence ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων, thirty days' journey to the mouth of the Rhone. The trade may be as old as the foundation of Massilia; cf. Rice Holmes, *ut sup.* pp. 499–514.

[2] τὸ οὖνομα: translate "this very form Eridanus betrays that the name," etc.

δ' ὧν sums up the result of H.'s "research" (μελετῶν). "At any rate our tin comes" from the extreme west.

**κασσίτερος**. Schrader, *Preh. Antiq. of Aryans*, 216, thinks this "is an Accadian-Assyrian word transferred by Phoenicians to the mines in the west." Others more probably make it British, and compare the Cassi (Caesar, *B. Gall.* v. 21), Cassivellaunus, and other names. At all events, it is an imported word in Greece.

**ἤλεκτρον**. Amber comes especially from the southeast shores of the Baltic; cf. Tac. *Germ.* 45 and Plin. *H.N.* xxxvii. 30–53.

### iii. 116

**πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου**. Europe for H. extended north of Asia, and so included the northern parts of modern Asia. The mineral wealth of the Ural and Altai Mountains is well known.

For the Arimaspi cf. iv. 13 n.

[3] αἱ δὲ ὧν takes up the point of 106. 1; whatever the truth of particular stories, "at any rate" the extremities of the earth produce "just (αὐτά) the things we think most fair and most rare."

### iii. 117

**πεδίων.** This chapter continues the subject of chap. 97, i.e., the less organized parts of the Great King's revenue. H.'s tale of the Aces (see below) is inconsistent alike with physical laws and with what is known of the position of the tribes mentioned (cf. chaps. 92–3 nn.). The idea, however, of the chapter is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water. Cf. Réclus, ix. 180, for this in modern Persia. H.'s informants have made a fancy picture out of real facts. It is probable, too, as Meyer suggests (see below), that the canalization of the land was intended as a check on the raids of the nomads of the northeast. (Cf. the similar defensive use of canals in Babylonia, i. 185. 1.)

The Hyrcanians (cf. 92. 2 n.) are mentioned here, but not in the list of satrapies.

The Aces (the name may mean either "binder" or "opening") has been variously made the Margus, the Oxus or the Ochus (Wilson, *Ariana*, 129), a confusion of these with the Hilmend (Rennell, 195–6), the Heri-rud (Meyer, iii. 52, 68). The "sea" has even been identified (St. Croix) with the Sea of Aral. But it is better to regard river and sea as imaginary (see below).

**ἄρδεσκε**, "watered at one and the same time"; the iterative tense here is used of place, not of time. Cf. the Homeric ὠδε δέ τις εἵπεσκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον.

[4] **χρηίσκονται**: a ἅπ. λεγ., "are much in want of."

[5] **βασιλέος**. The personal appeal to the king is a genuine Oriental touch. Cf. 119. 3 and Exod. v. 15 (the Israelites and Pharaoh).

### iii. 118–28

These chapters give Darius' difficulties in restoring order at home and in the satrapies. An account of the great revolts in the Persian empire (described in the B.I.) would naturally have come in here; but H. only once (i. 130. 2 n., the Median revolt) refers to these, apart from his account (chap. 150 seq.) of the revolt of Babylon. He only knows there was widespread confusion (126. 2, 127. 1).

Darius (B.I. iv. 18) mentions Intaphrenes first of "the Seven"; cf. 78 n. for his part in the conspiracy against the Magian. Rawlinson thinks H. underestimates his "revolt," but cf. 119. 1.

### iii. 118

[2] **ἀγγελιηφόρος**: cf. 34. 1, 77. 2 for this office.

### iii. 119

[2] **τήν**: sc., δέσιν. Cf. for the construction v. 72. 4; ix. 37. 1 (where τήν is omitted). For the punishment of the whole family cf. Dan. vi. 24, but Darius here, more merciful than his namesake in the Bible story, spares the women.

[6] **ἀδελφείας**. The preference for a brother over a husband occurs in Soph. *Ant.* 905–12 (perhaps an interpolation; cf. Jebb, pp. 259 seq., but it certainly was in

Aristotle's text of Sophocles; cf. *Rhet.* iii. 16.9; some ascribe the addition to the poet's son Iophon). The argument certainly seems more natural in the historian than in the dramatist. (Cf. introd. p. 7.) There are curious parallels in the Indian Epic, the Ramayana, and in a late Persian story. Nöldeke (*Hermes*, xxix. 155; cf. also xxviii. 465) thinks the Herodotean version is the original, because in it only two lives are spared, in the Oriental versions all three, husband, brother, and son. He thinks, however, H.'s story and the Indian one are both derived from an older Persian original. The more natural view is that a piece of Greek cleverness has been borrowed in the East.

### iii. 120

**Σαρδίων.** H. here as always (except in chap. 127) calls the satrapy "Sardis," not "Lydia" (v. 25 and passim, and Thuc. i. 115. 4); so too the Persian name for it was Cparda.

**παθών.** Diodorus (x. 16 (ii. 206 Teubner)), however, says that Polycrates had given provocation by murdering some Lydians to obtain their wealth.

[2] Dascylium was capital of the Hellespontine satrapy (Thuc. i. 129. 1; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1. 15); cf. app. i.

### iii. 121

**Ἀνακρέοντα.** A poet was a familiar figure at a tyrant's court. Anacreon afterwards went to Hipparchus (Plato *Hipparch.* 228). His relations with Polycrates were the subject of a scandal (*FHG* iv. 299), which H. decently omits, as he does the similar story as to Themistocles and Aristides (Plut. *Arist.* 2).

[2] The main sentence beginning *καί κως* is left incomplete, and the words explaining *συντυχίη* (which should have been *ἔπειτε τὸν κήρυκα . . . διαλέγεσθαι κτλ.*) become an independent sentence, into which the verbs (*μεταστραφῆναι, ὑποκρίνασθαι*) of the main sentence are attracted.

### iii. 122

Probably Myrsus (for his name cf. i. 7 n.) was of the old royal house; cf. 15. 2 for the policy of favouring such. So too Pythius (vii. 27. 1 n.) seems to have been a Mermnad. For the death of Myrsus later cf. v. 121.

[2] **θαλασσοκρατέειν.** The idea of "thalassocracy" was in the air in the fifth century, when Themistocles had revealed its possibilities, and Cimon and Pericles had realized them. Myres (*JHS* xxvi) has given good reasons for assigning the list of "thalassocracies" in Eusebius to a fifth-century origin. Fotheringham (*ibid.* xxvii. 88) doubts the date; but his arguments on this point are quite unconvincing, though he makes valuable corrections in Myres' interpretation of the list.

H. here for once is more really critical than Thucydides (i. 4), who says, probably by implication correcting H., Μίνος παλαιάτατος ὧν ἀκοῆ ἴσμεν . . . τῆς νῦν Ἑλληνικῆς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκράτησε. Whatever is true in the traditions as to Minos, H. is right in implying that they are not strictly historical.

But modern research has here, as elsewhere, largely vindicated the Greek view that the myths contained a large element of history (cf. Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, especially pp. 11–14, for the Minoan empire); Burrows ingeniously suggests that the eight “Minoas” (cf. Fick, *Vorg. Ortsn.*, 27) scattered from Syria to Sicily, may perhaps reveal the greatness of their founder (cf. the “Alexandrias” and “Antiochs” of the fourth and third centuries. The argument that founders’ names are not given to colonies till quite late proves nothing against this; for the Greek colonies from the eighth century onwards were founded by republics, not by kings.

### iii. 123

**Maeandrius** is the only early instance known of a Greek bearing his father’s name; the practice became common in the fourth century (Rawlinson).

The reference to the Heraeum shows the source of this story (in part; no doubt another part came through Democedes).

[2] **λάρνακας κτλ.** Nepos (*Hann.* 9) tells a like story of Hannibal; the trick of the Egestaeans was more elaborate (Thuc. vi. 46).

### iii. 124

**λοῦσθαι.** The expression “washed by Zeus” is suggestive of the physical explanations of the fifth century, which identified the gods with the powers of nature.

[2] **ἐπεφημίζετο.** For this attempt to check an enterprise by “using ominous words” cf. the curses of Ateius Capito against Crassus in 54 B.C. (Plut. *Crass.* chap. 16).

### iii. 125

[2] **μεγαλοπρεπείην.** Just as H. thinks the greatest of Greek temples those of Ephesus and Samos, so here he holds Polycrates to have been more magnificent than Pisistratus; the comparison is significant.

[3] **ἀποκτείνας.** H., like a true Greek, gives here no details of Asiatic barbarity; he is less reticent in iv. 202.

**Σάμιοι.** Oroetes hoped to form a Persian party in Samos; cf. Thuc. i. 55, iii. 70 for a similar policy at Corinth towards Corcyra.

### iii. 126

**τίσιες.** For the personification of “vengeance” cf. 128. 5; viii. 106. 4 ἢ τίσις καὶ Ἐρμότιμος, and *Od.* xi. 280 μητρὸς Ἐρινύες.

**βασιληίην.** H. writes loosely “after the rule of the Magian”; this was itself, according to one of his “sources” (chap. 65. 5 and app. v, § 6), “the taking away of empire from the Persians by the Medes.”

[2] **ὑπέισα**. For such a method of dealing with a messenger sent to recall a governor cf. 127. 3 n.

### iii. 127

Oroetes had secured the Phrygian satrapy (120. 2 n.) by the murder of its satrap (126. 2). H. nowhere else uses these names for the West Anatolian satrapies; it is probable that the story of Oroetes came to him from Democedes, who naturally knew nothing of the official Persian names.

[3] Rawlinson says that Ali Pacha, the semi-independent ruler of Albania at the beginning of the nineteenth century, made away with the Sultan's messengers sent to depose him.

### iii. 128

[2] **σφρηγίδα**: cf. Esther iii. 12, viii. 8 for a decree made binding by the royal seal, and Thuc. i. 129 for the showing of the seal.

[3] **ἀπικόμμενος κτλ.** this passage is interesting as showing the ties which held the Persian empire together and limited the powers of the satraps; cf. app. vi for the whole subject.

**περιαιροέμενος**, "taking it out of its case."

[4] **μετῆκάν οί**. Stein translates "sank their spears to Bagaesus," i.e., recognized him as their new leader; he compares "summissis fascibus" (Livy ii. 7). But the use of μεθήμι in ix. 62. 1 rather suggests the sense "let go their spears," i.e., no longer stood at attention. οί then would be Oroetes. The whole scene is worked up by H. with picturesque details.

### iii. 129–38

The story of Democedes is skillfully introduced by H. as a link between the two main parts of his subject; it both fits on to the events which accompanied the accession of Darius and introduces the aggression against Europe. For Kirchhoff's argument as to Herodotean chronology based on it cf. introd. § 10 (pp. 9–12). It need hardly be said that the importance assigned to Democedes is not historical; the "curtain lecture of Atossa" (Macan) is a popular invention to account for events whose causes lay far deeper (cf. introd. § 32, p. 45). H. seems to be blending a Crotoniate story with details heard at Halicarnassus (chap. 138 n.), and with Persian stories as to the influence of Atossa.

### iii. 129

[2] For Egyptian physicians cf. ii. 84 n. Darius, however, restored the Egyptian college of surgery at Sais (*Z.A.S.* 37, 72 seq.).

### iii. 130

**τεχνάζειν**, "to make excuses"; cf. vi. 1. 2; Stein points out the play on words with τὴν τέχνην above.

[5] ὑποτύπτουσα: translate “dipping with a bowl into the gold chest.”

**iii. 131**

συνείχετο, “was at variance with.”

[2] δυῶν τάλαντων. Apart from the humour of the rapid increase in a fashionable physician’s fees, the story is interesting as one of the earliest accounts of state endowments for medical science. (Cf. Mahaffy, *S.L.*, 290 seq.) “Healthier than Croton” was a Greek proverb, *PG* ii. 778.

ἐγένετο κτλ. Stein well suggests that, if these lines be genuine, they are a subsequent addition; but they read like the comment of a pedantic scholiast.

**iii. 132**

For Greek homesickness cf. Histiaeus, v. 35. 4. For ὁμοτράπεζος cf. v. 24 n.

[2] μάντιν. The Elean diviners were famous; cf. ix. 33. 1 n. Perhaps this was the Kallias of v. 44. 2 (at Croton); Democedes, unlike Pharaoh’s “chief butler” (Gen. xl. 23), remembered his companions in adversity.

**iii. 133**

For Atossa cf. 68 n.

**iii. 134**

[2] For the real significance of Atossa’s counsel cf. app. xii, § 3.

For war policy to keep subjects ἄσχολοι cf. Arist. *Pol.* v. 10. 10, 1313b.

[5] ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Were disproof of the story needed, this supposed intention of attacking Greece before Scythia would alone be sufficient. The knowledge shown of Greece is inconsistent with other passages, e.g., v. 105 (as to Athens); the historian in such narratives as these aims at dramatic propriety and not at historic accuracy. Cf. Mure, iv. 408 seq., for an exaggerated discussion of H.’s inconsistencies.

**iii. 135**

[3] ἐπιδραμών, “with any eagerness”; lit. “running after it.”

**iii. 136**

The γαῦλος was a round-built merchant-vessel (cf. Torr, p. 113); the word (cf. √ gôl = *rotāre*) is probably Phoenician, and = “anything round.” It is distinguished by the accent from γαυλός, a bucket (vi. 119).

[2] ἐκ ῥηστῶνης, “out of kindness” to Democedes.

βασιλεύς. A “king” at Tarentum at the end of the sixth century may be explained (with Bähr) as a survival of Spartan institutions in a Spartan colony; the story of the foundation of Tarentum by the Partheniae is doubtful (cf. Busolt, i. 406 seq.), but certainly Tarentum received Laconian Dorians as colonists at some period. Others suggest less probably that the “king” was a “tyrant.”

**τὰ πηδάλια.** Athenaeus (522), improving on the narrative here given, says the Persians were robbed of their robes and a slave invested with them, an act commemorated afterwards in the official dress of the magistrate's servant at Croton.

**iii. 137**

[3] **ἐκχρήσει:** cf. viii. 70. 1 for a similar use (= ἀποχράω, cf. 138. 2); but here it is impersonal.

[5] **Μίλωνος θυγατέρα.** This Crotoniate story naïvely credits the Great King with the Greek love of athletes.

**iii. 138**

Apuleius (*Florida*, 15) says that Gillus, "princeps" of Croton, ransomed Pythagoras from Cambyses; the patriotism of Gillus is an effective contrast to the unscrupulous conduct of Democedes.

[2] Both Cnidus and Tarentum were Dorian towns, perhaps both Laconian colonies, an even closer bond of union.

[4] **πρῶτοι.** H. is conscious that the story of Democedes may be thought a digression and so explains its relevance.

**iii. 139–49**

*The conquest of Samos by the Persians.*

The whole story is more than suspicious. (1) It has impossible elements. If Darius had been in Egypt (which is doubtful, though not inconsistent with the B.I.) he certainly was not there as a common guardsman; he was next heir to the throne after his father Hystaspes.

(2) It is needless. The Persian policy always was to use Greek tyrants in the border states.

(3) Its moral is too obvious; it is a Greek version of "Cast thy bread upon the waters."

**iii. 139**

**πρώτην.** Stein (cf. vi. 109. 3) explains *πρώτην* of the "importance" of Samos. It is more natural (as Rawlinson) to make it chronological; H. was ignorant (cf. 150 n.) of the double capture of Babylon, and knew very little of the great rebellions (521–519 B.C.). But cf. chap. 118 n.

**Αἴγυπτον.** Under the rule of the native Egyptian kings Greeks had been confined to the Delta (ii. 154, 178 nn.); they now penetrated into Middle and Upper Egypt. Among these early sightseers may have been Hecataeus.

[2] **πυρρήν.** The position is emphatic; so "The cloak of Syloson" became a proverb for ostentation (*PG* ii. 772).

[3] **θείη τύχη**, “by a heaven-inspired chance” (not a mere accident); cf. i. 126. 6; iv. 8. 3.

**iii. 140**

**εὐεργέτης**. For the royal “benefactors” cf. viii. 85. 3 n.

**ἤ τις ἤ**: a colloquialism, = “hardly any.”

**iii. 142**

The commendation (cf. that of Cadmus, vii. 164. 1) is significant of H.’s own feeling towards tyranny. Cf. app. xvi, § 1.

[2] The story of Maeandrius is full of touches which show H.’s familiarity with Samos (145. 1, 146. 2).

[4] **ἱερωσύνην**. The priesthood was necessary to secure Maeandrius from being punished for his service to the tyrant. For other grants of priesthods cf. iv. 161. 3; vii. 153. 3.

[5] **γεγονώς . . . κακῶς**. The low birth of Maeandrius would recommend him to the tyrant. (Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1314a *πονηρόφιλον ἢ τυραννίς*.) He was a citizen (123. 1), but is called *ἡμέτερος δοῦλος* by Syloson (140. 5). So Miccythus, *οικέτης ἐών*, was appointed ruler of Tarentum by Anaxilaus (vii. 170. 4 n.).

**iii. 143**

[2] Lycaretus was afterwards made despot in Lemnos (v. 27. 1).

The *δή* well expresses the irony of H.

**iii. 145**

**γοργύρη** is properly a “drain”; hence an underground dungeon.

**iii. 146**

[3] The *δίφρος* was a footstool, which the Great King and his representatives in the field used, when stepping from a chariot (so Dinon in Athen. 514a); others (e.g., Rawlinson) translate “litter”; cf. Dio, chap. 60. 2 (it was introduced by Claudius into Roman ceremonial). The present participle may imply that these Persians had the right to use a *δίφρος*, not that they were actually using them. Others, again, explain it by the *θρόνους* of chap. 144.

**iii. 148**

For the position of Cleomenes cf. app. xvii. For the Lacedaemonians as the recognized heads of Greece between 550 and 480 B.C. cf. i. 69. 2 n.

**iii. 149**

For *σαγηνεύσαντες* cf. vi. 31 n. The immediate massacre (147. 1) was followed by thorough depopulation; *ἔκητι Συλοσῶντος εὐρυχωρίη* became a proverb (Strabo 638, who, however, attributes it, and the decay of population that gave rise to it, to the “harsh rule” of Syloson).

As Samos in 494 B.C. was able to equip sixty triremes (vi. 8), it is probable that popular dislike of the tyrant exaggerated the severity of this conquest.

### iii. 150–60

*The Revolt of Babylon and its capture by Darius.*

(1) The general outline of the events is told by Darius in the B.I. (cf. Maspero, iii. 675 seq. for a brilliant sketch). Susiana and Babylon (B.I. i. 16) revolted within a fortnight of the death of Smerdis; the leader of the latter pretended to be the son of Nabonidus, and took the name Nebuchadnezzar. While Darius was besieging Babylon, nine other provinces revolted (ii. 2), including Persia, Media, and Parthia. After Darius had captured Babylon (ii. 1), how he does not say, though he mentions two great victories over the Babylonians, he proceeded against the other rebels. While he was reducing them, another pretender rose and seized Babylon (iii. 13), but was reduced, apparently without difficulty, by Intaphrenes (iii. 14). There are thus two revolts and two captures of Babylon.

(2) There is, however, some uncertainty whether the story of H. refers to either. Ctesias (22. 69) says that the stratagem of Zopyrus belongs to his son Megabyzus, and to the capture of Babylon by Xerxes (478 B.C.). The view that this is the siege referred to is very generally adopted, e.g., by Sayce, ad loc., Nöldeke, *EB*<sup>9</sup> 18. 572 (doubtfully), Lehmann, *WKP* 1900, p. 963.

The reasons are: (a) It is impossible to fit a siege of twenty months (chap. 153. 1) into the record of the B.I. (But the chronology of that record is most uncertain, and in ii. 2 it seems to imply a long resistance.) (b) Lehmann (ut sup.) tries to fit in H.'s "nineteen months" (chap. 152) with dates given by the Babylonian tablets for Xerxes (but there are at least two uncertain quantities in his equation). (c) The cruelty of the victor (chap. 159. 2) is more like the character of Xerxes. Duncker, however, and Maspero accept the narrative of H., and the latter (iii. 677 n.) supports his view also from the Babylonian tablets. It seems safer to follow H., for (a) he had good evidence; Zopyrus, the grandson of the chief actor in the events, deserted to Athens about 440 B.C. (chap. 160. 2 n.); (b) the elder Zopyrus was certainly made satrap of Babylon.

(3) (a) In the details of H. there is certainly exaggeration and Greek colouring (see below). His chronology too is impossible (chap. 150. 1 n.).

(b) The story of the self-devotion of Zopyrus is generally rejected; Sayce (ad loc., who accepts the mutilation itself as a fact) and Sir H. Rawlinson (ad chap. 155) argue that no mutilated person could have held rule; but (i) the scars of Zopyrus would have been offensive to no one but the Babylonians; (ii) the position of Darius needed desperate measures, and some explanation must be found for his capture of an impregnable city; (iii) the silence of Darius in the B.I. proves nothing; it certainly would have been inconsistent with the whole tone of the inscription to describe how desperate his position had been; (iv) Polyænus (vii. 11. 8) confirms H., and says the stratagem was borrowed from a Sacian chief, Risaces (for the war

to which this story belongs cf. app. v, §9); he, after proving his loyalty by self-mutilation, led Darius into the desert. This story, which is told in great detail, whether it be true or not, shows that Polyaeus is not simply reproducing the narrative of H.; (v) the fact that the story is told by Persian poets of native heroes (Sir H. Rawlinson), and by Livy (i. 53) of Sextus Tarquinius, proves nothing against its having really happened once long before.

It seems safer, therefore, to accept the story as having, at any rate, a basis of fact.

### iii. 150

**Βαβυλώνιοι.** H. implies that the revolt followed at once on the suppression of the Magian conspiracy; this is correct, but it is not consistent with his general narrative, which implies a considerable interval; for the healing of Darius followed “not long after” the overthrow of Oroetes (129. 1); then comes the expedition of Democedes (133. 1), and “after this” that against Samos (139. 1), “contemporary with which” is the revolt of Babylon. H. puts together, without any real chronology, independent narratives, of which he knows only that they all belong to the early years of Darius.

[2] **σιτοποιόν.** So the Plataeans kept 110 “breadmakers” (Thuc. ii. 78. 3), though they disposed of their non-combatants in a less drastic way. But Babylon was far from being in such a desperate position as the Plataeans; they might well expect success, as the Persian power seemed shaken.

### iii. 151

[2] **ἡμίονον.** The female mule can bear offspring, though this is rare (*EB*<sup>9</sup> xvii. 13); Aristotle (*Hist. An.* vi. 24) asserts it of the mules in Syria, though he had before stated (*Gen. An.* ii. 8) τὸ τῶν ἡμίονων γένος ὅλον ἀγονόν ἐστι. This story as to the prophecy is a mythical embellishment; Ctesias (ut sup.) seems to have omitted it, but in his other details he agreed with H., though contradicting him on the main point. H. (vii. 57. 2) tells a still more wonderful story of mule-birth.

### iii. 153

[2] For a similar prophecy on the part of the besieged at Veii, leading to the capture of the town, cf. Livy v. 15.

### iii. 154

ἐς τὸ πρόσω, “to the advancement of greatness”; cf. i. 5. 3 for the phrase; and for the custom, Esther vi. 3; for “benefactors” cf. viii, 85. 3 n.

### iii. 155

[2] For Assyrians cf. i. 178. 1 n.

[4] **τῶν σῶν δέηση,** “unless there be some failure on your part”; we should have expected τῶν σῶν τι ἐνδέηση (cf. vii. 18).

[5] **Σεμιράμιος**. The gates of Semiramis look like a piece of Greek imagination; they may, however, be placed in the southwest (cf. i. 181. 2, 184 nn. for her connection with the Nebo temple in Borsippa).

Of the other gates that of “the Ninevites” would be on the north, that of “the Chaldaeans” on the south, by the river, on the way to their early home (i. 181. 5 n.). That of “Belus” would be in the south also, near (cf. 158. 2) the Esagila temple (i. 181. 2 n.), the “Cissian” on the east (cf. 91. 4). The details, if fictions, are skillfully arranged to cover all sides of Babylon.

[6] The **βαλανάγροα** (not κλείς, as the gate is large) was an iron hook for extracting the βάλανος from the bar (μοχλός; cf. Thuc. ii. 4. 3).

### iii. 156

The picturesque details of this story (e.g., ἐπιστρεφόμενος, ὀλίγον τι π. and others) mark the born narrator; it is interesting to compare H.’s fulness here with the précis-like brevity of his accounts of manners and customs. But the Babylonian assembly (τὰ κοινά) is a purely Greek detail.

### iii. 159

The destruction of the walls (cf. i. 178. 1 n.) explains the easy success of Intaphrenes in suppressing the second revolt (ut sup.).

**ἀνεσκολόπισε**. Darius, B.I. (ii. 13, 14), mentions this punishment for the rebel leaders only.

### iii. 160

**ἀγαθοεργίην**. Xenophon (*Cyr.* i. 2. 1) for once is right in describing the Persian esteem for Cyrus, who ἄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν εἶδος κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν φιλανθρωπότατος, φιλομαθέστατος, φιλοτιμότητος. Cf. also chap. 75.

**εἴκοσι**. Plutarch (*Reg. et Imp. Apoph.* s.v. Δαρείου; *Mor.* 173) characteristically exaggerates this to “100.” Cf. iv. 143 for a similar compliment to Megabyzus.

[2] **δῶρα**. For royal gifts cf. 84. 1. As Babylon paid 1,000 talents a year (92. 1), this grant can hardly refer to the whole tribute.

For Megabyzus’ success in Egypt cf. Thuc. i. 109; he afterwards quarreled with the king, because the safe-conduct he had given to Inaros was violated; cf. 15 n. and Ctesias (34 seq. 72 seq.), who goes on to describe, in an important passage too long to quote, his subsequent relations with the king, the desertion of Zopyrus to Athens, and his death at Caunus.

For the story of Ctesias, and especially for the phil-Hellenic leanings of the family of Megabyzus and the date of the desertion of Zopyrus, cf. *JHS* xxvii. 57 seq., “The Persian friends of Herodotus,” where an attempt is made (1) to connect the desertion of Zopyrus with the Samian War of 440–439 B.C. (cf. Thuc. i. 115, and introd. p. 8); (2) to show that H. probably met him in Athens in 440 and derived from him such passages as iii. 80 seq., 90 seq., v. 52 seq.; (3) to date H.’s departure

for the West 440 B.C., which would account for the fact that he says nothing of the death of Zopyrus. This took place (Ctesias 43. 74) when the Athenians were besieging Caunus in Caria (probably in 439 B.C.; cf. Busolt, iii. 554–5 for the relations of Athens and Persia at this time). This date would be important if it could be accepted. Kirchhoff, however (cf. introd. p. 10f.), dates Zopyrus' desertion "438 or probably later." Rawlinson is certainly wrong in placing it in 426 or 425 B.C., as "probably the latest event recorded by H."

## Book IV

### Introduction

[For the Σκυθικοὶ λόγοι cf. K. Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande* (1855), and S. Reinach, *Antiquités de Russie Méridionale* (1891–2).]

This book falls into two parts, chaps. 1–144 giving the account of Scythia and the Scythian expedition, chaps. 145–205 the story of Cyrene. Except book ii, no part of H.'s narrative has so little to do with his main subject, while none is so rich in curious information, much of which is invaluable to the anthropologist. The account of the Scythians especially is important as the earliest study we possess of an uncivilized people. Nothing is more instructive, in estimating the difference between the points of view of H. and of Thucydides, than to compare the former's full-length study of the Scythians with the brief sketch of Macedonia and Thrace given by the latter (ii. 97; cf. 81. 1 n.); H. is the type of the earlier Greek, to whom all knowledge and all the world were of interest, Thucydides of the Periclean Athenian, who concentrated himself on the political affairs of Greece in the narrowest sense.

### iv. 1–4

*The motives for Darius' campaign* (for a discussion of these cf. app. xii, §§ 3–4).

### iv. 1

αὐτοῦ: emphatic; the king led in person. Cf. vii. 10 g. For the Scythian invasions cf. i. 104–6 nn., for the Cimmerian i. 15 nn.

### iv. 2

δούλους. The information in this chapter is better than the logic; Stein suggests with reason that it is a later addition.

The idea that the slaves were blind may be due to a mistaken etymology for some Scythian word for "slave" (Stein; cf. 86. 4 n.), and perhaps to the fact that blindness is common in South Russia. Blind slaves obviously would be useless, nor does H. explain why they were blinded.

φουσητήρας. Pallas (*Nachr. Mong. Völk.* i. 119) in the eighteenth century describes a similar operation among the Calmucks to induce "obstinate" cows to give milk.

θηλέων ἵππων. The Greeks were early struck by the Northern use of mares' milk. Cf. *Il.* 13.5 Ἴππημολγῶν / γλακτοφάγων, Ἀβίων τε δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων. The Hippemolgi and the Abii were supposed to be nations, and credited with all the virtues of the "noble savage"; these vain imaginations are not found in H., but they lasted as late as Ammianus (fourth century A.D.): even Arrian says (*Anab.* iv. 1) they were αὐτόνομοι διὰ πενίαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην.

[2] δονέουσι: cf. Hippoc. *De Morbis* (ii. 358, ed. Kuhn, 1826), who says the light buttery part (βούτυρον) floated, the heavier cheesy part (ἵππάκη) sank, leaving

the whey between the two. This was afterwards fermented and made into "koumiss."

#### iv. 3

ἐκ τούτων . . . τῶν δούλων. The idea of a slave-born class becoming dangerous is common in Greek history; cf. vi. 138 (at Lemnos) and Arist. *Pol.* v. 7. 2, 1306b, the Partheniae at Sparta, who (Heracl. Pont., *FHG* ii. 220, frag. 26; *flourit* ca. 390 B.C.) were born of Spartan women during the absence of the Spartans in the First Messenian War, presumably of Helot fathers, though Heracl. Pont. does not say so.

[2] τὰφρον. This trench extends from the Tauric Mountains to the P. Maeotis; as H. was quite ignorant of the shape of the Crimea (cf. 99 n.), he conceives it (20. 1) as running north and south, and as the eastern boundary of the "Royal Scyths." Bähr quotes evidence of the remains of a trench in the east of the Crimea, from near Theodosia to the Sea of Azov (cf. also *Klio*, iv. 183). Some have seen in the story a confused account of the "Putrid Sea," the western arm of the Sea of Azov. It may be noted that "the trench" plays no part in the actual struggle between the Scyths and their slaves. This "trench" must not be confused with the cutting across the Isthmus of Perekop, which still existed in the Middle Ages.

[3] Οἶα ποιεῦμεν. The whole story is evidently a Greek fiction to illustrate the proper way of controlling slaves.

#### iv. 5–15

*The origin of the Scyths.* H. gives three different versions, the Scythian and the Pontic Greek, which are mythological, and a third (chap. 11 seq.), which he adopts as resting on the authority of both nations (12. 3), and which he partially confirms by quoting Aristeas (chap. 13), who differs only as to the race which drove the Scyths into their new country. This last version is accurate in two points: (1) it recognizes the earlier possession of the country by the Cimmerians; (2) it gives a *vera causa*, an early "Völkerwanderung"; but it is full of legendary details.

#### iv. 5

νεώτατον. Justin (ii. 1), on the contrary, says the Scyths were *gens antiquissima*; for these early ethnological disputes cf. ii. 2.

[2] γένεος. For the name Targitaus (a genuine native name) cf. Polyaeus viii. 55, Tiritao. For the artificial genealogy cf. Tac. *Germ.* 2, Mannus and his three sons. The names do not appear subsequently in H.; but the triple kingship (chap. 120) may have suggested both it and the similar division in 7. 2.

For the success of the youngest cf. 10. 2 (the story of the Pontic Greeks), the story of Perdicas (viii. 137), and popular legends passim, e.g., that of Cinderella. For the "burning gold" cf. the popular superstition in modern Russia of buried treasures which turn to hot coals when discovered (Reinach, *A.R.M.*, 160).

#### iv. 6

**Αὐχάται . . . Κατίαροι.** Pliny (iv. 88), speaks of the Auchetae in South Russia. He also mentions (vi. 22) them as in the Causasus; in vi. 50 he mentions the Euchatae and Cotieri as nomad tribes on the north of the Jaxartes. Perhaps these last are remnants of the Scyths left in their original home (cf. 11. 1 n.), whose name just survives in their new home, but has no practical importance.

Minns, however (*EB* xxiv. 526), ingeniously suggests that this legend belongs to the agricultural Scyths, who were a conquered race, and not “Scyths” at all, but “Scoloti” (§ 2); the objects (“cup, plough, yoke”) are not such as would be held sacred by nomads.

[2] H. seems to connect Scoloti with Colaxais (τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίην); perhaps we may compare “Scyles” (chap. 78), but see above.

#### iv. 7

**χιλίων.** The number “1,000” obviously rests on no tradition; if it is not a mere round number, it is only a calculation based on royal genealogies.

**μετέρχονται,** “they honour” it (cf. vi. 68. 2 n.).

[2] **διὰ τοῦτο:** i.e., as reward for his year’s watching. The whole story is oddly introduced, and does not agree with the later details of Scythian worship (e.g., contrast the golden *σάγαρις* here with the iron *ἀκινάκης* of 62. 2). Nor is it easy to reconcile the grant of “a day’s circuit” with the habits of a nomadic people. H. repeats some ancient story as to a guarded gold treasure (cf. the wealth of the Nibelungs), but without understanding it. Reinach, however (*A.R.M.*, 160), says the Calmucks have a custom of granting a man as much land as he can ride round in a day.

[3] **τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε.** The Scythian tradition excludes the “lands that lie above to the north, of those who dwell in the upper parts of the country,” while the Greek tradition takes in the Agathyrsi and Geloni (10. 1). For the “feathers” cf. chap. 31 n.

#### iv. 8–10

*The Greek story.* The Greeks as usual introduced their mythology into the country where they settled; it will be noticed they explain only the origin of the Scythian kings. Such fictions could both justify present occupation (e.g., the Heraclidae in Peloponnese), and (e.g., Dorieus and the land of Eryx) give ground for future claims (v. 43; cf. chap. 178 n.). There are of course native features in the story, e.g., the number of the sons (9. 3). For the story of Geryon in its earlier form cf. Hes. *Theog.* 287; Hecataeus (*Arr. Anab.* ii. 16.5) had localized it near Ambracia; H. therefore is emphatic on its belonging to the extreme west.

#### iv. 8

**τάς . . . βούς,** “oxen” generally; cf. οἱ Ἴωνες πάσας τὰς ἀγέλας ἐκθηλύνουσι τῇ προφορᾷ, E. M. p. 473.

[2] Erytheia, “the red island,” probably with reference to the setting sun. Cadiz is really built on a rocky island connected by a long spit of land with the Isla de Leon; but it is most unlikely that H. knew anything definite of its site or neighbourhood. For the pillars of Hercules cf. ii. 33. 3 n.

Ἔκκεανόν. For the circumambient ocean cf. ii. 21 n.; for H.’s insistence on geographical proof cf. iii. 115. 2 n.

[3] ἄρματος. The horse and chariot is perhaps a bit of local colour; they are not generally part of the Heracles myth.

#### iv. 9

Ἐλαίην: cf. 18. 1 n. The “grotto” is part of the legendary furniture of the Echidna story; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 297.

[5] διατεινόμενον. The Scyths drew to the shoulder, not to the breast (like the Cretans); they used both hands indiscriminately (Plato *Leg.* 795a). For Heracles’ Scythian bow cf. Theoc. xiii. 56.

#### iv. 10

τὸν ζωστήρα: translate “(the way to clasp) the belt.” The Scyths pictured on the vases carry no cups; Stein explains the φιάλη as the broad flat clasp on which the girdle ends fasten; but this is not what H. says (§ 3).

**Agathyrus** and **Gelonus** represent the tribes to the northwest and the northeast respectively of Scythia proper (cf. chap. 104; v. 108). We should have expected Βουδῖνον for Γελωνόν.

[3] τὸ δῆ: i.e., his staying in the land; μοῦνον must agree with τὸ δῆ, but gives very poor sense; μούνω would be more natural.

#### iv. 11–12

ἄλλος λόγος. H.’s own view. It is to be noted that here he adopts in a qualified manner a combination adopted elsewhere (i. 103; iv. 1) without reserve. For the facts generally in chaps. 11 and 12 cf. i. 15 nn.

For the Araxes cf. i. 202 n.; here it seems to be the Volga.

[4] θάψαι. That there were tombs of a previous race on the Dniester is probable; H. may have seen them himself. If they were Cimmerian, their position in the west of Scythia tends to prove that the race migrated—in part at least—southwest, not southeast, and this would be the natural line of retreat before invaders from the east.

#### iv. 12

H. gives further evidence for Cimmerians in Scythia, partly archaeological, partly that of names: it is curious that “Crimea” has survived all the other names for the land.

The *τείχια* are perhaps the still surviving dyke on the isthmus of Taman, i.e., on the east side of the straits. Strabo (494) says there was once a town, *Κιμμερικόν*, “closing the isthmus with a ditch and a dyke.” The “straits” are those of Jenikale, the narrowest part of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, leading into the Sea of Azov.

[2] The connection of the Cimmerians and Sinope is well authenticated, and seems to have been early. In the poem that is attributed to Scymnus of Chios (apparently written ca. 100 B.C.) they are said (l. 948) to have “killed Habron the Milesian” there. The main Cimmerian raid in the seventh century is mentioned later (l. 952). According to the chronologers, Trapezus, the daughter state of Sinope, was founded 756 B.C.; but Busolt (i. 465–6) thinks the Milesian colonization of the Black Sea belongs to the seventh century, although they had factories there already in the eighth. He argues with reason that the Greek towns on the Black Sea must be later than the foundation of Byzantium (657 B.C.). The “second” colonization of Sinope was dated 630. We may conclude that a band of Cimmerians occupied Sinope in the latter half of the eighth century; the main body of the nation reached Asia Minor half a century later.

#### iv. 13

**Ἀριστέης.** H. confirms his own view against the Scyths, who claimed autochthony, by a reference to the *Ἀριμάσπεια* of Aristeas; the latter, however, makes the pressure of invasion come from the Issedones, i.e., from the northeast (not the east as H.). Aristeas seems to have embodied in this poem the earliest knowledge obtained by the settlers on the North Pontic shore. He is placed by H. (15. 1) in the first half of the seventh century, but Suidas makes him a contemporary of Croesus. This date is accepted in Pauly (s.v.), because his poem explained the Cimmerian invasion; but this fact is consistent with the early date. There is no need to deny his historic reality (as Crusius in Rosch. i. 2814), but his story has obviously been affected by cult stories of Apollo. For him cf. Pindar, frag. 271. His poem had perished by the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Thuc. 23; vi. 864), but Tzetzes (Chil. vii. 690–1) quotes some lines supposed to be from it (as to the Arimaspi):

ἀφνειοὺς ἵπποισι, πολύρρηνας, πολυβούτας, ὀφθαλμὸν δ' ἔν' ἕκαστος ἔχει  
χαρίεντι μετώπῳ.

**ποιέων.** H. emphasizes the poetic character of Aristeas. Cf. *φοιβόλαμπτος*.

**γρῦπας.** The “griffins” are combined with the Arimaspi also by Aeschylus (*P. V.* 802–4), who calls them *ὄξύστομοι Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνες*. Two types of them may be distinguished; the more common has the head and wings of an eagle, the body of a lion; this type may be Hittite, but is found in Egypt as early as the eighteenth dynasty, and in prehistoric Greece (Perrot et Chipiez, vi. 831); the other type, the winged lion, is Chaldaean. This symbol was combined in Greek art, from the fifth century onwards, with the story here told by H. from Aristeas; in this story we have probably a double of that of the “ants” (iii. 102), i.e., it is a traveller’s tale as to the dangers of gold-getting in Central Asia.

The wide diffusion of this combination in later Greek art is good evidence of the popularity of H.'s work. Ctesias (Ind. 12, p. 250) transports the griffins to the north of India, and substitutes them for the "ants" of H. (ut sup.); it is characteristic of him that he describes them in detail, with "white wings, red breast," etc. For the whole subject of "griffins" cf. Furtwängler in Rosch. i. 1742 seq.

The gold of Central Asia is of course a fact, and the Arimaspi may well be a nomad tribe of Central Asia, who affirmed that their gold was derived from great deserts, e.g., that of Gobi; they may be the ancestors of the Turks and the Huns. They were credited with one eye as a mark of their wildness, on the analogy of the Cyclops; Strabo (21) puts the matter the other way and makes Homer "borrow" the Cyclops from Scythia. Others see in them a purely fictitious people, a wild counterpart of the mild Hyperboreans. The name is explained by some "dwellers in the deserts" (Rosch. s.v.), but Müllenhof (iii. 106) makes it "having docile horses." Pauly, ii. 827, translates it "owners of wild horses." H.'s etymology is no doubt that of the people of Olbia.

It is to the credit of H. that he does not believe in the "one-eyed" (iii. 116. 2), and that he avoids such foolish rationalization as that of Eustathius, who said (GGM ii. 223) the Arimaspi had one eye smaller than the other, because, being archers, they were continually closing one eye to shoot.

The whole legend is familiar in Milton's

As when a gryphon through the wilderness  
Pursues the Arimaspi, who by stealth  
Had from his wakeful custody purloined  
The guarded gold. (*P.L.* ii. 943–7.)

πλήν Ὑπερβορέων: because the Hyperboreans lived in perpetual peace. For them cf. 32 nn.

[2] νοτίη: here the "Black Sea" as contrasted with the sea to the north (cf. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν above); H. himself calls it "the Northern Sea" in chap. 37.

#### iv. 14–15

The story of Aristeas (also used by Pindar, frag. 271) is interesting from two points of view. (1) It seems to be connected with the Pythagorean theory of transmigration; Metapontum was near Croton, the special home of Pythagoreanism. (2) It shows H. at once as a traveller (15. 4 n.) and as a collator of various traditions.

#### iv. 14

[2] Artaca (vi. 33. 2) lay to the west of Cyzicus, of which it was the seaport.

#### iv. 15

H.'s figure "240" is probably based on a calculation of generations.

[2] **Μεταποντιῖνοι**. The cult of Apollo at Metapontum is reflected in its coins (Head, *H.N.* p. 76, fig. 36); the god is shown as δαφνηφόρος or with a laurel tree before him (cf. δάφναι ἐστᾶσι below).

**τότε**: after “his second disappearance” he had come to Italy. The “raven” was sacred to Apollo (Ael. *N.A.* i. 48) as a prophetic bird (cf. Hor. *Odes*, iii. 27. 11 “oscen corvus,” the “crow”).

[3] **ἐς Δελφούς**. For Delphi as the controller of cults and canonizer cf. Farnell, *G. C.* iv. 206–8.

[4] The ἄγαλμα is the “altar” of § 2; H. clearly speaks as an eyewitness. One of the laurels at any rate was of brass (Theop. frag. 182; *FHG* i. 309).

#### iv. 16–58

*H.*'s account of the geography of Scythia. In the middle of this is a digression on general geography (37–45). The first part (17–27) contains the ethnography; H. (16–20) gives the tribes from west to east, in each case adding the tribes inland as far as known; cf. the refrain ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν at end of chaps. 17, 18, 20. He then goes (21–2) from south to north. For the whole subject cf. app. xi, and chaps. 102–17 nn., which should be read with chaps. 17–27.

#### iv. 16

**αὐτόπτεω**. For the importance of “eyewitnesses” cf. iii. 115. 2. H. is obviously sceptical whether Aristeas really got as far as he claimed “in his poem.”

#### iv. 17

**Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἐμπορίον**. The “mart of the Borysthenites” is Olbia, on the right bank of the Hypanis (now Boug), which flows into the same bay as the Dnieper. H.'s site (chap. 53. 6) has been confirmed by exploration. He calls it the “city of the Borysthenites” (chaps. 78. 3, 79. 2), but says that its own name for itself was Olbia (chap. 18. 1). This last point is confirmed by the coins (Head, *H.N.* 272). It was founded by the Milesians (chap. 78. 3) in 647 B.C., and was the oldest colony beyond the Danube. H. (chap. 101. 2) says the Borysthenes was ten days' journey from the Danube, and ten from the P. Maeotis, so it is μεσαίτατον.

**Καλλιπίδαι**: these “Greek Scyths” were probably a mixed race (cf. Boeckh, *CIG* ii. 2058 μιξέλληνες in a long psephism of Olbia probably dating about 100 B.C.). It may be doubted whether any of the Scyths but the “Royal” tribe (chap. 20) were pure-blooded. Rawlinson quotes interesting modern parallels for races in a similar transitional stage of civilization. Strabo (550) says that H. “talked rubbish about” the Callippidae and the Alazones; but he says they were mentioned also by Hellanicus.

**σίτον**. For the importance of the Pontic corn trade cf. Demos. *Lept.* 31 seq. (with Sandys' notes), L. Gernet, *L'Approvisionnement d'Athènes* (1909; pp. 315 seq.), and Grundy, *Thuc.*, 74f., 159f.

#### iv. 18

**Ὑλαίη.** The region on the left bank of the lower Dnieper was once well wooded—at least in comparison to most of South Russia (cf. chap. 109. 2 for woods among Budini), the bareness of which H. well describes (chap. 19). Dio Chrys. (*Or.* 36) compares the trees of the Hylaea to “masts of ships.” Neumann, *H.S.* (pp. 82 seq.) quotes Rubruquis in the thirteenth century and others to prove there were once forests in South Russia, where now there are none: he sums up “the steppes are gradually encroaching; their desolation in the Middle Ages was less complete than it is to-day, and following the same law, we can maintain that it had advanced even less in Classical times.”

**γεωργοί.** The distinction between the “husbandmen Scyths” and the “ploughmen Scyths” (chap. 17) lies in the fact that the latter grew corn only to sell, the former practised husbandry generally. In 53. 4, H., perhaps following a different informant, gives them “ten days’” extent; probably they reached as far as the rapids of the Dnieper.

[3] For the Androphagi cf. chap. 106 n.

#### iv. 19

**τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα.** In 101. 2 (see n.) the whole distance from the Borysthenes to the P. Maeotis is “ten days’”; here part of it is “fourteen.” For the inconsistency cf. app. xi, § 3.

#### iv. 20

**βασιλῆια.** Strabo (311) says the royal Scyths levied “fixed moderate tributes.” The position of the Golden Horde among the Mongols is a parallel.

**τάφρον.** For “the trench” cf. 3. 1 n.; for Cremni 110. 2 n.

[2] **πρὸς βορρῆν.** Stein points out that the cultivating Scyths really bounded the royal Scyths on the north; but H. does not know of the great bends of the Dnieper and the Don. Really his eastern frontier line for the “royal Scyths,” i.e., the Trench, P. Maeotis, and Tanais, ran northeast and not due north as he conceives it. For the Melanchlaeni cf. chap. 107 n.

#### iv. 21–25

*The tribes northeast of Scythia.* As to the general geography it may be noted: (1) H. claims, and with reason, to speak from knowledge as far as “the bald men” (24. 1). This was no doubt derived from the merchants using the northeast trade route, which ran across the steppes into Central Asia. This was superseded under the Roman empire by that via Trebizond (Beazley, *Dawn of G.* i. 179), but used in the Middle Ages, e.g., by Carpini ca. 1250 (ibid. ii. 296f.). (2) H. knows the route is north by east (cf. 22. 1, 3 ἀποκλίνοντι πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ), but wrongly thinks it mainly north. (3) H. here knows nothing of the Volga (cf. 124. 1 n.), and his mountains (25. 1) seem to be a confusion of the Ural and the Altai; their distance would correspond to the Ural, but they run east and west (25. 1 n.) as the Altai Mountains

do; perhaps H., though disbelieving in the fabulous Rhipaeen Mountains, has allowed himself to be misled by their supposed position, east and west. It may be taken as certain that his informants knew nothing of the mountains except as something to be avoided. (4) His description of the "black earth belt" (23. 1) is accurate (for it cf. *EB*<sup>11</sup> xxiii. 881).

Westberg (*Klio*, iv. 183 seq.) identifies his tribes thus: 1) The Sauromatae extend from the Manitch, a tributary on the left bank of the Don, to Kamischin on Volga in south of the Saratov province. (2) The Budini are in the Saratov province as far north as Syzran; an Arab geographer of the tenth century describes this country as well wooded (cf. chap. 21 *δασέα*ν). (3) The desert north of Budini (22. 1) in the region of the Singelei hills on right bank of Volga, near Simbirsk. (4) The route then turns east (23. 1), up the valley of the Kama; the Thyssagetae (chap. 22) live on the R. Bielaya nearly to the *southern* Ural. (5) The Argippaei live in the "foot hills" (23. 2) south of the Ural, while beyond the Ural on the southeast (25. 2) are the Issedones, northeast of Caspian; cf. i. 201, the Massagetae live "opposite the Issedones," with the Araxes (i.e., Sir Daria or Jaxartes) between them. H. then is consistent at once with himself and with fact.

As Ptolemy, however, puts the Issedones in Central Asia, Tomaschek violently transfers all the tribes far to the east, puts the Argippaei under the Altai, and conjectures that the Hyperboreans are the Chinese (Meyer, iii. 65, accepts generally Tomaschek's views).

#### iv. 21

The *μυχός* is the "recess" into which the Don runs. In chap. 57 it is P. Maeotis which divides Scyths and Sauromatae (cf. 117 nn.). From this it is usually concluded (cf. Stein, Macan, in their maps) that H. made the P. Maeotis run due north and south; but this inference is quite needless, and it makes H.'s account of Darius' campaign hopelessly inconsistent (cf. 101. 3 n.) with itself. For the Sauromatae cf. chap. 107 n., for the Budini chap. 108. 1 n.

#### iv. 22

**Θυσσαγέται.** Some connect the names of Thyssagetae and Massagetae, and connect both with the Getae and with the Goths (e.g., Humboldt). But this is guessing. The Thyssagetae and the Iyrkae may perhaps be Finns; they (like the Finns, Tac. *Germ.* 46) are in the lowest stage of civilization, mere hunters. The name Ὀαρος (chap. 123) may well be Finnish "Rhau" (Müllenhof, iii. 15–17). There are still Finns (Mordvinians) on the Volga near Samara.

[3] **ἀποστάντες.** These Scyths, if a reality, were more probably a remnant left behind than a revolting tribe.

#### iv. 23

[2] **φαλακροί.** The "bald" men seem to be a Calmuck tribe; they resemble this race in their flat noses (*σιμοί*) and "large chins," and in the scantiness of their hair; but Rawlinson denies the resemblance. Bunbury (i. 197) maintains that the shaven

sacerdotal caste has been confused with the whole people, and urges their “sacredness” (§ 5) as a proof of this. Others see in their peacefulness a merchants’ truce (so Westberg, *ut sup.*).

H. here applies three of the four anthropological criteria of race (cf. viii. 144. 2 n.). The Argippaei are marked off as a distinct people by physical features (i.e., “descent”) and by “language”; but the evidence of “custom” is various; while they have a Scyth dress, their food is different from the Scythian, cf. Myres, *A. and C.*, p. 135. The criterion of “religion” is not used here (contrast viii. 144. 2).

[3] ἄσχυ. The “Ponticum” is the wild cherry, the use of which by the Calmucks is exactly described by H.: the very name “atchi” (= “acid”) survives among the Tartars (Reinach, *A.R.M.*, 196).

[4] ὑπὸ δεινδρέω. For a tree used as a tent-pole cf. Tac. *Germ.* 46.

#### iv. 24

δι᾽ ἑπτὰ ἔρμηνέων. The “seven interpreters” are an interesting trace of the old trade-route; H. gives only five tribes, or six with the Geloni (chap. 108). For the mixed populations of Southeast Europe cf. Pliny’s (*H.N.* vi. 15) story of “130 interpreters” at Dioscurias.

#### iv. 25

ἑξάμηνον. For H.’s scepticism cf. iv. 191 ad fin. The “six months’” sleep is a confused tradition of the perpetual night of the polar winter. Rawlinson (iii. 207), however, refers it to the severity of a Russian winter, requiring an indoor life for six months.

[2] As the mountains “separate” the “bald” men from the unknown region, and as they lie to the north of both the “bald” and the Issedones, who are further east (§ 2), the mountains are conceived as running east and west (cf. 21. 1 n). Rawlinson wrongly puts the “mountains” between the “bald” and the Issedones.

#### iv. 26

δαῖτα προτίθενται. Among the Indian Callatae also the dead are eaten (iii. 38. 4); but among the Massagetae (i. 216. 2) and the Indian Padaei (iii. 99. 1) death is anticipated. Possibly the variations of the accounts are due to the fancy of H. (e.g., the grim humour of iii. 99. 1); but we may trace in the custom three different ideas. (1) The desire to partake of the merits of the dead by eating him (cf. Frazer, *G.B.* ii<sup>1</sup>. 89), which is prominent in this passage; (2) the desire to give an honourable end (i. 216. 3; iii. 38); (3) the attempt to crush the spirit of decay before it becomes powerful (iii. 99). Of these (1) and (3) are inconsistent, but genuine pieces of savage thought, (2) is perhaps only a Greek explanation of a barbarous custom.

For the eating of dead relatives cf. in ancient times Onesicritus (the pilot of Alexander, in Strabo 710; Strabo rejects the story with contempt), as to the tribes of the Caucasus; in mediaeval times, M. Polo (iii. 10; vol. ii, 293, 298) as to Sumatra. In modern times instances are quoted from the neighbourhood of New Guinea

(Wallace) and from India. This last is the cannibalism of the Birhors in Chota Nagpore, as late as 1863 (*J.A.S.B.* xxxiv, pt. ii, p. 18); but Dalton, who originally recorded it, says in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 220 (1872), "I have no faith in the story," i.e., he thinks either he or the natives had misunderstood each other. This self-correction in a trained observer may make us sympathize with mistakes in H., who was not a trained observer. For cannibalism generally cf. Sollas (*Anc. Hunt*, 145); he says that it is often practised simply from a taste for human flesh.

[2] **κεφαλήν**. Cf. the treatment of the skulls of enemies by the Scyths (chap. 65), and for a similar custom among the Boii, Livy xxiii. 24, among the Lombards, Gibbon, v. 12.

**γενέσια**: the feast of the dead, on the anniversary of death, as opposed to the γενέθλια "the birthday feast" (Ammonius, *De Diff.* 35).

**ἰσοκρατέες**. The reference here is probably not to a system of primitive matriarchy, but to the fact that, in a low state of civilization, men and women alike have to hunt, etc.; cf. Tac. *Germ.* 46.

#### iv. 28

**δυσχείμερος**. The Greeks naturally, from contrast with their own, exaggerated the terrors of the Pontic winter (cf. our own use of "Siberian"). Hippocrates (*Aer.* 19) makes it worse than H.: "cold winds always blow from the north from the Rhipaeian Mountains; mist thickly covers the plains, so that it is always winter, and the summer lasts but a few days."

**θάλασσα**. This is especially the case with the "limans," the estuaries of the rivers; but the sea itself freezes in the Gulf of Odessa during January (Bonmariage, *Russie d'Europe*, 1903, pp. 125–6); cf. Strabo (307) for the freezing of the Bosphorus, and Ovid, *Tristia* iii. 10, 31 (of the Danube mouths):

Quaque rates ierant pedibus nunc itur, et undas  
Frigore concretas ungula pulsat equi.

**στρατεύονται**, "pass in hordes." The "wagons" imply peaceful communications; Strabo, 307, says that every winter ἀμαξεύεται ὁ διάπλους from Panticapaeum to Phanagoria.

The **Sindi** occupied the peninsula on the east side of the Bosphorus and the adjoining coast to the southeast; cf. ἡ Σινδική, 86. 3.

[2] **ψύχεια**. This is a mistake; the summers are intensely hot.

The dative with χωρίζω is very unusual; cf. vii. 70. 1 διαλλάσσοντες τοῖσι ἐτέροισι.

**τὴν . . . ὥραίνην**, "in the proper season." H. as usual is eager to see a contrast; the winter was the wet season elsewhere, the summer in Scythia. This last remark was more true, no doubt, in his day, when the coast strip, the region he knew personally, was well wooded (cf. "The Woodland," 18. 1 n.); but even now the wettest months are in the summer, and their maximum rainfall is three times as

great as the minimum fall, which is in the winter (for tables cf. Bonmariage, ut sup. p. 264).

[3] ἤμος: i.e., in spring and autumn, when thunderstorms are frequent in Greece. σεισμός. H. is right as to the rarity of earthquakes in South Russia; cf. Montessus de Ballore, *Les Tremblements de Terre* (Paris, 1906, p. 102 and Map).

[4] ἵπποι. The hardihood of the Cossack ponies is well known; in Greece and Asia Minor horses were rare and carefully tended (hence their liability to “frost-bite”), while the hard work was done by mules and asses. Cf. for the absence of the latter in Scythia 129. 2 n.

#### iv. 29

κόλον = ἄκερων; cf. Tac. *Germ.* 5 “ne armentis quidem gloria frontis.” The fact is right that the South Russian cattle have short horns, but H.’s attempt to give a scientific explanation, though interesting, is refuted by the huge horns of reindeer and elk. H. uses Homer (e.g., *Od.* iv. 85) as our ancestors used the Bible, to prove everything. (Cf. introd. p. 21.)

#### iv. 30

προσθήκας. H.’s artless confession of his tendency to “digress” is amusing. The fact that mules were not born in Elis is vouched for by Plut. *Mor.* 303 and Paus. v. 5. 2. It was said to be due to the “curse” of Oenomaus, whose love of horses made him object to cross-breeds.

#### iv. 31

πτειρῶν. The reference to the heavy snow is another (cf. 25. 1) echo of tradition from the far north.

[2] μακρότατα, with τὰ λέγεται, “which are said as to the remotest parts”; for τὰ μακρότατα cf. ii. 32. 3. The sentence sums up briefly what H. had already said in chap. 16; the μέν marks the contrast to the Hyperborean story that follows, which is a mere myth.

#### iv. 32–36

*The Hyperboreans.*

The Hyperboreans were so established in Greek traditional geography that H. feels bound to discuss them; but he argues that the legend as to them is not native but Greek.

The earliest mention of them is in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* (vii. 28–9), dated by Sikes and Allen in the seventh or sixth century B.C.,

ἔλπομαι ἢ Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεται ἢ ὅ γε Κύπρον  
ἢ ἐς Ὑπερβορέους ἢ ἑκαστέρω,

where their name is equivalent to “the ends of the earth.” We may assume that H. found it used in this sense in “Hesiod” and in the “Epigoni,” though these works

have both perished. If so, the popular etymology of their name, "those beyond the north wind," goes back at least to the seventh century. It is difficult therefore to see in them early *Greek* worshippers of Apollo in Thessaly and other northern parts of Greece (as Farnell, *C.G.S.* iv. 100 seq.); the first evidence for this view is a fragment of Hecataeus, who seems to identify them with the Locrians (Schol. to Ap. Rhod. ii. 675). It is supported by the explanation of the name as = ὑπέροφοροι (cf. Περόφορος, 33. 3), i.e., the sacred "carriers" of offerings (cf. chap. 33 n.). But it is better to suppose the Hyperboreans an imaginary people, the northern counterpart of the blameless Ethiopians of the south (iii. 17. 1 n.). As geographical knowledge increased, their home was shifted further and further away (for references see Farnell, *ut sup.*). Pindar (*Ol.* iii. 16) puts them on the Danube; then they were associated (by Damastes, a younger contemporary of H., frag. 1, *FHG* ii. 65) with the imaginary Rhipaeon Mountains, from which the north wind blew; Hippocrates (*Aer.* 19) and even Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 13, 350b) accept these mountains as a reality. Later we find the Hyperboreans in an island, "opposite the Celts," which seems to be Britain (Hec. Abd. frag. 2, *FHG* ii. 386); and finally, in the eleventh century A.D., they were identified with the Scandinavians.

The Hyperboreans were credited with all the virtues, including vegetarianism (just as, even as late as the eighteenth century A.D., Linnaeus thought the Lapps were free from all the vices of civilization and that they lived to be over 100 years old); they were especially connected with the worship of Apollo (chap. 33 nn., Pind. *Pyth.* x. 30, and Bacchyl. iii. 59), and so identified with the Delphians by Mnaseas, a pupil of Eratosthenes (frag. 24, *FHG* iii. 153).

H.'s refutation of the Hyperborean myth may be an attack on Hecataeus; Diodorus (ii. 47) found it in the works bearing his name, especially the story of Abaris (chap. 36 n.). It is needless, as is usually done, to refer this passage in Diodorus to Hecataeus of Abdera.

**δοκέω:** the argument is, Aristeeas might have got his story of the Hyperboreans from the Issedones (13. 1); but this is improbable, as the Scyths know nothing of the Hyperboreans, though they repeat the rest of the Issedones' story (chap. 27).

The "Epigoni" was the sequel of the Thebais; Pausanias (ix. 9. 2) ranked it, after the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as the best of the Cyclic poems.

#### iv. 33

**Ἀήλιοι.** The following points may be noticed in the Delian story: (1) H.'s source is obviously the hymn (chap. 35. 1) as well as the temple tradition; he is familiar with the shrine (chaps. 34. 2, 35. 4), and compares the ritual with what he has seen in Thrace (chap. 33. 5). (2) The offerings were wrapped in straw not only as packing material, but to shield their sanctity. No doubt such offerings came to Delos regularly from the states of which it was the religious centre (for Delos cf. vi. 97. 1 n. and Jebb, *Essays*). (3) With these ritual connections has been combined the tradition of one of the oldest trade routes of Europe, the "Amber route," from the northern end of the Adriatic, near which the Alps are lowest, down the coast, and

then from Dodona across to the Malian Gulf. The Greek stages are given carefully, but the northern ones are unknown, and in their place (regardless of geography) are inserted the Hyperboreans, who were far to the northeast, but who were especially connected with Apollo. This route is dated by A. J. Evans (Freeman, *Sicily*, iv. 220–1) as early as 1,000 B.C.; for a brief account of it cf. Tozer, *Geog.*, 31 seq.; he points out that amber also reached the Mediterranean through Gaul by the Rhone valley, at least as early as the time of Pytheas (fourth century), and possibly even before the foundation of Massilia. (4) The common tendency to duplicate beginnings (cf. the Spartan kings, who are not Eurysthenidae and Proclidae, but Agiadae and Eurypontidae) is clearly seen; probably both pairs of maidens are personified attributes of divinity (see below). (5) The tradition is also given in Callimachus (*Hymn to Delos* 283), who follows H., and in Pausanias (i. 31. 2), who, however, following an Attic tradition (probably dating from the time of Athenian control of Delos), brings the offerings by an eastern route via the Arimaspi, the Issedones, and Sinope to Prasiae in Attica, “where there is a shrine of Apollo”; cf. also Plut. *Mor.* 1136.

**Ἀδορίην.** Probably the road passed Apollonia; for connection of this with Delphi cf. ix. 93–4.

[2] **πόλιν ἐς πόλιν:** communication by land in early times is always preferred to that by sea; this Bérard calls “Loi des Isthmes” (*Les Phén. dans l’Odys.* i. 69–78). It may well be that the “sacred way” to Delos lay on both sides of the Euripus, for, beside the Euboic route implied by H., there was a shrine of Apollo at Delium, and his oldest shrine in Attica was in the Marathonian Tetrapolis, which was especially connected with the *θεωρία* to Delos (Schol. to Soph. *O.C.* 1047).

**ἐκλιπεῖν:** intrans., “is passed over”; Andros was the home of a different cult, that of Dionysus.

[3] **Ὑπερόχην τ. κ. Λ.** The names seem epithets of Artemis; cf. Phylacus and Autonomous at Delphi, attributes personified of Apollo at Delphi (viii. 39). The “Perpherees” were obviously officials at Delos. Hesychius explains the name = *θεωροί*.

#### iv. 34

**κείρονται.** Cf. the yearly mourning for Jephthah’s daughter, Judges xi. 40. Pausanias (i. 43. 4) calls the maidens Ἐκαέρογη and Ὠπις, and compares this custom to the dedication at Megara of maiden’s hair to Iphinoe. For the dedication of hair before marriage cf. ii. 65. 4 n. and Frazer, *P.*, iii. 279; for the same in mourning, *ibid.* iv. 136.

#### iv. 35

**Ἄρογην . . . Ὠπιν.** “The bright” and the “seeing one” are obviously epithets of Artemis.

[2] **ταύτας:** i.e., Hyperoche and Laodice.

ὠκυτόκου: i.e., for the “quick delivery” of Latona; Pausanias (i. 18. 5) brings Eileithuia from the Hyperboreans to help Latona.

[3] ἀγείρειν is especially used of “gathering sacred gifts” (cf. ἀγύρτης), but = “begging” in general; it is as old as Homer (*Od.* xvii. 362). Pausanias (ix. 27. 2) makes Olen the oldest of Greek hymn writers, and (x. 5. 4), quoting a Delphic tradition, a Hyperborean. As connected with Apollo, he comes from Lycia. The fact that his hymns were in hexameters dates him about the eighth century, if he be a real person at all.

[4] πρὸς ἠῶ. For variations in burial positions cf. Plut. *Sol.* 10; the cult here was pre-Ionian, for the Ionians placed their dead facing west (*ibid.*).

#### iv. 36

H. rejects without discussion the story of Abaris (cf. 32 n.), who was made by Pindar (*Harpoc.* s.v. Abaris) a contemporary of Croesus. Later writers (e.g., Porphyry *V. Pythag.* 29) made the “arrow” serve him like a witch’s broomstick, on which he sailed through the air over rivers and seas.

εἰ δέ εἰσι. H. sums up his argument against the Hyperboreans with a *reductio ad absurdum*; symmetry would require us to believe in “Hypernotians” also; but this is neither asserted (nor possible on account of extreme heat?). Therefore there are no Hyperboreans. Eratosthenes (*Strabo* 61–2) not unnaturally called H.’s argument “absurd.” It is curious to see H. appealing to the very symmetry which three lines later he denounces. The reference to Hecataeus is clear (cf. chap. 32 n.); Aristotle (*Meteor.* ii. 5, 362b 12) repeats H. almost verbally here, but gives a different reason for rejecting “the round world.”

[2] γράψαντας, “drawing” (cf. γραφήν below). H. has in his mind some early map (Berger, e.g., p. 36, argues that it is that of Anaximander; cf. v. 49. 1), in which the world was a perfect circle, with a circumambient ocean for its rim, “as if drawn with a pair of compasses.” Such had been the conception of Hecataeus (cf. ii. 21 n.), who brought the Argonauts from the Phasis via the ocean stream and the Nile back to the Mediterranean (*FHG* i. 13, frag. 187).

οὐδένα . . . ἐξηγησάμενον, “explaining it (the shape of the world) sensibly,” see above. Hecataeus’ fault was double: (1) his world map was purely *a priori*; (2) he made no effort to coordinate his mass of geographical details in a rational scheme.

There is another protest against symmetry in ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου; Europe is far larger than Asia (including Libya) to H. (iv. 42. 1), but the map-makers made them balance equally.

#### iv. 37–45

H. gives a specimen of what in his opinion geography should be: (1) He describes the distribution of peoples in West Asia (chaps. 37–40). He has been criticized for making no reference to the numerous tribes mentioned, iii. 90 seq.; but this would have been quite out of place in a general sketch. (2) He then gives the boundaries

of the continents (chaps. 41–5), and discusses the division. In this part he gives an account of three great voyages, undertaken to settle definitely the boundaries of Asia and Africa. (For H.'s geography cf. app. xiii.)

#### iv. 37

For the Erythraean Sea cf. i. 1. 1 n.; for the Saspeires, iii. 94. 1 n. The four countries form a line from north to south, which divides, for H., Eastern from Western Asia, and forms the base of both ἀκταί. The Phasis is part of the boundary between Europe and Asia (cf. 45. 2).

#### iv. 38

ἀκταί. The English word most nearly corresponding is “peninsula,” as we use it of Spain or of Scandinavia. Asia Minor really is an ἀκτή, especially to H. who thought its eastern boundary much narrower than it actually is (i. 72. 3 n.). But he seems to have conceived (chap. 39) of the rest of Western Asia as a similar projection (cf. Bunbury, i. 207). It is easy to see that H. had no accurate maps.

[2] Φάσιος. H. obviously put this too far south, in the corner of the Black Sea.

The **Hellespont** here includes all the narrow seas, from the Bosphorus to Sigeum, at the entrance of the Hellespont; cf. 95. 1, 138. 2; v. 103. 2; vi. 26. 1, 33. 1; this sense is familiar in the “Hellespontine” division of the Athenian tribute. In i. 57. 2 and vii. 137. 3 “Hellespont” = “the Sea of Marmora.” Ἑλλησπόντιοι is usually, if not always, used by H. in the wider sense; cf. iii. 90. 2; iv. 89. 2; v. 1. 1; vii. 95. 2.

The “Myriandian Gulf” is the modern Bay of Issus. The “Triopian Cape” is the southwest corner of Asia Minor, near Cnidus (cf. i. 144. 1).

τριήκοντα. There are thirty-three nations in H.'s two lists together (iii. 90 seq.; vii. 70 seq.), thirty in each of them singly.

#### iv. 39

H. knows nothing of the modern Persian Gulf or of the shape of Arabia. His “Assyria” consists of the basins of the Euphrates and Tigris below Armenia (i. 178. 1 n.), and his “Arabia” includes the southern part of the desert as well as Arabia proper.

νόμῳ. It only ends “conventionally,” because Libya is really a continuation (41. 1). For the canal cf. ii. 158 n.; for the Arabian Gulf (= “the Red Sea”) cf. i. 1. 1 n.

[2] διὰ τῆσδε, “this sea” as usual = the Mediterranean.

ἐς τὴν τελευτᾶ. The words “in which it ends” are ambiguous as to Egypt, as is also 41. 1. H., however, seems by coupling Egypt with Syria to put them both in Asia; cf. also 41. 1 n. On the other hand, he does not count the Egyptians in this ἀκτή (see below); and in 41. 2 he clearly makes Africa begin at the Isthmus of Suez. In ii. 17. 1 he makes the boundaries of Asia and Libya those of Egypt, but does not say to which continent it belongs. On the whole it is more probable that H. gave Egypt to Africa, but many, e.g., Tozer, *A.G.*, 82, maintain the contrary; but

as he thought Africa a continuation of the ἀκτὴ of Asia, the exact position of Egypt seemed to him of little importance.

**τρία.** The three nations are Assyria and Arabia with Phoenicia, not with Persia (as Macan); Persia is the base of the ἀκτὴ, not part of it.

**iv. 40**

**παρήκει** governs τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε . . . Κόλχων, with τὰ πρὸς . . . ἀνατελλοντα as an accus. of respect. For the Araxes cf. i. 202. 1 n.; for the Caspian 203. 1 n.

**iv. 41**

**ἀπό** might be inclusive or exclusive (cf. 39. 2 n.), but with ἐκδέκεται the latter sense is the more natural (cf. 99. 1).

**χίλιοι.** For the measurement, “1,000 stades,” cf. ii. 158. 4 n.

**iv. 42**

**παρ’ ἀμφοτέρως.** H. reckons all Northern Asia, so far as he knows it, to Europe. The greater knowledge of the moderns reverses his arrangement; Stanford (quoted by Macan) says “Europe is after all only a peninsula of Asia.”

**εὐρεος.** The continents cannot (H. thinks) be compared, for the northern boundaries of Europe are unknown, and therefore it is far broader, while the southern boundaries of Asia and of Africa had been rounded by Scylax (chap. 44) and by the Phoenicians (see below).

[2] **ἀπέπεμψε.** On this famous voyage cf. Bunbury, i. 289 seq., 317 (who leaves the question open), E. J. Webb, *EHR*, Jan. 1907 (strongly adverse), and H. Berger, pp. 62–5, who formerly rejected the story, but now “reserves a final judgement till circumstances are more favourable.” The arguments for its truth are: (1) The time is adequate. (2) The currents would be favourable all the way, while on the east coast the voyage would be assisted by the north monsoon, and in the west by the south trade-wind. (3) The circumstance disbelieved by H. is a strong confirmation; the sun (not “the sunrise”) in the southern hemisphere would actually be “on the right,” so long as they sailed west, and from the Equator to the Cape of Good Hope the course would be southwest and then west, while on the return journey it would be slightly northwest. (4) The voyage was undertaken for a practical purpose, to facilitate communication between Mediterranean and Red Seas; as its result was useless for this purpose it was forgotten, just as the discovery of America by the Northmen in the eleventh century was forgotten till the nineteenth. On the other hand: (1) Later geographers rejected the story, e.g., Posidonius (Strabo, 98), Strabo (*ibid.*), Polybius (iii. 37); the last-named doubted if the sea were continuous round Africa, and Aristotle (*Meteor.* ii. 1, 354a) also denied its continuity. (2) It is strange that H. tells no stories of the marvels of the South, of the change of seasons, etc. [But this argument is of little value.] (3) The change in the position of the sun was an easy guess for any one who had seen the vertical sun at Syene. (4) Exaggeration was easy; so the voyage of Hanno, who perhaps

reached as far as Sierra Leone (Bunbury, i. 318 seq.), is represented by Pliny (ii. 67. 169) as having been extended to Arabia. [But Pliny's inaccurate and contradictory statements are no parallel to H.'s plain and straightforward narrative.] On the whole it seems best to accept the story, as Meyer (iii. 60) unhesitatingly does.

In 1906 two scarabs were communicated to the French Academy, which professed to commemorate this circumnavigation; it was soon shown, however, by the Berlin Egyptologists that they were forgeries.

**τὴν βορρῆν:** the Mediterranean; for the "Pillars" cf. ii. 33. 3 n.

[3] H. conceives the mariners as observing the same seasons as at home; there would be two harvests. But if the statement is a fact at all, it is obvious that the sowing would be determined on other grounds than a Mediterranean calendar. Cf. for these harvests on the way, the plans of Eudoxus for the same circumnavigation (Strabo 100).

#### iv. 43

**οἱ λέγοντες,** not "that they had sailed round it," but that "it could be sailed round" (περίοδος 42. 2). Unluckily H. gives no details as to Carthaginian testimony; the voyage of Hanno (see above) was probably about fifty years before his birth (cf. vii. 165), but H. never mentions it. The causal connection is odd: (I mention them) "because Sataspes failed."

[2] Probably the Zopyrus of iii. 153 seq., whose grandson deserted to Athens (iii. 160) and may well have told H. this and other stories (cf. *JHS* xxvii. 37 seq.). H. probably had heard this story also in Samos (§ 7).

For the use of criminals for dangerous voyages cf. the English usage from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, e.g., Doyle, *English in America*, i. 61, 71.

[4] For C. Soloeis cf. ii. 32. 4 n.

[5] **σμικροῦς:** for the "dwarfs wearing dresses of palm," ii. 32. 6 n.

[6] **ἐνίσχασθαι.** No doubt his vessel was stopped by the south tradewind (see above). It may be noted to H.'s credit that he tells us nothing of the "masses of mud and seaweed" (Pseudo-Scylax 112), with which Greek imagination or Carthaginian trade-jealousy blocked the navigation of the Atlantic.

[7] **ἐπιλήθομαι:** cf. i. 51. 4 for similar forbearance; this chapter is a good instance of the way in which H. pieces together different stories.

#### iv. 44

**κροκοδείλους.** Crocodiles were thought especially to belong to the Nile (cf. Arr. *Anab.* vi. 1. 2); this is one of the reasons why H. confuses Niger and Nile (ii. 32. 7 n.).

**Καρυανδέα.** Scylax was a neighbour of H., for Caryanda is an island off Caria. The work which goes by his name is probably of the fourth century, and is almost entirely concerned with the Mediterranean; it says nothing of the Indian Ocean

(Bunbury, i. 384 seq.). Aristotle (*Pol.* vii. 14. 3, 1332b) quotes Scylax as to the Indians. His voyage may be dated about 509 B.C.

[2] **Pactyice** (with **Caspatyrus**) is mentioned in iii. 102. 1 as bordering the north of India. Stein identifies it with Northeast Afghanistan; the Afghans still call themselves “Pakhtun” or “Pashtun” (cf. “Pathans”); he makes Caspatyrus = Kabul, preferring the form *Κασπάτυρος* (*Hec. frag.* 179; *FHG* i. 12); H., he thinks, confuses the Kabul tributary with the Indus main stream, and so makes (wrongly) the Indus “flow east”; this view is shared by Brunnhofer, *Urg. Ari.* i. 54. But the Kabul river is unnavigable. Wilson makes *Κασπάτυρος* = city of Casyapa, i.e., Kashmir, which once included much of the Punjaub (*Ariana*, 137); but this seems impossible.

Scylax probably started down the Indus from just above Attock, which lies at the junction of the Indus and the Kabul, about 200 miles almost due east of the town of Kabul; H.’s informant confused the main city of the district with the exact starting-point on the Indus. There is no need to doubt this voyage; H. writes of it from contemporary evidence, and his statement is confirmed by the fragments of Darius’ inscriptions on his Nile canal (ii. 158. 1 n.). It is to be noted that he tells of no impossibilities, like the later fiction of Patrocles’ voyage round into the Caspian (Pliny, *H.N.* vi. 58). Berger, however (pp. 73–5), is very doubtful of the reality of Scylax’ voyage because of (1) H.’s mistake as to the course of the Indus (see below). (2) His ignorance of the Persian Gulf; a coasting voyage up this would have brought Scylax nearly to Susa, whence a new voyage was necessary to bring him to the Red Sea. H. makes it only *one* voyage. [But probably Scylax never went into the Persian Gulf at all; his coasting voyage would bring him to a Persian port at the Isle of Ormuz, thence he would sail across the Straits of Ormuz and resume his voyage to the south and west. This course is so obvious that it was not definitely recorded.] (3) Arrian (*Ind.* 19 seq., *Anab.* vii. 20) knows nothing of the voyage of Scylax [but Posidonius (Strabo 100) believed in it], and tells us Alexander’s seamen failed to get round into the Red Sea. Myres (*GJ*, 1896, 623) conjectures the “Indian river” to be the Ganges, and that “an expedition . . . doubled C. Comorin, a voyage for which thirty months is not too long, though it is too long for a journey home from the mouth of the Indus.”

[3] For the conquest of the Indians cf. iii. 94. 2 n.

**ὅμοια**. The south of Asia like the south of Africa has been explored, unlike Europe (45. 1); the two voyages correspond; one takes more than two years (42. 4), the other “thirty months.” The anacoluthon *παρεχομένη* is noticeable.

#### iv. 45

For the ignorance of Europe cf. iii. 115. 1 n., for its “length” 42. 1 n.

[2] **ὀνόματα τριφάσια**. For the continents cf. app. xiii, § 5; there seems a trace of Greek contempt for women here and elsewhere in this chapter (e.g., *εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίας* (§ 4)), which makes it clear how completely the real meanings of “Asia”

and “Europe” were forgotten in H.’s time. “Asia” is first used in Pindar (*Ol.* vii. 34), but the adjective in the well-known Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ὄρεθρα of *Il.* ii. 461; “Asius” is also the name of two Trojans. “Europe” occurs first in *Hymn to Apollo*, 250–1 (cf. 290–1), where it is used of the Greek mainland, as opposed to Peloponnese and the “seagirt islands.” The names seem to be derived from the Assyrian, “açu” and “irib” (perhaps cf. ἔρεβος), i.e., the “rising” and the “setting,” and no doubt reached the Greeks through the Lydian traders (cf. § 3); we may perhaps compare the Assyrian names among the early Lydian kings (i. 7. 2 nn.).

No doubt “Asia” and “Europe” were first used of the opposite shores of the Aegean, and gradually extended, with the spread of geographical knowledge, to their respective hinterlands (cf. Kiepert, *Anc. Geog.* i. 17, E.T.).

**ὁρίσματα.** H. is here giving the ordinary “boundaries” which he does not accept (ii. 16, 17 nn.).

**οἱ δέ:** making the boundary run north and south. As H. is quoting he calls the Tanais “Maeotic” here (and nowhere else).

[3] **γυναικός.** Others make Prometheus the son of Asia.

**Ἀσίῳ.** One branch of the mythical royal family of Lydia; cf. i. 94. 3 n. for the other.

**φυλὴν Ἀσιάδα.** H. uses the evidence of institutions in an almost modern way.

[4] For Europa cf. i. 2. 1; she came “to Lycia from Crete” with her son Sarpedon.

[5] **νομιζόμενοισι.** The threefold division was already “established” and H. therefore follows it, in spite of what he thinks to be its absurdities.

#### iv. 46–58

H. seems about to begin the story of Darius’ campaign, but the mention of the nomadic habits of the Scyths leads to a further digression on the great rivers, in which feature, so favourable to commerce, H., like a true Greek, is especially interested (cf. chap. 82 for his emphasis on their importance), all the more so because Greece had no such rivers. It may be noted generally that (1) H. is fairly accurate as to the lower courses of the rivers as far as the Dnieper, but that beyond the Dnieper his account is unrecognizable and full of difficulties. (2) That with regard to their sources, he ignores the fabled Rhipaeian Mountains, which even Aristotle (*Meteor.* i. 13, 350b) made the source of the Russian rivers (cf. 32 nn.); but his lakes, from which he derives six of his rivers, are equally theoretical (57. 2 n.). The rivers really rise in great swamps; but probably in H.’s days these may have been more like shallow lakes. Cf. Krapotkin, *GJ* xxiii. 725. Réclus (v. 284–5) describes the shrinking of the water-area: except the rivers of Finland, all the great watercourses of Russia have “vidé les anciens lacs de leur bassin et constitué leur individualité fluviale”; but this process had begun with “the disappearance of the Ice Age.”

#### iv. 46

**ἀμαθέστατα.** H. rejects the “noble savage” theory which the Greeks tended to hold about the peoples of the North (cf. 2. 1 n.). The exception made by H. in favour of the Scyths is due to Anacharsis (chap. 76), and is tacitly contradicted by Thucydides (ii. 97. 6).

**ἐντός:** not “west of” (Stein) but “in the region of.”

[2] For the subjunctives ἦ, ἔωσι after the relative τοῖσι without ἄν cf. i. 216. 1 and Goodwin, § 540.

[3] **ἵπποτοξόται.** It is curious that no representation of a “horse archer” has been found on the Scythian monuments.

**οικήματα . . . ἐπὶ ζευγέων.** The nomadic life struck all the Greeks, e.g., Aeschylus (*P.V.* 709–10); Hippocrates (*Aer.* chap. 18) describes the wagons as having four or six wheels, and as roofed with felt (πίλοισι), so as to be wind and water proof. So M. Polo, i. 52, says of the Tartars: “Their houses are circular, and made of wands covered with felts; these are carried with them whithersoever they go”; for pictures of the Tartar houses cf. *ibid.* pp. 253–5. Hippocrates goes on to describe the Scyth diet as flesh, milk, and cheese. H. skillfully introduces here the main point of his account of the campaign (cf. chap. 120).

#### iv. 47

**εὐδρος.** H. knows only the well-watered region on the lower Dnieper; South Russia as a whole is not well watered. For the Egyptian canals cf. ii. 108.

[2] **πεντάστομος:** so Arrian, *Peripl.* (chap. 35); but Mela (ii. 8) gives “as many as the Nile,” and Strabo (305) “seven.” There are now three main ones.

#### iv. 48

**Ἰστρος.** For the Danube generally cf. chap. 99 and ii. 33 nn.

**ἶσος . . . ἔωντῶ:** in contrast with the Nile (ii. 25. 5).

[2] **μὲν γε:** frequent in enumerations (cf. i. 145); πέντε μὲν is repeated in § 4 οὔτοι μὲν ἀυθιγενέες, where it corresponds to the δέ, with ἐκ . . . Ἀγαθύρων, and with ἐκ τοῦ Αἴμου (49. 1).

**Πόρατα.** Name and position identify this as the Pruth; the other four are uncertain; H. had probably heard their names at Istria (cf. ii. 33. 4).

[3] **πρὸς ἡῶ,** “on the east,” as opposed to πρὸς ἐσπέρης μάλλον; as the Pruth came in through Scythia, of which the Danube was the western boundary, it could not flow “to the east.”

[4] The **Maris** is clearly the Marosch, which, however, runs into the Theiss, not the Danube.

#### iv. 49

**μεγάλοι:** the Danube’s tributaries from the Balkans really are small.

**Θρηϊκῶν τῶν Κροβύζων.** The changes in the position of the Crobyzi are an illustration of the trend of the tribes to the northeast which Niebuhr sketches (K. S. p. 376 seq.). In Strabo (318) we find this people has moved east to the coast, where H. (chap. 93) places the Getae; these again had moved northeast in the fourth century B.C.

The **Sciui** is no doubt the Ὀσκίος of Thuc. ii. 96. 4 (modern Iskar), who rightly says ῥεῖ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ὅθεν περὶ καὶ ὁ Νέστος καὶ ὁ Ἐβρος; of course it does not (as H. asserts) “cut through” the Balkans. H. extends Mount Haemus further west than was done later.

[2] The **Triballi** lived in the modern Servia; Sitalces (Thuc. iv. 101. 5) met his death in an unsuccessful campaign against them.

ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε. So far H.’s geography has been near the truth; now it becomes impossible. He knows nothing of the mountain block of central Europe, though its name and that of the “Carpathians” make their first appearance in geography as the rivers Alpis and Carpis. Perhaps the direction of these rivers is a confused tradition of the Drave and Save, or even of the Inn.

[3] Cf. ii. 33. 3 nn. for the Celts and the Cynetes.

**πλάγια.** “It runs into the flanks of Scythia,” i.e., it strikes the Scythian frontier at an (acute) angle; this is of course inconsistent with H.’s “square theory” (chap. 101).

#### iv. 50

**οὐδεμία:** the last tributary the Nile receives is the Atbara, about 140 miles north of Khartoum; H.’s knowledge did not reach so far.

[2] **ὑεταί:** H.’s statement agrees with the fact that Roumania has more rain in summer than in winter (*EB*<sup>9</sup> xxi. 15), but snow is comparatively rare, “only twelve days in the year.” Here, as in his account of the Nile flood (cf. ii. 24 nn.), he greatly exaggerates the effects of evaporation. The absence of floods on the Lower Danube is a fact, but the real cause is the Iron Gates near Belgrade, which were unknown to H.; these hold up the water, acting like a great natural lock; hence the floods are in Hungary (which was outside H.’s sphere of knowledge), not in the Danubian principalities.

#### iv. 51

**Tyras** was a colony of Miletus at the mouth of the Dniester; the coins give the name as Τυρανοί (Head, *H.N.*, 273).

#### iv. 52

ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς. The Boug (Hypanis), unlike the Dniester and the Dnieper, rises “in Scythia”; H. is quite right in making it the shortest of the three.

[2] **βραχύς,** “without floods”; cf. ii. 19. 2 (of the winter Nile).

[3] **πικρός**. The brackishness of the South Russian rivers near their mouth is due to their slow current, which allows the admixture of the sea water. The story about the Exampaeus fountain may be an attempt to explain the fact, which H. was told when at Exampaeus (if he had not visited this place (81. 2 n.) he is convicted of grave prevarication); Reinach, however, says (*A.R.M.*, 170) the Boug actually has a tributary which is still called “Miortovod” (i.e., dead water). Exampaeus is rightly explained as “sacred ways”; for the latter part of the word cf. √ of Germ. “pfad,” perhaps found also in Ἀργιππαῖοι (23. 5); the E in “Exampaeus” may be privative; Müllenhoff, *D.A.* iii. 105.

ἐν ὀλίγοισι, “unusually large”; cf. ix. 41. 1.

**ἀροτήρων**: H. calls these agricultural Scyths Callippidae and Alizones; he places them between the Boug and the Dnieper (17. 2).

[4] **συνάγουσι**. It is quite true the Dniester and the Boug approximate in their upper course; *κατά*, “in a line with,” not “in the region of.”

#### iv. 53

**πολυαρκέστατος**, “most productive.” H. writes like a man of business.

[2] **διακριδόν**: Homeric; cf. *Il.* xii. 103. The disparagement of the other rivers as θολεροί is unjust; H. is echoing the praises of some patriotic Olbian.

[3] **ἄλες**. Dio Chrys. (*Or.* xxxvi. p. 48) mentions the salt in the second century A.D., and Kinburn (on the Dnieper liman) still supplies South Russia. As salt fish was a main article of Pontic export, the salt was the more important.

**ἀντακαίους**. The “sturgeon” of the Dnieper, which are still famous. Pliny also (ix. 45) denies them a backbone. Athenaeus (118 d) mentions the τάριχος ἀντακαῖον (“caviare”), but without reference to Olbia.

[4] **Γέροου**. The “limit” of Scythia (71. 3); hence some have proposed to alter “forty” into “fourteen,” because Scythia is only “twenty days’ journey” across (101. 3). But Scymnus (l. 817; *GGM* i. 230) in the first century B.C. says the Borysthenes is navigable for “forty days” but no more, and Stein points out that H. is speaking of a voyage, and so the calculation takes into account the windings of the stream; the number therefore may be explained by the great east bend of the Dnieper. But though H.’s informants may have known of this, he himself certainly did not, for he thinks the Dnieper “flows from the north”; Stein explains this of its course just at Gerrhi, and points out that the Dnieper does flow from north to south as far as Kief, and then southeast by east; but H. says it flows from the north all the way from Gerrhi. It is curious too that he knows nothing of the rapids of the Dnieper, which begin at Ekaterinoslav, 260 miles from its mouth; had he known of them, he must have compared them with the Nile cataracts. H. faithfully reproduces his sources, but his own knowledge of the river is limited to what could be gained on the voyage, up or down it, to Exampaeus. He shines, however, by comparison with Strabo (306), who says the Dnieper is only navigable for 600 stades!

**δέκα:** cf. 18. 2 n.

[5] **ἔλος.** The great liman of the Dnieper (cf. 17. 1 n.) is only six feet deep in summer, hence the name ἔλος.

[6] **ἔμβολον.** Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xxxvi. p. 48), an eyewitness, repeats this comparison, which may refer to Cape Stanislav, half-way between the mouths of the two rivers. He is the only author besides H. in whom the name Hippolaus appears; no doubt the early Greek settlers invented a “horse” hero to suit the native habits.

**ἰδὸν Δήμητρος.** Demeter’s head is the principal type on the Olbian coins (cf. Head, *H.N.*, 272). There is a v.l. μητρός, i.e., “of Cybele”; one coin gives a head with a mural crown, the mark of Cybele; but even this head has a wreath of corn also, so that it might be that of Demeter.

#### **iv. 54–56**

The Panticapes, Hypacyris, and Gerrhus defy identification, while the last-named presents special difficulties (chap. 56 n.). To suppose great physical changes (with Rawlinson ad. loc. and in his map) is not probable; the only safe inference is that merchants crossed three rivers on their journey northeast, between Dnieper and Don.

#### **iv. 54**

**ἀπό,** “as to”; cf. 195. 4, a Homeric usage. Panticapaeum on the Cimmerian Bosphorus has nothing to do with this Panticapes, though the names may be both connected with πόντος; cf. iii. 92 Παντίμαθοι.

#### **iv. 55**

For Carcinitis cf. 99. 2. H. does not describe the well-known “course of Achilles,” a long sandy strip running parallel to the shore for eighty miles, but joined to it only in one place (cf. Strabo 307); the western half is called Tendra. Achilles was specially honoured in the Pontus; cf. Alcaeus, frag. 48 B ὃ γὰρ Σκυθίκακας μέδεις, and his title ποντάρχης (*CIG* 2076, 2077).

#### **iv. 56**

**ἀπέσχισται.** Bunbury (i. 212) denies the possibility of the Gerrhus thus leaving the Dnieper forty days’ journey from its mouth (cf. 53. 4) and taking an independent course; but there is a sort of parallel in the Cassiquiare in South America, which has a continuous course from the Orinoco to the Rio Negro, a tributary of the Amazon (V. de St. Martin, *Dict. de Géog.*). It is impossible, however, to fit the Gerrhus into South Russia. Stein ingeniously suggests that its name meant “boundary” (cf. 71. 3), and that it represents the frontier line of the Royal Scyths, which is supposed to be one continuous river.

**iv. 57**

The **Tanais** is of course the Don; H. has once more trustworthy information, no doubt derived from the “emporium called Cremni” (20. 1). The Tanais flows from a small lake; it is more probable, however, that H.’s “great lake” is due to a general theory of lake origin (46 n.) than to definite information.

The **Hyrgis** is probably the Donetz; in 123. 3 it is called Syrgis, and runs direct into the Palus Maeotis.

**iv. 58**

**ἐπιχολωτάτη**. Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* ix. 17) seems to be contradicting this when he says that the Pontic cattle ate and flourished on wormwood, being especially free from “bile.”

**iv. 59–82**

*H. now describes the religion and manners of the Scyths. This is one of the most valuable parts of his work.*

**iv. 59**

**Ἰστίην**. For the pre-eminence of Hestia cf. 68. 2; 127. 4; for a Scyth picture of her with the sacred fire cf. Reinach, *A.R.M.*, 179. Rawlinson considers the worship to be elemental; this is slightly confirmed by *CIG* iii. 6013 (found in Rome) where Apollo Oetosyrus is identified with the sun-god, Mithra. Nymphodorus (third century B.C., frag. 14; *FHG* ii. 379) definitely says the Sauromatae were fire-worshippers; cf. also i. 216. 4 (the Massagetae). H. gives no native names for Heracles, who may be a Greek addition, or for Ares. For Aphrodite cf. i. 105. 2 n. “Artimpasa” is found on two dedications at Tusculum (*CIG* iii. 6014).

[2] **ὀρθότατα . . . καλεόμενος**. H. clearly connects “Papaesus” with Πάππας (= “father,” *Od.* vi. 57); he no doubt was familiar with the Bithynian “Zeus Papas” (Arrian, frag. 39; *FHG* iii. 592). The name is one of familiar affection, of a type perhaps characteristic of Asia Minor (Rosch. s.v.). For guesses at the etymology of these names cf. Rawlinson, iii. 194 seq.: Müllenhoff, *D.A.* iii. 108 sees in “Tabiti” the root “tap” (“to burn,” cf. *tepidus*).

**iv. 60**

[2] **καταβάλλει**. The purpose of the ritual was (1) by “plucking the end of the rope” to make the victim seem voluntarily to prostrate itself. (2) Unlike the Jews, to keep the blood in the victim; for this Reinach (*A.R.M.*, 181) compares the sacrificial methods of certain tribes in the Altai Mountains. The flesh was mainly eaten by the sacrificer (61. 2). H. as usual notes the contrast to Greek ritual; there was no “burning” of the hair (ἀνακαύσας) as a “dedication” (καταρξάμενος, ii. 45. 1), and no “libation” (ἐπισπείσας).

For the tmesis *περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε* cf. i. 194. 4 n.

#### iv. 61

**Λεσβίοισι κρητήρσι.** We know no more of the “Lesbian bowls” than of the “Argive” (152. 4); the terms may be commercial ones and so familiar to H.

**ὑποκαίουσι.** For using bones as fuel cf. Ezek. xxiv. 5 and Hooker, *Journal of a Naturalist* (1854), i. 213 (the bones of the Yak in Nepaul). The scarcity of fuel is correct; dung is still dried and burned in South Russia. But cf. 18. 1, 109. 2 for wooded districts

[2] The grim humour of βουῶς ἔωυτὸν ἐζέψει is to be noted.

**ἵππους.** For horses sacrificed cf. i. 216. 4 (the Massagetae), and for the meaning of the rite, Frazer, *G.B.* ii. 315 seq.

#### iv. 62

**κατὰ νομούς,** “in every district, for each of the people of the governments.” H. seems to mean the country is divided into ἀρχαί (probably subdivisions of the βασιληίαι of 7. 2, 120. 3), and these again into νομοί, each of which has its νομάρχης (66. 1). The organization thus hinted at is clearly military as well as religious.

**φάκελοι.** These “bundles of firewood” in a woodless country are, to say the least, exaggerated. We may note (1) H. gives the measurements from hearsay, not as his own; (2) his information came mainly from Olbia, which is close to the “woodland” (Υλαίη); (3) we may conjecture the wood was used to keep together masses of earth inside (this is implied in ὑπονοστέει κτλ.).

**ἀπότομα.** Reinach (*A.R.M.*, 182) says that in Russia tumuli are still found with three sides steep and one sloping.

[2] **ἀκινάκης.** A great iron sword was found in a tomb at Kertsch, but the weapons are usually bronze. For sword-worship among the Alani in fourth century A.D. cf. Ammianus, xxxi. 2. 23 “(gladiumque) ut Martem regionum praesulem verecundius colunt”; cf. Gibbon (chap. 34, iii. 419–20) for Attila’s use of the “sword of Mars.”

**τοισίδ’:** i.e., “with the victims to be described next.” Mars naturally had the most human sacrifices.

[3] **καταχέουσι.** For parallels to pouring blood on a sacred object cf. Frazer, *G.B.* iii. 21; red paint sometimes took the place of blood.

[4] **δεξιὸς ὤμους.** The victim is robbed of his right arm to render his spirit after death helpless; cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 451 for parallels (e.g., among Australian natives).

**ἀπέρξαντες,** “completing the sacrifice of the other victims”; cf. ii. 40. 4 for use of ἀπο-.

#### iv. 63

**ὑσί.** For the pig as a mark of race distinction cf. 186. 2 n.

**iv. 64**

**κεφαλάς.** For head-hunting and scalping cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 459 seq. The Dyaks thought “the owner of every head they could procure would serve them in the next world.” Strabo (727) says that in Carmania no one was allowed to marry till he had brought an enemy’s head to the king; cf. chap. 117 n. For blood drinking in order to obtain the strength of the dead cf. 26. 1 n. and Denny’s *Folk Lore of China*, 67: [The Chinese] “eat a portion of the victim, especially the heart,” to “acquire the valour with which he was endowed.” In the Seven Years’ War contemporaries attribute to the Kirghiz in the Russian army the practice of drinking the blood of those they killed (M. Polo, i. 313).

[3] **χλαίνας:** cf. Carlyle’s story (*French Revolution*, ed. Fletcher, iii. 165–6) of the breeches made from the skins of the victims of the Terror

**βαίτας,** “peasant cloaks” made also of sewn skins.

**ἦν:** the tense seems to imply that H. is speaking of a quiver cover which he had seen.

**iv. 65**

**ποτηρίω:** cf. 26. 2 n.

[2] **ἐπικρατήση** implies trial by combat-to-the-death among the Scyths.

**iv. 67**

**ἐπὶ μίαν,** “as they place them severally one on the other.” The phrase corresponds to *κατὰ μίαν*, but implies super-position also. Cf. Hosea iv. 12 and Tac. *Germ.* chap. 10 for a similar use of rods (“*frugiferae arbori*”); also Ammianus Marcellinus xxxi. 2. 24 for it among the Alani. For a picture of rod divination cf. (a gold plaque found on banks of Amou Daria) Reinach, *A.R.M.*, 187. A somewhat different method of rod divination is described by M. Polo (i. 49) as practised by “Christian astrologers” for Chinghiz Khan before his battle with Prester John.

For the *Ἐνάργεες* cf. i. 105 n. Hippocrates (*Aer.* chap. 22) attributes the impotence to excessive riding. The word is probably derived from *a* privative and “Nar” (Zend., Sansk.), “a man,” Müllenhof, iii. 104.

[2] **ῶν:** the “linden” was sacred to Aphrodite.

**iv. 68**

**μαντεύονται.** The diviners behave like the witch-doctors in West Africa; cf. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (1897), 463–4.

[4] **αὐτοῖσι,** “it is appointed for the prophets themselves to perish”; a sort of *dat. incommodi*.

**iv. 69**

**βοῦς.** Hippocrates (*Aer.* chap. 18) confirms H. that the Scyths used oxen for draft, like the modern Calmucks.

[3] οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας: cf. the counsel of Croesus (i. 155 n.); the sparing of the women seems to point to a Northern respect for the sex.

#### iv. 70

ὕπέατι: an Aeolic form of ὄπεας, an awl. For the blood covenant cf. iii. 8. 1 n.; there is an interesting picture of it on a gold plaque from Kouloba (see below).

#### iv. 71–72

These chapters deserve careful study, as evidence of H.'s accuracy and of his wide interest. They are admirable illustrations of the belief that the future life is a continuation of the present, in which the dead needs all he needed here (cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 459 seq.). Moreover, they illustrate the belief that inanimate objects also have spirits, which survive in another world. These beliefs, which are the cause why so many of the treasures of our museums are derived from ancient burial-places, prevailed both in Mycenaean and in Homeric Greece; cf. *Il.* xxii. 510

ἀτάρ τοι εἶματ' ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κέονται . . .  
ἀλλ' ἦτοι τάδε πάντα καταφλέξω πυρὶ κηλέω.

The tradition of them survived the Christian era; cf. Lucian *Luct.* chap. 14 (928) πόσοι ἵππους καὶ παλλακίδας, οἳ δὲ καὶ οἰνοχόους ἐπικατέσφαξαν καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον συγκατέφλεξαν . . . ὡς χρησομένοις ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀπολαύσουσιν αὐτῶν κάτω. For a curious instance in H. cf. v. 92. g 2, 3—the story of Melissa; cf. also v. 8. Caesar (*B. Gall.* vi. 19, § 4) describes the usage in a modified form in the Gaul of his day.

For the description of the tomb of Kouloba near Kertch (opened 1831) cf. Rawlinson or (his source) Dubois de Montéreu, *Voyage autour du Caucase* (1838–43), v. 194 seq., and plates, fourth series, 18–25; almost all Rawlinson's illustrations for H. iv. 1–144 come from this splendid work. The tomb in question probably belongs to the fourth century B.C., and is that of one of the Leuconidae, who ruled in Panticapaeum from 437 B.C.

For the tumuli generally of South Russia cf. S. Reinach, introd., *Antiq. du Bosph. Cimmér.* (1892). The wealth they have yielded is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, where the two rooms (vii and x) of "Kertch" and "Scythic and Siberian Antiquities" have over 20,000 gold objects, "a collection unique at once for intrinsic value and for historic interest."

The following points may be specially noted in chap. 71. (1) It was belief in H.'s veracity that led to the examination of the tumulus. (2) As a rule the details minutely correspond, but (a) other metals beside gold were found in the tomb. This discrepancy may be due to exaggeration on his part (or his informant's) or to the fact that the tombs explored are later than his time; (b) the number of victims is two (not six). (3) The vault is of stone; of this H. says nothing, though it perhaps implied the χῶμα μέγα of § 5. The sarcophagus itself was of wood (as in § 4). (4) Naturally no parallel has been found to the fifty dead mounted slaves (chap. 72); these were *outside* the tomb. But a similar custom of impaling sacrificed animals on

wooden beams is found among the tribes of the Altai Mountains (Reinach, *A.R.M.*, 181).

#### iv. 71

ἐς ὃ . . . προσπλωτός looks like a gloss due to a misunderstanding of 53. 4. It does not contradict that chapter, but it does contradict the geographical facts.

[3] κομίζουσι. Beside the escort of “Royal Scyths,” who go right through with the body, there are always mourners of two tribes, the one just entered (οἱ δὲ ἄν παραδέξωνται) and the one just left (ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον).

M. Polo (i. 51) describes how the bodies of the Great Khans were all buried near a “mountain called Altai” (which is *not* the Altai Mountains), even if they are 100 days’ journey away. The convoy of the funeral killed all they met, saying, “go wait upon your lord in the other world.” The Khan’s horses too were killed (cf. chap. 72).

#### iv. 72

θεραπόντων. For human sacrifices at a chief’s burial among Caribs, in New Guinea and elsewhere cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 486.

ἵππους. For killing horses for a dead master cf. Tac. *Germ.* 27, and the evidence of excavations all over Northern Europe. The last instance in Europe was at Trèves in 1781; cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 474.

[3] ὕπτιον, “they put half the felloe of a wheel on two stakes, with the hollow side upwards.”

[5] ξύλου: a partitive genitive depending on the antecedent of τό. τόρμος (a ἄπ. λεγ. in H.) = a “socket.” H. says nothing about this when he mentions the ξύλα παχέα in § 3.

#### iv. 73

[2] σμησάμενοι, “having soaped their heads.” The Persian king did this once a year on his birthday, ix. 110. 2. The transition is curious; the use of vapour baths for purification after a funeral leads to an account of ways of cleaning in general.

πίλους. With the construction of the bath-tents cf. the “Kibitks” of bent wood and felt in Pallas, *Voyages en différentes provinces de l’Empire de Russie* (Paris 1788), i. 503–4 and Plate 14.

#### iv. 74

Θρήικες μέν: there is no δέ to correspond: μέν implies a contrast with Scyths.

ὁμοιότατα. H. speaks like an expert in dress materials; cf. ii. 105 for “Colchian linen” and introd. p. 17. κάνναβις is the plant, but κανναβίς the garment made from it.

iv. 75

ὠρῶνται: they “howl” with delight, but also from intoxication by the hemp fumes; cf. i. 202. 2 n. for the latter. Rawlinson needlessly supposes H. to confuse the effects of a vapour bath and of intoxication.

[3] λιβάνου ξύλου. Egyptian ladies still rub their hands with melted frankincense; but neither the “cedar” nor the “frankincense tree” grow in South Russia.

iv. 76

μήτε: on account of the idea of prohibition in φεύγουσι.

[2] **Anacharsis** is killed by the father of Idanthysus, who is king (chap. 120) ca. 512 B.C.; H. puts his death in the middle of the sixth century; there is therefore nothing impossible in the story (which is very late) that he was a friend of Solon. He was reckoned among the “Seven Sages” and credited with inventing the potter’s wheel, which Strabo (303) rightly says is absurd. The figure of this travelled half-caste—his mother was a Greek (Diog. Laert. i. 101)—in the sixth century B.C. is very interesting. The “noble savage” theory of Rousseau gave him a new lease of fame in the eighteenth century (cf. “Anacharsis” Kloutz, Carlyle, *French Revolution*, passim, and the once famous *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis* by Barthélemy, 1788).

Cyzicus was famous for the worship of Cybele which was said to have been introduced by the Argonauts.

[4] Ἀχιλλῆιον. H. perhaps gives this description here, not in chap. 18 or in chap. 55, where it would seem to us more natural, because it suits his account of the secret rite.

ἐκδησάμενος, “hanging from himself.” The ἀγάλματα are small figures of the goddess and of Atys worn on the breast (hence called προστηθίδια); cf. Polyb. xxi. 31 for their use by the Galli of Pessinus.

[6] Tymnes is one of the informants H. mentions by name (introd. § 22); he seems to have been a Carian half-breed (cf. v. 37. 1). No doubt he was “agent” for the Scythian king in the factory at Olbia. His origin and position are significant as to the nature of H.’s sources.

H.’s semi-personal (ἴστω) address to Anacharsis is very quaint.

iv. 77

ἀσχόλους, “too busy to attend to any wisdom.” “Laconic” utterances (for which cf. Plut. *Mor.*) are attributed to Anacharsis himself (cf. Diog. Laert. i. 103 seq.), e.g., that “sailors were only four digits away from death.”

[2] The δ’ ὧν implies that, while H. considers the praise of the Lacedaemonians to be “an idle Greek fiction,” he knows for certain that Anacharsis died as a Philhellene.

#### iv. 78

For Istria cf. ii. 33–44.

[2] **παρέλαβε**. For succeeding to harem and throne together cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 21, and M. Polo, i. 52; p. 256 (of the Mongols)

**ἄσπη**: i.e., a native Scythian.

[3] **ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενείτων ἄσπυ**. The Scythian king clearly had some authority in Olbia, though not as much as the Leuconidae later (438–304 B.C.) had in Panticapaeum and Theodosia, where they bore the title of ἄρχων; their heads appear on the coins of Panticapaeum. There is no parallel to this in Olbia.

[4] **Σκυθικὴν**. Trousers and a sort of peaked cap were the main features; H. does not describe it, as it was not especially Scyth; cf. 23. 2, 106. 1. For a picture of it cf. Sacouca the Sacian on the B.I..

[5] **ἐς αὐτά** “he brought a wife to it”; cf. our “to marry into” and Livy i. 34. 4 *quo innupsisset*.

#### iv. 79

**Βακχείω** emphasizes the orgiastic character of the rites

[2] **σφίγγες**. For sphinxes cf. ii. 175. 1 n., for griffins chap. 13 n. Macan has a long and interesting note on these creatures, which were intended to protect the palace against evil spirits. Perhaps there is a reference in them to Skyles’ devotion to Dionysus, for the sphinx appears on the coins of Chios (Head, *H.N.*, 599), and the griffin on those of Teos and Abdera (*ibid.* 595, 253), in both cases in connection with the cult of the wine-god. Griffins are often found ornamenting Scythian objects.

[4] **διεπρήστυσε**, “gibed at”; Stein says the word is colloquial

#### iv. 80

**Teres** was the father of Sitalces and the founder of the Odrysian power (Thuc. ii. 29). As Sitalces is mentioned below without any comment, Blakesley argues this chapter was written after he had become known at Athens by his capture of the Lacedaemonians’ envoys (vii. 137. 3). It certainly reads like a later addition. The events referred to must have happened soon after the accession of Sitalces, which is dated ca. 450 B.C.

#### iv. 81

**ὡς Σ. εἶναι**, “so far as they are Scyths.” H. distinguishes them from the other races whom the Greeks called “Scyths”; it was Thucydides’ ignorance, or neglect, of this distinction which led him implicitly to contradict H. as to their numbers (cf. v. 3 with Thuc. ii. 97. 6).

[2] For Exampaeus cf. 52. 3 n. and introd. pp. 18, 19. Macan argues that ἀπέφαινον means “offered to show me,” and that H. never was at Exampaeus; but this

translation is forced, and there is no reason to doubt H. had seen the bowl he describes in such detail; his explanation of its origin, however, is a mere legend.

[3] ἀνέθηκε. Nymphis (a historian of the third century, frag. 15; *FHG* iii. 15) says that the bowl (ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου) was there before Pausanias, and that he only put his name on it. This story may be an invention suggested by Thuc. i. 132. 2 (but cf. i. 51. 4 for a similar Lacedaemonian appropriation). It is odd that H. does not mention here the great bowl at Delphi (i. 51. 2), which was of the same size (i.e., holding over 5,000 gallons). For a curiously similar story of a primitive census cf. Wallace, *Malay Archipelago* (ed. 1869), i. 182–4.

#### iv. 82

ἶχνος Ἡρακλέος. Such “footprints” are common in many countries; cf. Buddha’s (which is over five feet by two feet) at Adam’s Peak in Ceylon. “Two cubits” was the proper size for a Greek hero (cf. 2. 91. 3 n. of Perseus).

#### iv. 83–144

*H. now resumes his history from chap. I, but at once turns aside to describe the Pontus (chaps. 85–6), and later on the geography and races of Scythia (chaps. 99–117).*

Artabanus plays the part of Cassandra here as in vii. chaps. 10, 49, while Oeobazus (chap. 84) anticipates the misfortunes of Pythius (vii. 39); but H. skillfully touches here only on the points which he works out dramatically in his main narrative.

#### iv. 83

ἀπορίην: cf. i. 71. 2 for a similar argument for non-aggression.

#### iv. 85

**Chalcedon** lay on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, at its southwest end.

The **Cyanean Rocks** were the gate of the Pontus (cf. their place in the “Peace of Callias,” vii. 151. n.). Their name, “the rocks of gloom,” marks the early feeling of the Greeks towards the “inhospitable” Pontus, while H.’s enthusiasm for the sea corresponds to the later name “Euxine.” They are called “wandering” as early as Homer (*Od.* xii. 61). For their story cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 371 and Ap. Rhod. ii. 318 (or Morris, *Life and Death of Jason*, bk. vi); H. doubts its truth. There are twelve rocks, the largest of which is still called “Kyani”; they lie off the lighthouse on the extreme point of the European shore (Murray).

[2] τὸ μῆκος. H.’s measurements in this chapter are (in stades):

	Length	Breadth
Pontus	11,100	3,300 (τῆ εὐρύτατος)
Bosphorus	120	4
Propontis	1,400	500
Hellespont	400	7

H. is strangely wrong on the length of the Black Sea; the *EB*<sup>9</sup> gives it as 720 miles, i.e., about 6,280 stades; but this is at the longest part, from the Gulf of Burghaz to near Batûm. At the point measured by H. (86. 4) it is only about 650 miles. Various explanations are given of his mistake:

(1) Rawlinson thinks H. is calculating from his own experience, i.e., he took nine days and eight nights for a coasting voyage along the south of the Black Sea, and was told that his vessel made 1,300 stades a day; but this explanation will not do, for H. is clearly speaking of a direct voyage. Strabo (548) reckons such a coasting voyage in the Euxine at "about 8,000 stades" only.

(2) Others think that a "long day's" journey (86. 1) was really one of twenty-four hours (as modern ships reckon their "runs"); H., forgetting this, reckons in the "nights" over again.

(3) The probable explanation, however, is much simpler. H. reckons a "long day" and a long night; but it is obvious that in the same twenty-four hours a "long day" presupposes a short night; hence the figure "600 stades" for the night is exaggerated.

A normal twenty-four hours' run was 1,000 stades. For the whole subject of a ship's speed cf. vii. 183. 3 nn.

It may be noted that the famous Massiliot navigator, Pytheas, made the south coast of Britain nearly twice its real length.

**εὐρος.** The *EB*<sup>9</sup> gives the breadth of the Pontus as 380 miles (about 3,310 stades), but this is in the wide west part. At the points further east measured by H., it is only about "270 miles" (ibid. = 2,350 stades). H. therefore is here again in excess, but much less so than as to the length; in the shorter voyage there was less room for miscalculation.

[3] **τέσσερες στάδιοι.** The estimates for the breadth of the Bosphorus at its narrowest part, which is about the centre (where the bridge was made, 87. 2), vary from 550 metres (about 600 yards; Réclus) to three-quarters of a mile (*EB*<sup>9</sup>): Murray's Guide agrees with H. (as does Strabo 125), giving 810 yards.

**μῆκος.** As the whole channel is meant, ὁ ἀνὰ χῆν is added to explain. H. underestimates the length, which is about 20 miles (*EB*<sup>9</sup>), i.e., 175 stades. Perhaps in estimating the speed of a vessel sailing down the straits, he forgot to allow for the current.

[4] **Προποντίς.** H. does not tell us at what points he measured the Propontis; the *EB*<sup>9</sup> (s.v. Black Sea) gives it 110 and 43 geographical miles (i.e., about 1,100 and 430 stades). H. therefore is too large here also.

**Ἑλλήσποντον.** H.'s breadth for the Hellespont agrees with Murray's, who gives 1,400 yards; but Murray makes the length 33 miles, i.e., about 290 stades.

Rawlinson (ad loc.) has a useful table of the measurements of H., Strabo, and Pliny, compared with actual distances. He notes (1) that H.'s successors are hardly more

accurate; (2) that as a rule his measurements are in excess, because he overestimates the speed of vessels; (3) that, as might be expected, he is most inaccurate as to the part most remote, i.e., the Pontus.

#### iv. 86

**νηῦς.** H. does not mean that he is giving the results of his own voyage; he is calculating from a seaman's περίπλους (for these cf. Bérard, ii. 544f.).

For Sindice cf. 28. 1 n.

[2] **μακρότατον.** H. is not familiar with the western curve of the Pontus (see above).

[4] **ἡ Μαιῆτις.** The real size of the Sea of Azov is 235 miles by 110 (*EB*<sup>9</sup> s.v. "Azof"): Pseudo-Scylax (*Perip.* 69) makes it half the size of the Pontus, Strabo (125) rather more than a third. Rawlinson thinks the sea was once much larger than it is now (cf. Polyb. iv. 40, who says that it was gradually being silted up).

**μήτηρ.** H. is perhaps misled by supposed etymology from μαῖα; the native name of the sea was "Tamarunda" = *mater maris* (Plin. *H.N.* vi. 20); cf. 52. 1 for this name. The people on its shores are Μαῖται in the inscriptions (Dittenb. *Sylloge*, i. 130, 132, 2nd ed.).

#### iv. 87

**στήλας . . . δύο.** H. uses "Assyrian" (Ἀσσύρια) for any cuneiform writing (here for Persian), which of course he could not read.

For the custom of putting up a bilingual inscription in the languages of the ruling race and of the subjects concerned cf. the inscriptions on the Red Sea Canal (ii. 158 n.). For the lists of subject races cf. app. vii, § 1.

**ἐξηριθμήθησαν.** The figure 700,000 was a conventional one for the levy *en masse* of Persia (cf. Isoc. *Panath.* 49 for the soldiers in Xerxes' army), as is the number "600" for a Persian fleet; cf. vi. 9 (Lade), 95 (Marathon); "700,000" is of course impossible (cf. Munro, *JHS* xxii. 294 seq. for the whole subject).

**στήλησι.** Ctesias (xvii, p. 68) calls them βωμόν, and attributes the destruction to the Chalcedonians; but H. speaks as an eyewitness.

[2] **Artemis Orthia or Orthosia** (by some identified with the Tauric Artemis; cf. 103. 1 n.) was worshipped especially at Sparta, where boys, as is well known, were flogged at her altar (discovered in 1906; *BSA* xii. 331 seq.); perhaps this cruelty was a Spartan peculiarity. The oldest certain mention of her cult is Pind. *Ol.* 3. 30, but Bergk conjectures Ὀρθία in Alcman, *PLG* iii. 41; for it cf. Paus. iii. 16. 7, and Frazer ad loc., and Farnell *C.G.S.* ii. 452 seq. The title may be explained with the Schol. to Pind. as ὀρθοῦσα τὰς γυναῖκας, i.e., in travail; others connect it with the stiff straightness of an early ξόανον; but this was not peculiar to Artemis.

ἴρου. There was a temple on each side, these being twenty stadia apart (Strabo 319); the Asiatic one (to Zeus Οὔριος) was the more important (cf. Polyb. iv. 39, where there is a most interesting account of the Pontus).

#### iv. 88

πασι δέκα is not literal but an idiom for abundance; cf. ix. 81 and the stronger expression μυπία τὰ πάντα, iii. 74. 2.

ζῶα, “figures” of all kinds; cf. i. 70. 1 n. H. had of course seen this painting at the Heraeum (iii. 60 n.). For that temple as an art gallery cf. Strabo 637 and introd. p. 30.

#### iv. 89

Ἴωσι. It is most unlikely that the whole fleet was led by Greeks, though this is required by the story. Duncker (vi. 266, 271) thinks the Phoenician fleet was being used against Libya.

[2] ἀρχένα. The single stream is called “neck” in contrast to the space enclosed by the spreading mouths. Strabo (305) says Darius crossed at the lower part of the island Peuce, 120 stades from the southern mouth of the Danube; this seems to have been also the place where Alexander crossed (Arr. *Anab.* i. 3.). This is placed by Gen. Jochmus (*RGS* xxiv. (1854) pp. 36 seq.) at Isakcha (or Isakdje), about twenty-five miles west of Ismail. He (p. 83) points out that Darius (like the Russians in 1828) was reducing the “sea towns” as a preliminary; his line of march was close to the sea (p. 47), where the Balkan passes are easiest. H. never mentions these, though he knows of the Haemus elsewhere (49. 1 n.).

#### iv. 90

Τέαρως. The river is identified (ibid. pp. 44–5) as the confluence of the Bunardere and the Simerdere, in the latter part of which names “Tearus” survives. Its “thirty-eight streams” may roughly be made out, and their temperature varies, as H. describes; but they have lost their therapeutic reputation for “the scab.”

An inscription (91. 1) in cuneiform letters seems undoubtedly to have existed here till about 1830, but it has since perished (ibid. p. 44).

[2] ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς. The source of the Tearus is fully fifty miles from Perinthus as the crow flies, and more from Apollonia.

Ἀγριάνην. The name of the Agrianes survives in the Erkene, which runs into the Hebrus, i.e., the Maritza.

#### iv. 91

[2] ἄριστον. Jochmus (p. 44) says the river deserves the reputation which H. gives it; but the inscription is very Greek in its antithesis.

ἠπείρου: i.e., Asia; cf. i. 96. 1.

#### iv. 92

The **Odrysians** (cf. Thuc. ii. 96) lived in the valley of the Hebrus; the Artiscus is the Teke, a tributary of the Erkene (Jochmus, pp. 46–7).

#### iv. 93

**Γέτας**. The Getae, who “believe in immortality,” living between the Balkans and the Danube, occur here for the first time in history. They are not to be confused with the Goths (as Rawlinson and Hodgkin, *Invaders of Italy*, i. 62). They were later driven north across the Danube into what was afterwards Dacia. Cf. v. 4 n. for their belief in immortality.

**Salmydessus** was notorious for its organized wrecking; cf. Xen. *An.* vii. 5. 12–13.

H. describes the position of Thracian tribes by their relation to Greek colonies.

**Mesambria** (vi. 33. 2) received additional settlers after the Ionic revolt.

**δικαιοτάτοι**. Cf. 2. 1 n. for this ideal picture. Pomponius Mela (i. 18) calls them *ad mortem paratissimi*, and connects this courage with their belief in immortality.

#### iv. 94

**δαίμονα**. H., though he obviously suspects them, so far regards his countrymen’s stories as to call Salmoxis δαίμων, not θεός; that Salmoxis was a Thracian god there can be no doubt; for the form of the name cf. Salmydessus; Plato (*Charm.* 158b) mentions him with Abaris as a master of “incantations.” The rationalizing story of chap. 95 is told with variations by Strabo (297–8) and other later Greek writers without a word of question; Diodorus (i. 94) couples Salmoxis with Zoroaster and Moses as a legislator claiming divine sanction; Origen makes Salmoxis teach the Celtic Druids. H.’s better-informed caution, in contrast to all this, is greatly to his credit. Some moderns, however, accept the Greek story, e.g., Creuzer, *Comm. H.*, 171 n., who makes Salmoxis the introducer of “mysteries” into Thrace, which are celebrated underground. His name, Gebeleizis, remains a puzzle; one commentator makes it “giver of rest”; another even connects it with Βεελζεβούλ!

[2] For this method of communicating with the unseen cf. Dahomey, where as many as 500 messengers were dispatched a year, A. B. Ellis, *Ewe Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of Africa* (1890), p. 137.

[3] ἵλεος. So in Norse myths the heroic dead go to feast with Odin.

**πρὸς βροντήν τε καὶ ἀστραπήν**. For similar fighting against unseen powers cf. i. 172. 2 n., the Calyndians, iv. 173, 184. 2, the Psylli and the Atarantes.

#### iv. 95

**ἄνθρωπον**. There is a clear note of irony in the way in which H. tells the Greek story; cf. §§ 2, 3, especially πανδοκεύοντα: no unfavourable judgement on Pythagoras is implied (cf. ii. 123 n.), but H. dislikes the arrogance of his countrymen, introducing themselves into barbarian cults and legends (cf. ii. 45 n.).

[4] ὡς τεθνεῶτα. Cf. Soph. *El.* 62 for a reference to this trick

#### iv. 97

**τὴν σχεδίην λύσαντας.** This proposal, to cut communications so as to render return by the Caucasus necessary, is only the first of the difficulties of the narrative (for these cf. app. xii).

[2] Coes, in v. 37. 1, is tyrant, no doubt as the reward for some service at this time (cf. § 6).

[3] **οὔτε ἀρηρομένον.** This is true in the main, although some of the Scyths grew corn (chap. 18), and there were many Greek cities on the coast.

#### iv. 98

**ἄμματα.** For this “palpable arithmetic” as a primitive method of reckoning cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 240 seq.; but it is curiously out of place in Darius, who had the learning of Chaldaea at his service.

#### iv. 99–101

*H. gives a sketch of Scythia, which he makes a square of 4,000 stades (chap. 101), and of the neighbouring nations (chaps. 102–17), which cannot be reconciled on many points (e.g., cf. 101. 2 and 19. 1 n.) with chaps. 16–20. The rivers are ignored in it, as in the story of the campaign that follows.*

Macan (ii. 19) ingeniously suggests that this may be an “ideal scheme of Scythian geography, intended to serve as a complement to the historical narrative,” but his further suggestion that it is part of the original draft of the Scythian λόγοι composed before H. had obtained his fuller and later information, is very doubtful. Stein thinks it was accompanied by a map (which is most unlikely). H. starts from the Ister, assumed as the western boundary. He first gives the southern boundary (§ 2); the rest of the chapter is a digression on the Tauric Chersonese. In 100. 1 he gives the eastern boundary, and (§ 2) completes the square with the northern boundary.

#### iv. 99

**Σκυθικῆς γῆς.** H. means that the coast of Scythia does not continue (in a straight line that of Thrace), but that “as there is a sweep made” (κόλπου) the Thracian coast line “projects” (πρόκειται), just as Egypt projects (ii. 12. 1) beyond the line of North Africa.

**ἐκδιδοῖ,** “runs out” into it; i.e., has its mouth in it (cf. 49. 3 n.).

The lower course of the Ister is one of the most difficult points in Herodotean geography. As Niebuhr pointed out (*K.S.*, 156, 356, and map), H. conceives it as running due south (cf. Macan, vol. ii, Map, and p. 18).

Niebuhr’s arguments are: (1) The supposed correspondence of Ister and Nile (ii. 33. 2 n.). (2) In v. 9 the land to the north of the Ister is not Scythia or that of the Agathyrsi but “desert,” and (v. 10, by implication) ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον. (3) Only in this way can be explained the great extent of the Thracians (v. 3). (4) The western

boundary of Scythia (i.e., admittedly the Danube) runs at a right angle to the coast (101. 3).

The last point seems decisive. Rawlinson says rightly that this view, viz., that the lower Danube runs south, is inconsistent with other parts of H., e.g., (1) the Danube receives from Scythia five tributaries, each west of the other (chap. 49); the boundary therefore runs east and west, and not north and south; (2) the tributaries from the Haemus flow in from the south (chap. 50), so the Danube must run east and west; (3) it runs into the sea “with its mouth facing southeast” (εὐρὸν). But (1) and (2) only prove either that H. did not know these facts when he wrote chap. 101, or, more probably, that he forgot them from a love of symmetry; and if the emphasis be laid on στόμα (§ 1), is rather for the south course than against it. Why mention the “mouth,” if the whole course were southeast?

Macan well suggests that H.’s mistake is helped by his confusing the Danube and the Pruth, which latter river flows mainly north and south.

[2] τὸ . . . ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ: adverbial (*not* with τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν); translate “starting from the Ister.” So too τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης below (§ 3) is adverbial.

αὐτῆς: excluding the Tauric land.

ἀρχαίη. Stein translates “Scythia proper”; but if so, what was “new Scythia”? Probably Western Scythia, which was agricultural (chap. 17), is meant (Macan); this would have been the part which the Greeks knew first.

μέχρι . . . Καρκινίτιδος. Carcinitis is the city on the northwest edge of the Tauric peninsula. The gulf on which it stands really runs east and west; but H. thought it ran north and south (as Strabo 308 also implies). H. was quite ignorant of the real shape of the Crimea, which he conceives of as resembling Attica, i.e., as a triangular projection of Scythia, running southeast (§ 4). Strabo (308) was the first to call it Χερρόνησος.

[3] τὴν αὐτήν: i.e., the Pontus.

ὄρεινήν. Only the south coast of the Crimea is really mountainous.

χερσονήσου: that of Kertsch, which H. rightly says runs east.

[4] ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς. This does not mean that Scythia is washed on one side by the Black Sea, on the other by the Palus Maeotis (as is often held, e.g., by Macan, ii. 17); but that its projection, the Tauric peninsula, has *sea* both on south and east. This is rendered probable by the words κατὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, and proved by the fact that H. always calls the P. Maeotis λίμνη (100. 1 n.), *not* θάλασσα.

γουνόν, “high ground”; H. (§ 4) recognizes that the Crimea is much larger than Attica (μᾶλλον ἀνέχοντα).

ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ. Thoricus and Anaphlystus were the fortresses that protected the Laurian mines.

[5] ὡς εἶναι κτλ. Cf. ii. 10. 1 n. for the construction.

ἄλλως. This passage not only illustrates H.'s geographical inaccuracy, but also the way in which his work was written; the comparison of Iapygia looks like an afterthought, and must have been added after H.'s visit to the west (cf. introd. p. 8, and for Kirchhoff's use of this passage *ibid.* p. 10).

ἀποταμοίατο. The distance from Brundisium to Tarentum is one day's journey. (Strabo 282.)

παρόμοια κτλ. The construction is παρόμοια ἄλλα (ἄλλοισι by attraction) τοῖσι οἴκε ἢ Ταυρικῇ.

#### iv. 100

θαλάσσης τῆς ἠοίης. The "Eastern sea" is the part of the Black Sea at the southeast corner of Scythia with the Cimmerian Bosphorus, *not* the Pontic Maeotis (cf. 99. 4 n.).

[2] τὰ κατύπερθε . . . φέροντα: accus. of respect.

For the order of the tribes cf. chaps. 102. 2, 125.

#### iv. 101

κατηκόντων. It will be noticed that H. says "coming down to the sea" not παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν: the eastern side only touches sea at its southeast corner.

[2] δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδός. The first distance to the Borysthenes is fairly right; the second is really much shorter, being about 130 miles. H. mentions the Palus Maeotis as being the main part of his eastern boundary.

τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν corresponds to τὰ ὄρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα below and to τὸ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον (§ 1) above.

διηκόσια στάδια. In v. 53 H. allows only 150 stades a day on the Royal Road; but South Russia is unusually flat.

[3] τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν refers to both sides, the western and the eastern frontier. We have to infer what these are; the western frontier is the Danube (80. 2, 97. 1); the eastern frontier is a small part of the Black Sea and the Cimmerian Bosphorus (see above) with the Palus Maeotis and part of the Don. This last point is proved (Rawlinson, iii. 203) from the movements of Darius' army (cf. 120. 2, 122. 3), and from the fact that, though Darius marches through the territory of the Sauromatae and the Budini, he never gets far from Scythia (chaps. 124, 125).

The story of the campaign is not history, but it is evidence for the geographical conceptions of its author. Niebuhr and Stein are therefore wrong in representing the Don as flowing into the Palus Maeotis just at the northeast corner of Scythia, and thereby excluding that river from the eastern boundary of "the square."

For H.'s love of symmetry in making Scythia "square" cf. app. xiii, § 7.

#### iv. 102–17

*The customs of the surrounding tribes.*

Six of these (not the Agathyrsi and the Geloni) had already been mentioned (chaps. 17–22), and their position described in relation to Scythia proper. H. now describes their customs. For a similar division as to the Scyths cf. chaps. 17–20 (position), chaps. 59–80 (customs). Some think the arrangement is merely due to the fact that H. was using different sources. At any rate his attempt to differentiate barbarian tribes is one of his most interesting points.

#### iv. 103

**παρθένω.** Artemis Orthia, whose temple stood on the κρημνός in front of the city (Strabo 308). For her worship cf. chap. 87 n.

**ἐπαναχθέντες,** “putting out to sea against them,” i.e., they were pirates as well as wreckers; they retained these customs till the first century A.D. (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 17. 4). The sacrificing of the shipwrecked to the goddess is no doubt a real custom, and probably the origin of the Iphigenia myth.

[2] **δαίμονα.** For the identity of priest and god cf. Frazer, *G.B.* i. 8, iii. 457. The story is familiar in Euripides’ drama, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and elsewhere. The Tauri may have been a remnant of the Cimmerians driven into the mountains; some have (improbably) connected their name with that of the Celtic Taurisci.

#### iv. 104

**ἀβρότατοι.** The Agathyrsi are usually placed in Transylvania (48. 4, the Marosch rises among them), where there were gold mines. They are “most luxurious” because of their gold. They were probably a Thracian tribe; “Thyrsi” may be a Scyth form of Τραυσοί (a Thracian tribe, v. 3. 2 and Steph. Byz. s.v.). For their tattooing cf. v. 6. 2 n. and Verg. *Aen.* iv. 146 “picti Agathyrsi.”

**ἐπίκοινων.** For promiscuity cf. nn. on i. 216. 1, iv. 172. 2. The purpose here ascribed to it is a piece of Greek rationalism, and a curious anticipation of Plato, *Resp.* bk. v.

#### iv. 105

**γενεῆ μῆ.** The exact date is odd, especially as H. describes the Neuri as back in their land when Darius came (125. 3); nor are the Budini near the Neuri, but far away beyond the Don (chap. 21). The snakes are a *vera causa*, if we may trust J. G. Kohl, a traveller quoted by Neumann.

[2] **λύκος γίνεταί.** This earliest reference to the widespread superstition as to werewolves (cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 308 seq., and Frazer, *P.*, iv. 189, for Greek parallels) is interesting, as the evidence is so emphatic. Others (e.g., Müllenhoff iii. 17) see in this story a reference to some festival like the Lupercalia.

The Neuri are placed between the upper course of the Dniester and the Dnieper; some see in them the ancestors of the modern Slavs.

#### iv. 106

**Ἀνδροφάγοι.** Neumann (p. 212) thinks the Androphagi were Finns, quoting evidence that this people were said to practise cannibalism even in the Middle Ages; perhaps they are the ancestors of the Mordvinians, a Finnish tribe still surviving in the Volga basin. This seems more probable than the view of Müllenhoff (ut sup.) that they were not really much different from their neighbours, and that the story of their cannibalism is an invention; he quotes, however, several authorities for cannibalism being imputed to northern races, e.g., Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vii. 5 (1148b). Strabo quotes (302) Ephorus for this cannibalism, but in 201 he throws some doubt on it, both in Scythia and in Ireland.

#### iv. 107

**εἶματα . . . μέλανα.** This custom later spread to Olbia (cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxvi, p. 50, for it there in the second century A.D.), and lasted till recently among Finnish tribes in southeast Russia (cf. *EB* xviii. 88). The Melanchlaeni are mentioned by Hecataeus (frag. 154, *FHG* i. 10) as a "Scyth nation." Rawlinson compares with the names in chaps. 106–7 the Red Indian "Dog-eaters" and "Black robes."

#### iv. 108

**γλαυκόν κτλ.** Probably "with blue eyes and red hair"; cf. Tac. *Germ.* chap. 4 "caerulei oculi, rutilae comae," though Stein takes it of the "red" skin, with Hippocrates (*Aer.* 20), who says πυρρόν τὸ γένος τὸ Σκυθικὸν διὰ τὸ ψῦχος. Others explain that they painted themselves "blue," like our British ancestors; cf. "picti Geloni," Verg. *Georg.* ii. 115.

Some have seen in the Budini a Teutonic race, but the evidence is too inadequate for certainty. Müllenhoff (iii. 15, 102) makes them Finns, but their complexion does not agree with the dark hair and brown skin of that people.

**πόλις . . . ξυλίνη.** The town of Gelonus is one of the unsolved puzzles in H.; he seems to speak from good evidence, and the town lay on the northeast trade route (chap. 21 n.). But it is difficult to believe in semi-barbarian Greeks so far from the sea.

Neumann (p. 91) compares the wooden walls of Saratov, still standing a hundred years ago; Bunbury (i. 195) thinks H.'s informants confused Greek and Slavonian systems of worship. Grote, too, thinks the Geloni may have been Slavs.

[2] **τριετηρίδας.** The Bacchic festivals were triennial; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 393–4 "Festa corymbiferi . . . Bacchi Tertia quae solito tempore bruma refert."

#### iv. 109

**φθειροτραγέουσι.** Rawlinson translates "lice-eaters"; cf. for this disgusting practice the Adyrmachidae (chap. 168) in North Africa, who "crack" lice with their teeth before throwing them away; but H. uses a different word here, and probably means "fir-cone-eaters"; cf. Photius φθειρὸς ὁ τῆς πίτυος καρπός, πίτυς φθειροποιός, and the town Πιτυοῦς in the Caucasus, near which lived a race of

φθειροφάγοι (Strabo 492, 496; he, however, clearly thought these to be “lice-eaters”).

[2] **τετραγωνοπρόσωπα**. Stein, quoting Aristotle, *Mir. Ausc.* 30 (832b 8), suggests the “square-faced beasts” are elks (τάρανδος); Rawlinson translates “seals”; but surely some small freshwater beast is meant, e.g., the mink, which is amphibious and found in Eastern Europe; as a species it is intermediate between the marten and the otter. With a broad flat head and blunt muzzle, it may well be called “square-faced.” The Scyths on the South Russian vases wear fur-trimmed “cloaks” (σισύρνας).

ἐς ὕστερέων ἄκεσιν. Hippocrates recommends τὸ καστόριον for diseases “of the womb.”

#### iv. 110

**Ἀμαζόνες**. The martial habits of the women of the Sauromatae (chap. 117 nn.) irresistibly reminded the Greeks of the Amazons (ix. 27. 4 n.), and they are introduced here regardless of the chronological inconsistency that, if the Scyths had come into their land in the seventh century (chap. 11), they could not have been found there by the Amazons in the time of Heracles. If the Scyths were descended from Heracles (chap. 8), the inconsistency is different, but equally striking.

**Οἰόρπατα**. The first half of the etymology (“man”) is probably right, but the latter half of the word is connected with Zend *pataya*, “master” (cf. iii. 61 n.). The word then = “masters of men” (cf. Ephorus, frag. 78, *FHG* i. 258, the Sauromatae are γυναικοκρατούμενοι).

**Thermodon** (ii. 104. 3 n.), a river in Cappadocia, where legend especially localized the Amazons.

[2] **ἐφέροντο**. The usual fate of mutineers is skillfully brought in; cf. the tale of the Usipii (Tac. *Agr.* 28). Kremni in 20. 1 is the eastern boundary of the Royal Scyths on the Palus Maeotis. Its connection with the τάφος (chap. 20) shows it lay in the southwest, where as a fact the ground is higher than is usual on the Sea of Azov (Westberg, in *Klio*, iv. 183); others, however, place it on the north coast of that sea. Its name shows it to have been Greek, probably a trading factory.

#### iv. 111

**τὴν πρώτην**: because the Amazons were all beardless.

#### iv. 112

**στρατόπεδον** is usually taken as the subject of προσεχώρειον (const. ad sens.); but it is better to translate “they approached camp to camp,” etc. (accus. of respect).

#### iv. 113

The story has a strong resemblance to that of the convent gardener in Boccaccio (*Decameron*, third day novel), and were it not contradicted by H.'s usual attitude to religion and morals, it would confirm Cornford's silly paradox (*Thuc. Myth.* p. 239) as to H.'s "flippant, Parisian, man-of-the-worldly tone." Addison's burlesque commonwealth (*Spec. nos.* 433–4) may well be borrowed from H. here.

#### iv. 114

**συνέλαβον.** The greater aptness of the Amazons is a delightful touch of nature; but they were inaccurate (cf. *σολοικίζοντες* chap. 117), as lady linguists often are.

#### iv. 116

**διαβάντες κτλ.** This passage shows that H. conceived the Palus Maeotis as extending east of the Tanais mouth; but it does not show that he thought its general direction was east and west (as Rawlinson).

#### iv. 117

**οὐ γαμέεται.** Hippocrates (*Aer.* chap. 17) makes three victims the price of marriage, and says the ladies did not fight afterwards, unless a levy *en masse* was needed. It is generally supposed that the Sauromatae were the Sarmatians, who later spread west to Poland and Hungary; they were already west of the Tanais in the fourth century (*Pseudo-Scylax* 70), and by the Christian era they had reached the Danube; cf. Ovid, *Tristia* iii. 3. 5–6. On the monuments, Scyths and Sarmatians wear the same dress, Reinach, *A.R.M.* 203, and Hippocrates (ut sup. chap. 19) makes the Sauromatae to be Scyths. The Sarmatian inscriptions seem to be connected in language with an Iranian dialect in the Caucasus.

#### iv. 118–44

*H. now returns to his main narrative, and describes the expedition of Darius to its close.*

#### iv. 118

**ἡπίρω τῆ ἐτέρῃ.** H. emphasizes the fact that Persian advance was a war of Asia against Europe.

[4] **εἰ γὰρ κτλ.** Cf. 1. 1 n. for the motives of Persian aggression.

#### iv. 120

[3] For **μεγάλην** and the triple division generally cf. 7. 2.

[4] **τῶν ἀπειπαμένων.** Macan accuses H. of inconsistency, for the Persian attack falls first on the Sauromatae and Budini (123. 3), who were loyal to Scythia, not on the neutrals. But H. is consistent at all events; the single division (§ 2) was to retreat, ἰθὺ Τανάϊδος, i.e., on the Sauromatae, and this is expressly said to have been the one attacked (122. 2); it was the other two divisions (§ 3) which were to draw the Persians on to the neutrals, as they do in 125. 2. But the campaign, though consistent, is not intelligible, and it is lost labour to try to make sense of this fancy picture.

#### iv. 123

**εἶχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι.** The Persians must have passed through the lands of the Agricultural Scyths (chaps. 17–18), but the land is described as all χέρσος; H. will not spoil a contrast by mentioning exceptions. He also ignores the great rivers; cf. chaps. 51–6.

**τείχεϊ.** For the wooden town of Gelonus cf. chap. 108. Rawlinson (on chap. 142), who is disposed to accept H.'s narrative as generally credible, lays special stress on the burning of this town as a fact that must have been known to the Pontic Greeks.

[3] **ἐρήμου.** For the desert cf. chap. 22, for the Maietae 86. 4 n.

The Oarus is often identified with the Volga; but there is no real reason for this, and the latter river runs into the Caspian. For the Syrgis cf. chap. 57.

#### iv. 124

**ὀκτῶ τείχεα.** Lack of time and lack of motive alike make it impossible that Darius should have built forts in East Scythia. It is probable that popular tradition associated his name with prehistoric *tumuli*, such as are common in the steppes (see further app. xii, § 4. 4). H. heard of the forts when in Olbia (ἐς ἐμέ, cf. introd. p. 18), but it is most unlikely that he ever saw them.

#### iv. 125

**σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται.** The Agathyrsi being protected by the Carpathians on the east were able to make good their threat.

#### iv. 127

[2] **τάφοι πατρῷοι.** For the royal tombs among the Gerrhi cf. chap. 71 nn.

[4] **Δία . . . καὶ Ἰστίην.** For the Scythian religion cf. chap. 59; the kings claimed descent from Zeus, chap. 5 seq.

For κλαίειν λέγω = “you shall repent it” cf. Ar. *Plut.* 62. The words τοῦτό ἐστι κτλ. are probably a gloss; in Bekker's *Anecdota* (i. 305) they are explained by a reference to this passage as a blunt threat. Rawlinson, however, thinks that the words refer to Scythian bluntness generally, without any special idea of menace; cf. Diog. Laert. i. 101, Anacharsis “was the author of this proverb,” διὰ τὸ παρορησιαστῆς εἶναι.

#### iv. 129

[2] **οὐτέ γὰρ ὄνον:** cf. 28. Aristotle (*Gen. An.* ii. 8, 748a 25) also says that the ass will not breed in cold countries like Scythia. This is inaccurate, but there is “little doubt the ass was first domesticated in Asia” (*EB*<sup>9</sup> ii. 717); and it develops best in warm climates.

[3] **ὕβριζοντες,** “being loud (in their braying).”

**ταῦτα:** some take this as the subject of ἐφέροντο, others (Stein) supply Πέσσαι (which is surely harsh). ἴπποι seems the natural subject: translate “in this way the

horses contributed to some small extent (to the issue) of the war." For supposed inconsistencies in chaps. 130, 134, 140 cf. app. xii, § 7.

#### iv. 131

**δῶρα.** For symbolic communications of this kind cf. *JRAS* xvii, p. 415 seq. This story is told by H.'s contemporary, Pherecydes (frag. 113, *FHG* i. 98), with different speakers, and with the addition of a plough to the other gifts. This last has no meaning as a threat, and it is probably an unintelligent addition to the Herodotean story.

The story of Ctesias (17, p. 68) that the Persian and the Scythian kings compared bows, and that Darius, finding the Scythian bow the stronger, fled at once, is far less picturesque or appropriate.

#### iv. 134

[3] **ἐς τὰς τ.** belongs to ἀσθενεστάτους. The Persians do here of necessity what (i. 207. 7) they had done against the Massagetae as a stratagem (cf. the use of καθαρός in 135. 2 and in i. 211. 2). We may compare Napoleon's abandonment of his sick at Jaffa (Lanfrey, i. 298).

#### iv. 136

**ἡ μία.** For the "single" division of Scopasis cf. chaps. 120, 128, 133; hitherto it has played consistently the part of "the light division," now it combines with the rest.

#### iv. 137

**Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ.** "The Chersonese on the Hellespont" as opposed to Chersonesus Heraclea in the Crimea. For the previous history of Miltiades cf. vi. 39–41 nn.

The part played by him is full of difficulty; if he openly purposed to destroy the Great King, how did he so long escape Persian vengeance?

Three explanations may be noted.

(1) That of Rawlinson may be rejected at once; he thinks that Darius never knew who had proposed his destruction till Miltiades himself boasted of his proposal after 500 B.C.

(2) The usual explanation (adopted on vi. 40, q.v.) is that there was treason talked at the bridge, and repressed by Histiaeus, but that Miltiades had no part in it. Long after, however, when on his trial for tyranny at Athens (vi. 104. 2), he claimed (falsely) to have suggested this signal service to the cause of Greece. Thirlwall (ii. 393), who was the first to question the narrative here, thinks Miltiades' first act of treason to Persia was the seizure of Lemnos. It is pointed out that Darius returned to Asia through Miltiades' territory (143. 1; cf. v. 26 n.), and there is no hint in that passage that the tyrant was disloyal.

(3) Grote argues (iv. 201), however, that it is dangerous to reject a story as to events known to many and resting on nearly contemporary evidence. Hence he accepts

the account of Cornelius Nepos (*Milt.* chap. 3), that Miltiades left the Chersonese at once after the Scythian expedition, and did not return till the time of the Ionic revolt. This suggestion agrees with the fact that Miltiades seems to have served for a time as a condottiere with the Thracian prince Olorus, whose daughter he married (vi. 39), and is confirmed by vi. 41. 3—the importance attached to the capture of his son.

This arrangement of the facts can perhaps be reconciled with the account in vi. 40, though it is odd that H. mentions there a flight from the Scyths, and says nothing of this (supposed) previous flight from the Persians, which Nepos (ut sup.) definitely mentions.

It may be suggested that Miltiades' sympathy with the Scyths was of early date. There is a fine vase in the Ashmolean Museum (dating about 520 B.C.) with the inscription Μιλτιάδης καλός, representing a handsome young warrior in Scythian costume (cf. Helbig, *Les ἵππεις ἀθηναίους*, 199; P. Gardner, *Greek Vases in Ashmolean*, no. 310, pl. 13, who calls the costume "Persian").

[2] **διὰ Δαρείων . . . τυραννεύει.** The identity of interest between tyrant and foreign ruler was undoubtedly true of H.'s own day (cf. the position of Themistocles or of Demaratus under Persian rule). This fact makes H. as a patriot more bitter against tyrants, and more ready to accept this story to their discredit in the past.

#### iv. 138

**τύραννοι.** The list is curious and interesting: six of the eleven are "Hellespontic," while an important island like Lesbos, whose "general" (97. 2; he became "tyrant" later, v. 11. 2), Coës, had a high position with Darius (chap. 97), is not mentioned; nor are there any Dorians (cf. their absence in the story of the Ionic revolt). These peculiarities may be explained by attributing it to Miltiades, who naturally preferred to mention his neighbours.

For Hippoclus cf. Thuc. vi. 59. 3.

[2] Strattis lived till after 480 B.C.; cf. viii. 132. 2.

Aeaces had already succeeded his father Syloson (iii. 139. seq.; for the name cf. iii. 39. 1 n., and for his later history vi. 13).

For Aristagoras of Cumae cf. v. 37. 1, 38. 1.

#### iv. 142

**ἄδρηστα:** active here, the opposite of δραπέτης. Macan well notes the literary device of making the "intelligent foreigner" the mouthpiece of unfavourable judgements, and cf. 77.

#### iv. 143

**Σηστόν.** Byzantium (v. 26. 1) is in revolt against Persia soon after, and this may be the reason why Darius did not return by the former bridge. Stein assumes that the Scyth invasion of vi. 40 happened at this time, which is most unlikely.

#### iv. 144

**Καλχηδονίους.** Both this and Byzantium were Megarian colonies; the date of the founding of Byzantium was about 660 B.C., but the chronologers vary slightly; cf. Busolt, i. 472. Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 63) attributes to the Delphic oracle this rebuke of the Calchedonians (cf. also Strabo 320). For an elaborate account of the advantages of the site of Byzantium cf. Polyb. iv. 38.

#### iv. 145–205

*The rest of this book deals with the history and the natural features of North Africa and its inhabitants. H. skillfully introduces this digression, as it illustrates (with the Scythian expedition) the far-reaching ambitions of the Persians.*

This digression falls into four parts:

- (1) *The colonization of Cyrene* (chaps. 145–58): of this, the story of Thera (chaps. 145–9) is the prologue.
- (2) *The history of Cyrene to the Persian intervention* (chaps. 159–67).
- (3) *The account of the Libyans* (chaps. 168–99).

There can be little doubt that this minor digression is a further motive for the full treatment of North African history; H. was with reason proud of his geographical and ethnographical knowledge.

- (4) *The results of Persian intervention* (chaps. 200–5).

Many of the references to modern travellers are drawn from R. Neumann (*Nord-Afrika nach Herodot*, 1892, a very clear and useful little book) and from Rawlinson, who usually quotes passages in full. The comparisons are interesting and greatly to the credit of H. as a sifter of evidence, especially when we remember the proverbial un-veracity of Oriental witnesses. "Happy are they who find the least resemblance between the description they have heard and the reality, for it often occurs that amplification and hyperbole have less to do in such accounts than pure invention." Beechey (*Expedition to North Coast of Africa*, 1821–22, p. 503), who elsewhere (p. 267), speaking of Barca, says the account of H. is more accurate in the general impression it gives than that of any later traveller.

#### iv. 145

**τὸν αὐτὸν . . . χρόνον.** There is no good reason to doubt the synchronism, though most modern critics think it artificial. Duncker (vi. 266, 271) uses it to explain the absence of the Phoenician fleet in Scythia. The exact date, however, does not interest H., and cannot be fixed; it must be earlier than the suppression of Aryandes' revolt (cf. chap. 166. 2 n.). H. gives the πρόφασις in chap. 167, where he

states the expedition was intended “to conquer Libyans” (i.e., the Eastern ones); this motive is probably the real one, though H.’s own narrative (chap. 203) does not agree with it, and the plan failed (cf. chap. 197. 1).

**τᾶδε.** The account of the colonization of Thera and Cyrene. H. seems deliberately to introduce this digression, in order to illustrate this important feature in Greek life. Whether the facts are true or not, they represent fifth-century thought as to colonization.

(1) *Its causes:*

(a) **στᾶσις.** (i) The Minyae are in a position of inferiority (chap. 146. 1); (ii) Theras excluded from the throne (chap. 147. 3); (c) Battus born out of wedlock (chap. 155. 1 n.).

(b) Over-population (chap. 151. 1; but see n.).

(c) Commercial enterprise.

(d) Delphic sanction and guidance (passim, cf. v. 42 n.).

(2) *The stages of colonization:*

(a) The reconnoitering expedition (chaps. 151. 3; 156. 2).

(b) The settlement off the coast, Platea.

(c) The constitutional development (chap. 161 ad fin.).

(3) *The relations of Greeks and natives* (especially interesting):

(a) At first friendly, but with suspicion (chap. 158. 2).

(b) Then frankly hostile (chap. 160).

(c) In spite of this, great admixture.

For this last cf. common customs (chaps. 170, 189. 3); common worships (chaps. 186. 2, 189); actual intermarriage, e.g., Alazir (chap. 164. 4), father-in-law to Arcesilaus III. This explains the brutal cruelty of Pheretime (chap. 202), which is quite un-Hellenic.

Some see (e.g., Macan ii. 265) in the two stories of the Minyan settlement in Laconia, and of the settlement of Cyrene, “aetiological legends” explaining present facts; “the former justified the Spartan supremacy in Laconia; the second the Spartan claim over Thera” (cf. for this the similar legend as to Patrae, Paus. iii. 2. 1).

That the stories are unhistorical in form needs no proof; and it may be the case that the real connection between Laconia and Thera dates at earliest from the seventh century (Studniczka, see below). But the only argument adduced (ibid. p. 51) is that the Spartan Dorians were at first too weak to send out colonies. This is valid against the Herodotean version of the facts, but has no bearing on the wider question, the date of the Dorization of Thera; this may well have been part of the same movement that Dorized the Peloponnese. This earlier date is partly

confirmed by the 700 years which the Melians claim for their city in 416 B.C. (Thuc. v. 112. 2).

The story of the two foundations is examined by F. Studniczka in a book (*Cyrene*, 1890) full of ingenious hypotheses, most of which are unprovable and many of which are improbable. For his summary cf. Rosch. ii. 1734f. His main conclusions are:

- (1) The fact that the legends always connect the nymph Cyrene with Thessaly (pp. 39f., 45) shows that the colonists came from this part of the world.
- (2) Their route was by Attica, as is shown by the occurrence of Attic place-names in the island (p. 65; cf. Busolt, i. 353).
- (3) The connection of Dorians with Thera was later than the first Messenian war, and led to troubles in Thera, and ultimately to the expulsion of the original colonists, who go to Cyrene (cf. 156. 3 n.).
- (4) Dorian encroachment spreads to Cyrene (p. 103, cf. chaps. 159, 161), and ultimately leads to the expulsion of the royal house.
- (5) Cyrene herself is a form of Artemis (cf. the name Θήρα, p. 146), who is degraded into a heroine; her worship is superseded when the Cyrenian democracy is established (p. 173, cf. Arist. *Pol.* vi. 4, 1319b, quoted on 161. 3).
- (6) The connection of the Minyae with Lemnos, their settlement in Thera, and the connection of Theras with Thebes are all cut out as later inventions.

All these guesses and combinations are as devoid of real evidence as the story in H.; they have the additional disadvantage of being more than 2,000 years further from the facts.

[2] ἐπιβατέων. In vi. 12. 1 ἐπιβάται is opposed to ἐρέται; but the Argonauts were ἀντερέται (cf. Thuc. i. 10. 4).

παίδων παῖδες, "descendants"; for the Minyans were driven out in the fifth generation (147. 2 and app. xiv, § 2) after Heracles, who was one of the Argonauts.

For Pelasgians in Lemnos cf. vi. 137 n.

Taygetus occurs again in 148. 2. The subsequent connection of Euphemus, the ancestor of Battus, with this region (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 78–9) makes it possible that there was a prehistoric settlement of non-Dorians here, connected specially with Thera.

Euphemus is turned by Studniczka (p. 116) into an euphemistic name of a chthonian god, who lives at the gate of Hades, Taenarum! This is a fine example of the "Higher Criticism."

παῖδες. The Argonauts found Lemnos inhabited only by women, who had killed their fathers and husbands (Apollod. i. 9. 17); Hypsipyle had spared her father Thoas (Ov. *Her.* 6. 135). The later population of Lemnos was the result of their visit. For this story cf. *Il.* vii. 467–9 (Euneos the Lemnian, a son of Jason).

[5] **Τυνδαριδέων**. Some see an inconsistency here, because the mass of the Lacedaemonians were Dorians, and the Tyndaridae as Achaeans were alien to them. The story is obviously unhistorical, but the Tyndarid reference is only an anachronistic anticipation of the later Spartan claim to be the heirs of Agamemnon (vii. 159. 1).

The legend also aims at emphasizing the connection between Lacedaemon and Thera. This story of admission to citizenship is interesting as showing none of the exclusiveness which later was so characteristic at Sparta (cf. ix. 35. 1 n.; Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9. 17, 1270a). It is probable, on other grounds, that this exclusiveness was late, due to the growth of Lacedaemonian power after 550 B.C.

#### iv. 146

[2] **νυκτός**. H. introduces contemporary custom into the legend; the custom (cf. Plato *Ap.* chap. 27) was due partly to the secrecy of Spartan methods (cf. the secret executions by the Venetian oligarchy), partly to their unwillingness to put a citizen to death.

[4] **ἐκφυγόντες**. The story is familiar and has many parallels, e.g., Lord Nithsdale's escape from the Tower in 1715. Plutarch tells it (*Mor.* 247) with features in the main similar, but the husbands are Pelasgians, not Minyae, and they settle in Melos and Crete.

#### iv. 147

[2] **μητρὸς ἀδελφεός**. Some see in the relationship a misunderstood tradition of the matriarchate (i. 173. 4 n.), but it is probably accidental. The lady's name was Argeia (vi. 52). Theras is no doubt "a fictitious eponym," and many critics deny the Cadmeans were Phoenician (see below). For H.'s mythical genealogies and their bearing on his chronology cf. app. xiv, § 2, where the "eight" (§ 5) generations are given.

[4] **Μεμβλίαρεω**: Studniczka (p. 53) makes this a Greek name = "the new-comer" (cf. μέμβλωκα), which is a sufficiently reckless etymology.

**Κάδμος γάρ**. On the subject of the Phoenicians in Greece, most diverse views are held.

(1) *The Negative Argument*.

Beloch (*Griech. Gesch.*, 75) maintains that the Phoenicians never really settled in the Aegean, that their regular voyages to Greece did not begin before the eighth century B.C. (p. 74), and that Minos, Phoenix, Cadmus, Europa (p. 168) are all "good Greek gods"; the sea empire of Minos is a mere inference from names, and "Phoenix" is explained as a sun myth ("the blood-red," p. 75).

The grounds for this ultra-scepticism are:

(a) That the Phoenicians do not appear in the oldest parts of Homer; unfortunately for Beloch's argument, there is no general agreement which are the oldest parts.

(b) The scanty traces of Semitic influence on Greek vocabulary; even the words for sea-faring are native; Beloch contrasts Latin borrowings in this department from Greek. Meyer, i. 476, gives a list of words borrowed by Greeks and Semites from some common source.

(c) Cyprus was certainly influenced by the Phoenicians (cf. v. 104 nn.); but it lies outside the ordinary lines of Greek development.

Archaeology has already crushed one part of Beloch's negative argument by proving the reality of Cretan sea-power, although it has at the same time disproved the opposite view (Thirlwall, i. 141), that the Cretan sea-power was Phoenician. With regard to the rest of Beloch's argument, in spite of Reinach's warning against "Le Mirage de l'Orient," many scholars still believe that the Greeks were to some extent right in attributing importance to Phoenician influences in Greece. Meyer (ii<sup>1</sup>. 89, 1893) wrote: "The voyages of the Phoenicians in their historical importance can be compared with the discovery of America in the fifteenth century. They introduced the sea into history." "Many of the data (as to their settlements in the Aegean) may be untrustworthy; to explain them all as unhistorical is impossible" (ibid. § 90).

### (2) *Evidence for Phoenician Settlement.*

The main kinds of evidence used for tracing the presence of Phoenicians in Greece are (ibid. 91), apart from statements of ancient historians:

(a) The evidence of names, both geographical (e.g., Mount Atabyris in Rhodes compared with Mount Tabor; the river Iardanus in Crete, Soli in Cilicia) and personal, e.g., the Corinthian hero Melicertes (i.e., Melcarth). For other instances cf. Abbott, *History*, i. 50; but this evidence is most uncertain.

(b) The evidence of remains, e.g., the beds of murex shells at Cythera and on the Euripus.

(c) The evidence of family traditions, e.g., the priests of Poseidon at Ialysus (Diod. v. 58), the family of Thales (i. 170. 3 n.).

(d) The evidence of cult; the ritual impurity of some of the cults of Aphrodite may have been borrowed, or, at any rate, developed (e.g., at Corinth; cf. i. 131. 3 n.) under Phoenician influence.

It must be admitted, however, that all these lines of evidence are in themselves weak; it is only their cumulative force, coupled with the danger of rejecting a tradition held by the Greeks so firmly, that makes it safer to accept Phoenician influence in Greece as a fact.

### (3) *Lines of Phoenician Influence.* The following points may be suggested as to it:

(a) Phoenician trade and settlements, so far as they existed in Greece, belong to the period immediately succeeding the downfall of the "Mycenaean" civilization.

(b) They entered the Aegean by Rhodes (cf. the oriental objects in the necropolis of Camirus, and ut sup. for Ialysus).

(c) From Rhodes one line of Phoenician influence went by Crete and the Islands (cf. Thuc. i. 8. 1) to Cythera (i. 105. 3), to Corinth, and perhaps to Attica (cf. the story of the bull of Marathon); the name of the deme Melite may be Semitic (cf. "Malta"). Another line went up the east coast of Asia Minor to the Propontis and to Thasos (cf. vi. 47. 2 for the Phoenician mines).

(d) Whatever view may be held as to Phoenician cult influences (and these are generally accepted at Cythera and at Corinth), there seems no doubt that the Greeks learned the purple fishery and the art of mining from the Phoenicians.

(e) The alphabet was introduced from the East by them (v. 58 n.).

(f) But with one possible exception, what Thucydides says of Sicily (vi. 2. 6) was in the main true of Greece proper—they occupied ἄκρας τε ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ . . . καὶ τὰ ἐπικείμενα νησίδια ἐμπορίας ἔνεκεν.

The exception just referred to must now be discussed.

#### (4) *Was there a Phoenician Settlement in Boeotia?*

(For a full discussion of the evidence cf. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, i. 224f.) To the Greeks of H.'s time this was the most important fact in the Phoenician story (ii. 49. 3; v. 57. 1); but it is perhaps the most uncertain in the whole cycle of the legends. Against the reality of Cadmus it may be argued:

(a) That an older myth attributed the foundation of Thebes to Amphion and Zethus, the sons of a native nymph (*Od.* xi. 262).

(b) That the supposed Phoenician features in the story, the guiding "cow" and the "seven" gates, are not original (cf. Busolt, i. 252. n. 2).

(c) That the oldest story of Thebes has elements in it which are clearly native, e.g., the "earth-born" Σπαρτοί (Pind. *Isth.* i. 30).

(d) That though "Qedem" certainly is a Semitic word for "East," there is no parallel for the derivation of such a proper name as "Cadmus."

(e) That H. himself tells us that the Gephyraeans, whom he seeks to prove Cadmeans, themselves believed they came from Eretria (v. 57. 1).

On the other hand, the supposed priority of the non-Phoenician foundation myths is by no means certain, and the improbability is great that later invention would settle on Boeotia for the main Phoenician settlement in Greece. Geographical position, too, argues strongly in favour of the truth of the myth; a Phoenician settlement in Boeotia commanded alike the Euripus, the Corinthian, and the Saronic gulf, for Megara was probably part of Boeotia in early times (cf. Strabo 405), and so that district was, as Ephorus said (Strabo 400), τριθάλαττος. As Bérard (i. 226) well says: "Continental Greece, under Franks, Catalans, Venetians, had in Boeotia the centre of its commercial routes." There was probably a trade-

route from the Euripus to the Corinthian gulf, past Thebes, Orchomenus, and Crisa, as well as one over the passes of Cithaeron to the Saronic gulf. Hence it would be at least possible that the Phoenicians made their chief settlement in Boeotia.

#### iv. 148

**φυλέων.** The legend anachronistically represents the colony as a formal one, with settlers from each of the three Dorian tribes (cf. 153. 1).

[4] **The Caucones** (i. 147) were one of the prehistoric races of Greece; they are called Παρωρεᾶται here because of their position on the “slope” of the Arcadian highland, where it approaches nearest to the sea; in viii. 73. 2 the same name is applied to their Lemnian conquerors.

In this difficult district of Triphylia, between Elis and Messenia, remnants of an earlier race maintained themselves; their centre was the temple of the “Samian Poseidon” (Strabo 343). The most important town was Lepreum, here put at the head of the list; it sent 200 men to Plataea (ix. 28. 4). For the identification of these towns cf. Leake, *Peloponnese*, i. 56f.

**ἐπ’ ἐμέο:** a provokingly vague date. The “harrying” is placed by Strabo (355) “after the final reduction of the Messenians,” i.e., soon after 460 B.C.; the Eleans had assisted the Lacedaemonians while the Triphylians had been against them; the same alliances had been formed at the end of the Second Messenian war (cf. Strabo 362 for Triphylia). So Meyer iii. 285 puts this Elean raid soon after 470 B.C.; he now (iv. 606), however, refers it to the period before the Peace of Nicias, when the Lacedaemonians changed their policy, and supported Lepreum against Elis (Thuc. v. 31).

#### iv. 149

**Αἰγέυς.** This is the Spartan version, but there were Aegidae at Thebes and Acragas as well as at Thera and Cyrene, all hereditary priests of Carnean Apollo. Pindar, who himself claimed to be one of them (*Pyth.* v. 75, but Studniczka, p. 73f., disputes this explanation), makes them come with the Heraclidae from Thebes to Sparta (Isth. 7. 14 seq.).

**φυλῆ** is loosely used for φρατρία: but Gilbert (*Gk. Const. Hist.*, 5–6) thinks the Aegidae were really a “third separate community” at Sparta.

[2] The Erinys is the personified curse of a father or mother; cf. Soph. *O.C.* 1299 τὴν σὴν Ἐρινύν (of Oedipus). The curses here are those of Laius on Oedipus and of Oedipus on his two sons. Paus. iii. 15. 6 tells us there were shrines at Sparta to the heroes Cadmus, Oeolycus, and Aegeus. For the belief in a curse making a family die out cf. Sir H. Spelman’s famous book on Sacrilege (1698).

#### iv. 150–58

The story of the foundation of Cyrene is told in two versions, that of Thera (150–3) and that of Cyrene (154–6): both lay stress upon the action of the oracle. The main points of difference are:

- (1) The Theraean version emphasizes the foundation as being a regular colony, e.g., the order is given to the king and the colonists are systematically provided (chap. 153).
- (2) The other version brings Battus much more into the foreground. For various speculations, not very convincing, as to the origin of the traditions cf. Busolt, i. 479 n. It is interesting to compare Pindar's odes to Cyrenaic victors (*Pyth.* iv, v, ix), as they illustrate the wealth of legendary material from which H. had to select.

#### iv. 150

[2] The name Γοῖννος is found in a late inscription, now at Verona but probably from Thera, the well-known "testamentum Epictetae" (CIG ii. 2448).

ἐκατόμβην. The early king is also priest (cf. 161. 3). At Sparta the king communicated with Delphi by deputy (vi. 57. 2). In a late inscription at Thera the priest of Apollo Carneus boasts his descent from Lacedaemonian "kings."

Εὐφημίδης is a conjecture from *Pyth.* iv, where Pindar, in praising Arcesilaus, introduces the legend that his ancestor Euphemus (cf. 145. 2 n.) had handselled the soil of Libya, receiving a clod of earth from Triton (*Pyth.* iv. 36). H. makes no reference to the story.

#### iv. 151

οὐκ ὕε. Some see in this drought a picturesque version of what really was a *vera causa* of Greek colonization, i.e., over-population; but this seems far-fetched. Justin (xiii. 7) substitutes a pestilence for the drought. For the visitation cf. Soph. *O.T.* 25 seq.

[2] μετοίκων. "Metic" occurs only here in H.; it clearly is not used in a technical sense (though some have thought it = ἀπέταιροι of the Gortyn inscription), but only = "strangers," i.e., non-Cretans.

Κορώβιος. Busolt (i. 480) thinks Corobius is one of the ἄλιοι γέροντες, a sea-god of Itanus (cf. the representations on the fifth-century coins of Itanus, Head, *H.N.* 469); as, however, he admits that the colonists must have touched at Crete, and "may well have employed Cretan guides," it is a little hard to see why Corobius should not be a real person. At any rate the Cretans had an important share in the colony (161. 3).

[3] Platea is Bomba, in the gulf of the same name, on the east of the modern Tripoli. Corobius was left to secure the site (cf. 157. 3), but it is difficult to see why an alien should be chosen for this, or why in fact any competition was to be expected.

#### iv. 152

Colaëus is at once ship-owner (ναύκληρος), captain, and merchant (cf. i. 5. 2).

The usual course was by Rhodes and Cyprus (cf. ii. 182. 2 n.); hence ἀπηνείχθη.

For Tartessus cf. i. 163. 1 n.

[3] **Ταρτησσόν**. Of the lucky Sostratus we know nothing; it is significant that he was an Aeginetan.

[4] **πρόκροσσοι. κρόσσος** (ii. 125. 1 n.) is something “projecting”; so in *Il.* xiv. 35 τῶ ῥα προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν, the Greek ships are drawn up on the shore “with beaks projecting,” and in vii. 188. 1 the ships of Xerxes “project” τὸ ἐς πόντον. Here the griffins are placed upon the rim, facing outwards, no doubt as charms to ward off mischief (cf. Furtwängler in Rosch., i. 1764–5, with pictures). Others translate “in a row.”

**χαλκήιον**. For the importance of this bowl in the history of art cf. Murray, *G.S.* i. 78.

[6] **φιλῖαι μεγάλαι**. For further connection between Cyrene and Samos cf. 163. 1.

#### iv. 153

ἔαδε. There were four points in the Theraean decree: (1) The number of colonists must have been fixed. This is omitted by H., unless it has fallen out of his text. (2) They were to be selected by lot, but only sons (ἀδελφεὸν ἀπ’ ἀδελφεοῦ) were exempted. (3) Every district of the island was to contribute a share. (4) Battus was to be oekist and king; monarchy, which survived in Thera, was to be set up in its colonies.

ἄνδρας is emphatic; they married Libyan wives; cf. Alexidamus, *Pind. Pyth.* ix. 215.

#### iv. 154

τὰ δ’ ἐπίλοιπα. The “common” story is resumed 156. 3.

**Κρήτης Ὀαξός**. It may be significant that Oaxus, like Cyrene, was especially connected with the cult of Apollo.

[2] **μητρυνή**. Step-mothers were proverbial in ancient as in modern times; cf. the story of Cinderella.

[4] **ἀποσιεύμενος**, “freeing himself from the burden of his oath”; cf. i. 199. 4 n. for ἀποσιόομαι.

#### iv. 155

**Πολύμνηστος**. The name of the father of Battus is common to both stories, as being certain (cf. *Pind. Pyth.* iv. 104). For the bar sinister in the pedigree of a colonist cf. *Arist. Pol.* 1306b.

**ἰσχνόφωνος**: originally “thin-voiced,” has come to = “stammering”; cf. Liddell & Scott s.v.

**μετωνομάσθη.** Battus' real name was Aristoteles (*Pyth.* v. 87), as H. must have known; "Battus" is a title (see below) that has become a name; cf. Augustus. It is a Libyan word, though it occurs later as a Greek name (Thuc. iv. 43. 1). The legend of his stammering is probably an invention based on the likeness of Βάττος and βατταρίζω.

**ἡ Πυθίη.** The oracle is no doubt *post eventum*, otherwise the familiarity with the Libyan title, "Battus," would confirm the oracle's claim in 157. 2.

#### **iv. 156**

**συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως:** translate "their misfortunes began again."

παλιγκότως is used of a wound becoming malignant again. No previous misfortune occurs in the Cyrenaic version of the story, but H. probably refers to ὁ αὐχμός of 151. 1, forgetting that it is the very visitation which he is here mentioning. παλιγκότως, however, often = "adverse" without any idea of recurrence.

[2] **δύο πεντηκοντέροισι,** "two penteconters" carry the final colony in the Theraean version (chap. 153); but here they seem to correspond to the reconnoitering expedition of 151. 2.

[3] **ἔβαλλον.** Stein thinks these lines contain a reference to the real origin of Cyrene, i.e., στάσις at Thera, as related by Meneclēs of Barca (a historian of the second century B.C. at earliest; *FHG* iv. 449, frag. 1). But his version is probably only an attempt to rationalize H.

#### **iv. 157**

This chapter seems to belong to the common version of Thera and Cyrene; but the detail ἓνα καταλιπόντες came in at an earlier stage of the Theraean story (151. 3).

[2] **ἐλθόντος.** Apollo's visit was when he brought the Thessalian maid Cyrene to Libya, and made her queen of a land πολύμηλος (*Pind. Pyth.* ix. 10); but the country was not really famed for its sheep.

**σοφίην σευ.** The priests as usual explain the failure of their own prediction by the ignorance of the recipient (i. 167. 4 n.).

[3] The name Aziris is clearly Libyan. H. seems to speak as an eyewitness; there is nothing inconsistent with this view in the λέγεται of 156. 3, which only means that H. had not measured Platea himself. Aziris would then be the place called in Smith and Grove "Paliurus." Others, however, following the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni* (*GGM* i. 444, a compilation of uncertain date), place Aziris, there called Azaris, further north, outside the Gulf of Bomba.

#### **iv. 158**

**παραιτησάμενοι.** The friendly yet half-grudging relations of Greeks and aborigines are well seen in this passage; they soon changed to hostility (chap. 159), while in chap. 160 the Libyans are subjects who revolt.

[2] **Irasa** was identified by Pacho (pp. 84–5) as a spot, still called Ersen, on the edge of the Libyan plateau, above the Gulf of Bomba; he points out that this would be a natural place (159. 5) to meet an army attacking from the east. Its abundant water and vegetation confirm κάλλιστον.

The spring of Apollo, called Κύρη, is mentioned by Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 294; it is identified at Cyrene; cf. Beechey, *ibid.* p. 423 seq., for a description; also Hogarth, *A. A. L.* p. 132. The name is probably the origin of “Cyrene” (“the heroine of the spring”); but Studniczka maintains that “Cyre” is only a shortened form (p. 143), and that the name occurs elsewhere in Anti-cyra, Themis-cyra, etc. (in Rosch., *ut sup.*).

[3] **ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται.** The “sky is pierced” as a symbol of fertility; cf. *Mal.* iii. 10 “windows of heaven.” There is probably also a reference to the abundant winter rains at Cyrene (contrast chap. 185 n.).

The date of the founding of Cyrene, 631 B.C., rests on Eusebius; it agrees with the facts in H. that the first two kings ruled fifty-six years (chap. 159), and that the Egyptian attack (ii. 161), which we know was in 570 B.C., was in the time of Battus II, the third king.

For the whole subject cf. Busolt, i. 482 n. For recent exploration there (begun 1910) cf. *JHS* xxxi. 301.

#### iv. 159–205

*History of Cyrene; but this is interrupted by the long digression on Libya* (chaps. 168–199, which divides into two parts at chap. 180).

#### iv. 159

**οἰκιστέω.** Battus as “oekist” enjoyed heroic honours at the top of the market-place of Cyrene (*Pind. Pyth.* v. 93); cf. Miltiades in the Chersonese, vi. 38. 1, and v. 47. 2 n. for hero worship generally.

**τοσοῦτοι.** H. only means that there was no new immigration for the first half-century.

[2] **γῆς ἀναδασμός** was generally the mark of a revolution in Greece; with *χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί* (*Dem. Timoc.* p. 746, § 149) it was renounced in the Heliastic oath at Athens. Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 5. 3, 1305a 4) mentions it as one of the causes which overthrow democracies by driving the wealthy to desperation. We have an instance at Cyrene later (163. 1), at Syracuse after the fall of the Gelonian dynasty (*Diod.* xi. 86), and at Leontini (ca. 422 B.C.; *Thuc.* v. 4). Here, however, it is not a revolutionary measure, for the land to be divided was that of the natives; hence it leads to foreign, not to civil war.

[3] **γᾶς ἀναδαιομένας** is the gen. after the comparative ὕστερον, “too late for the division of the land.”

[5] **Ἀπρίη.** H. here fulfills his promise in ii. 161. 3 that he would relate “more fully” in his Libyan λόγοι the reason for Apries’ attack on Cyrene. It is, to say the

least, odd (in view of ii. 152 seq.) that he should represent (§ 6) the Egyptians as “being ignorant and contemptuous of” Greeks.

#### iv. 160

**πόλις.** Barca lies to the west of Cyrene on the high ground on the east coast of the Syrtis. Its name still survives as that of the district. The mixture of native blood in its population was strong, as is seen from this chapter; cf. also 164. 4 and chap. 202 nn. Perhaps H. means by ἡ τότε καλέεται that it was already existing as a Libyan settlement.

[4] Nicolaus Damascenus (frag. 52, *FHG* iii. 387) follows H., but Plutarch (*Mor.* 260) and Polyaeus (viii. 41) make the murder of Arcesilaus a political one, while Plutarch adds that Laarchus had been supported by Amasis, and that the conspirators against him submitted to the king of Egypt in order to avoid punishment. This can be reconciled with the story in ii. 181, and is probably a fact, though H.’s Cyrenaean informants concealed the part played by Egypt out of patriotism. There are other discrepancies, e.g., Learchus is Laarchus in Plutarch and Polyaeus, who make him “friend,” and not “brother,” of Arcesilaus; cf. Maspero, iii. 645 n.

#### iv. 161

**ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφούς.** The traditional constitution of Cyrene had broken down, owing to (1) the increase of population (159. 4); (2) the disaster at Leucon (cf. Arist. *Pol.* v. 3. 7, 1303a for the effect of success or failure abroad on constitutional development at home); (3) the dissensions in the royal house.

It was necessary both to admit new citizens to full privileges and to weaken the royal power. For Delphi interfering to end civil strife cf. Curtius, ii. 87. Polybius (vi. 43) mentions the constitutions of Mantinea, Crete, Lacedaemon, and Carthage as famed for their excellence. Shortly before this time a similar appeal for καταστάτω to Mantinea, from Scillus in Elis, is recorded in an inscription (*IGA* Add. 119, l. 13; *sed incerta lectio*).

**καταστήσαμενοι:** cf. v. 92. b 1 κατάστασις, “in what way they should organize themselves.”

[3] For the work of Demonax cf. Müller, *Dor.* ii. 62–3. He is probably not referred to in the famous passage in the *Politics* vi. 4. 18–19, 1319b 19 seq. (see Newman ad loc.) as to constitutional changes intended to increase the power of democracy, where “those who set up the democracy at Cyrene” (probably in 401 B.C.) are coupled with Cleisthenes of Athens. Aristotle says φυλαὶ ἕτεραι ποιηταὶ πλείους καὶ φρατρία, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, καὶ πάντα σοφιστέον ὅπως ἂν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀναμιχθῶσι πάντες ἀλλήλοις, αἱ δὲ συνήθειαι διαζευχθῶσιν αἱ πρότερον.

The changes of Demonax were: (1) original settlers retain their priority and the right to hold serfs (περίοικοι); (2) new-comers are admitted to full citizenship; (3) monarchy becomes formal.

Others (e.g., Busolt, i. 490 n. 2) think the *περίουκοι* are Libyans admitted to *full* citizenship.

**ἱερωσύνας.** So Maeandrius asked to be allowed to retire with a priesthood (iii. 142); cf. for priesthood as the last survival of royalty Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14. 13, 1285b, and (to some extent) Sparta (vi. 56. 1).

#### **iv. 162**

[3] For Euelthon cf. v. 104 n.

For the Corinthian treasury cf. i. 14. 2 n. H.'s praise of the "censer" suggests that part at any rate of this story was heard by him at Delphi.

[4] The tense of *διδόμενον* is emphatic; only the "spindle and distaff" "with wool" were actually given, the rest were simply "offered."

#### **iv. 163**

**ἐν Σάμῳ.** The alliance of Arcesilaus and Samos is commemorated in the types of a Cyrenaic tetradrachm, with the lion's head (of Samos) as well as the silphium (Hill, *G. and R.C.*, 114 and pl. i. 15).

[2] **χοῦ.** The oracle is done into prose, but the tags of hexameters are obvious. It throws an interesting but perplexing light on the date when H. gathered his materials. It is obviously a prediction *post eventum*, made after the eighth and last Battiad had been deposed; this was about 460 B.C. Pindar certainly knew nothing of it in 466, when he sang the glory of the Battiads (*Pyth.* iv. 115).

[3] **τὴν ἀμφίρροτον** is clearly Barca (cf. *ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ* below); but Weld-Blundell (*BSA* ii. 126–7) finds the epithet appropriate to Cyrene; *ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων* = King Alazir; perhaps we may quote (Stein) *Il.* ii. 480, where Agamemnon is compared to "a bull."

#### **iv. 164**

[2] To Cyprus; i.e., presumably to his mother.

[4] Alazir, whether proper name or title (like "Battus"), is significant of Libyan intermixture even in the blood royal.

#### **iv. 165**

[2] **Ἀρκεσίλεω εὐεργεσίαι.** In iii. 13 H. mentions the submission of Cyrene, but lays stress on the inadequate tribute sent. The story here, though not absolutely inconsistent, is curiously different in tone; H. has not harmonized his two sources, and Cyrenaic tradition clearly slurred over the fact of submission to Persia (cf. 160. 4 n.).

#### **iv. 166**

[2] **χρυσίον καθαρῶτατον.** The Persian darics (cf. iii. 89. 3 n.) have only three per cent. of alloy; cf. iii. 95. 1 n. Whether Darius was the first to coin them (as Grote

assumes), H. does not say; Harpocration (Schol. ad Ar. *Eccles.* 598) says they were coined before his time (cf. Hill, *G.C.*, 27), but probably wrongly.

**ἀργύριον.** Aryandes' offence was not coining in itself, but doing it in obvious rivalry with the Great King; the satraps coined silver, but only when military officers. Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, p. xxiii.

The revolt of Aryandes is variously dated from 517 to 494 B.C. (Macan, ii. 263; Busolt, ii. 532). The monuments are quoted in support of both dates; the literary evidence favours a later one; for H. conceives of Aryandes as copying the coinage of Darius, and this can hardly have been an established institution till after the settlement of the satrapies (iii. 89), ca. 516 B.C. Moreover, Darius suppressed the revolt in person (Polyaenus, vii. 11. 7), and he visited Egypt after the Scythian expedition (ii. 110).

#### **iv. 167**

**Μαράφιον;** cf. i. 125 n. Amasis was probably a Persian who had assumed an Egyptian name (i. 135); many Babylonian names preserved on seals may well be those of Persians (E. M. iii. 21).

#### **iv. 168–80**

*Nomad Libyans (Eastern tribes) along the sea-coast.* The Libyans are the predecessors of the Berbers; they were comparatively a light-skinned and fair-haired race.

H.'s division (chap. 191) at Lake Tritonis is "obviously right," i.e., he contrasts the Atlas system on the west with the flatter region of Tripoli on the east (R. Neumann, *Nord-Afrika nach H.*, 1892, p. 11). The western part was the sphere of the Carthaginian influence (hence H. makes it agricultural, chap. 191), and belongs really rather to Europe than to North Africa (cf. Macan's excellent note on chap. 191).

#### **iv. 168**

The Adyrmachidae extend further west in H. than in Pseudo-Scylax (107; *GGM* i. 82), who makes them "ruled by Egyptians."

**φθειρας.** For "lice-eating" cf. the modern Hottentots and 109. 2 n.

[2] **τῷ βασιλεῖ.** For this "droit du seigneur" cf. Westermarck, p. 76 seq., who quotes parallels, but argues that it is not to be taken as evidence of primitive promiscuity; it prevailed among the Berbers (St. Martin, p. 43) till the nineteenth century.

**Πλυνός:** i.e., the Gulf of Sollum, which has been brought into such prominence recently (1911) in the Italo-Turkish war, as the west limit of Egypt. Here the Catabathmus Major forms a natural frontier.

#### **iv. 169**

The Giligamae are only mentioned by H. and writers who borrow from him; they perhaps correspond to the later Marmaridae.

**σίλφιον**. For a long discussion of the silphium cf. R. Neumann, p. 146 seq., or Bähr ad loc. It is often identified with the modern *Thapsia Garganica* (Arab. *Drias*); it is true this does not correspond to the representations of it on the coins, which make it thick in stem; but these equally disagree with the description of Pliny, xix. 42 ("caule ferulaceo"). (For the coins of Cyrene cf. Head, *H.N.* 864 seq.; for the question whether coin-types are commercial or religious cf. Hill, *G. and R.C.*, 166 seq.) Pliny (xxii. 101 seq.) gives a long and amusing catalogue of the medicinal virtues of silphium, though he adds, "non censuerim cavernis dentium in dolore . . . includi, magno experimento hominis qui se ea de causa praecipitavit ex alto." It was a royal monopoly and a main source of the wealth of Cyrene; cf. Ar. *Plut.* 925, τὸ Βάπτου σίλφιον (proverbial). Owing to over-production it became almost extinct in the first century A.D., but is now common again in the degenerate form of the *Drias*. Pacho (p. 54) notes "la grande exactitude" of H. in fixing its locality. Others, however (e.g., Head, ut sup.), say the true silphium is extinct; for the arguments cf. Ascherson in Rohlfs, *K.*, p. 524.

**στόμα** is a curious word for the promontory from which the bay of the Greater Syrtis (ii. 32. 2) bends south; but Pseudo-Scylax (109, *GGM* i. 84) uses it. H. only knows one Syrtis and never describes it. The coast here was notoriously dangerous from its shifting sandbanks; cf. Strabo 836 σπάνιον εἶναι τὸ σωζόμενον σκάφος, and Lucan ix. 303 seq. for a description, especially 307 "Ambigua sed lege loci iacet in via sedes."

#### iv. 170

The Asbystae must be the περίοικοι of 161. 3 n.

**τεθριπποβάται**. For the four-horse chariots cf. 189. 3 n.

#### iv. 171

**Euesperides**, which became Berenice under Ptolemy (hence the modern name "Benghazi"), was said by Theotimus of Cyrene to have been formally founded by Arcesilaus IV (*FHG* iv. 517, frag. 1); but if this statement be true, it existed in some form previously (chap. 204).

#### iv. 172

All the geographers agree in placing the Nasamones on the shores of the Greater Syrtis. Augila (chap. 182; now Audschila) is an important oasis in the latitude of Cyrene, on the caravan route to Fezzan; it is still a great centre of date production. Pacho (p. 280) says H.'s descriptions are "tellement fidèles qu'elles pourraient encore servir à décrire l'Augile moderne," and works out in detail the correspondences. Rohlfs (*Tripolis nach Alex.* ii. 49) estimated the palms as over 200,000 in 1869, but in 1879 found them much less numerous (*K.*, p. 220).

**αὐήναντες**. For the eating of locusts (ἀττελέβους) cf. Matt. iii. 4 of John the Baptist. Diod. iii. 29 gives a description of the "locust-eaters" in Africa, a "marvellously black" race, who live only on this food, and die before they are forty by a disgusting death brought on by it. The chapter is a significant contrast to

H.'s veracity. Duveyrier (p. 240) says the Tuaregs eat locusts "dried and reduced to powder."

[2] **ἐπίκοινων**: cf. i. 216. 1 n. for polyandry among the Massagetae. H. here describes, not very clearly, a curious form of group-marriage. Strabo (783) describes an Arabian tribe where the whole family enjoys wives in common; there also the ῥάβδος is used as the sign of possession (cf. W. Robertson Smith, *K.A.*<sup>2</sup>, 57 seq., for this "Ba'al polyandry").

[3] **τύμβων**. For this divination in the tombs cf. Duveyrier, p. 435; the women of the Tuaregs inquire among the tombs as to their absent husbands. For dream oracles in general cf. viii. 134 n.

[4] Shaw (i. 431, 3rd ed.) says that the drinking out of each other's hands is the only ceremony used by the Algerines in their marriage; cf. the story of Eleazar and Rebecca for an approach to this idea (Gen. xxiv. 14, 43).

**σποδοῦ**. So the Mahometan law permits ablutions to be done with sand if water is lacking; cf. Tylor, *P.C.* ii. p. 440.

#### **iv. 173**

**προσόμουροι**. Strabo (838) places the Psylli east of the Nasamones; H. obviously places them on the west, on the south coast (ἐντός) of the Syrtis.

**ἐπὶ τὸν νότον**. For similar wars with the elements cf. the Getae, 94. 4 n., and Arist. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 7. 7 (the Celts are said not to fear the waves). Strabo (293) rightly criticizes this latter story.

Pliny (vii. 14) more probably puts down the partial destruction of the Psylli to the Nasamones; H. himself implies (εἰσὶ) the destruction was not complete, and the Psylli are often mentioned later; they were famous as snake-charmers.

#### **iv. 174**

**Γαράμαντες**. Obviously the name of the "Garamantes" has been introduced here wrongly from chap. 183. Pliny (v. 44–5) seems to have read "Gamphasantes," of whom he says "nudi proeliorumque expertes, nulli externo congregantur"; cf. also Mela, i. 47; but Eustathius and Steph. Byz. s.v. read "Garamantes." Others (e.g., Blakesley) suppose that H. here confuses the hunted Troglodytes of 183. 4 with their hunters; but this credits him gratuitously with a blunder.

#### **iv. 175**

**λόφους κείρονται**. There is some resemblance between the names and the hair-dressing methods of the Macae here, of the Machlyes (180. 1), and of the Maxyes (191. 1). The Libyan Mashuasha play a great part in Egyptian history, both as invaders and as mercenaries. The Tuaregs still wear their hair in a crest, shaving the sides of the head (Duveyrier, p. 432).

**στρουθῶν.** In vii. 70. 2 the Asiatic Ethiopians use cranes' wings as "ostrich" wings are used here; this bird is now rare in North Africa, but Rohlfs found traces of it in this region (*K.*, 91, 149).

[2] **Κῖνυψ.** H. describes the territory of Kinyps at length in chap. 198, where he compares its fertility to that of Babylonia; it became proverbial (cf. Ovid, *Pont.* ii. 7. 25). Hence the Greeks tried to colonize it (v. 42. 3) but failed. The river is identified with the Wad El Kháhan (Beechey, p. 62 seq.), east of Leptis, which has some pretensions to the title of river. It was thought to rise only about four miles from the sea, and H.'s distance (over twenty miles) was explained by coast subsidence; for this cf. Beechey, p. 272, "We have already observed the sea appears to have made great advances on the whole line of coast of North Africa," and Hogarth, *A.A.L.*, 138. Later exploration, however (*GJ* ix. 633), shows that the river rose further inland, and so confirms H.'s figure.

#### iv. 176

**περισφύρια.** A similar custom is described by Marco Polo in Thibet (ii. 45, cf. p. 48); it also prevailed in Lydia (Aelian, *V.H.* iv. 1); cf. Westermarck, p. 81.

#### iv. 177

**Ἀωτοφάγοι.** The tribal name has been displaced by the descriptive "Lotophagi"; probably the "Lotus-eaters" are really (in whole or in part) the Giridanes, who are mentioned by no other ancient geographer except Stephen of Byzantium, following H. Pliny (v. 28) calls the "Lotus-eaters" Machroae, of which name some think H.'s *Μάχλυες* (chap. 178) a blundering corruption. H. is precise in describing the lotus, because of its legendary fame in Homer (*Od.* ix. 84 seq.) as causing forgetfulness of home and family; Polybius (xii. 2) describes it even more fully. It is a species of thorn tree, the jujube (*Zizyphus vulgaris*) of the genus Rhamnaceae, to which the English buckthorn belongs, with a fruit like a plum in size and shape, which is eaten, especially when dried. The Egyptian lotus (ii. 92. 2 n.) is quite distinct. See Rawlinson ad loc. for six different kinds of lotus. A sort of wine is still made from the fruit. The *σχῖνος* is the lentisk tree.

#### iv. 178

**ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν.** The geography of this passage cannot be reconciled with existing features; there is no great river or lake such as H. describes.

For a full discussion of the passages as to Lake Tritonis, and the identifications proposed for it, cf. R. Neumann, pp. 28–59. The following points may be especially noticed:

(1) H.'s own account is inconsistent; Tritonis is a lake, cf. 180. 3 *περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλω*; yet it is also part of the sea, for Jason runs aground in it before he sees land (179. 2).

(2) H. knows nothing of the trend of the coast north here (cf. 181 n.) or of the Little Syrtis (Gulf of Gabes).

(3) While Pseudo-Scylax (110 ad fin.) roughly agrees with H. as to the position of the lake, Diodorus, in his story of the Amazons (iii. 53 seq.), transplants it far to the west near the ocean, while Strabo (836) moves it east into Cyrenaica.

(4) Probably the original of Lake Tritonis is Lake Faroon, a large shallow expanse, west of the Gulf of Gabes. H.'s informants knew of its existence, but let their fancy fill in the details; later, when under Roman rule this coast became better known, "the story of Lake Tritonis went on its travels" again (R. Neumann, p. 58). Weld-Blundell (*BSA* ii. 114–18) thinks "the legend records a commonplace physical fact," i.e., "a north wind piling up the water on these shoal coasts." He discusses the whole subject, and inclines to put Lake Tritonis rather more north than Neumann—viz., off the Gulf of Hammamet.

**Αακεδαιμονίοισι.** It seems natural to connect the λόγιον here with the attempt on Cinyps (cf. 175. 2), which failed because it had no oracular support. There was still a party of "extension" at Sparta at the end of the sixth century B.C.

Cf. the still more ambitious oracle in 179. 3, which being unfulfilled (as Macan well says), shows that "all oracles are not to be dismissed as *post eventum*."

#### iv. 179

**Ἰήσωνα.** Jason is brought to Lake Tritonis on his return journey by Pindar (*Pyth.* iv. 44), when the Argo had been carried overland from the ocean twelve days. For other variants of the story cf. 150. 2 n.

#### iv. 180

**όρτη.** H. here gives a very curious and interesting account of a native festival. K. O. Müller thought the worship a Greek one, introduced by Minyan colonists from the neighbourhood of Lake Copais (*Orchom.*, 355), but H. clearly conceives it as non-Greek. Macan well suggests that the armed Athene may be a Liby-Phoenician goddess, a sort of armed Astarte (cf. i. 105. 2 n.). There is no doubt that the armed maiden personified the goddess. For the test of virginity (*ψευδοπαρθένους*) cf. the mediaeval theory of the ordeal; e.g., Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor, was said to have cleared herself of a charge of impropriety by walking over hot ploughshares (Freeman, *Norman Conq.* ii. 585f.). For harmless wounds in a sacred fight cf. ii. 63. 3.

[4] **ἀπὸ . . . Αἰγύπτου.** H., as usual, gives Egypt priority. Plato (*Tim.* 24b) also thought the Greeks borrowed their armour, shield, and helm from Egypt; but the monuments do not confirm this view.

For H.'s views on the history of armour cf. i. 171 nn.; he certainly was not a specialist on the subject; here he uses *κυνέη*, the low cap of skin (*galea*), and *κράνος*, the metal helmet (*cassis*) with visor, as if they were identical. It was the *κράνος* that was Corinthian.

[5] **θυγατέρα.** Hence Athene is *Τριτογένεια* (Hes. *Theog.* 924; Ar. *Eq.* 1189).

**ἐπικοινωνον.** For entire promiscuity cf. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 3. 9 (1262a).

#### iv. 181–99

The rest of the digression on North Africa is skillfully varied in arrangement. Chaps. 181–5 give a geographical account of the line of oases, chaps. 186–90 of the customs of these “wandering” Libyans between Egypt and Lake Tritonis, chaps. 191–6 contain miscellaneous information of great interest as to Libya west of the river Triton, chaps. 197–9 general remarks on North Africa.

#### iv. 181

The description of North Africa as a triple zone of varying character is a typical instance of H.’s merits and defects as a geographer; for it cf. chap. 174 and ii. 32. 4 seq. The Arabs still divide North Africa into the Tell, the Bêlâd el Djérid (“the date region”), and the Sahara, and St. Martin (p. 16) says “it is impossible to describe in a way more exact and complete (than that of H.) the successive belts which extend inland along the coast.” The merits of the division are that it roughly corresponds to marked natural features, and that, in the absence of maps, it coordinates details into a general conception. The coast line of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli is on the whole fertile, while the region behind (the “land of dates”) is full of wild beasts, especially in the west. H. knows this difference (191. 2). He does not expressly mention that the west is hilly, but he casually speaks of τὰ ὄρη in chap. 194. The description seems to be a Carthaginian generalization, for it applies to the west far more than to the east.

Its defects are obvious. (1) The zones are too continuous and symmetrical (cf. H.’s own correction in 191. 3). (2) H.’s “ridge of sand” between the “beast region” and the “desert” proper is a figment; the “desert” slopes away direct from the mountain block. (3) H. has no conception of the extension of West Africa to the north; Tunis is about 6° north of Alexandria. Hence he makes a parallel from Thebes to the Pillars of Hercules. (4) He confuses the caravan route from Thebes with that from Memphis, 300 miles to the north. (5) His oases are far too regular in their intervals. No doubt the symmetry is due to H.’s informants, who were describing to him a familiar caravan route (Heeren); so Idrisi (an Arab geographer of the twelfth century) gives the same figure.

[2] H. knows his distances are approximate (μάλιστα), but he goes on as if they were precise.

ἄλως . . . τρύφεα. H. is right as to the abundance of salt, rising “in masses” above the ground, and as to the springs of fresh water in the midst of it. But his general conception of an oasis as a “hill of salt” (κολωνὸς ἄλως, 182. 1) is quite absurd; no doubt he was misled by the fact that salt then, as now, is a most important article in the caravan trade; but he attempts to combine in an imaginary picture details that he has not seen, and naturally he fails. H. only knows Ὀασις as a proper name (iii. 26. 1 n.).

ἀνακοντίζει, “shoots up.” R. Neumann (p. 87) well points out that the springs in the oases are “very frequently artificially arranged.”

**Ἀμμώνιοι.** The Oasis of Siwah (i.e., of Ammon) is twenty days' journey from Thebes (not "ten"), twelve from Memphis; the latter place was the usual starting-point for a caravan, and H. gives in round numbers the average length of a journey. But his religious instinct made him substitute "Thebes" for "Memphis," as the "ram-headed" Zeus (ii. 42 nn.) is to him the god of Thebes.

This is the most natural explanation of his mistake; others (Stein) suppose that a stage of the caravan journey has fallen out, the "Great Oasis" (El Khargeh), seven days from Thebes. Others again (e.g., R. Neumann, p. 99, who discusses the question fully), think there is a confusion between the great shrine of Ammon at Siwah and a less important one at Dachel, which really is "ten days' journey" from Thebes.

[3] **ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ.** Macan (ad loc.) has an interesting note on H.'s marks of time, of which there are seven here, cf. iii. 104. 2 n. The "spring of the sun" (cf. Arr. *Anab.* iii. 4; Lucr. vi. 848 seq.) has been identified near the temple; it is a volcanic spring, hence the appearance of boiling (ζέει, § 4) from sulphureous bubbles, the water is naturally warm, but feels cooler by day from contrast to the air. H.'s informants have exaggerated a misunderstood natural phenomenon into a marvel.

#### iv. 182

For Augila cf. chap. 172 n. Rawlinson (ad loc.) quotes, from Wilkinson, a description of a similar spring in the Little Oasis.

#### iv. 183

**διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων.** H.'s measurements are again too small; it is twenty days' journey from Audschila to Fezzan. On the other hand, the distance to the Lotophagi on the north coast (thirty days) is accurate; the reason is that in H.'s day, as now, Fezzan was a well-known place of trade, the starting-point for the caravans across the Sahara.

[2] **ὀπισθονόμοι βόες.** This traveller's tale is told also by Pliny (viii. 178) and other ancient writers; cf. Bähr ad loc. for references. Is it possible that its explanation is to be found in the rock-drawings, found by G. Nachtigal (*Sahara*, 1879, i. 307) to the south of Fezzan, and by Duveyrier among the northeast Tuaregs, representing oxen with projecting horns being dragged unwillingly forward? H. is right as to the quality of the hides, which, perhaps, appeals to him as a merchant.

[4] **τρογλοδύτας.** There were other Troglodytes on the Red Sea (Strabo 786) and also on the western ocean (Hanno, 7, in GGM i. 6); their mode of life is characteristic of oppressed remnants of primitive races in various parts. The Troglodytes here are the "Tibboos"; for their swiftness of foot and the slave hunts of the Arabs among them cf. Lyon, *Travels in North Africa*, 1818–20, pp. 254–5. As strict Mahometans, they do not now eat the vermin here described by H.; but all accounts agree as to the scantiness of their food supply. Nachtigal (ut sup. i. 266) found cave-dwellings such as H. describes.

#### iv. 184

**Ἀτάραντες.** The MSS. read Atlantes, which is obviously wrong. Salmasius restored Atarantes from Rhianus (in Eustathius ad *Dionysii Orbis Descriptio* v. 66). H. seems to continue his description westwards (185. 1), but what tribe he means by the Atarantes it is impossible to say.

His story as to their being “nameless” is probably a misunderstood echo of the African dread of magic; the name is regarded as a vital part of a man (Frazer, *G.B.* i. 404). Hence the care lest it should be known. For unwillingness to utter names cf. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*, p. 139 seq.

[2] ὑπερβάλλοντι, “if excessively hot.”

**καταρῶνται.** Strabo (822) tells the same story of an Ethiopian tribe; cf. 94. 4 n.

[3] Ἄτλας. H. (or his informant) has blended the Greek tradition (cf. ii. 33. 3 n.) as to the giant, who ἔχει . . . κίονας αὐτὸς / μακρὰς αἰ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσι (*Od.* i. 53), with vague knowledge of the mountain-block of the Atlas, which runs half across North Africa, from Morocco to the lesser Syrtis. The “Pillar of Heaven” may be a native idea, but it looks suspiciously Greek (cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 351, and Pind. *Pyth.* i. 19, of Etna).

[4] ἔμψυχον οὐδέν. The purely vegetable diet of the Atlantes is an exaggerated generalization from the fact that the North Africans live mainly on dates and meal.

#### iv. 185

**άλὸς μέταλλον.** H. knows the coast extends beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. His symmetry has such a hold of him that he projects his scheme of decimally recurring oases far beyond his real knowledge, over the whole sand ridge to the Atlantic.

Others, e.g., Bähr, think the words ἔστι δὲ . . . οἰκέοντες refer to one more oasis ten days west of the Atlantes; the singular, μέταλλον, favours this view, but it is less probable as a whole. In either case, the ἀλὸς μέταλλον here = the ἀλὸς κολωνός (above).

[2] οἰκία. Houses of salt are still found in North Africa, cf. J. Hamilton (“Wanderings,” 1856, p. 294); he, like H., accounts for the use of this material by the rainless climate. Shaw (i. 250) speaks of houses washed down by rain. Rohlf (K., 269) actually advises travellers to provide themselves with water “to open graves” built of “Erdsalzklumpen.” The varying colour of the salt, purple, white, and blue, is also confirmed by modern travellers, e.g., Shaw (i. 271), speaking of a mountain in Tunis, near the lake of Marks. Rain apparently does fall at intervals of five years or more, but Humboldt (*Aspects of Nature*, p. 3) gives the same sweeping denial as H., “neither dew nor rain bathe these desolate plains” (in North Africa).

[3] ἔρημος κτλ. The accumulation of adjectives well expresses the vastness of the Sahara, although (literally speaking) “water, wood, and animal life” are found in parts of it.

#### iv. 186

**νομάδες.** The general description of customs naturally ignores such exceptions as chaps. 177, 184 (the Atlantes). H., however, is too absolute; round Cyrene, at any rate, the natives were cultivators.

[2] **βοῶν . . . θηλέων.** This evidence for Greek intermarriage with natives is interesting (cf. chap. 145 n.); Barca is even more mixed in population than Cyrene. For the pig as a racial criterion in Asia Minor cf. Ramsay, *H.G.*, 32.

#### iv. 187

**οὐκέτι νομάδες.** Here again (as in 186. 1) H. generalizes from insufficient evidence; the Numidians subject to Carthage on the coast were agricultural, but inland they were still nomadic.

[2] **καίουσι.** Cauterization is a frequent remedy among primitive tribes; cf. Hippocrates *Aer.* 20, of the Scyths “whose bellies are full of moisture”; Layard quotes it in Mesopotamia (*N. and B.*, 291); and Denham calls it “the sovereign Arab remedy for almost every disorder” in Africa (*Travels*, i. 173); cf. Bähr ad loc. for other instances. The Libyans are unique in applying it to the temples by burning “greasy wool”; but perhaps H. was unfamiliar with cauterization in any form.

According to ancient medical theory there were four “humours” in the human body, αἷμα, ὕδωρ, χολή, and φλέγμα (cf. Hippocrates, i. 374 ed. Kühn); the last caused all kinds of catarrh.

[3] **ύγιηρότατοι.** H. gives another reason for Libyan health in ii. 77. 3, i.e., the uniform seasons. Duveyrier (p. 429) says the Tuaregs usually live to be eighty, and sometimes much longer. If these figures be accurate, it simply means that the hard life kills off all the weaklings early.

#### iv. 188

**ἀποστρέφουσι,** “they bend back the neck” (for the knife). R. Neumann (p. 136) thinks the piece was thrown over the tent, to bring it under the protection of the god.

**Ποσειδέωνι.** H., in ii. 50. 2, when deriving the names of most Greek gods from Egypt, makes that of Poseidon to be Libyan. It is natural to connect this derivation with the Minyan element at Cyrene; Farnell (*C.G.S.* iv. 27) says, “Wherever the worship of Poseidon is prominent, we find either a Thessalian-Minyan or an Ionic influence”; the Minyans, who are prominent all through the story of the foundation of Cyrene, not unnaturally pretended that their cult-god was there before them. H., in this chapter and the next, adopts the theories of North African origins in their extremest form (see below); the fact that he gives them this exaggerated value goes far to prove that he heard them on the spot.

#### iv. 189

**ἐκ τῶν Αἰβυσσέων.** H. as usual (cf. ii. passim) assigns a foreign origin to Greek usages; here he derives the dress of the Palladia. the “cry” in worship, and the use

of four-horse chariots from Libyan sources. The only argument advanced (§ 2) is etymological, and the only point that can be accepted is that there had been much intermixture, and so mutual influence, between Greek settlers and Libyans (cf. chap. 145 n.). ἐσθής, as distinguished from αἰγίς, is the πέπλος; H. is probably right in saying the Libyan women wore this, and modern travellers speak of “leather” as frequently worn among the desert tribes, e.g., Lyon (p. 110) of the shirts and kaftans of the Tuaricks (*sic*). It is also not improbable that the snakes of the αἰλίς were originally “tassels.” But the resemblance between the Palladia and αἰ Αἰβυσσαι was purely accidental, and the etymology is worthless. It is very uncertain whether the connection between αἰγίς and αἶξ is more than popular, and in any case the word αἰγέη is not Libyan, and goats were common elsewhere than in Libya. H. ignores the fact that Zeus (*Il.* iv. 167) and Apollo (xv. 229), as well as Athene (v. 738), wear the αἰγίς.

**τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κτλ.:** translate “all other points are arranged in the same way” (in the dress of the Libyan women and of Athene).

[2] ἐρευθεδάνω. H.’s observation is better than his archaeology; “vermilion” is still a favourite colour in North Africa.

[3] The ὀλολυγή (which is onomatopoeic, cf. Hallelu-jah) was the women’s cry, especially in the worship of Athena; cf. *Il.* vi. 301 αἰ δ’ ὀλολυγῆ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνη χειρᾶς ἀνέσχον, and *Xen. An.* iv. 3. 19 the women συνωλόλυζον to the soldiers’ παιάν. If the Greeks borrowed this anywhere, it would have been from the East; but the ritual cry is a natural instinct of mankind.

**τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι.** The statement that the Greeks borrowed the four-horse chariot from Libya has been thought to contradict Homer (*Il.* viii. 185, xi. 699, and *Od.* xiii. 81) and Pausanias (v. 8. 7), who puts the first Olympic chariot victory 680 B.C.; but H. may mean that the Greeks learned the practice before 630, when Cyrene was founded.

#### iv. 190

**κατημένους θάπτουσι.** The idea was that the soul could not escape if the dying man lay on his back; it would therefore haunt the grave. Rohlf’s (*K.*, p. 269) found the dead buried in a sitting posture in the oasis of Taiserbo. For other instances cf. Tylor, *P.C.* ii. 422–3.

**σύμπηκτα:** translate “compacted of asphodel stalks in-woven round wattles.” These are the “mapalia” of Sallust, *Iug.* 18; cf. Livy xxx. 3 ad fin.

For the nomadic life cf. Verg. *Geor.* iii. 343–4 “Omnia secum Armentarius Afer agit, tectumque Laremque.”

#### iv. 191

For the Maxyes cf. chap. 175 n.; they are supposed to have lived near Carthage.

**χρίονται.** The Tuaregs still stain themselves, the men blue, the women yellow; Duveyrier (p. 431) says they do this as a protection against changes of climate.

ἐκ Τροίης. For prehistoric migrations of Trojans cf. v. 13. 2 (the Paeonians), vii. 20 n., and Thuc. vi. 2. 3 (the Elymi at Egesta). For possible joint attacks of Libyan and Asiatic tribes on Egypt cf. app. x, § 8.

[3] τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρας. H. is quite right as to the contrast between the eastern and the western parts of the North African coast (chap. 181 n.). Full discussions of the fauna in this chapter and 192 will be found in Bähr and (later) in R. Neumann, pp. 152 seq. Of the nine beasts in this chapter, six are right, and the ὄνοι can be explained with some probability; the two remaining are monsters (the “dog-heads” and the “headless”) which seem to be more than doubted by H. (see below).

[4] ὄφεις οἱ ὑπερμεγάθεις: the largest python on record is the one that stopped the army of Regulus and had to be killed by the Roman engines (Livy *Epit.* 18 “serpens portentosae magnitudinis,” cf. too Silius vi. 140f.). Pliny (viii. 37) says its skin, brought to Rome, measured 120 feet; but it belongs to the days of prescientific measurements! The largest authentic python is about 30 feet long.

λέοντες. H. is right as to the presence of lions and bears.

ἐλέφαντες. Elephants were once common in North Africa (Plin. *H.N.* viii. 32, and cf. Bähr), but the needs of the Carthaginian armaments and of Roman amphitheatres extirpated them north of the desert, even as the modern big-game hunter is extirpating them now all over Africa. H. is the first writer to use “elephant” (R. Neumann, p. 154).

ἀσπίδες. For the asp cf. ii. 74 n

ὄνοι. Probably by the horned ass is meant some kind of antelope.

κυνοκέφαλοι κτλ. Some explain the **κυνοκέφαλοι** and the **ἀκέφαλοι** as monkeys; the “dog-headed” baboon is found in the mountains of Africa, and the “headless” might be a kind of ape with its head so sunk in its shoulders that its eyes seemed to be in its breast (Neumann). But it is more probable that these are monsters; so Pliny (v. 46) certainly understood the passage; he says the “headless” were called “Blemmyae,” and classes them with “Satyrs, goat-feet,” and others. Aeschylus (in Strabo 43) wrote of the **στερνόφθαλμοι** (cf. note on **ἀκατάψευστα** below)

ἄγριοι ἄνδρες. The “wild men” are doubtless the “gorillas,” which Hanno (*GGM* i. 13, ca. 500 B.C.) speaks of on the West Coast of Africa; he brought three skins of females to Carthage.

ἀκατάψευστα. This passage is most important as a criterion of H.’s credulity. R. Neumann (p. 155; cf. introd. p. 44) thinks that H. accepts all the creatures of § 4 as “beasts,” but throws the responsibility for the account of them on the Libyans. But the last three lines seem to deal with “men,” not beasts.

It is better, therefore, to suppose that the ὡς δὴ . . . Αἰβύων marks off the κυνοκέφαλοι and the ἀκέφαλοι as creatures for which H. disclaims any responsibility; he simply reports, and in ἀκαταψευστά clearly hints disbelief.

At any rate it is significant that the qualifying words do not refer to the ἄγριοι ἄνδρες, for whose existence there was real evidence at Carthage (i.e., Hanno's, see above).

Stein well compares Arist. *Hist. An.* viii. 28, 606b; the animals of Africa are πολυμορφότερα; hence the proverb αἰεὶ Αἰβύη φερει τι καινόν.

It is instructive to compare Ctesias (*Indica* chap. 20, p. 252), who gives a long account of the κυνοκέφαλοι; they are a tribe 120,000 strong, who cannot talk, but understand what is said to them!

#### iv. 192

**κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας.** H. is on the whole right in his contrast between the fauna of the East and the West; but the asps and the antelopes are common to both regions (R. Neumann, p. 157). Of the twenty beasts in this chapter Neumann (pp. 157 seq.) identifies all but the βόρυνες with more or less confidence. Lyon (pp. 271–2) gives a list of sixteen animals of the Fezzan; of these all but the buffalo (βούβαλις—some find this in the β., but see below), rat, rabbit, hare, and camel are covered by H.'s list, and the camel was almost certainly introduced much later. Lyon does not mention H.'s wild ass, wild ram, and great lizard; but these are confirmed by other authorities.

**πύγαργοι.** The “white rump” is in Arist. *Hist. An.* ix. 32, 618b, a kind of eagle; but here (as in Plin. viii. 214) it is an antelope.

**ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες** are both species of antelope.

**ἄποτοι.** That the “wild asses” never drink is impossible; what is true is that they can live where any other beast would die of thirst. The ὄρους seems to be the antelope *leucoryx*; the “arms” of lyres were certainly made of horns.

**[2] βασσάρια κτλ.** H. is right as to “foxes, hyenas, and porcupines.”

The **κριὸς ἄγριος** may well be the wild sheep (*Musimon tragelaphus*) of the Atlas; the δίκτυς seems to be a kind of jackal, as also the θῶς.

**πάνθηρες** probably include all the “big cats” (i.e., leopards, panthers, tiger cats, etc.) of North Africa.

**κροκόδειλοι.** The “crocodile” is the *Psammosaurus griseus*, a land lizard, which reaches a size of three feet. For ostriches cf. 175. 1 n. The “small snakes” (ὄφιες σμικροί), as distinguished from the “two-horned vipers” of ii. 74, are perhaps “sand vipers.”

**πλήν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὑὸς ἀγρίου.** Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii. 28, 606a) repeats this, and Pacho (p. 206) vindicates H. as to the stag; Pliny (*H.N.* viii. 120) also denies the presence of the “stag”; as they still are found in only a small region, stags may

well have been introduced since the time of H. Although the wild boar proper is unknown, kindred species are found.

[3] **δίποδες**. Clearly the “jerboa,” the fore-feet of which are very short.

Rawlinson suggests that the ζέγερις = the “guntsha,” a rat-like animal with a bushy tail. The ἐχινεύς seems to be a “stiff-haired mouse.”

**βουνοί**, “hills” (199. 1), is a non-Attic word, found in Sicily as well as at Cyrene, and in later Greek, e.g., in Polyb. (βουνώδης).

**γαλαῖ**. The “weasels” of Tartessus were ferrets used in rabbit hunting (Strabo 144).

#### iv. 193

The Zaueces are perhaps the predecessors of the Zeugi, from whom part of Roman Africa got its name Zeugitania.

#### iv. 194

**Γύζαντες**. Steph. Byz. reads “Byzantes,” expressly correcting the spelling of H. They may be represented by “Byzacium,” part of Roman Africa (Plin. v. 24).

**μέλι**. For honey making cf. Callatebus in Lydia (vii. 31), where it is made of tamarisk juice and wheat; also i. 193. 4 and Shaw, i. 262, a honey-like drink made from the palm.

#### iv. 195

**Κύραυν** is probably Cercina on the Gulf of Gabes, which corresponds in dimensions and in fertility; but it is not διαβατός, nor is gold found there. Niebuhr supposes that H. meant the island of Cerne in the Atlantic (Hanno 8, *GGM* i. 7); probably a legend belonging to this latter island has been blended with facts as to Cercina.

[2] **εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν**. This passage is important for H.'s use of evidence. He (rightly) does not consider the evidence sufficient to prove that gold dust is skimmed from a pool. But “anything may happen” in remote places, as well as “in long periods of time” (v. 9. 3). Hence he tentatively suggests the analogy of pitch “skimmed” at Zante.

**ἐν Ζακύνθῳ**. For the tar wells of Zante cf. E. Dodwell (*Tour in Greece*, 1819). He (pp. 81–2) says the springs are some twelve miles from the town; the one in use at the time of his visit (1805) was much smaller than that of H.; but near it there is a “spot with which his description seems in every respect to correspond.” Dodwell further describes the sea as being coloured by the pitch for some distance from the shore (cf. § 4). Chandler (*Travels in Greece*, 1776, p. 302) describes the method of obtaining the pitch as being exactly that of H., and Dodwell partly confirms this.

**αὐτὸς ἐγώ**. H. probably went to Zacynthus on his way to Thurii.

**ἀμείνω.** H. speaks with a traveller's (perhaps a merchant's) experience of the various kinds of pitch. Greeks thought the Pierian pitch the best (Plin. xiv. 128); it was made from the forests of Mt. Olympus. Modern experience condemns the tar of Zante.

**iv. 196**

**Καρχηδόνιοι.** This primitive story of silent barter is most interesting; probably the trade took place in the modern Senegambia. Lyon (p. 149) had heard of a precisely similar trade near Timbuctoo, where devils were reported to purchase red cloth with gold dust. For other instances cf. Pliny, *H.N.* vi. 88 (for silk in Central Asia), St. Martin, p. 329, who gives them from both the fifteenth and the eighteenth century instances, and Miss Kingsley, *West African Studies* (2nd edit.), 204f.

**iv. 197**

**[2] Αιβύων.** H. is speaking of Africa, west of Egypt, which last he rightly considers a separate country; but this does not prove he thought it to be a part of a different continent (cf. 39 nn.). He is quite right in distinguishing the Berber tribes of the North African coast (Αίβυες) from the Negroid races of the Sûdân and the Gold Coast (Αιθίοπες).

**iv. 198**

**Δήμητρος καρπόν.** This passage was obviously written after i. 193. 3 where the same phrases occur.

**[2] ὕεται.** The heavy rains of the Kinyps region (between the two Syrtes) are confirmed by Beechey, p. 37, and others.

**[3] ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ.** For the fertility of the Berenice region cf. Hamilton, p. 167 "its ample crops would vie with Egypt, if a moderate amount of labour were expended."

**iv. 199**

**ὑψηλοτάτη.** H. here produces the right impression, though his facts are not strictly accurate; Cyrene is the highest part (some 1,800 feet) of the coast region of Northeast Africa, which he has in his mind; but the ranges behind, of which he did not know (e.g., Mount Harutch), rise 1,000 feet higher.

Pacho, pp. 235–6, says, "La graduation de ces terrasses boisées et leur condition variée . . . mettent la merveilleuse tradition d'Hérodote hors de tout soupçon d'exagération." Hamilton (p. 124) confirms the threefold vintage from his own experience (cf. also Barth, *W.*, 403). H.'s description becomes poetical in its enthusiasm.

**iv. 200**

H. here resumes his narrative from chap. 167.

**δούγματα ὑπόγαια.** For mining cf. v. 115. 2, vi. 18 (Miletus). The Persians inherited the arts of besieging towns from Assyria.

[2] **ἐπίχαλκος** here = **χάλκεος**. Cf. ix. 80. 1, 82. 2 for **ἐπίχρυσος** and **χρύσεος** used of the same κλίνας.

#### **iv. 201**

[3] **ἔστ' ἄν ἡ γῆ κτλ.**: for this paltering in a double sense cf. 154. 4, and Thuc. iii. 34. 3 (Paches at Notium).

#### **iv. 203**

**διεξῆκαν.** The story of the escapes of Cyrene is full of suspicious elements, the **λόγιον**, the presence of the admiral (§ 2), the panic (§ 3); nor is it consistent (§ 2) with H.'s view that the Persian expedition aimed at general conquest (chap. 145 n.), or with the attack on Euesperides (chap. 204). Probably it is a version made up after the fall of the Battiads by Cyrenaean vanity. Meneclēs (*FHG* iv. 449, frag. 2) represents Pheretime as having at once established her grandson Battus IV on the throne, and then as subduing a Cyrenaean rebellion with a Persian army.

#### **iv. 204**

**ἀνασπάστους.** For transplantation of conquered peoples cf. iii. 93. 2 and vi. 3 nn.

**Βακτρίης.** That H. had ever been in Bactria is now believed by no one. It is interesting to contrast the precise details of vi. 119 as to the similar deportation of the Eretrians to Ardericca (near Susa), with the bare **ἐς ἐμέ** here (cf. for H.'s travels introd. pp. 16–20).

#### **iv. 205**

**εὐλέων ἐξέξεσε.** Sulla (Plut. chap. 36) and Herod Agrippa (Acts xii. 23) died by the same loathsome disease; the reflection of H. is most characteristic.

**τῆς Βάττου.** Pheretime was the wife of Battus III (the lame); but the words would naturally mean “daughter of Battus.” In this case she would be the daughter of Battus II, who came to the throne about 575 B.C., probably as a youngish man; his father only reigned sixteen years (159. 1). H. expressly tells us that kindred marriages were practised by the royal house (164. 4); that Battus III should marry his aunt would be another trace of the native strain in the blood of the Battiadae. The fact that Pheretime herself is of the royal house suits well the prominent part which she plays in the story (165. 1).

## Book V

### v. 1–16

*The Persians under Megabazus conquer Thrace. Digressions on the customs and deities of the Thracians (3–8), the lands beyond the Danube (9, 10), on Darius and the Paeonians (11–13), and on the dwellings on Lake Prasias (16).* The account of primitive customs makes this section, like the more detailed ones on Scythia and Libya, of the greatest interest to anthropologists.

### v. 1

After the excursus on Cyrene and Libya (iv. 145f.) H. takes up again the narrative of Persian conquest in Europe from iv. 144.

**Ἑλλησποντίων:** in the wide sense; cf. iv. 38 n.

[2] **Paeonian** tribes had once occupied the hill country from the Illyrian mountains to Rhodope, and the valleys of the Axios and Strymon, though it is curious to find them as far east as Perinthus. They were early driven from their homes by Macedonians in the West and Thracians in the East, retaining in H.'s time only the rough upper valleys of the Axios and Strymon (Thuc. ii. 96), and some tracts of land lower down the latter stream; cf. 13–15 and vii. 20. 2 n.

The Paeonian dogs were celebrated fighters, Pollux v. 46, 47. For the horses cf. Mimnermus, frag. 17 Παίονας ἄνδρας ἄγων ἵνα τε κλειτὸν γένος ἵππων.

[3] **ἐπαιώνιζον.** The Paeon here is a cry of triumph for the victory in the triple duel, thanking the god for his aid. The refrain ἦ Παίων sounded to the enemy like “come Paeon,” thus fulfilling the oracle, which bade them attack if called by name.

**Perinthus** was a Samian colony founded about 600 B.C., Busolt i. 470. This disaster is clearly placed by H. some time before the Persian conquest.

### v. 2

[2] **διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης:** i.e., from East to West along the south coast (chap. 10). Darius had already conquered, at least temporarily, the tribes northward along the Euxine as far as the Ister (iv. 93, 118).

### v. 3

**μέγιστον.** This undue enlargement of Thrace arises from H.'s misconception of the Danube's course (iv. 99). For Thucydides' variant statements cf. iv. 81. 1 n.

[2] **οὐνόματα . . . πολλά.** H. names nineteen tribes: the Bessi (vii. 111), Bisaltae (viii. 116; cf. vii. 115), Bistones (vii. 110), Brygi (vi. 45), Cicones (vii. 110, etc.), Crestonaei (v. 3, &c), Crobyzi (iv. 49), Dersaei (vii. 110), Dolonci (vi. 34f.), Edoni (vii. 110, etc.), Getae (iv. 93f.), Nipsaei (iv. 93), Odomanti (vii. 112), Odrysaes (iv. 92), Paeti, Sapaesi, Satrae (vii. 110), Scyrmiaadae (iv. 93), and Trausi (v. 3). Hecataeus supplies ten additional names and Thucydides (ii. 96) three. Strabo, who says

there were only twenty-two tribes in all (331, frag. 47), gives five fresh names, while Pliny (*H.N.* iv. 43f.) adds at least twenty to the list.

**Τραυσῶν.** The Trausi are placed by Livy (xxxviii. 41) round Tempyra (between the Hebrus and Lake Ismaris), and are thought to be connected with the river Τραῦος (vii. 109) which flows into the lagoon Bistonis (Bähr).

**Κρηστωναίων** (Γρηστωνία Thuc. ii. 99, Γρηστώνες Steph. Byz.): the inhabitants of Crestonice, a district round the source of the Echeidorus between the Axios and the Strymon (vii. 124, 127). They belonged to the Thracian race, and during the Persian war were under the same king as the Bisaltae (viii. 116). In the Peloponnesian war part of the tribe lived near Mount Athos (Thuc. iv. 109). Their northern neighbours here may be the Maedi (chap. 9 n.). On the city Creston cf. i. 57 n.

#### v. 4

This Trausic custom, like Suttee (chap. 5), evidently rests on the faith in a better life beyond the grave, held also by the Getae (iv. 95), and embodied in the Thracian cult of Dionysus (Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 1). This belief is primitive and widespread (H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, chaps. 13, 14; Tylor, *P.C.* chaps. 12, 13), while the pessimistic view of the present life (cf. Soph. *O.C.* 1225; Theogn. 425) is in accord with one side of Hellenic sentiment (Butcher, *Gr. G.* 154f.), and with H.'s own oft-repeated opinion (cf. introd. § 36). Euripides turns this custom to account, whether he learned it from the work of H. (Stein) or at the Macedonian court (Blakesley). *Cresphontes*, frag. 452 Ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἡμᾶς σύλλογον ποιουμένους, Τὸν φύντα θρηνεῖν εἰς ὅσ' ἔρχεται κακά, Τὸν δ' αὖ θανόντα καὶ πόνων πεπαυμένον Χαίροντας εὐφημοῦντας ἐκπέμπειν δόμων.

#### v. 5

A Thracian slave in Menander (ap. Strabo, 297) says Γαμεῖ γὰρ ἡμῶν οὐδὲ εἷς, εἰ μὴ δέκ' ἢ Ἐνδεκα γυναῖκας δώδεκά τ' ἢ πλείους τινές.

**Suttee** (cf. *Tusc. Disp.* v. 27. 78), like the Scyth custom (iv. 71 n.), is based on the belief that the soul requires in another world what it has enjoyed in this. It was widely prevalent among Teutonic and Slavonic races as well as in India (Diod. xix. 33, 34; cf. M. Polo, bk. iii, chap. 17, ii. 341; Westermarck, *H. of M.*, 125f.).

#### v. 6

ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῆ: for exportation abroad (cf. vii. 156. 2 ad fin.) like the Circassians.

Many races are comparatively indifferent to juvenile unchastity, and only impose strict conduct on women after marriage. Cf. i. 93. 4 n., Peschel, *Races of Man*, 220f., but *per contra*, Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 61f.

For marriage by purchase cf. the speech of the Thracian chief Seuthes, Xen. *An.* vii. 2. 37 σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ ὠνήσομαι Θρακίῳ νόμῳ, and Peschel, *op. cit.* p. 227f.; Westermarck, *op. cit.* chap. 17.

[2] **Tattooing** was to the Greek the branding of a slave (cf. vii. 233 n.), though traces of it are thought by Tsountas to be indicated on a limestone head found at Mycenae (*CR* xi. 461). It was, however, an honour among the Thracians (*Cic. Offic.* ii. 7. 25; *Dio Chrys.* 233), Illyrians (*Strabo* 315), the Agathyrsi (*Mela* ii. 10), and the Mosynoeci (*Xen. An.* v. 4. 32). It is widely used, sometimes as a tribal or totem mark (*Frazer, Totemism*, i. 28, iv. 197f.), sometimes as a means of decoration (*Westermarck, op. cit.* p. 168).

For the similar feeling among the Germans cf. *Tac. Germ.* 14 "Nec arare terram aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris quam vocare hostem et vulnera mereri." Cf. also ii. 167.

#### v. 7

The identifications of foreign with Greek or Roman deities, common in classical authors, are usually misleading. In the cases, however, of Ares and Dionysus we have other evidence of their Thracian extraction. Ares, the half-barbarian war-spirit, holds a secondary position in Hellas. Though his cult was very ancient in several places (e.g., Thebes) he was generally thought to have come from Thrace, whence his worship was derived in prehistoric times (*Rosch., s.v.; PW* ii. 642). Dionysus, though the name is probably Greek, had an oracle among the Bessi (vii. 111 n.). His strange cult, prominent features in which are his connection with the under-world, the orgiastic ecstasy, etc., had no great hold on Greece in the Homeric age, and only won its way to a slow and gradual recognition by becoming Hellenized and humanized. The true home of Dionysus was in Southern Thrace between the Axios and the Hebrus, where he had many local names, e.g., Sabazius. His cult was closely related to the Cybele cult of the kindred Phrygians (*Rohde, Psyche*, ii. 1; *Ramsay on Μήν, C.B.* i. 105; and in general, *Farnell, G.C.* v. 85f.).

Artemis (cf. iv. 33) is probably Bendis, worshipped even at Athens (*Plato Resp.* i. 1. 327a; *Xen. Hell.* ii. 4. 11), or the kindred Edonian war-goddess Cotys or Cotytto (*Strabo*, p. 470). Both may be connected with the great Mother of Asia Minor, a goddess of fertility of whom the Ephesian Artemis is a form; cf. app. 1 and *Farnell, G.C.* ii. 473f., 587f.

Hermes appears to have been the chief of the Cabiri (*Rosch.* 2360); with his cult compare the Gallic (*Caesar, B. Gall.* vi. 17; *Rhys, Hibbert Lectures*, 5–20 and chap. iv) and German (*Tac. Germ.* 9) worship of Mercurius. The latter, Odin, would seem to be like Hermes a wind god, and this may be true also of the Thracian deity. It seems improbable that the Thracians were content with so small a pantheon. Indeed, even according to H., some of them worshipped the Cabiri (ii. 51 n.) and others Salmoxis (iv. 95 n.).

#### v. 8

**ἐὼρχέονται.** Such funeral feasts are found among the Scyths (iv. 73) and in Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 29, xxiv ad fin.). They must be distinguished from merely

commemorative festivals, such as the Roman Parentalia, and from the more savage custom of feeding on the dead, for which cf. iv. 26 n.

**θάπτουσι**, like ταφάι, refers to all the sepulchral rites detailed later.

**γῆ κρούψαντες** defines and explains ἄλλως, “in another way, namely by.”

**μουνομαχίης**, “in which the greatest prizes are given, the competitors being matched in pairs” (Macan) (the implied contrast being with the Greek games in which the prizes were small (viii. 26), and more than two competed at once (v. 22)) rather than “the greatest prizes are given for single combat as is reasonable” (Abbott; cf. viii. 111).

#### v. 9

**ἄπειρος**: there is no known northern limit. Similarly nothing is known of the country north of Scythia (iv. 16).

**Σιγύννας**. Apollonius Rhodius (iv. 320) places Σίγυννοι near the island of Peuce in the lower Danube, but Strabo (520), while agreeing closely with H. otherwise, describes Σίγιννοι among the peoples of the Caucasus: Σίγιννοι δὲ τᾶλλα μὲν περσίζουσιν, ἵππαρίοις δὲ χρῶνται μικροῖς δάσεσιν, ἄπερ ἵππότην ὀχεῖν μὲν οὐ δύναται τέθριππα δὲ ζευγνύουσιν.

**Μηδικῆ**, as described i. 135; iii. 84; v. 49; vii. 61. Myres interprets this of the trousers (ἀναξυρίδες), which struck Greeks most in Persian dress, just as the “braccae” of the Gauls did Latin writers (*Anthropological Essays in honour of E. B. Tylor*, 259).

[2] For the ponies cf. Strabo, above. Similar dwarf horses, “ginni,” were a regular article of export among the Ligurians (cf. Strabo 202), and can be traced in the region as far back as the fourth century (Arist. *Hist. An.* vi. 24. 1; *Gen. An.* ii. 8. 24).

**Ἐνετῶν**. Eneti, i.e., Veneti, were settled round Padua in the plain between the Adige and the Timavo, and were considered by H. Illyrian (i. 196).

**ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίῳ**, “on the Adriatic” (cf. i. 163; iv. 33), is added to distinguish them not from the Gallic Veneti (Caes. *B. Gall.* ii. 34f.), who were unknown to Herodotus, but from Homer’s Paphlagonian Eneti (*Il.* ii. 852). In Strabo’s time the Adriatic Eneti were regarded as a Cisalpine offshoot of the Breton Veneti or as colonists of their Paphlagonian namesakes (Strabo 61, 195, etc.).

[3] **Μήδων ἄποικοι**. Myres (op. cit. p. 260) holds that time will not allow of this Median origin, and suggests a confusion with the Μαῖδοί (Thuc, ii. 98, etc.), a Thracian tribe which apparently moved from the middle Strymon to the upper Axios.

**Λίγυες**. These Ligurians (cf. vii. 165) are described so as to distinguish them from the Asiatic Ligydes (vii. 72). They once held the coastland as far as the Rhone, but later either submitted to Massilia and the other Greek colonies on the coast or retired up the river valleys and into the Maritime Alps.

In the Sigynnae, who trade as peddlers, Myres sees Sequani trading in iron, and especially in iron spears of the gaesum type (op. cit. p. 261f.).

**δόρατα.** Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 21 τὸ σίγυννον Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα. Later on the word σίγυννα and its variants become fairly common. From the scholium on Plato 384, σίγυννος δ' ἐστὶ ξυστὸν δόρου, παρ' Ἡροδότῳ δὲ τὸ ὄλοσίδηρον ἀκόντιον, Myres (op. cit. p. 272f.) is able to identify Sigynnae in this sense with some "long cylindrical spits" from Tamassos in Cyprus. He would also connect Sigynnae in both senses with the iron-using culture of Hallstatt.

#### v. 10

**μέλισσαι.** Perhaps this refers to the gnats and mosquitoes which infest Roumania. For Herodotus' physical speculations cf. iv. 29 n.

#### v. 11

Darius would hardly have crossed by the Hellespont (cf. iv. 143; v. 26 n.), instead of returning as he came by the Bosphorus, if Miltiades, tyrant of the Chersonese, has shown himself disloyal, by his conduct at the bridge over the Danube (iv. 137f.; cf. vi. 40 n.).

[2] **τὴν Ἡδωνῶν** (sc., χώρην): cf. chaps. 124, 126. The district lay between Lake Cercinitis and Mount Pangaeum, and was rich in timber, gold, and silver (Thuc. iv. 108). After the death of Aristagoras the new city fell into the hands of the Edonians, who still held it in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 107). It cannot therefore be identical with Amphipolis (cf. vii. 114), though it was in the same district. The foundation of the Athenian colony confirms the wisdom of Histiaeus' choice. Strategically it lay at the junction of the only practicable roads from the Nestus to the Strymon (15 n.) and thus commanded the only land route along the northern Aegean, where later ran the great Via Egnatia as well as the route up the Strymon.

Coes (cf. iv. 97) was only general of Mitylene in the Scythian expedition. The city still retained, after its submission in the days of Cambyses, the moderate government established by Pittacus (Arist. *Pol.* 1285, 1274b 18).

#### v. 12

**ἀνασπάστους.** For such transplantations cf. iii. 93 n. No doubt the Paeonians were deported because they were too dangerous to be left in their native homes.

[2] **προκατιζόμενον:** sitting to give judgement, a genuinely oriental habit; cf. i. 14. 97. Nicolaus Damascenus (frag. 71) tells of Alyattes, king of Lydia, and a man from "Thracian" Mysia and his wife, a story so similar in all its details that E. Meyer (F. i. 168 n.) suspects the variations from H. are due to the carelessness of the excerptor, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*FHG* iii. 413). It is, however, more probable that an older Lydian tale was tacked on to Darius erroneously.

#### v. 13

[2] **πεπολισμένη:** usually of single cities; cf. chap. 52. 6, iv. 108. 1; here (= οἰκισμένη) of a country full of cities; cf. Strabo 364.

For the supposed Teucrian and Mysian migration to Europe cf. vii. 20 n.

**τούτου**, “this” (i.e., that Darius might ask the question).

#### v. 15

There were two roads from Abdera and the mouth of the Nestus to the Strymon: (1) the main road near the coast south of Mount Pangaeum through Pieria (cf. vii. 121 n.); (2) the mountain road through the passes of the Sapaiei (near Philippi), which led north of Mount Pangaeum down the valley of the Angites past the Doberes (vii. 113).

[3] **Σιριοπαίονες**: named after their capital, Siris (viii. 115) (the modern Seres), near the east bank of the Strymon, just above Lake Cercinitis (now Terkino), into which the Strymon expands above Amphipolis. The Paeoplae are on the Strymon north of the Angites and Siris (vii. 113).

#### v. 16

**Δόβηρας . . . Ὀδομάντους**. Probably spurious. The combination of geographical and ethnographical boundaries is possible (cf. Strabo 440 τὴν περὶ Πίνδον καὶ Ἀθαμᾶνας καὶ Δόλοπας), but of the three tribes named only one, the Odomanti, in the hills some way north of Mount Pangaeum, and east of the Strymon (vii. 112; Thuc. ii. 101), is Thracian, while the other two, the Doberes, just north of Mount Pangaeum (vii. 113), and the Agrianes, near the source of the Strymon (Thuc. ii. 96), are themselves Paeonian. How then can Paeonians be said to dwell near them?

Lake Prasias is identified by Kiepert (Map xvi, p. 4) with the little lake of Butkova, rather than with that of Doïran, mainly because it lies near the middle Strymon, and possibly lay on the old course of the river. Hence wood could be brought down the river from Mount Orbelus (§ 2), whereas that would be impossible to Lake Doïran. The identification, also, suits better the tribes named (chap. 15) and Mount Dysorus (chap. 17).

ὧδε must be taken with κατοικημένους; Abicht transposes κατοικημένους and ἐξαιρέειν.

[2] **Orbelus**: the southern offshoots of Mount Scomius between the Strymon and the Nestus.

[3] **καταπακτῆς**: neither the form, which should be καταπηκτῆς, nor the sense, “fast closed,” are satisfactory. Read καταρρακτῆς (Reiske) (cf. Livy xxvii. 28 *cataracta*), or κατεπακτῆς (Stein), “closing downwards,” i.e., a trap-door; cf. Pollux x. 25.

[4] Cf. Athenaeus 345 e οἶδα δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Μόσσυνον τῆς Θράκης βουῖς οἱ ἰχθῦς ἐσθίουσι παραβαλλομένους αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰς φάτνας, a notice made more interesting by the fact that μόσσυνος means “a house built on piles”; cf. Xen. *An.* v. 4. 26.

This is the earliest known description of lake dwellings. The settlement here may be a survival of a primitive civilization, like that which existed on the shores of the

lakes on both sides the Alps, where many remains of pile dwellings and other relics of the Stone and Bronze ages have been discovered (cf. O. Keller, *Lake Dwellings*, and the able summary in Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, chap. v, also “The Glastonbury Lake Village”). They were specially adapted for purposes of defence, and are still so used in Borneo, New Guinea, and Dahomey. For the fishing cf. Rawlinson, and for Thracian polygamy, chap. 5 n. Herodotus seems to imply in the word ἐπειρήθη that Megabazus failed in his attempt to capture these inaccessible dwellings. We may compare the escape of Venice when the Huns sacked Aquileia A.D. 452.

#### v. 17–22

*The story of the Persian embassy to Amyntas. Murder of the envoys by Alexander.* The story is hard to believe (Macan). Not only are similar stories told of other persons; Messenians and Laconians (Paus. iv. 4. 3.), Athenians and Megarians (Plut. *Solon* 8; Polyaeus i. 20), and (later) of the Theban exiles and the Polemarchs (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 4–6; but cf. § 7); but the subsequent conduct of Alexander is inconsistent with this patriotic beginning. He makes terms with Persia (chap. 21) and remains a Persian vassal (bks. viii, ix). This story seems designed to prove the patriotism of Alexander, the faithful friend of Athens (cf. viii. 136 n.; ix. 44); H.’s partiality for the Macedonian kings (cf. chap. 22, viii. 137) leads him to accept the tradition, learnt either in Macedon (cf. introd. § 4) or at Athens.

#### v. 17

[2] **Μακεδονίης.** H. exaggerates the nearness of Lake Prasias to the Macedon of Amyntas, i.e., the district between the Axios and the Haliacmon (Μακεδονίς, vii. 127 n.). Amyntas (ca. 540–498 B.C.; cf. viii. 139), and for a time his son and successor Alexander, were petty princes content to submit to Persian suzerainty. But later (ὕστερον τούτων), after the defeat of Xerxes and Mardonius (480–79 B.C.), Alexander extended his kingdom east of the Axios, over Mygdonia and Bisaltia, till it reached the Strymon (Thuc. ii. 99). He then acquired the rich mine here mentioned, probably just east of Mount Dysorus. Southward of this, in Bisaltia, gold and silver were plentiful (cf. 11 n.; vi. 46; vii. 112; ix. 75). Hence he adopted the Bisaltian type and standard of coinage, merely substituting his own name for that of the tribe (Head, *H.N.* 199f.).

**ὑπερβάντα:** a word like ἔξεστι must be supplied from ἔστι . . . σύντομος. Abicht emends ὑπερβάντι.

#### v. 18

[2] **διαπίνοντες.** Both Macedonians (cf. Theopompus, ap. Polyb. viii. 11, and Arr. *Anab.* iv. 8. 2) and Persians (cf. i. 133; Aelian, *V.H.* xii. 1) were hard drinkers.

**νόμος.** Repugnant as is the suggestion to Greek sentiment (cf. Isaeus iii. 14) it is even more opposed to Oriental custom; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 613 τοὺς Πέρσας ὀρθῶς φασι μὴ ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἀλλὰ ταῖς παλλάκεσι συμμαθεύσκεσθαι.

[4] ἀλγηδόνας . . . ὀφθαλμῶν. This strange expression may be an Orientalism: it is used by Alexander the Great of Persian ladies (Plut. *Alex.* 21).

v. 20

[4] Ἕλλην. Alexander is always made to assert his Hellenic lineage; cf. chap. 22, ix. 45.

ὑπαρχος. The word implies that Macedon is a fief under the Persian crown.

v. 21

[2] Βουβάρη: dative after δοὺς ταῦτα. Bubares, who had a son Amyntas by this marriage (viii. 136), must surely be the same as Bubares, son of Megabazus (vii. 22), one of the overseers of the Athos canal. Since Alexander, not Amyntas, gives Gygaea in marriage, he must in the meantime have succeeded to the throne. But this took place ca. 498 B.C., so that οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον must not be pressed. Alexander was doubtless anxious to gain influence at the Persian court. It seems more likely that the marriage of his sister to a Persian grandee, which cast a slur on his phil-Hellenism, caused the invention of the tale that he murdered the envoys, than that the murder of the envoys was really hushed up by the marriage.

v. 22

Ἕλληνας . . . εἶναι. Herodotus, who exaggerates the phil-Hellenism (vii. 173; viii. 143; ix. 44f.) of Alexander, twice over insists on his Hellenic lineage (viii. 137), yet his proofs are weak: (1) a family legend, αὐτοὶ λέγουσι (cf. viii. 137f.); (2) the verdict of the judges at Olympia, probably based on the legend.

ἐπιστάμενος. H. may have satisfied himself by inquiry at the Macedonian court, if he visited it (cf. Suidas, introd. §§ 1, 4), but his "knowledge" is not different in kind from "opinion," certainty being attainable in his view, not only by the evidence of his own eyes or other testimony but by inference and combinations (cf. Macan, i, introd. civ).

διέποντες . . . Ἑλλήνων: i.e., the Ἑλληνοδίκαι, as most editors read with A B C P. These presidents and judges at the Olympic games were citizens of Elis (ii. 160). Their number varied with that of the Elean tribes (Paus. v. 9. 5, with Frazer ad loc.).

[2] καταβάντος, "entering the lists"; cf. Soph. *Trach.* 505; Plato *Leg.* 834e.

Ἀργεῖος: a descendant of Temenus, the Heraclid conqueror of Argos (viii. 137). Thucydides accepts this genealogy (ii. 99, v. 80), as do most later authors, with variations (viii. 137 n.), though Demosthenes vehemently protests (*Phil.* 3, 31).

στάδιον: cognate accusative, the foot-race being a form of ἀγών; cf. Xen. *An.* iv. 8. 27; Plato *Laws* 833a.

συνεξέπιπτε: not "was drawn in the first pair," as competitors ran in heats of four, not in pairs (Paus. vi. 13. 2), but "ran equal with the first," i.e., ran a dead heat; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1045d ὑποθέμενος δύο δρομεῖς ὁμοῦ συνεκπίπτειν ἀλλήλοις.

The word, properly used of votes or opinions (i. 206. 3; viii. 49. 2), is transferred here to the competitor voted upon, as in viii. 123. 2 to the voters. Since Alexander's name does not appear on the list of victors, we must either suppose he was beaten in the deciding heat, or that Herodotus here too (cf. 17 n.) is giving us an inaccurate Macedonian version of the story, such athletic traditions being proverbially untrustworthy.

**v. 23–27**

*Darius takes Histiaeus with him to Susa. Otanes' conquests.*

**v. 23**

δωρεήν must be left out or altered to χώρην, and put before μισθόν.

[2] No doubt Histiaeus, and Aristagoras after him (chap. 124f.), hoped to turn the great natural advantages of the district (chap. 11 n.) to good account. But the idea of a great Graeco-barbarian power in Thrace strong enough to be a danger to the Persian empire is strange.

οικηίω: either "within your own land" (cf. Thuc. i. 118), or better, "of your own making."

**v. 24**

[4] σύσσιτος = όμόσιτος (vii. 119. 3), and όμοστράπεζος (iii. 132), Xen. *An.* i. 8. 25. This was a great honour at the Persian, as at other Eastern courts (2 Sam. ix. 7, 11; 1 Kings ii. 7). For the king's benefactors cf. viii. 85 n.

**v. 25**

Ἀρταφρένεα. The MSS. vary here and elsewhere (vi. 94; vii. 74), but this form is confirmed by Aesch. *Pers.* 21, 776, and CIA i. 64 [Τισ]σαφρένην, and represents the Persian ending *-frana* (cf. iii. 70 nn.) more correctly than the later form Ἀρταφέρνης.

The mutual relations of the Persian officials in Asia Minor are obscure (cf. app. vi; Abbott, *H.* v, vi, Excursus i).

(1) Though Herodotus divides Asia Minor west of the Halys into *three* satrapies—the Ionic, the Lydian, and the Phrygian (iii. 90, 127), we hear of only *two* capitals—Sardis (Çparda, cf. iii. 120) and Dascylium, as in Thucydides. Again, Thucydides clearly recognizes only two principal satraps—Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, Tamos, governor of Ionia, being a mere lieutenant of the latter (Thuc. viii. 31, 87). Similarly, in Herodotus, Oroetes, Satrap of Sardis (iii. 120), resides at Magnesia in the Ionic satrapy (iii. 122), and after slaying the satrap of Dascylium, holds all three satrapies (iii. 126, 127). Further, had he not from the first ruled Ionia, why should he have been taunted with the independence of Samos? (iii. 120). It would seem then that the Ionic satrapy, though distinct for financial purposes, was governed from Sardis.

(2) The generals seem at this time to have been quite distinct from the satraps. In the Ionic revolt the *three* generals are said to have districts (νομοί, v. 102), and divide the revolted towns among themselves (v. 116). Nevertheless Daurises moves from the Hellespont to Caria (v. 117), while Hymaees takes his place on the Hellespont (v. 122), and Otanes joins Artaphrenes in attacking Ionia and Aeolis (v. 123). Thus Otanes (never styled governor) would seem to have been a purely military official (vii. 135), successor to Megabazus in the generalship (v. 26), while Artaphrenes is throughout satrap of Sardis (v. 25) with supreme authority (v. 30), especially in matters of finance (vi. 42). Indeed, it is implied (v. 30, 32) that his authority is superior to that of the general; cf. Meyer, iii, § 43. Lastly, Mardonius (vi. 43) would seem to have had a special commission from the king with fuller powers, as had the younger Cyrus (Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 3).

**δικαστέων.** For the king's judges cf. iii. 14. 5, 31. 3 nn.; and for a similar offence, viii. 194.

**σπαδίξας** = ἐκδείρας, "after flaying him." If so, it repeats ἀπέδειρε, as ἐντανύσας ἐνέτεινε below. Stein suggests "after tanning," σπάδιξ being the *bark* of the maple.

ἐνέτεινε, "stretched them to make the seat"; cf. *Il.* v. 727, and for τόνοι, ix. 118.

Flaying was an Assyrian practice (Layard) adopted by the Persians so freely that flaying alive (Diod. xv. 10; cf. Plut. *Artax.* 17) became known in late times as the Persian punishment.

#### v. 26

**Βυζαντίους.** Since Otanes has to reduce Byzantium and Chalcedon, it is clear they had revolted against Darius (cf. 27) after the disaster in Scythia, whither the Byzantines had followed him (iv. 138). This is confirmed by the fact that Darius, who had crossed to Europe over the Bosphorus (iv. 85), returned by the Hellespont (v. 11 n.). Perinthus may perhaps be added to the rebels (cf. v. 1).

Antandrus and Lamponium were Lesbian colonies north of the gulf of Adramyttium. Apparently they had shaken off the yoke of Mytilene, but were now re-conquered and remained later subject; cf. Thuc. iii. 50, iv. 52.

Lemnos and Imbros were now first conquered by the Persians with the aid of Coes. For their conquest by Miltiades cf. vi. 137 n., and for Pelasgians there app. xv, §§ 1 and 6.

#### v. 27

The text is plainly faulty. Most editors follow Valckenaer in marking a lacuna after τελευτᾶ. Stein more ingeniously suggests that the words τοὺς μὲν λιποστρατίης κτλ. originally followed chap. 26, with which they are connected both in sense and grammar (cf. vi. 122); the author then added οἱ μὲν δὴ Λήμνιοι . . . τελευτᾶ as a marginal note (cf. ix. 83); finally, when these got thrust into the text, the gloss αἰτίη . . . κατεστρέφετο was inserted to mend the damaged construction. But this

betrays its origin by its inadequacy. In any case it is clear that the last lines of this chapter must be connected with chap. 26. Lycaretus had hoped to succeed his brother Maeandrius at Samos (iii. 143), but the Persians had set up Syloson (iii. 144), whose son was now tyrant there (iv. 138).

#### v. 28–38

*Causes and outbreak of the Ionic revolt. Naxos and Miletus (28, 29). The expedition to Naxos and the consequences of its failure (30–4). Aristagoras, urged on by Histiaeus, revolts, puts down the tyrants in Ionia, and goes to Sparta for aid (35–8).*

#### v. 28

ἄνεσις, “afterwards there was a respite from evil for no long time.” H. apparently was ignorant of the length of this brief interval of peace. His vagueness on the point makes the chronology of the reign of Darius in general, and of the Scythian expedition in particular, uncertain.

τὸ δεύτερον. The first occasion would seem to be rather the conquest under Cyrus (i. 161f.; cf. vi. 32) than the recent operations, which did not affect Ionia.

κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον. Herodotus clearly makes the acme of Milesian prosperity fall in the days of Histiaeus, and synchronize with the prosperity of Naxos (ca. 510 B.C.). The Eusebian list, as given by Jerome, dates her thalassocracy 748–730 B.C. in the supposed era of colonization (cf. Busolt, i. 465f.), but Myres would transfer it to 604–586 B.C. (*JHS* xxvi. 110–15), the days of the great tyrant Thrasybulus, Periander’s friend and ally (i. 20, v. 92), whose sea-power and greatness H. recognizes. Thrasybulus may have owed his power in part to an uprising of the poor subject Carians, known as Gergithes (Athenaeus, p. 524 a, b), against the dominant Hellenic immigrants. The “two generations” of faction represent the interval between the two tyrannies, when Miletus and the other Ionic cities made little resistance to Croesus. Yet Miletus would seem to have been fairly prosperous in the days of Cyrus (i. 141).

κατήρτισαν: to set right that which is out of order, Lat. *reconcinnare*; cf. 106. 5. The essence of the alleged re-settlement is the re-arrangement of office, just as in that of Demonax at Cyrene (iv. 161) it is the re-arrangement of the tribal divisions. There, too, the arbitration is between parties; for arbitration between cities cf. v. 95; vi. 108; vii. 145, 154. Some see in this re-settlement the establishment of a moderate oligarchy of yeomen farmers; but is not the story a political parable inserted here for some unknown reason?

#### v. 29

ἀνεστηκυῖη = ἀναστάτω εἰούση, “in the general desolation of the country,” not “the upland parts of the country” (Krüger), which is inconsistent with πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν (above).

[2] **κατέβησαν**: like *κατέρχεσθαι*, used of approaching the city from the country, since the cities generally lay near the sea; cf. i. 114. 4, 138. 1; Hom. *Od.* xi. 188, xv. 505.

**άλιην**: used by Herodotus of Thebes (79. 2), Sparta (vii. 134. 2), and Persia (i. 125. 2). On inscriptions it is found in the Doric West, e.g., Corcyra, Sicily, and Magna Graecia (cf. Gilbert, *Gr. S.* ii. 309 n. 1). The official term in Ionia was probably *ἀγορά*; cf. vi. 11. 1 (Macan).

#### v. 30

**τῶν παχέων**. The men of substance; so of Chalcidian Hippobotae (77. 2), and of oligarchs at Aegina (vi. 91. 1), and at Megara in Sicily (vii. 156. 2); cf. also Ar. *Pax* 639.

[2] For similar unnatural alliances between an oligarchy and a tyrant cf. Hippias and Sparta (chaps. 63, 90, and Thuc. ii. 33). The Milesian oligarchy had been friendly to Paros, the rival of Naxos (chap. 29).

[4] **ὀκτακισχιλίην**. A force of 8000 hoplites, as large as that of Sparta (vii. 234), is rightly regarded by Beloch (*B.*, p. 181) as impossible for a rocky island with no large town, unless it includes the contingents of all the Cyclades dependent on Naxos (31. 2).

[5] **ἐπιθαλασσίων**. There is some exaggeration, perhaps dramatic, in τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ . . . πάντων, but probably Artaphrenes was supreme in Western Asia Minor (25 n.). The Persian rule only extended to the islands adjacent to the coast, e.g., Samos.

#### v. 31

**Naxos**, though small in comparison with Euboea or Cyprus, is the largest of the Cyclades, 19 miles by 15. It was celebrated for its wine (cf. the wine-cup on its coins, Head, *H.N.*, 488; Hill, *G. and R.C.*, 167), and still produces good corn, oil, wine, and fruit; cf. Bent, *Cyclades* (chap. xiv); Tozer, *Islands of the Aegean*, chap. iv. Yet it only sent four ships to Salamis (viii. 46. 3), and never paid more than 6 $\frac{2}{5}$  talents as tribute to Athens, while its neighbour Paros paid 16 $\frac{1}{5}$  talents.

[2] **ἀγχοῦ**: quite 100 miles from Miletus, but well placed half way between Ionia and Greece.

**τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἠρτημένας**: implies political as well as geographical connection. The Cyclades, the summits of a submerged mountain chain, are divided by but narrow channels of water. This Naxian hegemony may possibly have been established by Lygdamis (i. 64) with the aid of Pisistratus and Polycrates (cf. app. xvi); Myres would, however, connect the thalassocracy of Naxos (515–505 B.C.) with the prosperous (chap. 28) commercial oligarchy established after the fall of the tyrant (*JHS* xxvi. 98).

[3] **Cyprus**, already subject to Persia (iii. 19. 3, 91. 1), is about thrice as large as Euboea. Naturally for an important foreign expedition the king's approval was required, but cf. iv. 167 n.

#### v. 32

For the genealogy of the Achaemenid royal house of Persia cf. app. iv, § 3. Megabates was satrap of Phrygia when Pausanias, after the capture of Byzantium, entered into treasonable relations with Xerxes (Thuc. i. 128). But, according to Thucydides, the lady to whose hand Pausanias aspired, was the daughter, not of Megabates, but of the king himself. Again, Megabates was replaced by Artabazus to further the conduct of the negotiations. Herodotus is repeating a doubtful oral tradition, while Thucydides based his narrative on Pausanias' own letter, irrefutable evidence, if genuine. Again, Thucydides has not the faintest doubt of Pausanias' guilt, whereas Herodotus, who elsewhere (ix. 76, 78, 88 n.) emphasizes the nobler traits in his character, and minimizes his pride and luxury (viii. 3, ix. 82 n.), evidently regards him as less black than he was painted. On the other hand, to Themistocles (cf. viii. 4 n., introd. § 31) Herodotus is less favourable than Thucydides.

#### v. 33

The wars in Ionia and Greece, from the expedition against Naxos to the battle of Marathon, fall within a period of ten years, 499–490 B.C. The chronology which suits H.'s narrative best is Stein's from whom Abbott (Excursus xiii) varies only as to the first years.

499 — Spring: expedition to Naxos; four months' siege (v. 31–4). Autumn: revolt of Aristagoras; deposition of the tyrants (v. 36–8). Winter: Aristagoras seeks help at Sparta and Athens (v. 38, 97).

498 — Burning of Sardis. Battle of Ephesus (v. 99–102). Defection of Athens (v. 103). Spread of the revolt to Byzantium, Caria, and Cyprus.

497 — Persian successes in Cyprus and Asia Minor (v. 108–123). Flight and death of Aristagoras (v. 124–6; Thuc. iv. 102). Histiaeus comes down from Susa (v. 107, 108, vi. 1).

496 — Battle of Lade. Siege of Miletus begins (vi. 6f.).

495 — Second year of the siege.

494 — Fall of Miletus (vi. 18f.). Subjugation of Caria.

493 — Death of Histiaeus (vi. 28–30). Reduction of the islands (vi. 31–3). The ordinances of Artaphrenes (vi. 42).

492 — Mardonius' expedition and disaster off Mount Athos (vi. 43–5).

491 — Subjugation of Thasos. Preparations for another invasion. The sending of the heralds (vi. 46, 48f.).

490 — The expedition of Datis, and the battle of Marathon (vi. 94f.).

It seems clear that the revolt began with the arrest and deposition of the tyrants, which must therefore be placed in 499 B.C. in the sixth year before the fall of Miletus (494 B.C.; cf. vi. 18). But while the events of the triennium between the fall of Miletus and the battle of Marathon are clearly dated by Herodotus (cf. Macan, app. vi), the chronology of the Ionic revolt is vague, the only fixed point being supplied by Thucydides' statement (iv. 102; cf. chap. 126 n.) that Aristagoras' death took place sixty years before the foundation of Amphipolis. Very possibly Macan is right in cutting down the length of the siege of Miletus to a single year (with E. Curtius) and in allowing a longer period to the revolt in Cyprus and Aeolis. But his scheme (app. v) is rather a correction than an interpretation of Herodotus. Busolt (ii. 548 n. 7) presses into the service of chronology fanciful anecdotes about Darius at Susa, and thus crowds the events above assigned to 498 and 497 into 498, and makes the siege of Miletus last 3 years, 497–4. Munro (*CAH* iv. 232–3) suspects H.'s curiously explicit chronology of 493–1 B.C. and doubts if any of the events assigned to 491 B.C. are rightly dated. He places Marathon in 491.

**Καύκασα** must have been a harbour on the southeast coast of Chios (34) near Phanae (Strabo 645; Livy xxxvi. 43).

[2] **τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ**. Naxos was ruined by the next expedition (vi. 96).

**θαλαμῆς**: a port-hole in the lowest row.

**διελόντας . . . κατὰ τοῦτο**, "dividing him in this way." The body was not really divided, but might be so spoken of, being half within and half without the ship. Stein διέλκοντας.

[3] This story of the treachery of Megabates is very improbable. That a Persian of the blood royal should by treachery ruin a project expressly sanctioned by Darius, and to punish the insolence of a Greek tyrant risk disgrace for himself, is unlikely; that he should remain thereafter in high favour (32 n.), hardly credible. Nor are the Naxians, with the fate of Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and Lemnos before their eyes, likely to have been guileless enough to have no suspicions of the great armada gathered against them.

#### v. 34

**ἐσάξαντο** (cf. προεσάξαντο, i. 190, viii. 20): probably (Stein) from σάπτεσθαι, "repaired," "strengthened," rather than (Schweig.) aorist middle from ἐσάγειν, in which case καί must be struck out. Both seem difficult here. Hence Dietsch, κατὰ τάχος ἐσάξαντο, "quickly laid up stores of food."

[3] **τείχεα**: forts like that on Mount Istone held by the Corcyrean nobles (Thuc. iii. 85, iv. 46).

#### v. 35

[2] **τὸν ἐστιγμένον**. Herodotus speaks as if this slave were a well-known character like the man in the iron mask, thus arousing the reader's curiosity; cf. 51. 1, 72. 3; vi. 119. 2; viii. 211, etc.

[3] φυλασσομένων: there were sentinels on the principal roads; cf. 52; vii. 239. 3; Nehemiah ii. 7. Gellius, xvii. 9, adds the professed motive of the shaving, “servo suo diu oculos aegros habenti capillum ex capite omni tamquam medendi gratia deradit,” etc.; and Polyaeus, *Strat.* i. 24, gives the message, Ἰστιαῖος Ἀρισταγόρα· Ἰωνίαν ἀπόστησον: but these details deserve no credit.

#### v. 36

Grundy (p. 84f.) sees in this incidental reference to conspirators an indication that the plan of revolt had been made before the expedition to Naxos. He holds that the other conspirators would never have admitted to their councils a tyrant in the Persian interest, who had just been engaged in an attempt to enslave a free Greek island, unless he had been beforehand implicated in the conspiracy: nor could Aristagoras have ventured to ask for aid in European Greece, unless he had some defence to offer for the attack on Naxos. He further points out how improbable it is that Megabates (cf. 33 n.) betrayed the intended expedition to the Naxians, and suggests that Aristagoras was the real culprit. On these and other grounds he forms the hypothesis that the object of Aristagoras in proposing the expedition was to bring about the mobilization and concentration of the Ionian fleet, the only possible means of securing that combination between the Greek cities necessary for the success of a revolt. But, as he admits, proof is impossible. Herodotus, by the inconsistencies and prejudices (97 n., 124 n.; vi. 3 n.) visible in his account, lays himself open to damaging criticism, but the reconstruction proposed has no secure basis. Patriotic Greeks in Ionia or Europe might gladly welcome the man who had seen the error of his ways and renounced Medism and Tyranny. Naxos may have been warned without Aristagoras' intervention, and it is quite after the manner of H. to introduce us suddenly to a fully fledged conspiracy without telling us exactly the steps by which it was formed. In fine, while we may legitimately doubt the fairness and accuracy of H., we have no sufficient grounds for rewriting the whole story. Discontent with the Persian and the tyrant was doubtless rife in Western Asia (chap. 124 n.); the means by which it was brought to a head, and the motives of the agents, remain uncertain.

[2] The great geographer Hecataeus (cf. introd. § 20) might well give such a catalogue as those found iii. 90f.; vii. 61f.

[4] ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ. Not equivalent to our book i, a division made later. It may perhaps be the history of Lydia (i. 1–94); cf. ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι (ii. 161. 3), though ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων (vii. 93) refers to i. 171. Elsewhere the references are vaguer: ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ (ii. 38. 2; vi. 39. 1), ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι (v. 22. 1; i. 75. 1).

πλώσαντα. Myus (i. 142) lay originally on a bay at the mouth of the Maeander, but the river so silted up the bay that in Strabo's time it was three or four miles up stream, though it could still be reached by boat.

στρατόπεδον often includes the fleet; cf. 112. 1; vii. 181. 3, 236. 2, etc.; so στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, vii. 124, 183. 1.

ἐπιπλέειν, “to be on deck,” like ἐπιβατεύειν, “to serve as a marine” (vii. 96, 98), while ἐμπλέειν, “to serve below,” is used of the crew (vii. 184. 5).

#### v. 37

**Iatragoras:** perhaps, as suggested by his name, a kinsman of Aristagoras.

**Ἰβανώλλιος:** for another son Heraclides cf. 121 n. The name is Carian; cf. Ἀρι-δωλῖς (vii. 195) and Μαύσ-ωλος (v. 118. 2). Mylasa (i. 171. 6) was the residence of the dynasts of Caria till they got possession of the Greek town, Halicarnassus (cf. Head, *H.N.* 622, 629).

**Ἰστιαῖον Τύμνεω:** a Carian, afterwards released and restored (vii. 90). In the Athenian tribute list for 440 B.C. (*CIA* i. 240; Hill, *Sources*, 71) we hear of Κᾶρες ὧν Τύμνης ἄρχει distinct from the men of Termera, and a coin of Termera (ca. 480–50 B.C., Head, *H.N.*, 627) is inscribed τυμνο. Probably these refer to the grandson of our Tymnes.

**Termera** is a small place opposite Cos, on the promontory between Halicarnassus and Myndus, now Assarlik (cf. *JHS* viii. 64f.; xvi. 203f.).

For Coes cf. iv. 97; v. 11, and for Aristagoras of Cyme iv. 138.

[2] **συναπισταίατο.** The optative with final ὡς ἄν is Homeric and Herodotean (Goodwin, § 329); cf. vii. 176. 4; viii. 7. 1; ix. 22. 3, 51. 3; so also ὅκως ἄν, i. 75. 5, etc.

#### v. 38

[2] **στρατηγοί:** doubtless, as at Athens, the chief civil as well as military magistrates, but, unlike the expelled tyrants, elected for a fixed period and responsible.

ἔδεε . . . ἐξευρεθῆναι. There seems to be here confusion between ἔδεε συμμαχίης τινός and ἔδεε συμμαχίην ἐξευρεθῆναι. But epexegetic infinitives are not infrequent after verbs of begging or needing; cf. iii. 36. 3 προφάσιός τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι.

#### v. 39–48

*Sparta at the time of Aristagoras' visit. Story of Cleomenes' accession (39–41). The adventures of Dorieus in Libya and Sicily (42–8).* These are interesting as throwing light on the little known but important struggle of Greek and barbarian for the West (cf. 45 n.).

#### v. 39

The opening words take us back to the excursus on Spartan history (i. 65f.), though incidentally Cleomenes has been already mentioned (iii. 148).

Anaxandridas was contemporary with Croesus (ca. 550, i. 67. 1), and Cleomenes must have come to the throne soon after 520 (cf. app. xvii, § 1).

**κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην.** In merit Dorieus excelled his brother, who owed the crown to priority of birth (cf. 42).

ἀδελφεῖς . . . θυγατέρα: so Leonidas married his niece, Gorgo (vii. 239), and Archidamus his aunt, Lampito (vi. 71).

#### v. 40

**οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ γέροντες.** The Ephors were specially charged with the maintenance of the order established by Lycurgus. Hence it may have been part of their duties to guard against the extinction of either royal house (cf. 41. 2). But in this matter the Ephors are clearly acting as the presidents and executive (cf. 39) of the Gerousia. Ephors and Gerousia together formed the supreme criminal court (referred to vi. 72, 82, 85) as described by Paus. iii. 5. 2, with reference to the trial of king Pausanias on his return from Attica 403 B.C. βασιλεῖ δὲ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων δικαστήριον ἐκάθιζον οἱ τε ὀνομαζόμενοι γέροντες ὀκτώ καὶ εἴκοσιν ὄντες ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐφόρων ἀρχή, σὺν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τῆς οἰκίας βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐτέρας. As the executive of this court the Ephors can summon the king before them (Plut. *Cleom.* 10), charge him with treason, and even imprison him (Thuc. i. 131).

[2] **οὐδαμῶς Σπαρτητικά.** Bigamy was illegal throughout Greece; but the curious arrangements at Sparta (Polyb. xii. 6 b) by which (1) several brothers married one wife (cf. de Coulanges, *Nouv. Recherches*, 70f.), now interpreted as an instance of the Levirate or a survival of polyandry, and (2) men lent their wives to friends (cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 15), made it seem necessary to Herodotus and Pausanias (iii. 3. 9) to declare that bigamy was unprecedented at Sparta.

#### v. 41

**ἔσύτερον ἐπελθοῦσα:** since ἔσύτερον always refers to a future event, and Paus. iii. 3. 9, imitating this passage, writes ἢ τε ἐπεισελθοῦσα, read (Stein) ὕστερον ἐπεσελθοῦσα.

**ἔφεδρον.** H. so calls the heir apparent, because he will take the king's place as champion of the state.

[2] **οἱ ἔφοροι.** As in England, great officers of state are on occasion of a birth summoned to the queen's apartments. For the neglect of this precaution at the time of the birth of the "Old Pretender" cf. Macaulay, *Hist.* chap. 8. The Spartans had to watch over the purity of the Heracleid race, through whom came their title to their territory.

[3] **Δημαρμένου:** probably a son of the famous Chilon (i. 59 n.; vi. 65. 2).

#### v. 42

**ἀκρομανής,** "mad on the surface," "slightly mad" (cf. ἀκρόζυμος, ἀκρόζεστος, ἀκροθώραξ, ἀκροκνέφαιος, ἀκροσαπής), or perhaps easily maddened; cf. ἀκροσφαλής: the more natural translation "very mad" (cf. ἀκροδίκαιος, ἀκροπενθής, ἀκρόσοφος) is impossible in view of vi. 75, 84, which show that Cleomenes was at first ὑπομαργότερος, and only at the end of his life downright mad.

[2] οὔτε . . . χρησάμενος. Cf. Cic. *Div.* i. 3 “Quam vero Graecia coloniam misit in Aeoliam, Ioniam, Asiam, Siciliam, Italiam sine Pythio aut Dodonaeo aut Hammonis oraculo? aut quod bellum susceptum ab ea sine consilio deorum est?” (cf. iv. 159; Thuc. iii. 92). Greek states as a rule procured the sanction of an oracle before founding a colony or undertaking a war. As the pronouncement of Pope Alexander VI legalized the Spanish and Portuguese occupation of America, so the oracle gave the Greek colonists assurance of success and a title to the land. But the oracle here, as elsewhere, acted on the suggestion of others, being in most cases set in motion by the state or men interested in the project; cf. iv. 159 n., and Holm, *G.* i. 244f.

[*Additional note* (1928). Niese (*Hermes*, xlii (1907), pp. 419f.) argues that Dorieus was not a mere adventurer, and that his attempts at colonization were sanctioned by the state. Cf. αἰτήσας λεῶν (chap. 42) and συγκτίσται (chap. 46).]

τῶν νομιζομένων. Cf. Thuc. i. 24 with Forbes, ad loc., and for the kindling of the Prytaneum fire in the colony from that in the mother-city i. 146.

κατηγέοντο. The Theraeans were well-chosen guides, being colonists from Sparta (iv. 147f.), and themselves founders of Cyrene (iv. 150f.). For Spartan ambitions in North Africa cf. iv. 178 n. For Macae cf. iv. 175, and Cinyps, iv. 175, 198 n.

#### v. 43

**Eleon**, in Boeotia near Tanagra, was the home of the legendary seer Bacis (viii. 20 n.).

**Λαῖου**: perhaps “oracles referring to Laius”; cf. Soph. *O.T.* 906 Λαῖου θέσφατα, but more probably “collected by Laius.” Antichares was probably a χρησολόγος (vii. 6. 3 n.), who made use of an apocryphal collection of oracles passing in the sixth century under Laius’s name, and similar to those attributed to Orpheus, Musaeus, and Bacis (vii. 6; viii. 20). For an inscription supposed to be of the time of Laius cf. v. 59 n.

**Ἡρακλείην**. If taken of a town, the article (as in i. 16) would imply an existing city, made a Greek colony by Dorieus, but in spite of Diodorus (iv. 23 Δωριεὺς ἔκτισε πόλιν Ἡράκλειαν), there was clearly no such city near Mount Eryx (cf. 45. 1 ad fin., 46. 1), Heraclea Minoa lying on the south coast (46. 2). Probably γῆν has fallen out before τήν, then Ἡρακλείη γῆ = Ἡρακλέος γῆ as Ἐρυκος χώρα = Ἐρυκίνη χώρα (cf. 45. 1 ad fin.).

The claim of the Heracleid prince to the land of Heracles is similar to the Dorians’ title to the Peloponnese, but in Sicily the claim is vitiated by the fact that the Heracles of Mount Eryx is no Greek hero but Tyrian Melkart (cf. ii. 44), accepted like Astarte-Aphrodite by the Elymi from their Phoenician neighbours. The general identification of Heracles with Melkart and Astarte with Aphrodite is, however, without sufficient grounds.

The Italy of Herodotus (cf. iv. 15. 1; vi. 127. 1) does not on the west coast extend to the north of the river Laus, Hyele (Velia) being in Oenotria (i. 167. 3): but it takes in all the Greek cities on the gulf of Tarentum, including Tarentum itself (i. 24. 1; iii. 136, 138) which Antiochus excluded. On Italy in this and other senses cf. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, i. chap. 1.

#### v. 44

**τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον.** Sybaris was destroyed 510 B.C. (Diod. xii. 9).

**[2] Συβαρίται.** These are the remnants of the inhabitants of Old Sybaris, who dwelt in Laus and Scidrus (510–453 B.C.; cf. vi. 21 n.); their descendants settled at New Sybaris, 453–448, 445–444, and finally at Thurii (443 B.C.), where H. doubtless learned the story.

**Telys** is called βασιλεύς in the Sybarite, but τύραννος in the Crotoniate story. Freeman (*S.* ii. 434–5) holds that βασιλεύς is used of tyrants only by those who wished to flatter them (cf. vii. 161 n., vi. 23 n.), but in chap. 113 Aristocyprus and Philocyprus of Soli are called indifferently king and tyrant, and in chap. 35 Aristagoras fears to lose τὴν βασιληίην τῆς Μιλήτου. Telys (Diod. xii. 9) was a demagogue, who having obtained supreme power at Sybaris, banished 500 leading citizens. These took refuge at Croton, which, led by Pythagoras, refused to surrender the suppliants, whereupon Telys declared war and marched on Croton with an army 300,000 strong (Strabo 263). It is curious that H. does not regard the fall of Sybaris as a judgement on the Achaeans for driving out their Troezenian fellow colonists. Arist. *Pol.* v. 3. 11, 1303a πλείους οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ γενόμενοι ἐξέβαλον τοὺς Τροϊζηνίους· ὅθεν τὸ ἄγος συνέβη τοῖς Συβαρίταις.

**Ἰαμιδέων:** cf. ix. 33. 1 n.

#### v. 45

**μαρτύρια.** The citing of the evidence on both sides is an interesting advance on H.'s usual practice of merely giving both stories (cf. introd. § 27). The positive evidence alleged by Sybaris would in itself outweigh the negative proofs of Croton (Freeman, *S.* ii. 91). But it is noticeable that H. apparently has not seen the shrine by the Crathis (contrast § 2 τὰ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι ἐνέμοντο οἱ Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι), and the connection of Dorieus with the campaign is best regarded as an attempt on the part of the oracle to justify the failure of its prediction that he would succeed.

For a similar unsuccessful Delphic crusade for Hellenism in the West, followed by a similar excuse, cf. i. 165, 167 nn.

**τὸν ξηρὸν Κραῖθιν,** “the dry bed of the Crathis.” Sybaris lay between two streams, the Crathis (cf. i. 145 n.) and its tributary the Sybaris. The Crotoniates, when they destroyed the city, diverted the Crathis on to the site so as to destroy all the buildings (Strabo 263). Cf. also Diod. xi. 90; xii. 9; Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce*, i. 223, 290.

[2] τοῖσι . . . ἀπογόνοισι. This is put in merely to contrast with Καλλίεω ἀπόγονοι. Dorieus had certainly no descendants at Croton, even if Eurynax (ix. 10. 3) be his son.

v. 46

**Φοινίκων:** *Poenorum* (cf. iv. 197), i.e., the men of Carthage or of the Phoenician colonies in Sicily, now under her leadership. Segesta, a city of the Elymi, is as usual ready to help fellow barbarians against the intruding Hellenes (Thuc. vi. 2; Freeman, S. i. 200f.).

[2] **Μινώην.** Tradition alleged that this town at the mouth of the Halycus had been founded by the Cretans, when Minos came to Sicily (cf. vii. 170 n.). The name Minoa, however, might well have been given it later by the Cretan colonists of Gela, or by the Megarians of Selinus (Thuc. vi. 4), Minos and Minoa being closely connected with Megara (Thuc. iii. 51). The name Makara (Heracl. Pont. *FHG* ii. 220) may point to an early Phoenician settlement under the protection of Melkart (chap. 43 n.), the Tyrian Heracles. This conjecture would be confirmed if the inscription, Ras Melkart, on a series of Sicilian coins struck under Carthaginian rule (ca. 409–241 B.C.) could be referred to Heraclea Minoa, but Holm (*S.* iii. 674), now followed by Head (*H.N.*, 136), interprets it of Cephaloedium, since Ras = κεφαλή = headland. The name Heraclea might be a translation of Makara, or it may have been given to the city by the Spartan colonists, to signify that here was the promised land of the oracle (chap. 43). This and similar details (chap. 47; vi. 17 n.; vii. 153, etc.) seem to indicate that H. collected materials in Sicily.

v. 47

**οἰκηίη.** Cf. Cleinias at Artemisium, viii. 17.

[2] **ἰλάσκονται.** On the worship of heroes cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, i. 146f., and for passages illustrating it Abbott, Excursus XII. Heroic honours are paid to mere men, to oekists of colonies, Timesius at Abdera (i. 168), Miltiades in the Chersonese (vi. 38), Hagnon and subsequently Brasidas at Amphipolis (Thuc. v. 11); cf. also Diod. xi. 66; Xen. *Hell.* vii. 3. 12. More strictly analogous are the cases where worship is paid to enemies at the bidding of an oracle, to Onesilus at Amathus (v. 114) and to Artachaees at Acanthus (vii. 117) for his great stature. For the effect of beauty and athletic powers on the Greek we may compare the case of Masistius (ix. 25) and the pardon of Dorieus at Athens (Xen. *Hell.* i. 5. 19; Paus. vi. 7. 4). The case of Philippus is the more remarkable as the men of Segesta were enemies and barbarians, though, as is shown by their coinage and the remains of the temple and theatre there, Hellenic in culture. On hero-worship cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*.

v. 48

For H.'s curious error as to the length of Cleomenes' reign cf. app. xvii, § 1.

**ἄπαις,** "sonless" (cf. 67. 4 ad fin.), as is more fully explained (vii. 205. 1); Gorgo married Leonidas (vii. 205. 1, 239. 4).

v. 49–54

*Aristagoras fails to persuade or bribe Cleomenes to march on Susa. Map and description of the countries between Sardis and Susa. The Royal Road.*

v. 49

The project of marching on Susa and conquering Asia is an anachronism (cf. Cleomenes, app. xvii, § 3). Can it have come from the phil-Hellenic deserter Zopyrus? (cf. iii. 160 n. and *JHS* xxvii. 37).

**ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι.** The story of the exhibition of the map and of the private interview with Cleomenes may perhaps come indirectly from Gorgo herself, since H. seems specially well informed about her: but the speech of Aristagoras is in the main a lively version of the official Persian itinerary (cf. 52).

**χάλκεον πίνακα.** The oldest Greek map, that of Anaximander of Miletus, marks an epoch in Greek geography (H. Berger, i. 1f.; Bunbury, i. 122, 145). Hecataeus is said to have made great improvements in this map, but it would rather seem that he merely corrected Anaximander's errors in his *περίοδος γῆς*, if indeed that work be his (cf. introd. § 20). Cf. Eratosthenes (ap. Strabo p. 7) τὸν μὲν (Ἀναξίμανδρον) ἐκδοῦναι πρῶτον γεωγραφικὸν πίνακα, τὸν δὲ Ἑκαταῖον καταλιπεῖν γράμμα, πιστούμενον ἐκείνου εἶναι ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς: and Agathemerus i. 1 (Ἀναξίμανδρος) πρῶτος ἐτόλμησε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν πίνακι γράψαι μεθ' ὃν Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀνὴρ πολυπλανῆς διηκρίβωσεν ὥστε θαυμασθῆναι τὸ πρᾶγμα. Doubtless this map exhibited that great scheme of Ionian geography rather unjustly ridiculed by Herodotus (iv. 36). For an ingenious reconstruction of such maps cf. Myres, *RGS*, viii. (1896) 605f.

[2] **ὄσω προέστατε.** For Lacedaemonian *προστασία* cf. i. 69 n.

[3] For the appeal to kinship and a common faith cf. ix. 90. 2, and especially viii. 144 n.

Compared with the Dorian hoplite, with his brazen helmet, cuirass and greaves, and great shield, his sword and 8 ft. spear, the Persians might fairly be called light-armed bowmen (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 239, 40, and ix. 62), even if some had coats of mail (viii. 113, ix. 22).

For Persian arms and the *κυρβάσιη* cf. vii. 61 n.

[5] **πολυαργυρώτατοι:** rich, not in silver but in money, a sense common in compounds, though rare for *ἄργυρος* itself (cf. ii. 121 a). Both Croesus (i. 69; vi. 125) and Pythius (vii. 28) were rich in *gold*, since the Pactolus brought down gold-dust from Mount Tmolus (i. 93. 1; v. 101). The mines there and on Mount Sipylus furnished electrum also (cf. i. 50–52 n.).

**πολυπροβατώτατοι:** cf. Strabo 568, 578; Ar. *Av.* 493; and now Angora wool.

**πολυκαρπότατοι:** especially in vines. Cf. *Il.* iii. 184 Φρυγίην εἰσήλυθον ἀμπελόεσσαν.

For Cappadocians cf. i. 72 n.; vii. 72, and for the Cilician tribute iii. 90. 3.

For Matieni cf. 52. 5; i. 72 n., 189. 1, and for Cissia iii. 91. 4; vi. 119.

[7] τὰ Σοῦσα ταῦτα: not deictic, like ἦδε τόνδε, etc., but = ἐκεῖνα, “well known to you.” Apparently towns were not marked on the map; cf. § 1.

Though Xenophon (cf. *An.* iii. 5. 15; *Cyr.* viii. 6. 22) makes the Persian king reside in Susa only three months in spring, and at Ecbatana two in summer, leaving seven winter months for Babylon, Jew (cf. *Nehem.* i. 1; *Esther* i. 2; *Dan.* viii. 2) and Greek (cf. iii. 70; *Aesch. Persae* passim; *Ctesias*) alike rightly regarded Susa as the capital and chief palace of the Great King. There Darius built a palace, restored after a fire by Artaxerxes Mnemon, which resembles that of Xerxes at Persepolis (cf. Dieulafoy, *Acropole de la Suse* (1893), *L’art antique de la Perse* (1884–9); Perrot et Chipiez, vol. v; Nöldeke, *Persepolis*). Susa was also the principal treasury (Strabo 735, cf. 731; *Arr. Anab.* iii. 16), though there was also great treasure at Persepolis (*Diod.* xvii. 71; Strabo 730), and a smaller amount at Pasargadae (*Arr.* iii. 18) and Ecbatana (*Arr.* iii. 19).

[8] ἀναβάλλεσθαι, “ought you not to put off?” (Abbott) (cf. § 9 ad init.; vi. 86 b. 2 ad fin.; ix. 8 ad init.), rather than (Stein, Liddell & Scott) “ought you to risk?” (cf. *Aesch. Sept.* 1028 and ἀναρριπτέοντες, vii. 50. 3).

For Messenians cf. iii. 47; for Arcadians, i. 66f.; for Argives, i. 82; vi. 76f.

#### v. 50

[3] Cleomenes had called on the Ephors to expel Maeandrius (iii. 148); here he apparently dismisses Aristagoras on his own authority; but cf. app. xvii, § 2.

#### v. 51

ἰκετηροίην: suppliants, who were inviolable and secure of a hearing, bore branches of olive wreathed with wool (cf. vii. 141. 1), as in the opening scenes of the *Iliad* and the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

[2] Cleomenes seems less proof against corruption than fifteen years before (iii. 148), but Gorgo’s precocious cleverness has its counterpart in her later wisdom (vii. 239).

[3] ἐπὶ πλέον: in greater detail (cf. ii. 171. 1), such as is given in the next chapters.

#### v. 52

The description of this “Royal road” may come directly, like the map of Aristagoras, from some Ionian geographer, but the distances, in parasangs and stages (cf. *Xen. An.* i. 2f.; *Ctesias, Persica* § 64. 80), must be derived from some official Persian document. Roads of this kind united all the provinces of the empire with its centre Susa. Their importance was rather military and political than commercial, hence they were guarded at important points by forts and garrisons (§§ 2, 3; cf. 35. 3 n.), and studded at intervals of a day’s caravan journey (i.e., three to five parasangs), not only with khans or caravanserais (καταγωγαί, §§ 3, 6) but also with royal post stations (σταθμοί, cf. ἄγγαροι, viii. 98). For the Great Khan’s roads with “sjambs,” i.e., Horse-post houses or stations on them at every

twenty-five to thirty miles, cf. M. Polo, bk. ii, chap. 26, i. 433f. The general descriptions of such roads by Ctesias (loc. cit.) and Amyntas (Athen. 529e) are lost; Xenophon (*An.* i, chap. 2 and 4) gives details about one, which, unlike that of Herodotus, kept south of the great salt-desert (cf. § 1 n., chap. 54 n.). But the Royal road here from Sardis to Susa is far older than the Persian empire. Its immense detour to the north between Sardis and the Euphrates, and the fact that Sinope not Amisos was in early times the terminus of the caravan-route from the East to the Euxine, point unmistakably (Ramsay, *A.M.* §§ 2, 3) to the existence of a great capital at Pteria (Boghaz-Keui; cf. i. 76 n. and for recent discoveries there E. Meyer, i, §§ 474, 478f.; Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, chap. 4). To connect this Hittite capital in Cappadocia with Sardis and the Aegean on the one hand, and with Assyria and Babylon on the other, was the original purpose of the roads which later formed the "Royal road."

[*Additional note (1928)*. Calder (*CR* xxxix (1925), pp. 7f.) argues that the Royal Road of Herodotus is a confused compound of the route followed by Croesus, Cyrus (i. 75–9), and Xerxes (vii. 26 n.), which went from Sardis by Ancyra north of the Anatolian desert, and then, after crossing the Halys, east to Pteria, and the true Royal Road, which went south of the desert and the Halys by Laodicea and Cibystra to the Cilician gates and Zeugma. His main argument is that the *total* given by H. to the Euphrates agrees with the real distance by this route (740–50 miles), while the northern route must add at least 100 miles.]

From Sardis to the Halys, through Lydia and Phrygia, is reckoned at  $94\frac{1}{2}$  parasangs = 2,835 stades. This distance agrees fairly with the route sketched by Ramsay (op. cit.), amplifying and improving on Kiepert (*Monatsb. Berl. Akad.* 1857). The way would be by Satala to Akmonia, or to Keramon Agora. Then to avoid the salt-desert, which spreads over the centre of the peninsula (cf. § 1 διὰ οἰκεομένης τε ἢ ὁδὸς ἄπασα καὶ ἀσφαλῆος), the road curved northward by the city of Midas, Pessinus, and Gordium to Ancyra (cf. *JHS* xix, p. 50 and map) and the bridge over the Halys.

[2] ὁ Ἄλυς. The gates and guardhouse at the crossing of the Halys may be held to imply the bridge (mentioned in i. 75. 3), especially as H. here writes διεκπερᾶν, not διαπορθμεῦσαι as in § 4. The Halys is fordable in summer at Tchikin Agal and Eccobriga, but communications are cut by floods in winter (Ramsay, *A.M.*, 256 n.), so a bridge would be necessary if the route was to be in constant use. Herodotus had no accurate information about the Halys apart from the Royal road, and clearly did not know that if the road (as he rightly states) crossed the Halys once between Ancyra and Pteria, it must of necessity do so again on its way to the Euphrates, either between Pteria and Caesarea Mazaca, or, on Kiepert's hypothesis (see below), at Sebasteia (Siwas).

The distance along the Royal road between the Halys and the Euphrates is reckoned at  $104 + 15\frac{1}{2}$  parasangs = 3,585 stades, which is far too great for anything like a direct road from the bridge on the Halys to Melitene (Malatia) or Samosata

(Samsat). Kiepert therefore rightly argued that the road must have made a considerable circuit, but he seems to be wrong in declaring that his detour must have been to the North and in taking the road round from Tavium by Zela and Comana Pontica to Sebasteia, to meet a route from Sinope. To touch Cilicia the road must have curved southward and then run eastward along the Melas (Tokma Su) to Melitene.

**διξὰς πύλας.** The geography of Herodotus is reduced to hopeless confusion if these be identified with the well-known Cilician gates (Xen. *An.* i. 2. 21) between Tyana and Tarsus. Ramsay (*C.B.* xiv n.) and Anderson (cf. below) hold Herodotus guilty of this confusion. But his Cilicia extended north of Taurus (iii. 90 n.), and his gates should be placed further east.

[3] To meet the difficulty that the road passes for three days' journey through Cilicia, Hogarth (*Macan*, ii. 299f.) ingeniously suggested that the road did not cross the Euphrates at Tomisa (Isoli), but turned south by Kiakhta to the crossing at Samosata. He points out that the distance from the spine of Taurus to the Euphrates is three days' journey, that monuments of all ages abound along this route, and that Samosata was early of importance. He also appeals to Artemidorus' account (*Strabo* 663) of the κοινὴ ὁδὸς from the east as corresponding to the Royal road here. J. G. Anderson (*JHS* xvii. 41) disputes this correspondence, and argues forcibly that the hilly district north of Mount Masius is far more suitable for a great road than the desert to the south of it, through which a road crossing at Samosata must pass. Further, the 56½ parasangs assigned to Armenia correspond to the real distance from Tomisa on the Euphrates to the junction of the two streams forming the Tigris (Kiepert), while no geographer includes the desert south of Mount Masius in Armenia.

[5] The insertion of some such words as those proposed by de la Barre (line 25) καὶ τριάκοντα . . . ἑκατόν is requisite to make the totals, given by Herodotus himself (chap. 53), 111 stations and 450 parasangs, square with the items, which otherwise only amount to 81 stations and 313 parasangs, and to remove the anomaly that in the case of the Matiēni alone the number of parasangs is omitted. Further, with the correction the number of parasangs from the southern border of Armenia to Susa (179½) agrees with the real distance from the passage of the Tigris, which is as the crow flies about 165 parasangs. The difference is little enough to allow for crossing two ranges of mountains, the Carduchian on the upper Tigris, and the pass between the valley of the Gyndes (Diyala) and that of the Choaspes (Kerkha). But the correction of this corrupt passage can hardly stop here. Stein urges the transposition of the words (lines 25–7) ἐκ δὲ ταύτης [τῆς Ἀρμενίης] . . . τέσσαρες with de la Barre's addition (see above) to line 18, after αὐτοῖσι, on the ground that the four rivers—the Tigris, the two Zabs, and the Gyndes, must be placed in Matiēne and not in Armenia, since otherwise Herodotus is not only flagrantly wrong in his geography but also inconsistent with himself (cf. § 4, i. 189, 202). If so, τῆς Ἀρμενίης is a gloss added when ἐκ δὲ ταύτης got severed from its original context. On this supposition Matiēne here (*Meyer*, iii, § 89 n.) includes the greater

part of the land usually known as Assyria, but called by Xenophon, Media (*An.* ii. 4. 27; iii. 4. 7, 5. 14). For the various senses of *Matiene* cf. i. 72 n., and for a more violent reconstruction of the text here, an ingenious but unconvincing article by H. Westberg, *Klio*, vi. 259f.

**Γύνδης** is in the nominative because οὐνομα ἔχει = ὀνομάζεται; cf. iv. 56; vi. 103. 4 ad fin. For the story of Cyrus and the river cf. i. 189.

#### v. 53

The parasang in Xenophon, as here, measures 30 stades or four Roman miles, thus corresponding to the modern Persian “farsang” = 3½ to 4 English miles. Other writers estimated it at 40 or 60 stades (Strabo 518), and Agathias (A.D. 570) as low as 21 stades.

**Μεμνόνια**: cf. ii. 106 n.

ἐπ’ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη. In chap. 54. 2 only three days are allowed for the 540 stades from Ephesus to Sardis; and in iv. 101, 200 stades = 25 Roman miles is taken as a day’s journey, but the Royal road is through hilly country, and the 150 stades (20 miles) may be intended as a day’s march for an army.

#### v. 54

**Ephesus** was at this time the natural starting-point for a journey to Upper Asia (chap. 100, viii. 103). The trade-route of later days (Strabo 663) went by the easier valleys of the Maeander and Lycus to Apameia-Celaenae, and so south of the central desert, but to reach Sardis and the Royal road from Ephesus Mount Tmolus must be crossed. In the days of the Lydian power probably the road from Sardis to the coast had led down the Hermus to Smyrna and Phocaea.

[2] τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς: the Aegean; cf. vii. 28. 2, and τῆς Ἰώνων (chap. 50. 1).

τρισί: cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 11 Ἐφεσον ἢ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν. The addition of small details to make an unnecessary correction is characteristic of Herodotus.

#### v. 55–96

*Digression on Greek history after the death of Pisistratus.*

#### v. 55–61

*The dream and assassination of Hipparchus, with digression on the Gephyraeans and the derivation of the Greek alphabet from Phoenicians in Boeotia.*

#### v. 55

For the history of Pisistratus’ tyranny cf. i. 59–64; *Ath. Pol.* 14f.; and app. xvi, §§ 5–8. This digression on the liberation of Athens from the sway of the Pisistratidae, incidentally helps to explain why the suit of Aristagoras, rejected at Sparta, was granted at Athens.

**Ἰππῖεω τοῦ τυράννου.** These words seem intended as a protest against two popular errors (cf. vi. 123): (1) that Harmodius and Aristogiton freed Athens from tyranny, (2) that Hipparchus was the eldest son of Pisistratus and his successor in the tyranny. Both are implied in the famous song (Athen. 695a) Ἐν μύρτου κλαδί τὸ ξίφος φορήσω Ὅσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων, Ὅτε τὸν τύραννον κτανέτην Ἰσονόμους τ' Ἀθήνας ἐποιησάτην: both are vigorously attacked by Thucydides (i. 20; vi. 53f.). That the former error was prevalent soon after the fall of the tyranny is further shown by the statues of the tyrannicides (Harrison, *Athens*, 77f.; E. Gardner, *G.S.*, 182f.; Collignon, *S.G.* i. 367f.).

**ἔτεα τέσσερα:** not four whole years. Cf. Thuc. vi. 59 τυραννεύσας ἔτη τρία Ἰππίας ἔτι Ἀθηναίων καὶ παυθεὶς ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ, *Ath. Pol.* 19 ἔτει τετάρτῳ μάλιστα . . . ἐξέπεσε. Hipparchus was slain at the end of the first Attic month (Hekatombaion; cf. chap. 56), i.e., August 514 B.C. Hippias then reigned till the year 511–510 B.C. (cf. i. 62 n.).

**μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸ τοῦ.** So also Thucydides vi. 59 τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις χαλεπωτέρα μετὰ τοῦτο ἢ τυραννὶς κατέστη, *Ath. Pol.* 19 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνέβαινε πολλῶν τραχυτέραν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα. For the abiding memory of Hippias' tyranny at Athens cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 502, *Lys.* 618, 1151f.

#### v. 56

**Παναθηναίων,** "the night before the Panathenaea." For the genitive cf. vi. 46. 1. The great Panathenaea were celebrated every fourth year, in the third year of the Olympiad, probably 24–28 Hekatombaion. The chief day, here called the Panathenaea, was the 28th, on which the robe (πέπλος) of Athena was brought in procession to the Acropolis, a scene familiar to us from the great Parthenon frieze. On the whole festival cf. A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, 41f., and on Pisistratus' encouragement of such national festivals cf. app. xvi, § 7.

**αἰνίσσασθαι τάδε τὰ ἔπεα,** "spake these riddling words." Cf. Soph. *Aj.* 1158. The words remain obscure even after their fulfillment, but apparently Hipparchus is encouraged to bear his fate with fortitude, sure that his murderers shall pay the penalty for their evil deed. The oracle would have additional point if H. like Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 17) held Thessalus (Hegesistratus, cf. chap. 94) responsible for the insult which excited the wrath of Harmodius and led to the conspiracy, as in that case Hipparchus would be an innocent victim. For the friendship of the Pisistratidae with soothsayers cf. vii. 6. 3 n. and app. xvi, § 7. H.'s insistence on the reality of the dream (chap. 55) and on its communication to the soothsayers shows that the story had been doubted.

**[2] ἀπειπάμενος:** probably "dismissing from his thoughts" (Stein, Abbott) rather than = *averrunco*, "averting by sacrifice" (Liddell & Scott).

**ἔπεμπε τὴν πομπήν.** Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 18), while differing on most points from Thucydides (i. 20, vi. 57f.), agrees that Hipparchus, when he was slain, was

marshalling the procession near the Leocorion, a monument in the inner Ceramicus.

#### v. 57

**Γεφυραῖοι.** H. rejects the family tradition in favour of a fanciful conjecture resting on the hypothesis that the Gephyraeans were Cadmeians, and Cadmus a Phoenician immigrant. Perhaps he connected Gephyra, the other name for Tanagra (cf. Strabo 404, Steph. Byz.), with Gephyrae in Syria, and was thus led to derive the Gephyraeans from Phoenicia (Petersen, *de hist. gent. Attic.*, 6f.), or he may have misinterpreted the name of Phoenix, the tutor of Achilles, who dwelt at Eleon (chap. 43 n.) near Tanagra, and thus have imagined a connection between the men of Tanagra and Cadmus “the Phoenician” (Toepffer, *Attic Geneal.*, 293f.). In any case the name Γεφυραῖοι seems to be derived from γέφυρα, a bridge or dyke, as *pontifex* from *pons*; and even if Cadmeian Thebes be a Phoenician settlement (cf. iv. 147. 4 n.), there is no reason to connect the Gephyraeans of Tanagra with Thebes. Their own tradition that they came from Euboea is far more probable.

[2] In the traditional chronology the invasion of the Epigoni (cf. chap. 61. 2 n.) and the expulsion of the Cadmeians takes place within a generation of the Trojan war, while the immigration of the Boeotians is sixty years after it (Thuc. i. 12).

**Ἀθηνέων:** here the whole land of Attica. Cf. 61. 2, 76 ad fin., viii. 50. 2, ix. 17. 1; Hom. *Od.* iii. 278; Soph. *O.C.* 24; Eur. *Heracl.* 839. Apparently the Gephyraei settled near Aphidna (Plut. *Mor.* 628d).

**ἔργεσθαι.** No doubt the privileges from which the Gephyraeans were debarred were religious. By this Arnold (on Thuc. vi. 56) would explain the exclusion of the sister of Harmodius from the Panathenaic procession, but Grote (iv. 59) replies that were this the explanation, Thucydides would surely have alluded to it.

#### v. 58

**γράφματα.** H.’s theory that the Greek alphabet, as he knew it, was of Phoenician origin is borne out by comparing the forms, names, and order of the early Greek and Phoenician letters (Roberts, *Greek Epigraphy*, § 4f.). It contrasts favourably with the ascription of the invention to mythical heroes, such as Palamedes (Stesichorus), Prometheus (Aesch. *P.V.* 460f.), Musaeus, Orpheus, or Linus. Of course H. knew nothing of the primitive Cretan and Mycenaean scripts (A. J. Evans, *JHS* xiv, xvii, and *Scripta Minoa*), which being earlier must probably have contributed to the formation of the Phoenician alphabet. His connection of the earliest Greek alphabet with Cadmus and Boeotia is simply a part of his theory of Phoenician settlement, as is the hypothesis that it spread first among Ionians. H. has not the learning to distinguish the alphabets of Eastern and of Western Hellas, or to recognize that the Ionic alphabet in its final form is a late development of the former.

ῥυθμόν = σχῆμα, shape. Cf. Arist. *Metaph.* i. 4. 985b ῥυθμός σχῆμά ἐστιν — διαφέρει γὰρ τὸ μὲν Α τοῦ Ν σχήματι. So below, μεταρρυθμίσαντες, “changing the shape.”

H. seems unaware of the three most important modifications:

(1) The utilization of some Phoenician consonants, *aleph, he, yod, ayin*, to represent the vowels *a, e, i, o*, with the subsequent addition of *u, ē, and ō* (Roberts, § 5).

(2) The evolution of double letters, the three new ones being *ph, ch, ps* (Roberts, §§ 9, 11).

(3) The disappearance of certain unnecessary sibilants (Roberts, § 6). H. does, however, record the survival of San alongside of Sigma (cf. i. 139 n.).

Clearly his interest is more in the form than in the sound of the letters. Yet though he records (ii. 36. 4 n.) that Egyptian writing went from right to left, he is clearly unaware that the same is true of the Phoenician, and of the earliest Greek inscriptions (Roberts, § 4, No. 1), nor does he notice the transitional βουστροφηδόν style (cf. Paus. v. 17. 6; Roberts, No. 42. 133f.).

[2] ἐφάτισαν . . . κεκλήσθαι, “gave them the name.” Cf. chap. 68 ad fin. ἐπωνυμίην ποιούμενοι κεκλήσθαι, Pind. *Ol.* vi. 56.

**Φοινικία.** Not an adjective but a substantive in Ionic = “letters”; cf. Inscription of Teos, ca. 470 B.C. (Hicks, 23, § 6) ὅς ἂν . . . ἡ Φοινικία ἐκκόψει. H. justly uses the name as an argument for his view of the origin of letters, just as he makes the survival of the name διφθέρα for “book,” in conjunction with the continued employment of skins as writing material among the barbarians, a proof of their early use among the Ionians.

[3] βύβλων. Byblus or papyrus, made from the marsh-plant Byblus (cf. ii. 92. 5 n.), had been in use in Egypt from the earliest times (ca. 3500 B.C.). It cannot have been introduced into Greece till the opening of Egypt to foreigners by Psammetichus (ii. 154 n.) ca. 650 B.C., but was clearly in common use in the days of H., and was employed for keeping accounts when the Erechtheum was being rebuilt 407 B.C.; cf. Maunde Thompson, *Palaeography*, chap. iii; Kenyon, *Papyri*, chap. ii. It continued to be in ordinary use throughout classical times, and was grown and used in Sicily as late as 1300 A.D.

**διφθέραι:** leather rolls were used by the Egyptians occasionally, by the Jews, and by the Persians. Diodorus (ii. 32) mentions βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι followed by Ctesias. The manufacture of parchment or vellum is a later improvement ascribed by Varro (Plin. *H.N.* xiii. 68) to Eumenes II of Pergamum (197–158 B.C.). No doubt Pergamum was the centre of the trade, but parchment superseded papyrus very slowly, its use for books is mainly late Roman, Byzantine, and mediaeval.

## v. 59

**Καδμήια γράμματα.** Herodotus assumes that the inscriptions are authentic, and thus carries back the writing to the days of Laius and Oedipus. But from their

form and style they can hardly be earlier than the seventh century B.C. (Hicks, p. 2).

ἐν τῷ ἰρῶ: cf. i. 52 n.

Amphitryon, the human father of Heracles (ii. 44), was son of Alcaeus, king of Tiryns. The Teleboae or Taphii, a tribe from Acarnania, attacked Mycenae in the reign of Electryon, father of Alcmene and uncle of Amphitryon. Amphitryon later accidentally killed his uncle and fled with Alcmene to Thebes to be purified. But before she would marry him she exacted a promise that he would take vengeance on the Teleboae. Hence ἐών must be emended to ἐλών or something similar.

Laius was brother-in-law of Creon who purified Amphitryon.

For the importance of the genealogy of the house of Laius in Herodotean chronology, and for the fixing of chronology by synchronisms such as the voyage of the Argonauts and the Theban and Trojan wars, cf. E. Meyer, *Forsch.* i. 157f.; app. xiv, § 2.

#### v. 60

Scaeus helped his father Hippocoön to drive Tyndareus from Lacedaemon, and was afterwards slain there, with his father and brothers, by Heracles. He had therefore no connection with Thebes, and is unlikely to have dedicated a tripod there as H. sees.

τεῖν: Doric and Epic for σοί. The abrupt change to the second person is peculiar. On extant inscriptions the god's name is in the vocative, not the dative, e.g., IGA 402, Roberts No. 15 Ἄρτεμι σοὶ τόδ' ἄγαλμα Τελεστοδί[κη ἀνέθηκεν] etc., and IGA 412, Roberts No. 7 Παῖ Διός, Ἐκφάντω δέξαι τόδ' ἀμενφές ἄγαλμα, / σοὶ γὰρ ἐπευχόμενος τοῦτ' ἐτέλεσε γρόφων.

ἄλλος. Pausanias (vi. 13. 5; cf. Frazer) saw at Olympia the statue of a victor in the boys' boxing, Scaeus from Samos, but its date seems to be ca. 350 B.C.

#### v. 61

[2] The chiefs of the Encheleis in southern Illyria (ix. 43. 1 n.) claimed descent from Cadmus (Strabo 326). So tradition alleged that Cadmus and Harmonia in their old age had wandered from Thebes and reigned in Illyria, where their tombs were to be seen. Hence the legend made the Cadmeians, when expelled from Thebes by the Epigoni (ὕπ' Ἀργείων), go likewise to the Northwest under Laodamas, driving the Dorians out of Hestiaetis on their way (i. 56. 3 n.), and find a new home with their kin in Illyria (Apollod. iii. 5. 4); but cf. i. 146. 1.

κεχωρισμένα. H. is right in thinking such cults, distinct in ritual and meaning, point to a difference of race and origin.

Ἀχαιίης: cf. Ar. *Ach.* 709 οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀχαιίαν ῥαδίως ἠνέσχετο. The popular derivation of this title (from ἄχος) makes Demeter a *mater dolorosa* sorrowing for her daughter's loss. Presumably this worship existed at Aphidnae (cf. above), but it certainly also was known at Thespieae in Boeotia, *MAI* iv. 191,

Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 69. Plutarch compares it with that of Demeter Thesmophoros, both being clearly of a secret character (ἄργεια), that is, mysteries (ii. 81. 2, ii. 171. 2).

#### v. 62–65

*The expulsion of the Pisistratids from Athens by the Spartans. Hippias retires to Sigeum.*

#### v. 62

τῶν . . . φονέες. In these words Herodotus attempts to justify his digression.

[2] γένος . . . Ἀθηναῖοι. Herodotus seems to have regarded the Alcmaeonids as of true Attic descent (cf. vi. 125 τὰ ἀνέκαθεν), neither Ionian (chaps. 66. 2, 69. 1) nor, like the Pisistratidae, immigrants from Pylos (chap. 65. 3 n.). Pausanias (ii. 18. 8, 9), on the other hand, derives them along with the royal house of Melanthus (Medontidae), the Paeonidae, and perhaps the Pisistratidae, from Neleus, king of Pylos. Thus the Alcmaeonidae would be connected with the royal house (a tradition perhaps borne out by the occurrence of the names Alcmaeon and Megacles in the list of life-archons) and with the Pisistratidae, as alleged by Isocrates (*De Bigis* 25). It has been ingeniously suggested by Toepffer (*Att. Gen.*, 225f.), that the Messenian origin of the royal and noble houses may be a fiction intended to support the claim of Athens to be the mother-city of the Ionian colonies, since the great families of Ionia (e.g., the royal house at Miletus) professed to be descended from Neleus of Pylos; but cf. i. 147 n.

φεύγοντες: *exules* (cf. i. 64 ad fin.), with acc. ii. 152. 1, vi. 103. 1, 123. 1, elsewhere with ὑπὸ τινός.

Λειψύδριον: identified by Milchöfer with an ancient fort on a spur of Mount Parnes (Karagoufolesa), 2½ miles north of Menidi, the cemetery of Acharnae (Frazer, *P.*, v. 526). Paeonia (more properly Paeonidae) must have been at the foot of the mountain. There is therefore no need to alter the text to ὑπὲρ Πάρνηθος (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 19) as the fort would be above Paeonidae as well as upon Parnes. An interesting skolion (*Ath. Pol.* loc. cit., Athen. xv. 695) αἰαῖ Λειψύδριον προδωσέταιρον κτλ. records this defeat of the Alcmaeonids.

παρ' Ἀμφικτυόνων. The Amphictyonic council controlled the finance and undertook the care of the temple at Delphi. When the temple was burnt down in 548 B.C. (Chron. cf. i. 50) the estimate for rebuilding it was 300 talents and subscriptions were solicited from all parts of Greece, and even from Amasis of Egypt (ii. 180 n.). (For a similar national subscription to rebuild the temple destroyed in the fourth century cf. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 2; Frazer, *P.*, v. 634.) The collection, as might be expected, was a long business. It was going on before the death of Amasis (526 B.C.), but the Alcmaeonidae did not begin their contract till 514 B.C., after their defeat at Lipsydrium (*Ath. Pol.* 19), and in all probability did not complete the work till after their return to Athens (510 B.C.) (Philoch. frag. 70; FHG i. 395; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 9). Grote (iv. 48), however, and Wilamowitz-

Möllendorff (*A. and A.* i. 34 n.) think that the Alcmaeonid contract must have been earlier.

[3] Herodotus emphasizes the liberality of the Alcmaeonids. The Isocratean school and other later writers (cf. Isoc. *De Perm.* 232; *Ath. Pol.* 19; Philoch. frag. 70; Dem. *Meid.* 144) allege that they got control of a large sum of money by undertaking the contract, and used it to effect the expulsion of the Pisistratids. In the case of a similar restoration at Delos (*BCH* xiv. 389), half the sum agreed on was given to the contractors when the contract was signed, and four-tenths more when the work was half-done. It is therefore possible (as alleged by Philochorus, loc. cit., and argued by Wilamowitz, *A. and A.* i. 33f.) that the Alcmaeonids misapplied the contract-money, and subsequently after their restoration made splendid amends by their magnificent rebuilding of the temple (Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 10). But the story is late and may well be inspired by envy and malice. The wealth of the Alcmaeonids seems to have depended largely on their connection with the East (cf. vi. 125), not on landed estates, presumably now confiscated, in Attica. Their reputation at Delphi makes the tale of embezzlement improbable, and supports the view taken by H.

**πωρίνου . . . Παρίου.** Parian marble is the best for statues, and far more splendid than tufa or limestone, of which most of the older Greek temples are built. The French excavators at Delphi have found near the east façade of the temple, buried under the Sacred Way, two sets of archaic pediment-sculptures, one made of marble, the other of tufa. So, too, the architectural fragments are partly of tufa, partly of Parian marble, so far supporting H.'s account. Cf. Frazer, *P.*, v. 631–2; *BCH* xx. (641f.); Bury, *Hermathena*, x. 267f.

#### v. 63

[2] **Ἀγχιμόλιον . . . δόκιμον.** Perhaps the fact that the expedition was sent by sea may account for the absence of the king, as apparently in the expedition to Samos (iii. 54f.), and certainly at Salamis, where Eurybiades commands (viii. 42. 2).

The alleged bribery of the oracle is supported by other instances (cf. vi. 66 n.). It is, however, in this case denied by Plutarch (*De Mal.* chap. 23) and may be a fiction to cover a change in Spartan policy. For though the piety of the Spartans which made them slow to send troops to Marathon (vi. 106) and against Mardonius (ix. 7f.) may have been genuine, it seems more likely that their motive in this case was political, viz., the friendship between the Pisistratids and Argos (i. 61; *Ath. Pol.* 19). Policy dictated the expulsion of the tyrants just as policy later counselled their restoration (chap. 91).

[3] **συνμαχίη.** This alliance, along with many others (cf. app. xvi, § 8), was made by Pisistratus. To compliment his allies he named one of his sons Thessalus (Thuc. i. 20, vi. 55; *Ath. Pol.* 17, chap. 94 n.). Thessaly, however, proved a broken reed both to the tyrants and later (Thuc. i. 107) to the democracy of Athens.

**κοινῆ . . . βασιλέα.** The Thessalians in foreign affairs often acted in common (Thuc. i. 102, iv. 78), but it seems unlikely that there were real kings in Thessaly. The title is occasionally given to the chiefs of the leading families, e.g., the Aleuadae of Larissa (Pind. *Pyth.* x. 3; H. vii. 6. 2, but not in ix. 1. 1, 58. 1), and Orestes of Pharsalus (Thuc. i. 111). Here it seems to mean a general appointed to command the national army, the *ταγός*, though that term is first explicitly used of Jason of Pherae (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1. 8). In Thucydides (iv. 78) the Thessalians are said to be under a close family oligarchy (*δυναστεία*), but probably this refers to the home government of the various cities. In 431 B.C. the troops sent to the aid of Athens are under seven commanders appointed by the seven cities which sent them (Thuc. ii. 22).

[*Additional note* (1928). For full discussion of the *Tagi* of Thessaly cf. E. Meyer, *Theopomp's Hellenika*, 237f., and Beloch *i*<sup>2</sup>. 2. 197f., and on the constitution of Thessaly in general cf. E. Meyer, *op. cit.* 219f.; Busolt, *Griech. Staats.* ii. 1478f.]

**Κονιαῖον.** The only known *Conium* being in Phrygia (Plin. *H.N.* v. 32), and Cineas being certainly a Thessalian, *Γονναῖον* (cf. vii. 128. 1, 173. 4) should be read.

[4] **Ἄλωπεκῆσι.** The modern Ampelokipi ("vineyards"), some eleven stadia from the gate along the Cephisian road, is held to be a perversion of this name. In that case the *Cynosarges*, a walled *τέμενος*, which contained a shrine of Heracles (vi. 116) and a gymnasium for the *νόθοι* of citizens, must be northeast of Athens at the foot of Mount Lycabettus. The position assigned suits the narrative in vi. 115f., since the Persians in the bay could see the victors of Marathon encamped on the hill, and so would naturally put about and sail away (Frazer, *P.*, ii. 193f.). Recently, however, Dr. Dörpfeld has argued that *Alopece* and *Cynosarges* must have lain south of the *Ilissus* towards *Phalerum*, near the church of S. Marina, and Sir C. Smith has excavated a building south of the *Olympieum* on the bank of the river, which, on rather slight grounds, he holds to be *Cynosarges* (Frazer, *P.*, v. 493f.). This would suit the present passage, as its natural meaning is that the Spartans were ridden down in the plain between *Phalerum* and Athens and driven back to their ships. Their fallen leader would probably be buried near the spot at which he fell; hence, if *Alopece* be *Ampelokipi*, we have to suppose that the Spartans had marched past Athens, which is unlikely.

#### v. 64

**ἀποδέξαντες.** This appointment of one king to command does not harmonize with the story told in chap. 74f., or with the royal prerogative alleged in vi. 56. It is, however, the regular practice later (cf. Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 3, vi. 5. 10, etc.), and may well be older than the quarrel between Cleomenes and Demaratus (chap. 75). Cf. app. xvii, § 2.

[2] **ἄστν:** the lower city (cf. i. 14. 4, 176. 1), in contrast with the acropolis. The doubt whether the whole city was walled recurs in connection with the campaigns of Marathon and Salamis. Here its easy capture may be explained by the existence

of a party within it opposed to the tyrants. Apart from the inherent probability, the definite arguments for a pre-Themistoclean city-wall are strong.

1. The plain meaning of Thucydides (i. 89. 93) is that the Athenians rebuilt the walls of the city, parts of which were standing (H. ix. 13. 2), though they enlarged the circuit.

2. When Hipparchus was slain in the inner Ceramicus (chap. 56. 2 n.) his murderers entered through the gates (Thuc. vi. 57 εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν).

3. The gate of Hadrian professes to mark the limit of the city of Theseus:

αἶδ' εἴσ' Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις.

All that can be conceded to Dörpfeld and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*Ph. U.* i. 97f.) is that the old wall may have been indefensible from lack of repairs, or in parts destroyed by the tyrants to make room for new buildings.

**τοὺς τυράννους:** the reigning house, as βασιλέες is used vii. 6. 2, etc.

**Πελαργικῶ:** so more correctly than Πελασγικῶ. Thuc. ii. 17; *CIA* iv. 2. 27b ad fin.; *Ar. Av.* 832; *Ath. Pol.* 19. The alleged connection with the Pelasgi seems to be a mistaken piece of erudition due to Hecataeus (cf. app. xv, § 5). The Pelasgic fortress apparently had nine gates (Cleidemus ap. Bekk. *Anec.* i. 419 περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελασγικόν, and Polemo ap. Schol. to Soph. *O.C.* 489 ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐννεά πυλῶν), not distributed round the circuit, but arranged within each other like the famous Hexapylon of Syracuse. It was clearly an important part of the defences of the Acropolis in 510 B.C. (*Ath. Pol.* 19; *Marm. Par.* 45), but was doubtless destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C. Thereafter it was an open space at the northwest end of the Acropolis (Thuc. ii. 17), close beneath the wall (Lucian, *Pisc.* 47) and the cave of Pan (Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 8). It may have extended along the whole West front (Dörpfeld citing Lucian, *Pisc.* 42) from the Anaceum, shrine of Dioscuri northwest to the Asclepium southwest. On this and other disputed points cf. D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 21–31 and 361–8.

#### v. 65

**παῖδες τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν:** so also *Ath. Pol.* 19, copying Herodotus.

Thucydides (vi. 55) says that Hippias alone had children (by his wife Myrrhine). Similarly, whereas H. speaks of the Pisistratidae stirring up the Persian king against Athens (vi. 94. 1, vii. 6. 2), Thucydides (vi. 59) names Hippias only.

[2] ἐπ' οἴσι, "on the terms asked by the Athenians"; cf. chap. 82. 3, vi. 108. 5.

[3] Σίγειον. Cf. chap. 94 n.; Thuc. vi. 59.

**ἄρξαντες . . . ἔτεα:** i.e., thirty-six years of actual power, excluding the years of exile.

For the chronology cf. i. 62 n.

For the genealogies of the Attic kings and nobility cf. chap. 62. 2 n.

v. 66–69

*The reforms of Cleisthenes at Athens with digression on the elder Cleisthenes of Sicyon.*

v. 66

**Ἰσαγόρης Τεισάνδρου.** This Tisander cannot be identical with the father of Hippoclitides (vi. 127. 4, 128. 2), who was undoubtedly a Philaid, since if so H. would know he was sprung from Ajax. Nor is the statement that Isagoras was “a friend of the tyrants” (*Ath. Pol.* 20) of much weight, since clearly he was the leader of the aristocrats.

**συγγενέες** = γεννηῖται: *gentiles*, members of the clan or race

**Διὶ Καριῶ:** cf. i. 171. 6 n. Plutarch (*De Mal.* 23) criticizes this suggestion severely, regarding such a descent as a stigma comparable with the alleged Phoenician origin of Harmodius and Aristogiton (chaps. 56, 57 n.). Macan ingeniously connects Carian Zeus with “Caria,” the citadel of Megara, where Zeus was worshipped (Paus. i. 40. 6). Cf. i. 171. 1 n.

**[2] περὶ δυνάμιος:** political power, i.e., election to the archonship (*Ath. Pol.* 13), which Isagoras held 508–507 B.C. (*Marm. Par.* 46).

**ἔστασιάσαν.** These parties recall, and to some extent represent, the old factions of the Shore and the Plain (i. 59). At the head of the former stood the Alcmaeonids, whose liberalism may have dated from Solon’s act of amnesty, which by permitting their return bound them to support his legislation. They had taken the lead in the expulsion of the tyrants (chap. 63), and the restoration of liberty. Opposed to them were the land-holding class, who hoped for an oligarchy, and the secret supporters of the exiled tyrants.

**τὸν δῆμον προσεταιρίζεται.** Probably (1) the poor Diacrii, who had been supporters of Pisistratus (i. 59. 3), and (2) immigrants excluded from the phratries and the four Ionic tribes which remained the basis of Solon’s constitution. The statement ἡπτῶμενος δὲ ταῖς ἐταιρείαις ὁ Κλεισθένης (*Ath. Pol.* 20. 1) may have been suggested by H.’s phraseology, but the definite mention of political clubs would seem, like the term προστάτης τοῦ δήμου (*Ath. Pol.* 20. 4), to be an anachronism.

**τετραφύλους ἔοντας Ἀθηναίους.** Ancient tradition rightly made these four tribes not Attic but “Ionic” (chap. 69. 1; Eur. *Ion* 1575f.; whether they were borrowed by Athens from Miletus (Wilamowitz, *A. and A.* ii. 241), or, as is more probable, were characteristic of all purely Ionic states, since they are found in Delos (*BCH* x. 473, xiv. 418), in Teos (*CIG* 3078, 3079), and Cyzicus (*CIG* 3657, 3663–5), etc.)—deriving them from the four sons of Ion. The view that they represent castes can hardly be maintained (Strabo 383; Plut. *Solon* 23). Αἰγικοροεῖς might indeed mean the “goat-herds” of rocky Diacria, and Ἀργαδεῖς might = Ἐργαδεῖς (Plut. *Solon* 23), and mean either husbandmen or handicraftsmen, though even these etymologies are uncertain. But Γελέοντες, undoubtedly the true form (*CIG* 3078, 3664, 3665), remains a riddle. Some connect it with γελᾶν = *splendere*, and see

in it a class of priests and nobles, while others, deriving it from γῆ, make them peasant proprietors. But the latter are elsewhere (Busolt, ii. 96), γεωμόροι, γεωργοί, ἄγροικοι, and there is no trace of a priestly caste in Attica, while the nobles, Eupatrids, belonged to all four tribes. Again, the Ὀπλητες can hardly be the “warriors,” as in that case they would not come last in order, while if they are turned into handicraftsmen, tool-makers, they overlap the Ἀργαδεῖς. It may be better with Maas (*Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1889, 803; 1890, 353 n.), to connect the tribal names with half-forgotten deities, the Geleontes with Zeus Geleon (*CIA* iii. 2), the Ὀπλητες with Ὀπλόσμιος, Ὀπλόσμιος being a title of Zeus in Arcadia, Ὀπλοσμία of Hera in Elis, while a tribe in Mantinea is Ὀπλοδμία; Αἰγικορεῖς with Αἰγίς (*Eur. Ion* 1580), and Ἀργαδεῖς with Ἄργος, the god of light. In any case, if the tribes ever had been castes or local divisions, no trace of the fact remained: they were in the time of Cleisthenes based on descent. Cf. Busolt, ii. 98f. For the four Ionic tribes cf. Ramsay, *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization*, 243–66.

**ἑτέρων:** not Ionic but indigenous Attic heroes, Pausan. i. 5, pseudo-Dem. *Epitaph.* 27–31. The names were Erechtheis, Aegeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Oeneis, Cecropis, Hippothontis, Aeantis, Antiochis. Ajax was doubtless chosen as the hero of Salamis (cf. viii. 64; *Il.* ii. 557–8), since 560 B.C. at any rate an Attic possession. The worship of the heroes gave a certain religious unity to the new tribes; their statues stood together in the Agora at Athens. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* chap. 21) tells us that the Pythia selected the ten eponymous heroes of the tribes from a hundred names submitted to her, a characteristic method of reconciling divine and human choice.

#### v. 67

“This he did in imitation of his grandfather.” Cf. ix. 34. 1, and i. 176 ad fin. The resemblance between the two policies, on which H. again insists (chap. 69. 1), is less clear than the contrast. The historian’s distorted view shows how inadequate was his appreciation of Cleisthenes’ political reforms. introd. § 32. For their real significance cf. chap. 69. 1 n. Cleisthenes of Sicyon reigned thirty-one years, ca. 600–570 B.C.; cf. vi. 126f. and app. xvi, § 2.

**Ἀργεῖοισι.** In legend Sicyon was a vassal-kingdom of the Pelopid monarchs of Argos: perhaps Dorian Argos attempted to reassert this old suzerainty, and was successfully resisted by Cleisthenes.

**Ὀμήρεια ἔπεα.** Even in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the constant use of “Argives” for Greeks, and the position of Agamemnon as overlord of Sicyon, would be an offence to Cleisthenes, but it seems more probable that H. here, in spite of his doubt as to the authorship of the *Epigoni* (iv. 32, and cf. ii. 117), refers to the Thebais which began Ἄργος ἄειδε, θέα, πολυδίψιον, and to the *Epigoni* in which Adrastus must have played a great part.

**τὰ πολλὰ πάντα,** “almost throughout”; cf. i. 203. 1, ii. 35. 2.

**Ἀδρήστου.** A., originally perhaps a local god, was in the Epics son of Talaus the Argive; expelled from Argos, he took refuge with Polybus of Sicyon, married his daughter, and inherited his kingdom. He took a leading part in the expeditions against Thebes, and seems to have returned to Argos (Paus. ii. 6. 6, etc.). There was a cult of the hero at Megara (Paus. i. 43. 1) as well as at Sicyon.

**ἐκβαλεῖν.** To recover or to expel the corpse is to recover or expel the hero. Cf. the stories of the bones of Orestes (i. 68 n.) and of Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 36).

[2] **λευστῆρα.** Clearly intended to jingle with βασιλεύς (cf. 92) may be (1) = φόνεα λίθοις ἀνατροῦντα, Hesychius, cf. Cic. *Pro Dom.* 5. 13 *percussor, lapidator*, or (2) a mere stone-thrower or skirmisher, not worthy of the hoplite's panoply, far less of a royal sceptre. If the Delphic god really gave this response to Cleisthenes, it was an ungrateful return to the man who had championed the cause of Delphi in the Sacred War (Paus. ii. 9. 6, x. 37. 6), and had joined in the re-institution of the Pythian festival, 582 B.C. (Paus. x. 7. 6), and who may well have founded the treasury of the Sicyonians recently discovered at Delphi (Paus. x. 11; Frazer, v. 270, 628). Probably the oracle is a product of later days, when Dorian Sparta was all powerful at Delphi and blackened the fame of anti-Dorian tyrants.

**ἔδοσαν.** Cf. the help lent by Thebes to Aegina against Athens (chaps. 80, 81).

[3] Melanippus, a Theban hero (Aesch. *Sept.* 413), buried there outside the Proetid gate (Paus. ix. 18. 1), slew Tydeus and Mecisteus in fair fight before Thebes.

[4] **ἄπαις:** without male issue (chap. 48). Adrastus was his grandson or son-in-law.

[5] **τὰ πάθεα:** especially in the expeditions against Thebes. In the first he lost all his companions, escaping himself by a miracle; in the second, only his son Aegialeus fell. Perhaps the story grew from the names Talaus ("wretched") and Adrastus, "the inevitable might of Fate."

**χοροὺς μὲν:** for the omission of the article cf. ix. 88. 1; i. 194. 4; ii. 402, etc. The worship of Dionysus was popular with the common people and favoured by the tyrants. Pisistratus founded the city Dionysia at Athens, or at least the dramatic performances. Periander of Corinth was the patron of Arion, the great maker of choric song (i. 23 n.).

**ἀπέδωκε** (cf. *reddidit*) here means "assigned to D., to whom they of right belonged." There is no reason to think that at Sicyon the chorus had first been given to Dionysus, then transferred to Adrastus, and now restored to D., nor can this have been true of the sacrifice now assigned to Melanippus. Choruses would be appropriate to Adrastus, whether as originally a Chthonian deity (Welcker) or as a guardian hero. For the connection of tragic choruses with the worship of the dead cf. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, 26–39; and for the change of "heroes" Thuc. v. 11.

## v. 68

The Orthagoridae belonged to the non-Dorian population, and no doubt in some way abased the power and pride of the Dorians in favour of their own tribe. Yet it is difficult to believe that such terms of contempt can have been the official names of the Dorian tribes, maintained for sixty years after the death of Cleisthenes. Probably they were mere nicknames, which arose from some bitter jest of the tyrant (Bury, p. 156). The sixty years may be taken to end with the re-establishment of Dorian ascendancy, at the time when, led by Cleomenes, Sparta strove to enlarge her confederacy by the expulsion of the Pisistratidae (510 B.C.). At least we hear (Plut. *De Mal.* chap. 22) of a Sicyonian tyrant Aeschines put down by the Spartans (cf. app. xvi, § 10).

[2] **τούς**: the well-known Dorian tribes.

**Δυμανάτας**: elsewhere always Δυμᾶνες. Steph. Byz. s.v. makes Dyman and Pamphylus sons of the Dorian king Aegimius, who adopted the Heracleid Hyllus. Of the real origin of the tribes nothing is certainly known (cf. Busolt, i. 530).

**Αἰγιαλέος**. Doubtless a local name, the men of the shore (cf. vii. 94). Probably the name is older than Cleisthenes, and was now revived. The eponymous hero Aegialeus (cf. chap. 66) is no doubt derived from the name of the tribe.

## v. 69

**καὶ οὗτος ὑπεριδῶν Ἴωνας**. H. seems to regard Cleisthenes as of old Attic, as opposed to Ionic descent (chap. 62. 2 n.), and so likely to despise Ionians as his grandfather despised Dorians. But the motive is superficial and improbable. The Athenians still celebrated the Ionic festival, the Apaturia (i. 147), and retained the old tribes and phratries, at least for religious purposes. We also find Athens claiming kinship with the Ionians (chap. 97; ix. 106) as their mother city, and may attribute the contempt expressed for the Ionians, here and elsewhere, to later prejudice reflected in H. (cf. i. 143 n.).

The true meaning of the reforms was very different. By breaking down the old tribal organization, Cleisthenes was enabled to strengthen the state by the admission of many new citizens (cf. *Ath. Pol.* 20 ἀποδιδούς τῷ πλήθει τὴν πολιτείαν, Arist. *Pol.* iii. 2. 1275b 37 πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐφυλέτευσε ξένους καὶ δούλους μετοίκους, and *Ath. Pol.* chap. 21), and to free it from the undue influence of the old families and clans. (Cf. Aristotle's sagacious remarks (*Pol.* vi. 4. 18, 19, 1319b) on the necessity of breaking up old associations and forming new ones, when the franchise is extended.) By the wise choice of a natural local division, the deme, as the basis of his scheme, and the skillful distribution of the demes and trittyes among the ten tribes (*Ath. Pol.* chap. 21; below § 2), he provided against the crying danger of local factions, and also secured the permanence of his institutions. Lastly, by making Athens the one place where members of a tribe gathered together from their different trittyes for a common purpose, Cleisthenes elevated the city in the eyes of all its citizens, new and old. He thus completed the work, ascribed in legend to Theseus, but in reality left incomplete by Solon and

Pisistratus, the unification (συνουικισμός) of Attica. For Cleisthenes' measures cf. Busolt (op. cit. 853f.) and E. M. Walker in *CAH* iv. 141–56.

[2] ἀπωσμένον may be middle (Krüger), meaning “which had before rejected him,” or passive (Stein) “before despised by him” (as an aristocrat).

**φυλάρχους:** properly, at Athens, the captains of the troop of horse furnished by each tribe at least as early as 411 B.C. (*Ath. Pol.* chap. 30; cf. chap. 61), and probably in the time of Herodotus. But these officers seem to date from the re-organization of the cavalry in the days of the Athenian empire, since no large force of horsemen is likely in early days or possible at Marathon (vi. 112 n.). H., who in the next words applies the term φύλαρχοι to the four old φυλοβασιλεῖς, may be here using it loosely for the officials technically called ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν φυλῶν (*CIA* ii. 554, 57–9, 564, 567 b), unless indeed these officials too are of later date, and the strategi lie concealed under this strange name.

**δέκαχα** = “in ten parts” (cf. Hicks 81, l. 35) is an acceptable conjecture (Busolt, ii. 405 n. 3), as it not only improves the construction but frees the text from the unlikely statement that there were exactly one hundred demes. Such a round number is improbable since:

(1) The demes were not now first called into being (cf. τοὺς δήμους and i. 60. 4, 62. 1; ix. 73. 2), but existed at least in the days of the tyrants (cf. i. 60, 62 nn.), as may be seen from Pisistratus' κατὰ δήμους δικασταί (*Ath. Pol.* 16) and the Hermae set up by Hipparchus (pseudo-Plato *Hipparch.* 229 ἐπιγέγραπται λέγων ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὅτι ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἔστηκεν).

(2) The number of the demes in Polemo's time (second century B.C.; cf. Strabo 396) was 174, of which some 166 have been found on inscriptions: even in the fifth century there must have been more than one hundred.

(3) The supposed support of the number one hundred derived from the “hundred heroes” fails, since the hundred heroes are not the eponymi of the demes, but the indigenous worthies from among whom the Pythia chose the ten eponymi of the tribes (*Ath. Pol.* 21; Busolt, ii. 406).

**κατένειμε.** For the principle of this distribution, the prevention of στάσις by combining different parts of Attica in one tribe, cf. Bury, p. 211. 2; Busolt, ii. 418f. For a list of demes *PW* v. 35; and for their distribution into tribes *ibid.* ii. 2227. H., caring but little for constitutional history, is silent on the point.

## v. 70–76

*The attempts of Cleomenes to promote oligarchic reaction at Athens foiled, first by the resistance of the Athenians and then by the refusal of the allies to follow him, with notes on the Cylonian ἄγος (71) and on Dorian invasions of Attica (76).*

## v. 70

H. clearly places the constitution of Cleisthenes before the second visit of Cleomenes, Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 20) dates it to the archonship of Isagoras (508–7

B.C.), after Cleomenes' second intervention. The new constitution could only take definite form after the final defeat of Isagoras, yet the reformer must have previously won over the people to his side, and the βουλή which Cleomenes and Isagoras wish to dissolve, to whose aid the people rally, would seem probably to be the new democratic council of 500. Aristotle is dependent on H. for purely historical matter, but may have taken his date for the reforms (Isagoras' archonship) from an Atthis. Cf. Busolt, ii. 403.

[2] ἐπιλέγων, "describing them more exactly as the accursed." Cf. the similar demand of Sparta just before the Peloponnesian war for the banishment of Pericles, an Alcmaeonid by maternal descent (Thuc. i. 126).

#### v. 71

Thucydides (i. 126) completes and corrects this account of Cylon's *coup d'état*, which is clearly based on Alcmaeonid tradition. Plutarch (*Solon* 12) is in general agreement with Thucydides, but probably drew immediately from some Atthis. The chief points of difference are:

- (1) Cylon received aid from his father-in-law, Theagenes of Megara.
- (2) Being encouraged by the Delphic oracle to make the attempt at the chief festival of Zeus, he, an Olympic victor, chose the Olympic games, not the Attic Diasia.
- (3) He actually seized the Acropolis and was there besieged for some time by the Attic levies under the *Archons*.
- (4) Cylon and his brother escaped, their followers were slaughtered.

ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, "set his cap at a tyranny." Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 1317 ἐπὶ τῷ κομᾶς: for ἐπί marking the end cf. i. 66. 1; and for pride in wearing the hair long cf. i. 82. 7, 8.

τὸ ἄγαλμα: probably the Athene Polias in the earlier Erechtheum. Cf. chap. 72. 3 n.

[2] τούτους: presumably Cylon as well as his partisans, but cf. (4) above.

οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκραρῶν: ναυκραριέων (Stein, Abbott) would be an improvement. Naucraries were local districts whose presidents (ναύκραροι) were responsible (*Ath. Pol.* 8. 3; Pollux viii. 108; Bekk. *Anec.* i. 283) for levying money and contingents for the army and ships for the fleet (the name coming from ναῦς and κρά, the root of κραίνω, Busolt, ii. 191). The notion that Solon first instituted 48 such naucraries (12 in each of the four Ionic tribes) is due to Photius' misrepresentation of *Ath. Pol.* 8. 3, where their pre-existence is really implied. There is then no reason to doubt that the "presidents of the naucraries" (prob. = ναύκραροι) were important officers, but the statement that they were the supreme power in the state (for ἔνεμον cf. i. 59. 6; v. 92 b 1) is directly contradicted by Thucydides (i. 126), who rightly names the archons, in which he is followed by Plutarch, *Solon* 12 Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*)

rightly sees in the naucrari local officials (chap. 21), succeeded by the demarchs, while the archonship is the chief political office (chap. 13). The attempt of Harpocration to reconcile Herodotus and Thucydides by identifying archons and naucrari is a mere subterfuge contradicted by all other authorities; nor is it likely that the archons were the presidents of the naucrari as has been suggested. The true explanation of the passage is that Herodotus, or his authority, is anxious to absolve the Alcmaeonid archon, Megacles, from the guilt of the sacrilege by throwing the blame on another board of magistrates. For his Alcmaeonid leanings cf. vi. 121, and app. xviii, § 6.

**ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου.** The agreement bound the suppliants to appear before a court of justice, but guaranteed them their lives. Cf. Plut. *Solon* 12 τοὺς συνωμότας . . . ἐπὶ δίκη κατελθεῖν.

**πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης:** a vague date, yet natural in Herodotus, since his continuous history of Athens begins with Pisistratus. Thucydides gives two notes of time, the Olympiad (above) and the synchronism with Theagenes. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*) apparently placed Cylon before Draco, and Euseb. *Chron.* i. 198 (cf. Paus. i. 28. 1) dates his victory in the foot-race at Olympia to 640 B.C. Hence, as he was apparently still young at the time of his rising (cf. τὴν ἑταιρησίην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων), Busolt (i. 670, ii. 206) and others prefer the date 632 B.C.

#### v. 72

**αὐτός,** "alone." But cf. *Ath. Pol.* 20. 3 ὑπεξεληθόντος δὲ τοῦ Κλεισθένους μετ' ὀλίγων.

**ὑπεξέσχε,** "retired" (vi. 74. 1; viii. 132. 2). He hoped by this to satisfy Cleomenes.

**ἐπίστια.** It is most unlikely that 700 families were implicated in the murder of the Cylonians, yet Aristotle follows H. verbally. Probably many newly enfranchised citizens were expelled at the same time, and thus completed the total of 700 households.

**τὴν βουλήν.** Clearly to Herodotus the new Boule of five hundred, fifty from each tribe, which naturally championed democracy against this oligarchic reaction; yet, if we follow the chronology of Aristotle (cf. chap. 70. 1 n.), it would be the Solonian council of four hundred. Were the three hundred partisans of Isagoras to form an oligarchic council, from which the magistrates would be taken? There had been a council of three hundred convened to try the "Accursed" (Plut. *Solon* 12).

**[2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι.** The Lacedaemonians were at times willing to save themselves, regardless of their allies (cf. Thuc. iii. 109): yet Isagoras (chap. 74. 1) escaped, and possibly his partisans, § 4 n.

**[3] ἡ φήμη:** the well-known (cf. chap. 35. 2; ix. 100, 101) omen, contained in the words πάλιν χῶρεε.

**τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ:** presumably the shrine of Athene Polias in the Erechtheum (viii. 41. 2, 51. 2 n.); but there was also on the Acropolis, before the Persian war, the

old Hecatompedon discovered by Dörpfeld (*MAI* xi. 1886, 337), between the sites of the Parthenon and Erechtheum (Frazer, *P.*, vol. i, appendix). Dörpfeld further holds that this temple was rebuilt after the Persian war and existed at least as a treasury in the days of H., but this seems improbable (cf. D'Ooge, *The Acropolis*, 41f., 369–97). If neither this temple nor the Erechtheum, which was rebuilt late in the Peloponnesian war, were restored when H. was writing his vagueness in referring to “the temple” is more natural.

**ἡ ἱερεΐη.** The Eteobutadae supplied the priestess of Athena Polias, and the priest of Erechtheus (Aesch. *Cho.* 572).

**τὰς θύρας . . . ἀμείψαι**, “pass the folding doors,” as often in Tragedy; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1262. With this attempt of Cleomenes we may compare his conduct at Argos, vi. 81, 82.

**Δωριεῦσι:** probably for all non-Ionians, perhaps for all but the priests. Cf. Caes. *B. Civ.* iii. 105 “in occultis ac reconditis templi, quo praeter sacerdotes adire fas non est, quae Graeci ἄδυτα appellant” (of Pergamum).

**Ἀχαιός:** as a Heracleid (vii. 204; viii. 131). For a discussion of the race of the Spartan kings cf. vi. 53 n. Cleomenes’ reply gains point when we remember that his half-brother was Dorieus (chap. 41).

[4] **τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, κτλ.** On the historian’s own showing Isagoras escaped (chap. 74. 1). Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 20) says all were let go: τοὺς μετ’ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀφείσαν ὑποσπόνδους. Aristophanes (*Lys.* 272) describes, with humorous exaggeration of its glories, this expulsion of Cleomenes from Athens.

**κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ** (sc., δέσιν): imprisoned them for execution. Cf. iii. 119. 2, and the parallel expression κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ (i. 109. 1).

**Τιμησίθεος:** Pausanias (vi. 8. 6) ascribes to him two victories in the pancratium at Olympia, and three at Delphi, besides exploits in war.

## v. 73

**Ἀθηναῖοι . . . συμμαχίην.** The Athenians, presumably their assembly under its democratic leader, are the first to make advances to the Great King, and to invite his intervention in Greece. Naturally they were anxious to preserve their newly won liberties and their independence against the overwhelming power of the coalition arrayed by Sparta against them. Yet it is a shock to find that the chief champion of Hellas against the Mede had first proposed an alliance with him.

[2] **τίνες ἐόντες:** a regular expression for the lordly contempt felt by Persian kings and princes for small and distant tribes and cities (i. 153. 1; v. 13. 2, 105. 1).

**ἀπεκορύφου,** “put the matter to them in a nutshell.” Cf. κορυφὰ λόγων (Pind. *Ol.* vii. 68; *Pyth.* iii. 80).

[3] **ἐπὶ . . . βαλόμενοι,** “on their own responsibility, at their own risk” (iii. 71. 5, 155. 4; v. 106. 4; viii. 109. 1). Probably the envoys knew that Cleisthenes was ready to make submission, but were afterwards disavowed when their action raised a

storm at Athens. H.'s Athenian (? Alcmaeonid) informants seem guilty here of at least *suppressio veri*. Cleisthenes henceforth disappears from history, presumably because he fell into disgrace. He may even perhaps have been banished, though the late tradition (Aelian, *V.H.* xiii. 24) that he was the first man ostracized deserves no credit (cf. *Ath. Pol.* chap. 22). The leanings of the Alcmaeonidae to the East may be partly explained by the origin of their wealth (vi. 125), and certainly throw light on their attitude in 490 B.C. (cf. app. xviii, § 6).

#### v. 74

ἐς τὸ συλλέγει. It seems impossible that the Spartans and allies should not have known that the expedition was directed against Attica, especially as the Boeotians seize Oenoe by a concerted plan, but they may well have been ignorant of the purpose of Cleomenes to restore tyranny at Athens. On the question whether the king had authority to order an expedition see app. xvii, § 2, and vi. 56. 1.

[2] Ἐλευσίνα. The scholiast on Ar. *Lys.* 273 gives fuller details: τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κλεομένους Ἐλευσίνα κατασχόντων (i.e., Isagoras and his fellow-exiles), Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς οἰκίας κατέσκαψαν καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευσαν αὐτῶν δὲ θάνατον κατεψηφίσαντο, etc.

Οἰνότη. There were two demes named Oenoe, one in the valley above the plain of Marathon, the other, here mentioned, on the borders of Boeotia, but on the Athenian side of Mount Cithaeron. It may be placed at Myoupoli (? Οἰνότη πόλις), where there is a small walled town with outlying forts near the Boeotian border (Thuc. ii. 18), while the fortress commanding the road from Thebes to Athens and blocking the pass (Gyphto-Kastro) must be Eleutheræ (cf. Frazer, ii. 518f.; v. 537f.). For Oenoe, Eleutheræ, and other border forts cf. *JHS* xlvi (1926), pp. 1–26.

Ὑσιαί was also near the road from Athens to Plataea and Thebes, but was on the northern slope of Cithaeron, and was never an Attic deme. It was only Athenian in the sense that it was connected with Plataea (vi. 108. 6), and thus in alliance with Athens. For its site cf. ix. 15. 3 n.

ἀμφιβολίη, “between two fires”; the attack on Eleusis and on the northern frontier. Thucydides (ii. 76; iv. 32, 36) uses ἀμφίβολος in this sense.

#### v. 75

Κορίνθιοι: this service is not cited by the Corinthian orator in Thuc. i. 41. Probably Corinth was unwilling by injuring Athens to strengthen Aegina; cf. chap. 92.

μετεβάλλοντο: rather “wheeled round” (Stein) than “changed their mind” (Liddell & Scott).

[2] ἐτέθη νόμος. The date of the law and of the hostility between Cleomenes and Demaratus is a little doubtful; cf. vi. 82. At any rate, henceforth custom forbade both kings to go forth together in command of the host. Indeed it was a little unusual for them both to be absent from Sparta. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 10 ἢ τῶν

Φλειασίων πόλις . . . νομίζουσα ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ ἂν ἐξελεθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι. But the object of the law was military, to prevent division of command, and it certainly was not stretched to cover cases of absence on other business (cf. vi. 50. 2, 65. 1, 73) or of urgent necessity (Thuc. v. 75; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 7, 8). In vii. 149. 2 H. seems to forget the existence of this law.

Note the parallelism. **πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ . . . εἶποντο** says of the Tyndaridae what **τέως . . . εἶποντο** has said of the kings.

**τῶν Τυνδαριδέων.** The Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux (iv. 145. 5; ix. 73. 2), or rather their images. We may compare the Aeacidae (chap. 80; viii. 64, 83, 84) and 1 Sam. iv. 7f. with Robertson-Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. 38. Stein's difficulty, that the old images (Plut. *Mor.* 478a) could not be separated, might be met by sawing them asunder or by making new idols.

**ἐπικλητοί:** went forth with them, being summoned to their aid. Cf. the stories of the Dioscuri in Paus. iv. 16. 5, 9, iv. 27. 1f., and in Macaulay's Lake Regillus.

#### v. 76

The tradition that Megara was conquered by the Dorians after the rest of the Peloponnese is clear and well founded: that it was previously Ionic (i.e., Attic) and conquered when Codrus saved Attica seems a later invention supported by genealogical myths (Paus. i. 39; Busolt, i. 219f.). It would appear to be the Nisa of the Homeric catalogue (*Il.* ii. 508), and if so belonged originally to Boeotia.

**δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον.** The expeditions under Anchimolius and Cleomenes (chaps. 63–5), unlike the first, started from Sparta (ὄρμηθέντες ἐκ Σ.). The second coming of Cleomenes (chap. 72) is not counted, as it was undertaken οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρὶ: it would, too, spoil the historian's antithesis. It is impossible to say whether this schedule of expeditions was compiled when the events of 446 B.C. or 431 B.C. had made Dorian invasions familiar to Athens. In that case the omission of all reference to the doings of Pleistoanax (Thuc. i. 114) and Archidamus (Thuc. ii. 10f.) is remarkable, especially in view of the mention in ix. 73.

**Ἀθήνας** = Ἀττικήν, chap. 57. 2 n.

#### v. 77–78

*The Athenians take vengeance on Boeotia and Chalcis for their part in the invasion. The excellence of democracy.*

#### v. 77

**Βοιωτοὶ . . . Χαλκιδεῦσι.** The hostility of the Boeotians is easily explained by the alliance of Athens with Plataea, probably just concluded (vi. 108 n.): that of Chalcis may be due to the expansion of Athens in the Thracian region, where Chalcis had interests, under Pisistratus (cf. app. xvi, § 8), or to Athenian friendship with Eretria (i. 61; vi. 100), the old rival of Chalcis.

[2] **κληροῦχοι**. A cleruchy resembled a Roman, rather than a Greek or a modern colony, in being a measure of poor relief, and of military defence, rather than of emigration. The cleruchs who were settled on the confiscated lands remained Athenian citizens (cf. further Gilbert, *G.A.* i. 445f.), liable to military and naval service (cf. viii. 1). This is probably the earliest instance of a policy widely applied later by Pericles. A fragmentary inscription (Hicks 4) is now held to record the regulation of affairs at Salamis after its conquest, and not the establishment of a cleruchy. That Athens possessed state-land in Salamis seems proved by viii. 11. 3.

**ἵπποβόται** (cf. Strabo 447): a suitable name for a rich oligarchy of knights, since in such states as Chalcis and Eretria the knightly cavalry was the chief force, and only the rich could afford to breed and keep horses. Cf. vi. 35. 1 **τεθριπποτρόφος οἰκία**, vi. 36. 125, Arist. *Pol.* iv. 3. 1289b **τοῦτο** (i.e., τὸ ἵπποτρέφειν) οὐ ῥάδιον μὴ πλουτοῦντας ποιεῖν. διόπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ὅσαι πόλεις ἐν τοῖς ἵπποις ἢ δύναιμις ἦν, ὀλιγαρχίαι παρὰ τούτοις ἦσαν. ἐχρῶντο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους ἵπποις πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας οἶον Ἐρετρεῖς καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς.

**παχέες**: cf. chap. 30. 1.

[3] **δίμνεως**: Ionic for διμναίους, like εὐγεως from γέα (γη). For the sum cf. vi. 79. 1.

**τειχέων**. Probably the northern wall of the Acropolis, which may well have been scorched with fire when the earlier Erechtheum was burnt (viii. 53).

**μεγάρου**. The western cella, either (1) of the Erechtheum, the temple of Athena Polias, next the Pandroseum (viii. 51, 55); or (2), according to Dörpfeld, of the old Athena temple, the Hecatompedon (chap. 72 n.).

[4] **τέθριππον**. The site of this monument is a standing puzzle to archaeologists. That it was, as H. says, originally set up ca. 505 B.C. seems certain, and also that it was destroyed or removed by the Persians in 480 B.C., so that the monument seen by H. was a reproduction erected about 450 B.C.—not, however, on the original site. The evidence is as follows. In 1887 a broken block of Eleusinian stone, evidently a fragment of an oblong base, was found in the ruins of a large building to the northeast of the Propylaea, probably near its original position. On the block may be seen, in letters belonging to the end of the sixth century B.C., the words (Hicks 12; *CIA* iv.<sup>2</sup> 334 a) ὕβ]PINΓAIAΔE(ς), and below TON HIGTOΣ Δ[εκάτην. Previously, in 1869, a block of Pentelic marble, also a fragment of a base, had been found with an inscription in characters belonging to the middle of the fifth century (*CIA* i. 334) to this effect: Aθ]ENAION EPAMA[σιν, and in the line below ἴ]ΓTOΣ ΔE[κάτην, to which has been added more recently a scrap containing the syllable σαν twice repeated. Both inscriptions are clearly fragments of the dedication inscribed on the pedestal of the chariot: in both each couplet formed a single long line. But in the earlier the hexameters were transposed, the line referring to the chains standing first, which shows that the original monument stood near the chains hung on the wall, whereas the newer was near the entrance of the Acropolis. In all probability the trophy was restored after the conquest of Euboea

by Pericles (i.e., 445 B.C.), or after that of Boeotia at the battle of Oenophyta (i.e., 456 B.C.). Either would be a suitable occasion for such a restoration. In favour of the latter Hauvette (p. 51) urges that H., who must have seen the new monument, since he (like Diodorus and the Anthology) quotes the verses in the new order, gives no hint that the trophy had just been restored. The epigram is to be ascribed to Simonides (Aristides, ii. 512, Dindorf) rather than to Agron (schol. ad loc.); cf. Bergk, *P.L.G.*, Simonides frag. 162.

**ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς . . . πρῶτα ἐσιόντι ἐς τὰ προπύλαια.** These words raise a further difficulty. Does H. mean the famous Propylaea of Mnesicles finished in 432 B.C.? To this there are the following objections: (1) Within the Propylaea there is no room for so large a monument as the chariot would seem to have been. (2) On the slope immediately in front to the left there is no suitable site. (3) Pausanias (i. 28. 2) clearly implies that the chariot stood on the Acropolis itself inside the Propylaea. We must therefore infer that the restored chariot was moved when the new Propylaea of Mnesicles was built, and that H. is referring to the open space in front of the old Propylon. This gateway is still discernible behind the southwest wing of the Propylaea, set in the Pelasgic wall, and was probably restored by Cimon after the Persian war (cf. D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, 72–7, 301f., with fig. 7). No certain inference can be drawn as to the date of H.'s sojourn or sojourns in Athens (cf. introd. §§ 8, 10).

The epithets belong to different meaning of δεσμός, “chain” (σιδήρεος), and “prison” (ἀχλύοεις).

#### v. 78

**Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἠϋξήντο** ends, as is shown by the pluperfect, the theme begun chap. 66 Ἀθηναῖοι . . . ἐγίνοντο μέζονες.

**δηλοῖ**: probably personal (cf. ii. 116. 6, 149. 2) rather than = δηλον ὅτι (cf. ii. 117).

**ἰσηγορίη**, “liberty,” “equality,” as shown in the right of free speech, especially in matters political. Cf. Xen. *Ath. Pol.* 12 ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποιήσαμεν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους πρὸς τοὺς ἀστούς. H. here, as usual, champions freedom and constitutional government against tyranny (cf. iii. 80f. and introd. § 7). His argument, though not conclusive, is interesting (Macan) as an early statement of the close relations between the political institutions and the foreign policy and fortunes of a state (cf. Polyb. vi. 3; Arist. *Pol.* v. 4. 8, 1304a; vi. 7. 1, 1321a). His prediction of military success for democracy may be true in a short national struggle for existence like the Persian war, but can hardly be extended to a career of conquest, still less to the maintenance of an empire (cf. Thuc. iii. 37).

**ἐθελοκάκειον**, “would not do their best” (viii. 22. 2; ix. 67). Xerxes maintains the opposite view (vii. 103. 4). Hippocrates (*Aer.* 23) supports H.: οἱ δὲ αὐτόνομοι, ὑπὲρ ἑωυτῶν γὰρ τοὺς κινδύνους αἰρεῦνται καὶ οὐκ ἄλλων, προθυμεῦνται ἐκόντες καὶ ἐς τὸ δεινὸν ἔρχονται . . . οὕτως οἱ νόμοι οὐκ ἤκιστα τὴν εὐψυχίην ἐργάζονται. H. does less than justice to the Pisistratid tyranny (cf. app. xvi, §§ 5–

8.) But its successes were diplomatic rather than military, and H.'s statements (cf. 66. 1) are comparative. Pisistratus, no doubt, laid the foundations of the Athenian Empire, but the building was greater than its foundations.

**v. 79–89**

*Aegina makes alliance with Thebes and attacks Athens. Digression (82–8) on the old feud between Aegina and Athens and note (88) on Greek dress and pottery.*

**v. 79**

ἐς πολύφημον: doubtless, like τῶν ἄγκιστα δέεσθαι and perhaps τιμωρήτηρων (chap. 80. 1), a quotation from the oracular response, probably a reminiscence of *Od.* ii. 150 ἀγορὴν πολύφημον.

[2] Tanagra and Thespieae are the nearest considerable places east and west of Thebes, but Coronea is further away to the northwest beyond Haliartus.

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ. "The first example of a construction (unique in H.) very common in Plato . . . in which μὴ with the subjunctive expresses a suspicion that something may prove to be true, and μὴ οὐ that something may not be true," Goodwin, § 265.

**v. 80**

Since Zeus was said to have carried off Aegina, the mother of Aeacus, to Oenone (i.e., Aegina; cf. viii. 46. 1) from Phlius, her father Aesopus must have been originally the river-god of the Phliasian stream (*Paus.* ii. 5. 2), but from an early date he was identified with the Boeotian river, and Aegina thus made a sister of Thebe, as in this oracle and in Pindar, *Isthm.* vii. 18; cf. *Paus.* ix. 1.

The interpretation illustrates the use of myths for political purposes; cf. chap. 67.

[2] τοὺς Αἰακίδας. Probably images of Aeacus and his sons (cf. chap. 75). They are specially at home in Aegina (cf. viii. 64, 83, 84), yet Ajax and Telamon are at home in Salamis also (viii. 64), and thus are connected with Athens (chap. 66. 2), where too Aeacus is given a τέμενος (chap. 89). So the Aeacidae might well refuse to aid the foes of Athens.

**v. 81**

[2] εὐδαιμονίη μεγάλη. Great prosperity, especially if sudden, would be to H. a reason for expecting disaster. The wealth of Aegina, traced by Athenian scandal to buying gold as brass from thievish Helots at Plataea (ix. 80), was really of long standing, as is shown by their separate shrine at Naucratis (ii. 178), the proverbial wealth of Sostratus (iv. 152), and above all by the Aeginetan weights, measures, and coinage (vi. 127. 3 n.). But H. depreciates the Aeginetans as foes and rivals of Athens. Here they break the usages of war; in ix. 78 an Aeginetan proposes a worse outrage on Hellenic custom. In fine, their expulsion from their island is but the proper penalty for their cruelty and sacrilege (vi. 91). Nevertheless, he allows that the Athenians were the aggressors in the original war (chaps. 85, 86), and implies that they acted unjustly in retaining the Aeginetan hostages (vi. 86). He

also states that the Aeginetans showed patriotism in resisting Xerxes (though they submitted to Darius (vi. 49)) and won the prize of valour at Salamis (viii. 91, 93).

**ἀκήρυκτον**: a war without due notice, elsewhere an implacable war, or a guerilla war (Macan).

[3] **Φάληρον . . . παραλίας**: the port (cf. chap. 63; vi. 116) and coast region (*Ath. Pol.* 21). For the damage done by such raids cf. *Xen. Hell.* v. 1.

#### v. 82

Since ὀφείλω is used like “owing” of evil as well as good (Plato *Resp.* 332b, 335e) προοφειλομένη ἔχθρη is a “hatred one has long had cause to feel, but has not satisfied.” So vi. 59 π. φόρος, “tribute still in arrear”; Thuc. i. 32 εὐεργεσία π. “a kindness not yet repaid.”

**ἐχρέωντο**. For the consultation of the oracle on similar occasions cf. i. 167; iv. 151.

**Δαμίας καὶ Αὐξησίης**. These deities were also worshipped at Troezen and Epidaurus, and in Laconia. Αὐξησίη is clearly connected with “Increase” (αὐξειν, cf. the Attic deity Αὐξιώ), but the derivation of Δαμίη remains a problem. Most probably it may be connected with Mother-Earth, Δημήτηρ, since at Rome and in Italy the Bona Dea, an earth-goddess, worshipped exclusively by women (Ovid, *Fasti* v. 150f.), was called Damia, her victim *damium*, and her priestess *damiatrix*. These names must be of Greek origin, and seem to show that the Greek deity Damia migrated from Tarentum, where the feast of Dameia was celebrated, to Rome, and was there engrafted on the Italian Bona Dea = Fauna (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, 102–6). In any case it can hardly be doubtful that these goddesses are concerned with the increase of the fruits of the earth, and with child-birth in women. Their worship resembled that of Demeter and Persephone in the raillery practised at both by the women (chap. 83. 3 n.), in the throwing of stones as a religious rite, and in the manner of sacrifice (Paus. ii. 30. 4, 32. 2). In the fact that the statues were made of wood we may perhaps see a relic of the supposed fertilizing power of trees (cf. the May-pole). For parallel spring customs in many lands and their explanation cf. Frazer, *P.*, ii. 492, iii. 266f.

[2] **ἰρωτάτας**. The μορίαί at Athens were held sacred and protected by law (*Lysias Peri Sēkou* 2, 7, etc.). The first olive, still to be seen in the days of H. in the Erechtheum (viii. 55 n.), was the gift of Athena to Attica; hence the view that olives were once found in Attica only. The image of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum was made of olive-wood (*Athenagoras, Leg.* 17); indeed, primitive statues were generally made of wood (Paus. viii. 17. 2).

[3] **ἀπάξουσι**. The Athenians later required cleruchs and allies at Brea, Erythrae, and elsewhere to pay such contributions to the Panathenaea (Hicks 32, 41, 64).

**Ἀθηναίη τῆ Πολιάδι**. It seems clear that in inscriptions “Athena Polias” may refer to the goddess of the Parthenon as well as to her of the Erechtheum, the title serving to distinguish the goddess who watches over the city and citadel of Athens from Athena Nike (Wyse, *CR* xii. 145–52; cf. also D’Ooge, *Acropolis*, 139–42, 385–9).

But in literature Athena Polias naturally means the goddess of the Erechtheum, and here that meaning is made certain by the connection with Erechtheus. On Erechtheus and his temple cf. viii. 55 n.

These offerings to the “lady” and “king” of the city of Athens from Epidaurus may be connected with the membership of both cities in the ancient Calaurian Amphictyony (Strabo, viii. 374).

#### v. 83

The Aeginetans were Dorians from Epidaurus (viii. 46; Paus. ii. 29. 5). Hence their allegiance to the mother-city, and custom of going thither for justice; such dependence in early times is not in itself improbable, but of course the suits would be few and simple.

**ἀγνωμοσύνη:** *temeritas*, the opposite of σωφροσύνη. It shows itself as overweening self-confidence (here cf. iv. 93; ix. 41. 4), as obstinacy (vi. 10; ix. 4. 2), as conceit (ix. 3. 1), or merely as want of sense (ii. 172. 2; vii. 9. b 1).

**ἀπέστησαν.** The independence of Aegina must have been absolutely assured when Periander crushed Epidaurus (iii. 52. 7), ca. 600 B.C.

[2] **ὑπαιρέονται.** By seizing the statues they would not only make themselves independent of the mother-city in their worship, but also secure the blessing of the deities (chaps. 75, 81). So Juno is brought (with her own consent) from Veii to Rome (Livy, v. 22).

[3] **κερτόμοισι.** Such coarse raillery was customary among worshippers of Demeter and Dionysus in Attica also. It was practised by those who went to Eleusis (γεφυρισμός, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 384f.), by choruses of men at the feasts of Dionysus (Ar. *Vesp.* 1362; Dem. *De Cor.* 122 τὰ ἀφ’ ἀμάξης), and by companies of women at the Thesmophoria (Στήνια, cf. ii. 171. 2 n.). H. implies that men were present in Aegina during this part of the festival (cf. the celebration at Bubastis, ii. 60 n.), though no doubt excluded from the secret rites (ἄρρητοι ἰσοργίαι), which, as in the worship of Bona Dea and the Thesmophoria (ii. 171. 2 n.), were the essence of the cult. On their significance cf. chap. 82. 1 n.

#### v. 85

H. puts in the forefront two points in which the Athenian story, dictated perhaps by unwillingness to admit defeat, differed from the Aeginetan, viz., (1) that the Athenians sent only one ship, (2) that they had no intention of making an armed attack, to which we get the Aeginetan answers in chap. 86. Meanwhile, the undisputed fact of the attempt to remove the statues is thrust away into a relative clause, οἱ πεμφθέντες.

[2] **ἀλλοφρονῆσαι** = here “were stunned, lost their wits” (cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 698), whereas in vii. 205. 3 = “with other thoughts,” as in Hom. *Od.* x. 374. Similarly ἀλλογνῶσαι in Hippocrates means “go mad,” but in H. i. 85. 3 “fail to recognize.”

For the story in general compare that of the salvation of Delphi (viii. 37–40), those of the madness caused by Artemis (Paus. iii. 16. 9; vii. 19. 3), and above all the attempted rape of the statue of Hera from Samos, and the marvel by which it was prevented (Athen. 672b).

**ἀνακομισθῆναι αὐτόν**, “was conveyed back alone.”

**v. 86**

**οὐ ναυμαχήσαι**. The fact was admitted. The Athenian explanation was that no hostility was intended; the Aeginetan, that they preferred to fight on land.

[3] H. is slow to believe, though not to record, anything which seemed to him to contradict the laws of nature (cf. iii. 116, iv. 25, and especially iv. 42. 4, and in general introd. § 32).

**σφι**, “before them.” The goddesses were no doubt represented kneeling, and the story is an aetiological myth to explain this (cf. chaps. 87, 88; ii. 131). The true explanation (Welcker, Frazer) is that they were goddesses of child-birth. So Latona brought forth Apollo and Artemis kneeling on the soft meadow (*Hymn. Hom. Ap.*, 116f.). In this posture were represented Auge at Tegea (Paus. viii. 48. 7), and the Di Nixi (Festus, 174–7) brought to Rome after the defeat of Antiochus or the sack of Corinth. Marble groups of the kind have been found at Myconus and near Sparta.

[4] **ἔτοιμους . . . ποιέεσθαι**, “had procured the help of the Argives” (i. 11.1), probably as mercenaries (cf. i. 61. 4; vi. 92. 2), though possibly the three Dorian states were leagued against Athens. Epidaurus must have been friendly to Aegina, otherwise it could have stopped the Argives or sent news to Athens. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*A. and A.* ii. 280f.) has put forward a theory (somewhat discredited, like the sun-myths of comparative mythologists, by its too frequent use) that this war is a reflection into the distant past of incidents which really occurred in the struggles between Athens and Aegina in the period of the Persian wars.

Undoubtedly the incidents, the landing of the Athenians, and their defeat by the Argives and Aeginetans, are more appropriate to that time, as is shown by the mention of a trireme (chap. 85); but the feud between Athens and Aegina seems really old, as is shown by the embargo on Attic pottery (chap. 88), and on the Athenian side by Solon’s substitution of the Euboic standard for the Aeginetan in coinage, and by his prohibition of the export of corn (Busolt, ii. 307). H. vaguely takes the story back into the far past, when Epidaurus had lately been mistress of Aegina and friend of Athens (chap. 83), when images were still made of wood (chap. 82), and Attic women still wore Dorian dress (chap. 87. 3). This early war between Athens and Aegina may well have occurred (ca. 590–70 B.C.) when Athens, fresh from her victory over Megara, was ready for a yet bolder enterprise. Internal seditions and renewed troubles with Megara (i. 59 n.) may soon have checked these wider ambitions.

v. 87

[2] With this ferocious act compare the lynching of the wife and children of Lycidas in 479 B.C. by the women of Athens (ix. 5. 3), and the “Lemnian deeds” recorded in vi. 138.

[3] ἄλλω may be taken with ὄτεω, being put forward for emphasis, or being = ἄλλο it is attracted into the case of the relative, cf. *Il.* xviii. 192 ἄλλου δ’ οὐ̄ τευ οἶδα τεῦ̄ ἄν κλυτὰ τεύχεα δύω.

v. 88

There were two types of Greek dress: “the Ionic,” used by the natives of Asia Minor—Phrygians, Lycians, Carians, and the Greeks who came in contact with them; and the Dorian, of which the Corinthian is an unknown variety, the primitive national dress worn by almost all Greeks except the Ionians. The Ionian chiton was a long linen garment like a night-gown, with full sleeves to the elbow, requiring neither brooch nor pin. The Dorian was a square woolen cloth, with the upper edge folded down forming the diplois. It was simply folded round the body and fastened at the shoulder. The right side was thus left unprotected, unless this opening was, as in the Canephorae of the Erectheum, sewn up. (But in all cases a girdle was worn fastened round the loins, and under the girdle the dress could be so arranged as to overlap.) This Dorian chiton served for both outer and under garment, hence it is called ἱμάτιον (chap. 87. 2). There is great difficulty as to the dress of the Athenians in early days. Homer includes them among the Ἰάονες ἔλκεχίτωνες (*Il.* xiii. 685; cf. Thuc. iii. 104, Homeric Hymn), and the men of Athens before the Persian wars wore long linen chitons (Thuc. i. 6) and fastened their hair with golden grasshoppers in the Ionian fashion. It is therefore hard to believe that while the men wore Ionian dress the women wore the Dorian, and that then each sex changed its style of dress. The evidence of monuments seems to show that in the early period of sculpture Ionic dress was common, but that after the Persian wars the Dorian dress prevailed. See P. Gardner, *Greek Antiquities*, 49f.; Lady Evans, *Greek Dress*; and Studniczka, *Altgriechische Tracht*.

**Κάειρα.** For Carian influences on Ionia cf. i. 146 n.

[2] ἀνατιθέναι. The offering would be made either before marriage (for which compare the offering of hair, iv. 34. 1 n.; Paus. i. 43. 4, ii. 32. 1; Frazer) or at child-birth (cf. chap. 86. 3 n.), with which may be compared the dedication of clothes to Artemis Brauronia at Athens (A. Mommsen, *Feste*, 456f.; Schol. Callim. i. 77) and to Artemis at Syracuse (*Anth. Pal.* viii. 200f.).

**κέραμον.** Attic pottery was known all over the Greek world for its excellence. Hence this embargo may have been a primitive measure of protection. So far as Argos is concerned it is supported by the results of the American excavations at the Heraeum. Many fragments were found of old varieties, such as the Mycenaean and Geometric wares, some of the later red-figure style prevalent after the Persian wars at Athens, but hardly any of the best period of the black-figure style or the early red-figure style of vases. In other words, the embargo was rigorous ca. 550–

480 B.C. See J. C. Hoppin, *CR* xii, p. 86. For the use of pottery rather than silver, etc., in the service of the gods cf. Athen. xi. 482; Macrob. *Sat.* v. 21.

**v. 89**

[2] **μαντήιον**. This oracle must surely have been given when Aegina was finally conquered, or at least when Athens was bent on the conquest (458–457 B.C.). If so, the thirty years must be reckoned from that epoch, which takes us back to 488–487 B.C., the probable date of the Aeginetan war, misplaced by H. before 490 B.C. (vi. 87f.). Athens could hardly have meditated the conquest of Aegina before Marathon, and before the building of her great navy. H. is probably guilty of an anachronism in dating the project and the oracle before the Ionic revolt (Macan, app. viii, § 3; Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *A. and A.* ii. 281).

**ἀδικίον**. H. reproduces the Athenian colouring of his source by using a term elsewhere only found in Attic legal proceedings.

[3] **Αἰακῶ**. The protecting hero of Aegina, who was thus to be won over to the side of Athens (cf. 80. 2 n.). The shrine of Aeacus in the Agora could hardly have escaped the ravages of the Persians in 480 B.C. May it not be (like the oracle) of later date, connected perhaps with Cimon (cf. vi. 105. 3 n.), who as a Philaid traced descent from Aeacus?

**v. 90–93**

*Project of the Spartans to restore Hippias defeated by the opposition of their allies, led by Sosicles the Corinthian. His speech on the saving of Cypselus and the iniquities of Periander.*

**v. 90**

The abortive attempt of Sparta to restore Hippias need not have hindered Athenian vengeance on Aegina. The real impediment may have been lack of a fleet, or strained relations with Persia. But H. uses the supposed connection as a means of transition from one subject to another. The date assumed is shortly before the coming of Aristagoras (chap. 97), i.e., just before 500 B.C.

τὰ ἐκ τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων: cf. chaps. 62, 63.

[2] Such oracles were current later (cf. viii. 141. 1; Thuc. ii. 8). For Pisistratid knowledge of oracles and soothsaying cf. app. xvi, § 7.

ἐν τῷ ἰρῶ: probably the Erechtheum (chap. 72. 3 n.).

**v. 91**

The allegation that Sparta attempted to cripple a possible rival by destroying her liberties (chap. 78) and restoring tyranny may be derived from Attic tradition. As a rule, Sparta favoured narrow oligarchies as more congenial to her own temper and institutions, and more conformable to her interests (Thuc. i. 19. 76; Arist. *Pol.* 1307b 24).

[2] **δόξαν φύσας**, “having got (or grown) a spirit.” Cf. Soph. *O.C.* 804 **φύσας φανει φρένας**, on the analogy of physical growth as **γλώσσαν** (ii. 68. 3), **κέρεα** (iv. 29 ad fin.), **πώγωνα** (viii. 104).

**τις καὶ ἄλλος**. This vague prediction of future evils applies primarily to Corinth (chap. 93. 1), but also to Sparta herself (chap. 90. 2). It was fully justified by the event; indeed, it is no doubt a “vaticinium post eventum.”

**ὑμαρτών**, “that he has committed an error.” The participle must also be supplied with **ἐκμεμαθήκασι**, for though the Boeotians and Chalcidians had not, like Sparta and Corinth, made the mistake of helping the Athenians, they had carelessly allowed their power to grow. But it is better to change **ὥστε** to **ὥσπερ** (Stein) or **ὥς γε** (Abicht) and to make **ἄμαρτών** conditional = “if he be so foolish as to reject our counsel.”

Grote (iv. 101) remarks on the interest and importance of this occasion, the first recorded instance of the consultation of her allies by Sparta. The practice thus begun made the Peloponnesian league a true confederacy, organized probably by the vigorous and successful king, Cleomenes (cf. app. xvii, § 3). The necessity of such consultations was shown by the dispersion of the allies during the last campaign against Athens (chap. 75).

#### v. 92

**Σωσικλῆς**. There seems no doubt that Corinth again (cf. chap. 75) led the opposition to the Spartan proposal, since she needed an independent Athens as a counterweight to Aegina, and for the maintenance of her own freedom. On her southern border she was already hemmed in by cities subservient to Sparta; were Athens now to become a submissive subject of Lacedaemon, Corinthian liberty and even Corinthian commerce would be menaced. Sosicles may be an historical person, like the seven Persian conspirators (iii. 80f.), but his speech is incredibly inapt to the occasion, and is no more historical than the political essays put in their mouths. The one good point is the inconsistency of Sparta’s hostility to tyranny at home and support of a tyrant abroad, and this might have been improved by recalling the Spartan suppression of tyrants (cf. app. xvi, § 10). Of the stories told, that of Cypselus’ childhood is not in point, since it does not illustrate the evils of tyranny, nor is there any attempt to show that a tyranny at Athens would injure Sparta or her allies. H., even in his set speeches, does not cease to be a story-teller, using the narrative style (**εἰρομένη λέξις**) suitable to the matter; he cannot, like Thucydides, give us the weighty political argument demanded by the crisis. We may further note his light-hearted assurance that he gives the actual words spoken (**τάδε**) in contrast with the more cautious phrases of Thucydides (**τοιαῦτα, τοιάδε**).

[a. 1] H., like the speaker, conceived of the earth as a flat surface under the solid canopy of heaven (cf. iv. 36). For marvels in nature cf. Archilochus, frag. 74; Eur. frag. 688; Verg. *Ecl.* i. 60; Ovid, *Tristia* i. 8. 1f.; and H. viii. 143. 2 n. A similar formula in treaties (Dion. Hal. vi. 95) was fraudulently misused (H. iv. 201. 2, 3).

**ἰσοκρατίας:** concrete = “republics,” a word coined to avoid the use of “democracies,” which might be distasteful to the Spartans, the equivalent of the abstract term ἰσηγορία (chap. 78) and the commoner ἰσονομία (iii. 80. 6, 142. 3; v. 37. 2).

[a. 2] **φυλάσσοντες.** The dual monarchy was itself a precaution against tyranny. Further, to provide against a dangerous personal preeminence was a constant principle of Spartan policy; hence the treatment of Cleomenes and Pausanias, and in later days of Lysander. Not till Sparta was in her last decline did king Cleomenes III win despotic power, to be followed by baser tyrants—Lycurgus, Machanidas, and Nabis (221–192 B.C.) (Plass, *Tyrannis*, ii. 171f.). On the putting down of tyranny by Sparta cf. app. xvi, § 10.

[b. 1] Here begins the tale of the Cypselids in three parts: (1) The saving of Cypselus; (2) The advice of Thrasybulus; (3) The ghost of Melissa.

The accepted tradition, which has been largely rationalized, ran thus. At the time of the Dorian invasion the Heracleid Aletes became king in Corinth in place of the Sisyphid (Paus. ii. 4. 3, 4; Thuc. iv. 42). Ten Dorian kings reigned before the monarchy gave way to the oligarchy of the Bacchiadae, whose clan of two hundred or more families took its name from the fifth king Bacchis. After the death of the last king Telestes, annual Prytaneis were elected from the ruling race for ninety years (747–657 B.C.). But the whole scheme is highly artificial and due to late chronologists (Busolt, i. 631f.).

**ἐδίδοσαν καὶ ἤγοντο:** the formal expression for ἐπιγαμία, *conubium*, though ἐκδίδοναι is more regular (ii. 47. 1; i. 196. 4; iv. 145. 5; Thuc. viii. 21). Legitimate marriage was clearly impossible outside the ruling clan, just as at Rome in early days there was no *conubium* between patrician and plebeian. Such close aristocracies claiming descent from a royal house were common (Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, 120f.). They tended to become the narrowest of despotic oligarchies (δυναστεῖαι, Thuc. iii. 62; iv. 78; Arist. *Pol.* 1302b 17, 1306a 24), resembling real tyrannies. Cf. ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι below.

**Λάβδα.** So called because her deformity resembled the letter Λ (*Etym. Mag.* 199). Perhaps the lameness is symbolic (cf. iv. 161; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. 3).

**δήμου.** Perhaps influenced by Attic usage; cf. ix. 73. 1 Σωφάνης . . . ἐκ δήμου Δεκελεῆθεν. Cf. Hom. *Il.* v. 710; *Od.* i. 103; xiii. 322, etc. But demes are known in Elis, Rhodes, etc., outside Attica; for a collection of instances cf. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Petra probably lay south of Corinth on the northern slope of the Argive hills near Tenea.

**Λαπίθης τε καὶ Καινείδης:** generic and specific designation; so chap. 65. 3 Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι. Caeneus, the invulnerable Lapith, was slain by the weight of the trees hurled on him by the Centaurs in the fight at the wedding of Pirithous. The Lapiths are a pre-Hellenic Thessalian race; but, according to Paus. ii. 4. 4, v. 18. 7, the Cypselids sprang from Melas, son of Antasus, a man of Gonoessa

above Sicyon, whom Aletes, in spite of a warning from an oracle, suffered to come to Corinth. In any case, Eetion belonged to the pre-Dorian "Aeolic" population of Corinth (Thuc. iv. 42), the *tyrannis*, as usual in Peloponnese, marking an anti-Dorian reaction on the part of the conquered race.

[b. 2] οὐδέ, "he had no children by this or any other woman." Cf. i. 215. 2; ii. 52. 1, and especially Ar. *Av.* 694 γῆ δ' οὐδ' ἀῆρ οὐδ' οὐρανὸς ἦν.

ὄλοοίτροχον: cf. viii. 52. 2. A play on the synonym Petra, as the line before is on Eetion.

δικαιώσει. Here = "chastise," as shown by l. 14. Cf. i. 100. 2; iii. 29. 3.

[b. 3] αἰετὸς ἐν πέτρῃσι: Ἡετίων (Dor. Αετίων) ἐκ Πέτρης.

λέοντα. The lion is a symbol of royal power, vi. 131. 2, and perhaps v. 56. 1, vii. 225. 2.

Corinth is called the city of Pirene (Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 161), but the site of the spring is uncertain. The Pirene of Strabo (379) (cf. Paus. ii. 5. 1; Frazer, iii. 32) is on Acro-Corinthus, a quarter of an hour from the summit by the east wall of the fortifications. The Pirene of Pausanias (ii. 3. 2) is in Old-Corinth at the foot of Acro-Corinthus, on the road from Lechaem to the market-place, southeast of the well-known temple of Apollo. The latter Romanized fountain of Pirene has been thoroughly excavated by Professor Richardson, of the American school at Athens, who showed it me in 1899. See *JHS* xix, p. 324; xx. 175; *Century Magazine*, March, 1899.

ὄφρουέντα, "on a brow," probably of the towering Acro-Corinthus, though the town itself stood on a rocky plateau two hundred feet above the plain. Cf. *Il.* xxii. 411 Ἴλιος ὄφρουέσσα, Strabo 382 χώραν δ' ἔσχεν οὐκ εὐγεων σφόδρα, ἀλλὰ σκολιάν τε καὶ τραχεῖαν, ἀφ' οὗ πάντες ὄφρουέντα Κόρινθον εἰρήκασι καὶ παροιμιάζονται· Κόρινθος ὄφρουα τε καὶ κολαίνεται.

[c] This story of Labda and her baby illustrates the tender and kindly feeling for children in Greece (Mahaffy, *S.L.*, p. 163f.).

Nic. Damasc. (frag. 58), *FHG* iii. 391 gives a rationalized version of this story, explaining the connection with Olympia, but not the chest: τοὺς δὲ οἶκτος εἰσηλθε καὶ ἔγνωσαν μηκέτι ἀναιρεῖν ἀλλὰ φράσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὰς ἀληθείας ἐκποδῶν ἀπιέναι. δόξαν δὲ οἱ μὲν εἶπαν, ὁ δὲ Αετίων εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν αὐτὸ ὑπεκτίθεται καὶ ἔτρεφεν ὡς ἰκέτην τοῦ θεοῦ.

[e. 1] ἀπὸ τῆς κυψέλης. Cf. Paus. v. 17. 5 τῆς μὲν δὴ σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τοῦ Κυψέλου τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος οἱ ὀνομαζόμενοι Κυψελίδαι τὴν λάρνακα ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὰς δὲ λάρνακας οἱ τότε ἐκάλουν Κορίνθιοι κυψέλας· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Κύψελον τῷ παιδί θέσθαι λέγουσι. Pausanias saw in the Heraeum at Olympia a chest (λάρναξ) of cedar, whose carvings and decorations he describes in full, believing it to be the hiding-place of Cypselus. This seems impossible, as a κυψέλη, to judge from the coins of Cypsela in Thrace,

is a cylindrical jar, and the chest seems, from the account of its carvings and inscriptions, not to be earlier than 600 B.C. Probably the legend here given arose out of the name Cypselus, but the magnificent coffer seen by Pausanias may well have been, like the golden image of Zeus (Paus. v. 2. 3), a gift of the Corinthian tyrants. On the reconstructions of this famous monument of archaic art cf. Stuart Jones, *JHS* xiv. 30, 80, and the summary of his (and other) views in Frazer, *P.*, iii. 600f.

**ἀμφιδέξιον.** Since the oracle is in no sense ambiguous this is best taken as two-handed, that is, two-edged (cf. ἀμφήκης), in the sense that while promising success to Cypselus and his sons, the oracle also prophesies the deposition of his grandsons. Nevertheless, since δεξιός is used of favourable omens, Stein (following Erotian, *Voc. Hippoc.* 43, Klein ὁ δὲ Ἴπποκράτης οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφήκους, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐχρήστου τίθεται κατὰ ἀμφοτέρω τὰ μέρη) construes “doubly favourable.”

[e. 2] Periander's sons died before him; his successor was Psammetichus, son of his brother Gorgus, who only reigned three years (Arist. *Pol.* v. 12. 1315b 26; Nic. Damasc. frag. 60, *FHG* iii. 393). The precision of this prophecy shows it was made after the event.

This is the conventional picture of the tyrant (cf. iii. 80f.). Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 10. 12) and Nic. Damasc. (frag. 58), *FHG* iii. 391 make Cypselus the popular leader (δημαγωγός), gaining and keeping power by the arts of a demagogue, unlike his harsher successor. See app. xvi, § 3.

[f. 1] **τριάκοντα ἔτηα.** Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 12. 1315b 22f.) assigns 73½ years to the dynasty, 30 to Cypselus, 44 (? 40½) to Periander, 3 to Psammetichus. Busolt (i. 638f.) takes 657 as the date of Cypselus' accession, 586–5 for the death of Periander.

**Θρασυβούλω:** cf. i. 20f. Since Periander was one of the seven Sages, and a greater adept in the arts of tyranny than Thrasybulus, Aristotle (*Pol.* iii. 13. 1284a 26f.; v. 10. 1311a 20) reverses the parts of the two despots. The story illustrates the truth that the opposite of Tyranny is Oligarchy rather than Democracy. Roman annalists apply the Greek tale less appropriately to Tarquinius Superbus and his son Sextus during his stay at Gabii (Livy i. 54).

[f. 2] **ἀναποδίζων,** “making him go back” (cf. ii. 116. 2 n.; Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 192), i.e., cross-examining him concerning.

[g. 2] Divination for buried treasure is a familiar process burlesqued by Scott (*Antiquary*, chap. 21).

**Μέλισσα:** killed, probably accidentally, by her husband (iii. 50f.). Her real name was Lysicle, Melissa being a name given her by Periander (Diog. Laert. i. 94), or a title as priestess of some goddess (Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 60, Schol.; Frazer, *P.*, iv. 223, v. 621; *JHS* xv. 11). For the geography cf. viii. 47. 1; Thuc. i. 46; Strabo 324; Paus. i. 17. 5. “The Acheron flows through a profound and gloomy gorge, one of the darkest and deepest of the glens of Greece” (Leake, *N.G.* i. 241). Hence it was a spot likely

to be accounted a descent into hell, where the ghost might be summoned back as was Samuel by the witch of Endor (1 Sam. 28). Other oracles of the dead were at Phigalea (Paus. iii. 17. 9; cf. Frazer), Heraclea Pontica (Plut. *Cim.* 6), and Taenarum (Plut. *Mor.* 560e). On the custom of burning or burying with the dead clothes, etc., cf. iv. 71 n.

[g. 3] τὸ Ἡραῖον. Clearly the shrine of Ἡρα βουναία, on the slope of Acro-Corinthus at the west end of the city (Paus. ii. 4. 7), not the distant temple on the headland of Peiraeum (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 5).

ὄρουγμα: as an offering to the dead (Hom. *Od.* xi. 25; x. 517) For the similar custom of pouring offerings into the grave through a hole cf. Paus. x. 4. 10, with Frazer; Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, 30f.

κατέκαιε. This admirable instance of animism is rationalized by Ephorus (Diog. Laert. i. 96), who makes Periander plunder the ladies of Corinth to get gold for the colossal statue of Zeus at Olympia (cf. *e* 1 n.). So Blakesley and Rawlinson think the clothes were burnt to get the inwrought gold! A similar tale is told of Dionysius the younger (Justin, xxi. 3).

θεοὺς . . . Ἑλληνίους. Cf. ii. 178 n.

#### v. 93

ἡμέραι, etc., "the appointed days." No doubt the antagonism between Corinth and Athens, which began with Themistocles' creation of a great navy, became embittered by the adhesion of Megara to Athens (Thuc. i. 105) and the conquest of Aegina (ca. 458 B.C.), and culminated in the Peloponnesian war, might have been foreseen, but probably the prophecy is *post eventum*. At this time Corinth feared Aegina more, and supported Athens on several occasions by thwarting Spartan designs (here and chap. 75), by arbitrating in her favour as regards Plataea (vi. 108), and by the loan of ships for the Aeginetan war (vi. 89; Thuc. i. 41). Commercial interest dictated both the earlier friendship and the later hostility.

On the acquaintance of the Pisistratidae with oracles cf. app. xvi, § 7.

#### v. 94–96

*Hippias returns to Sigeum. Digression on the war between Athens and Mitylene for Sigeum. Artaphrenes insists that Athens must receive Hippias back.*

#### v. 94

Ἀμύντης: cf. chap. 17. His connection with the Pisistratidae (only here indicated) may have arisen from Pisistratus' possessions on the Strymon and the Thermaic gulf (*Ath. Pol.* 15).

Ἄνθεμουῖντα: in Mygdonia, whence Amyntas had driven the Edonians over the Strymon (cf. Thuc. ii. 99, 100).

Θεσσαλοὶ (cf. chap. 63) Ἴωλκόν: on the Pagasaeon gulf, suitable for a naval power.

**νόθον**: illegitimate, since his mother Timonassa was an Argive and could not contract a legal marriage with Pisistratus. A difficulty arises, because while Thucydides (vi. 55) recognizes three legitimate sons of Pisistratus—Hippias, Hipparchus, and Thessalus, as recorded on the stele in the Acropolis—Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 17) states that only Hippias and Hipparchus were sons of his lawful wife, while Iophon and Hegesistratus, whose other name was Thessalus, were born of an Argive. The best solution is due to Toepffer (*Beitrag*e, 251f.). He holds that Hegesistratus, illegitimate by birth, was afterwards legitimized under the name of Thessalus, which name accordingly he bears later in Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 18) and in the decree of ἀτιμία against the tyrants (Thuc. vi. 55). Iophon, on the other hand, was never legitimized, and was therefore unmentioned in the decree.

**Ἡγησίστρατον**. This name was given him for the part he took in leading the Argive allies in the battle of Pallene (i. 62; *Ath. Pol.* 17); that of Thessalus is doubtless a compliment to the Thessalian allies of Athens (chap. 63).

[2] **ἔκ τε Ἀχιλληίου**. The tomb of Achilles, near the mouth of the Scamander (Strabo 600).

**οὔτε συγγινωσκόμενοι**, “not acknowledging their claim *but*, showing,” though the district was studded with Lesbian colonies, Athens claimed it (Aesch. *Eum.* 397).

**λόγῳ**: by an argument (cf. i. 129. 3), taken no doubt from Homer, and similar to those used to prove that Salamis belonged to Athens (Plut. *Solon* 10; *Il.* ii. 558) and to support her claims to precedence (vii. 161; ix. 27).

#### v. 95

**Ἀλκαῖος**. Beloch (*Gr. G.* i. 330) holds to his peculiar opinion (*RM* xlv. 465 ff.) that this synchronism between Alcaeus and Pisistratus is historical, and that there was no earlier war between Athens and Mitylene. Toepffer, on the other hand, follows Valckenaer in contending that H. here is recapitulating episodically the earlier history of the quarrel, and is quite aware there were two wars (Toepffer, *Beitrag*e, 63, 240f.); but E. Meyer (ii, § 402) rightly follows Grote in arguing that H. has unconsciously confused (1) the struggles of the time of Alcaeus, (2) the award of Periander, (3) the renewed wars in the times of Pisistratus and his sons. H.'s chronology of the sixth century, frequently confused and inaccurate (app. xv, § 6; Abbott, *Excursus* xi), is in this case self-contradictory. Periander's award cannot be later than 585 B.C., as he died about that time, and Hegesistratus was born after Pisistratus had become tyrant at Athens, ca. 560–555 (*Ath. Pol.* 17). We must then suppose that there was an earlier war in which (ca. 600 B.C.) Alcaeus lost his shield, and Pittacus of Mitylene, by the arts of the retiarius, vanquished the Athenian Phrynon in single combat (Strabo 599, 600), a fact whose omission Plutarch (*Mor.* 858b) ascribes to the malevolence of H. This war was ended by the well-attested mediation of Periander (Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15; Diog. Laert. i. 74) before 590 B.C., and left the Athenians in possession of Sigeum. A memorial of their dominion there is the Attic inscription on the stele of Phanodikos the Proconnesian found there (Roehl,

IGA 492; Hicks, No. 8), which must be as early as the first quarter of the sixth century (Roberts, No. 42; *Greek Epigraphy*, 334). At some later time Athens lost possession of Sigeum, but regained it during the last tyranny of Pisistratus (ca. 535 B.C.).

The attempt of the Athenians to get a foothold on the Hellespont before they were secure even of Salamis may be explained by the great value of the Pontic corn-trade to an impoverished Attica (*Ath. Pol.* 2), and a desire to deprive Megara of this source of wealth. For the expansion of Athenian power under Pisistratus cf. app. xvi, § 8; for arbitration, v. 28 n.

ἐπιτιθεῖ, "sends." Cf. iii. 42 ad fin. A corrupt fragment of the poem is given by Strabo (600). Archilochus (frag. 6), Anacreon (frag. 28), and Horace (*Odes* ii. 7. 9) record similar misfortunes.

#### v. 97–102

*Aristagoras induces Athens and Eretria to send aid, and the Paeonians to return to Europe. The Greeks burn Sardis, and as they retreat are defeated at Ephesus.*

#### v. 97

ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ: i.e., 499 B.C. (chap. 33. 1 n.). We naturally infer that the negotiations with Artaphrenes took place shortly before 500 B.C.

[2] Μιλήσιοι . . . ἄποικοι. If this speech were historical, this would be the earliest recognition of Athens as the mother-city of Ionia (Macan), though the idea may have inspired the ambitions of Pisistratus (app. xvi, § 8). The claim was supported by exploiting tradition and genealogies in the interest of politics (cf. i. 142, 147; v. 62 nn.).

πολλοὺς . . . ἔνα. The malicious suggestion that it was easier to impose on the whole people of Athens than on a single Spartan may well come from a Spartan source; but cf. i. 60. 3. "The remark is a glaring instance of the political naïveté of Herodotus" (Macan). Throughout he treats the Ionic revolt as a scheme of desperate adventurers fraught with evils to Hellas (§ 3, chap. 28; vi. 3). Yet on his own showing the conquest of Greece was already projected at the Persian court (iii. 134), and Athens in particular was plainly threatened (chaps. 73, 96). The action of Athens did but forestall an inevitable attack, and facilitated later the formation of the Delian confederacy (ix. 106 n.; viii. 3). Her fault lay not in supporting the Ionians now, but in deserting them later (chap. 103).

τρεις μυριάδας. This was the conventional estimate of the number of citizens in the days of H.: and is repeated (viii. 65. 1) for the Eleusinian procession, and (Ar. *Eccl.* 1132, Plato, *Symp.* 175e) for the audience in the theatre. The first authentic census gives the number of 21,000 for 317 B.C., but there is little doubt that the numbers were greater in Periclean and even in Cleisthenean Athens. The number of those receiving state pay (*Ath. Pol.* 24), and of those to be billeted on the allies (Ar. *Vesp.* 708), is put at 20,000; and 14,240 received the dole of coin in 444 B.C. (Plut. *Per.* 37). Beloch (*B.* chap. 3) would put the number of citizens in 431 B.C. at

35,000, and in 500 B.C. at 30,000; while Meyer (*F.* ii. 179), who accepts the 29,000 hoplites (including metics) stated by Thucydides (ii. 13) to have been on the muster-rolls in 431 B.C., reaches much higher totals—55,500 for 431 B.C. and nearly 50,000 for 500 B.C. This last estimate must surely be exaggerated, but that of H. may be roughly correct. Of course, no such number ever attended the Assembly, five or six thousand (Thuc. viii. 72) being a full house.

[3] ἀρχὴ κακῶν. For the formula cf. *Il.* v. 62, xi. 604; Thuc. ii. 12; also chap. 28 and vi. 67. 3. Plutarch's criticism (*De Mal.* 24) of this dictum is for once just as well as patriotic: ἀρχεκάκους τολμήσας προσειπεῖν ὅτι τοσαύτας πόλεις καὶ τηλικαύτας Ἑλληνίδας ἐλευθεροῦν ἐπεχείρησαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων.

#### v. 98

τοὺς Παίονας. Cf. chaps. 15, 23. 1.

[4] Δορίσκον. A landing at Doriscus seems unlikely, since it was a strong place (vii. 106) held by a Persian garrison (vii. 59). Moreover, Doriscus on the Hebrus is far from the home of the Paeonians on the Strymon (cf. the march of Xerxes, vii. 108–13).

#### v. 99

The long struggle between Chalcis and Eretria for the Lelantine plain, which culminated in a war of pan-Hellenic importance (Thuc. i. 15), would seem to belong to the seventh century. The war between the two principals was fought out with sword and lance (Archil. frag. 4; Strabo 448) by their knightly cavalry (Arist. *Pol.* 1289b 36), the Thessalians helping Chalcis to gain the victory (Plut. *Mor.* 760f.). But the war was far more than a border feud: it was a struggle between two rival commercial leagues. Eretria was supported by Miletus, and probably by Megara and Aegina, while Chalcis had the help of Samos and Corinth. In the far West, Sybaris was allied to Miletus (vi. 21 n.), and Croton to Samos. Probably the rival Euboean cities were the channels through which the Eastern Greeks could trade with the West. Cf. iii. 59. 4 n.; Busolt, i. 456; Meyer, ii, § 342. Eretria lost all importance for the time, and Chalcis was hardly recompensed for her losses by supremacy not only in Euboea but in the Thracian and Western colonies.

H. lets us see the importance of the contingent from Eretria and of the tie between Eretria and Miletus. He also constantly affirms that the expedition of Datis was directed against Eretria as well as Athens (vi. 43, 94, 98f.). Myres (*JHS* xxvi. 96) connects this activity of Eretria with its thalassocracy 505–490 B.C., and suggests that Eretria also had a hand in the great defeat of the Boeotian and Chalcidians (v. 77), which H. represents as a purely Athenian victory.

[2] στρατηγούς . . . ἀπέδεξε. Aristagoras seems to act as if he were still tyrant (cf. chaps. 38, 49, 98).

#### v. 100

**Κορησῶ.** Coresus was a hill south of the river Cayster. The Ephesians seem to have lived on its slopes till moved down into the plain near the Artemisium by Croesus (Strabo 640), and to have returned there in the days of Alexander or of Lysimachus. West of the hill was the principal port of Ephesus down to Attalid times: at least Thrasyllus landed there in 408 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* i. 2. 7). For a plan of recent excavations cf. Pauly Wissowa v. 2780.

**ἡγεμόνας.** The regular road (chap. 54) led up the Cayster and over Mount Tmolus by the pass of Kara Bel: but clearly the Ionians marched by mountain paths to surprise the enemy, otherwise guides would be unnecessary.

**οὐδενὸς ἀντιωθέντος.** Plutarch (*De Mal.* 24, *Mor.* 861) states that the Persians were besieging Miletus, and that the object of the attack on Sardis was to raise the siege. If the Persians were busy elsewhere, we can better understand Artaphrenes being caught unprepared and retiring to the citadel. But the story is quite inconsistent with H.

**ἀκροπόλιος.** For the topography of Sardis cf. i. 80 n.

#### v. 101

**πόλιν.** This is clearly identical with τὸ ἄστυ (§ 1 ad fin.), “the lower city.” Hence the same meaning must be given to ἐν τῇ πόλι (§ 2 ad init.), though Stein and Macan there construe “Acropolis.” There is no reason to believe that there were Lydians in the Acropolis, or that all the Persians were within its walls. Nor could a fire in the lower city compel the garrison of the Acropolis to come down to the Agora and defend themselves there.

[3] **σὺν πλήθει . . . προσφερομένων.** If H. means the reinforcements of chap. 102 he writes loosely. Probably he refers to the garrison of the Acropolis called (chap. 100 ad fin.) ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

#### v. 102

**Κυβήβης.** The “Great Mother” goddess of the Phrygians worshipped at Pessinus, the μήτηρ Διυδυμήνη of i. 80. 1. For the Anatolian “Great Mother” cf. app. i, § 2; Frazer, *G.B.* iv, bk. ii, *Attis*, etc.; Ramsay, in *Hastings Dict. Bib.*, extra vol., p. 120f. The Atys myth which involved her cult is connected with Sardis by H.’s story of the son of Croesus (i. 34. 2 n.). The Great Mother was worshipped at Athens in the days of Sophocles (*Phil.* 391), and identified by the Greeks with Rhea, mother of the gods (cf. iv. 76; Strabo 469), with Aphrodite, with Demeter, and with Artemis as the lady of the wild woods. But here she is regarded as a foreign goddess.

**τὸ σκηπτόμενοι.** This motive is again put forward vii. 8, b 3, and on the occasion of the destruction of Eretria (vi. 101. 3). The Persians burned temples at Branchidae (vi. 19. 3), Naxos (vi. 96. 1), Abae (viii. 33), and Athens (viii. 53. 2). But they spared Delos (vi. 97) and probably Delphi (ix. 42. 3). Cf. also Troy (vii. 43) and Halos (vii. 197). The Persians needed no excuse for destroying Hellenic shrines (cf. app. viii, § 4), and the accidental destruction of a Lydian temple was clearly not the reason.

**νομοὺς ἔχοντες.** This should naturally refer to the three satrapies (iii. 90), but the Persians who put down the revolt—Daurises, Hymaees, and Otanes—were generals, not satraps (chaps. 116–17, 122; cf. chap. 25. 1 n., app. vi, § 7).

[3] **στεφανηφόρους.** At the greatest Hellenic festivals the prize was a crown (viii. 26). H. is careful to record athletic distinctions. Cf. chap. 47; viii. 47, etc.

#### v. 103–107

*Spread of the revolt to Caria and Cyprus, with story of Darius and Histiaeus (105–7).*

#### v. 103

**τὸ . . . ἀπολιπόντες τοὺς Ἴωνας.** Grote's suggestion (iv. 217) that the withdrawal of the Athenians was due to "some glaring desertion on the part of their Asiatic allies" is a mere conjecture. It is far more probable that the withdrawal of Athens, like the abstention of Sparta from all part in the war (app. xvii, § 3), was caused by more pressing needs nearer home. Twenty ships could not be kept permanently across the Aegean while Aegina with a superior navy (vi. 89) controlled the Saronic gulf. It may be, too, that the patriotic party had lost power at Athens. In 496–495 Hipparchus, son of Charmus, the leader of the Pisistratids, was elected first archon (Dion. Hal. v. 77; vi. 1; cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22), and the Alcmaeonids seem to have been willing both earlier and later (chap. 73 n.; app. xviii, § 6) to make terms with Persia. Miltiades had not yet returned from the Chersonese to lead the patriots, though there must have been many at Athens reluctant to leave Miletus to its fate (cf. vi. 21 n.).

[2] **Βυζάντιον:** as a Megarian colony unconnected with Ionia, but ready to throw off the Persian yoke (cf. v. 26 n.).

**τὰς ἄλλας:** cf. v. 117; vi. 33.

**ἐκπλώσαντες . . . τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον.** In this curious construction ἔξω redundantly (cf. iii. 16. 1) repeats the ἐκ in ἐκπλώσαντες which governs the accusative. Cf. chap. 104. 2; vii. 29. 1, and especially vii. 58. 1 ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων.

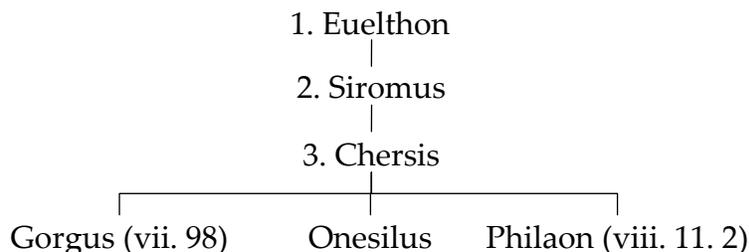
**Καῦνον.** The accusative is an oversight due to a change of construction; cf. iv. 156. 2. For Caunus cf. i. 172.

#### v. 104

Cyprus had submitted to Persia (iii. 91) with Phoenicia, when Egypt, on which it had been dependent in the days of Amasis (ii. 182), was tottering to its fall. Esarhaddon (ca. 675 B.C.) enumerates ten vassal kings of Cyprus, among them the lords of Curium, Paphos, and probably Soli and Citium. Diodorus (xvi. 42) gives nine chief cities in the fourth century—Salamis, Citium, Marium, Amathus, Curium, Paphos, Soli, Lapithus, and Ceryneia. Of these Salamis, Soli, Curium, and Amathus are mentioned by H. Salamis, as in the days of Evagoras, seems to be the head of the Hellenic faction, Amathus (Hamath) of the native or Phoenician. Cyprus, after sharing in Aegean culture, developed a mixed Greek and Phoenician

civilization of its own. Cf. Excavations in Cyprus (Br. Mus.), at Paphos (*JHS* ix. 147f.), and at Salamis (*JHS* xii. 59f.); Myres, *Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*.

H. gives us the following genealogy of the kings of Salamis:



But Euelthon is king in the days of Arcesilaus III of Cyrene (iv. 162); so it is hardly possible that his great-grandson should have reached man's estate in 498 B.C. It has therefore been suggested that Siromus (= Hiram) is the king of Tyre (ca. 550–530 B.C.), vii. 98, erroneously thrust into the line of Greek princes.

#### v. 105

**Ἰώνων οὐδένα λόγον.** The regular attitude of the Persian kings towards Ionians; cf. Cyrus (i. 153) and Cambyses (ii. 1). Yet it cost Darius at least one fleet and army, and took five years to put down the revolt (Macan). On H.'s unfavourable view of the Ionians cf. i. 142 n.

**εἰρέσθαι.** Again a standing formula for a characteristically oriental ignorance of Greece on the part of the Persians; cf. i. 153; v. 73 n.

**[2] ἐκγενέσθαι:** a good example of the infinitive expressing a wish. Goodwin, § 785; cf. Hom. *Il.* ii. 413; vii. 179; Ar. *Ach.* 816.

#### v. 106

**[6] θεοῦς . . . βασιληίους:** cf. iii. 65. 6 n.

For the project of conquering or colonizing Sardinia cf. i. 170; v. 124; vi. 2; and for the mistake as to its size i. 170 n. For a similar rash promise to ignore the claims of cleanliness, the story of duchess Isabella and the siege of Ostend (1601–4) (Littré, *Dict. Franç.*, s.v. Isabelle).

#### v. 108–15

*Double battle of Salamis. Persian victory on land, and re-conquest of Cyprus.*

Cyprus is the key of the Levant (Grundy, p. 105). Thence the Greeks could threaten the communications of Persia with the West, since "the only really practicable military line of communication" touches the shore of the Levant at the corner commanded by Cyprus. They could also block the advance of the Phoenician fleet to the Aegean. Its strategic value both for attack and defence led Pausanias in 478 B.C. (Thuc. i. 94) and the Athenians, both in 459 B.C. (Thuc. i. 104) and in 449 B.C. (Thuc. i. 112), again to attempt its liberation.

**v. 108**

[2] ἄκρην. That is, the promontory (Cap St. André) at the end of the long tongue of land now “the Carpass,” called by Ptolemy (v. 13. 3) οὐρὰ βοός. Strabo (682) is more exact in limiting the name αἱ κλειίδες to the rocky islands off the point, as the plural indicates (Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 81f.).

**v. 109**

οἱ τύραννοι: more properly (110. 1 n.) βασιλέες. The opposition of Greek to Phoenician explains their appearance as champions of Hellenic freedom, as it does the similar position of the tyrants of Syracuse and Acragas (vii. 165f.).

[2] ὅκως . . . ἔσται. The future indicative with ὅκως has the same force as the subjunctive in final clauses (Goodwin, § 324). The clause depends on ποιέειν.

[3] τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰόνων. This Pan-Ionic council is a revival of that at work fifty years before (i. 141). Its direction of affairs is implied in the brief deliberation of chap. 108. 2; cf. vi. 7. P. Gardner (*JHS* xxxi. 151–60) sees in a set of electrum staters and similar silver coins a series issued by the league of revolted cities. There is some humour in the airs of superiority attributed to the Ionians. “To avoid facing the Persian infantry (cf. vi. 112) on the plea of discipline (cf. vi. 12), and to remind the men of Cyprus of their servitude to the Mede (cf. iv. 142), are malicious touches in H.’s Ionian portraiture” (Macan).

[*Additional note* (1928). Gardner (*Hist. Coinage*, 91f.) has revised and re-published his article, while Caspari (Cary) has traced the history of the league and its activities (*JHS* xxxv. 173f., xxxvii. 174f.).]

**v. 110**

τὸ πεδίον. This plain stretches right along Cyprus from east to west, separating the mountain masses of the southwest from the range along the north coast. There is but a low watershed between the larger eastern part in which Salamis stood and the northwestern portion round the Bay of Soli.

οἱ βασιλέες: cf. 113. 2; but τύραννοι, 109, 113. 1. There were nine hereditary princes (Diod. xvi. 42), one in each of the cities named in chap. 104 n.

**v. 111**

The Carians were adepts in war (i. 171 n.). For their courage cf. chap. 118f.

[2] For the ghastly wounds inflicted by a fighting horse cf. Marbot’s story of the battle of Eylau (*Memoirs* E.T., 215).

[3] H., who is imbued with the spirit of Romance, here voices the prevailing sentiment of mediaeval chivalry. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* xi. 688, and especially *Aen.* x. 829 “Hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem: / Aeneae magni dextra cadis.”

**v. 112**

περὶ καὶ νηυσί: as in the later battle of Salamis in 449 B.C. (Thuc. i. 112), and in that of the Eurymedon (Thuc. i. 100).

[2] **δρεπάνω**: a weapon peculiar to Carians and Lycians; cf. vii. 92, 93.

**v. 113**

**Κουριέες**. H. seems uncertain of the Argive colonization of Curium affirmed by Strabo (683). Steph. Byz. says Κούριον πόλις Κύπρου ἀπὸ Κουρέως τοῦ Κινύρου παιδός, implying Phoenician origin, since Cinyras in legend is Eastern. Probably Peloponnesians really settled in Cyprus in prehistoric times, since Mycenaean pottery is common there, and the Cypriote dialect resembles most closely the Arcadian, the earliest Peloponnesian tongue. Further, the existence of the Cypriote syllabary shows that the colonization took place before the adoption of the alphabet (Busolt, i. 318f.).

**πολεμιστήρια ἄρματα**. Meyer (i, §§ 455, 577) derives both horse and war chariot from invading Aryans. Whatever be the origin of the horse (cf. Ridgway, Thorough-bred Horse), the war-chariot seems to have spread through Western Asia ca. 1600 B.C., perhaps from the Hittites, to Egypt, Crete, and Greece. It long held its own against cavalry, since it was better suited for archers (e.g., Hittites and Egyptians), and ages passed before men devised weapons and armour suitable for use on horseback (Ridgway, pp. 481–2). But the chariot is unknown in Greek warfare after Homer, since its use in processions at Eretria (Strabo 448) proves nothing. Its survival in Cyprus may be due to oriental influence: indeed, it is tempting to see in the treacherous charioteers an oriental element in the population. Scythed chariots seem to be a later Persian invention used at Cunaxa (Xen. An. i. 8. 10).

[Additional note (1928). The use of war chariots at Cyrene, even after the time of Alexander (cf. Diod. xviii. 19, xx. 41; Collitz, G.D.I. iii. 4833), may also be connected with the barbarian intermixture in that colony.]

[2] **Σολίων**. Soli was believed to be an Athenian Colony (Strabo 683; Plut. *Solon* 26). The visit of Solon to Soli, and the rebuilding of the city on the plain instead of on the height (αἰπεῖα), is recorded in one of his elegies addressed to Philocyprus (Plut. *Solon* 26): νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν Σολίοισι πολὺν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσω / τήνδε πόλιν ναίοις καὶ γένος ὑμέτερον. Solon's visit is traditionally dated ca. 590–580 B.C., and cannot have been later than 560 B.C. It is therefore remarkable that a son of his friend should still be on the throne and killed in battle in 497 B.C.

**v. 114**

[2] **ὡς ἦρωι**. For such honours to a dead enemy cf. chap. 47. 2 n.; and for a similar command from an oracle, the curious case of Cleomedes of Astypalaea (492 B.C.), cf. Paus. vi. 9. 6f.

**v. 115**

**μέχρι ἐμεῦ**. The phrase simply means “to my time,” and need not imply a visit to Cyprus (cf. introd. § 16).

[2] **πολιορκευμένη**. Idalium, too, appears to have stood a long siege, as we learn from the bilingual bronze tablet referring to the work of the surgeon Onasilus and his brother when the Medes and men of Citium besieged Idalium (*G.D.I.* i. 60).

**ὑπορύσσοντες**. Mining seems to have been a favourite Persian operation (cf. iv. 200. 2, vi. 18), learnt perhaps from the Assyrians and Babylonians.

#### v. 116–23

*Suppression of the revolt on the Hellespont (117) in the Troad and Aeolis (122–3). Hard fighting in Caria.*

#### v. 116

**ἐνιαυτόν**. The one year of Cyprian liberty and the fall of Miletus in the sixth year of the revolt (vi. 18) are the two definite notes of time in H.; cf. v. 33 n.

**κατεδεδούλωντο**. The tense must not be taken to mean that the re-conquest of Cyprus preceded the events next described, since its revolt followed the battle related chap. 102, now again mentioned. Probably the defeat of the Ionians was not so complete as is here implied; certainly the burning of Sardis had destroyed Persian prestige and encouraged revolt. But the story of a naval victory in the Pamphylian sea, and of Eretrian exploits (taken by Plut. *De Mal.* 24 from Lysanias), can hardly be reconciled with H.'s narrative.

**Ἰτάνης**. For satraps and generals in Asia Minor cf. chap. 25 n. and app. vi, § 7. The practice of marrying the king's daughters to prominent nobles was intended to attach them to the throne and so strengthen the royal power.

#### v. 117

The Hellespontine cities are enumerated in geographical order from southwest to northeast, i.e., the order in which a force advancing from Sardis would naturally attack them.

#### v. 118–21

H. is here probably recording stories heard at his first home, Halicarnassus; cf. the prominence of Artemisia (viii. 68–9, 87–8, 101–3).

#### v. 118

**Λευκάς στήλας**: unidentified as yet, is shown to be near the Marsyas by the use of *τε καί* (chap. 101. 2; i. 2. 2). The Carian Marsyas, the modern China Chai, must be distinguished from the better-known Phrygian tributary of the Maeander (vii. 26. 3 n.).

**Ἰδριάδος χώρας**. Its capital, Idrias or Chrysaoris (Paus. v. 21. 10), later called Stratonicea, is now Eski Hissar. In the neighbourhood was a temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus, at which the Carian league met (Strabo 660), but this confederacy appears to belong to a later age (Hicks, *JHS* xi. 117). To H., Mylasa (i. 171) and Labraunda (chap. 119) are the great Carian shrines.

[2] Pixodarus, son of Mausolus, is presumably a Carian dynast, forefather of the man commemorated by the famous Mausoleum, who ruled at Mylasa, and later (B.C. 377–353) in Halicarnassus (Strabo 656). Another Pixodarus reigned B.C. 341–335 (Head, *H.N.* 630).

Cindyae is near Bargylia (Strabo 658), probably at Sirtmesh Kale, a Carian fortress (*JHS* xvi. 196).

**Συεννέσιος:** cf. i. 74. 3 n.; vii. 98; ix. 107. 3 n.

[3] **δηλαδή . . . ὡς οὐκ** shows that the sentence is not final, but records the opinion that they will be driven into the river and never return home. Logically, ὡς should precede the dependent clause ἦν φυγή, etc.

H., as usual, shows complete ignorance of tactics; he really thinks that an army should fight where no retreat is possible. Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 8. 5, with Schol.

#### v. 119

The Carians apparently were defeated on the low ground near the junction of the Marsyas and Maeander. They retreated towards Mylasa, but rallied to defend the sanctuary of Labraunda, perhaps disputing the pass from the basin of the Marsyas to that of Mylasa near Alinda (*JHS* xvi. 192).

[2] There were apparently three temples of Zeus (Strabo 659): ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ Μυλασεῖς ἱερὰ δύο τοῦ Δίος, τοῦ τε Ὀσογῶ καλουμένου καὶ Λαβραυνδηνοῦ, τὸ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ δὲ Λάβραυνδα κώμη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθειν τὴν ἐξ Αλαβάνδων ἐς τὰ Μύλασα ἄπωθεν τῆς πόλεως· ἐνταῦθα νεῶς ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖος καὶ ξόανον Διὸς Στρατίου· τιμᾶται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλω καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Μυλασέων, ὁδός τε ἔστρωται σχεδόν τι καὶ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ καλουμένη, δι' ἧς πομποστολεῖται τὰ ἱερὰ . . . ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἴδια τῆς πόλεως, τρίτον δὲ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τοῦ Καρίου Διός, κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν οὐ μέτεστι καὶ Λυδοῖς καὶ Μυσοῖς ὡς ἀδελφοῖς. Zeus appears, then, to be worshipped under three forms: Zeus Karios (cf. i. 171), Zeus Stratios or Labraundeus, and Zeus Osogos (Farnell, *G.C.*, i. 170), but the three forms seem sometimes to be confounded together. Zeus Labraundeus is clearly the Carian war-god, carrying the double-axe (Λάβρυξ, Plut. *Mor.* 301f), often depicted on coins of this region (Head, *Br. Mus. Cat. Lydia*, p. cxxviii). The name Labraunda is clearly derived from Λάβρυξ; perhaps Λαβύρινθος too may be formed from the same root, as the double-axe is a frequent symbol for the deity in the palace of Knossos discovered by A. J. Evans. Cf. Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete*, 110f. The double-axe seems also to be one of the attributes of the Hittite god Tesub (cf. E. Meyer, i. 479, 481).

#### v. 121

**τὸ τρωμα ἀνέλαβον**, “retrieved the disaster”; cf. vii. 231, viii. 109. 2; Diod. xvi. 19. In view of these passages it is unlikely that τὸ τρωμα is governed by μετά, and ἀνέλαβον, intrans., “recovered.”

**Πηδάσῳ** (cf. Πηδασέες, vi. 20 ad fin.) is placed by Kiepert at Karaja Hissar. Cf. Livy xxxiii. 30, and especially Strabo (611) Πήδασον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νῦν Στρατονεικέων πολίχνιον ἔστι. But Strabo distinguishes from this little place, Pedasa, once a great city, the centre of a district Pedasis (cf. Plin. *H.N.* v. 107), above Halicarnassus, placed by Myres (*JHS* xvi. 192–4) at Giuk Chalar. Cf. i. 175; viii. 104.

**Μύροσος ὁ Γύγεω**: cf. iii. 122. 1. Presumably a Mermnad (cf. i. 7 n. and vii. 27. 1 n.).

**Ἡρακλείδης**. The recently discovered fragment of Sosylus, a Spartan who taught Hannibal Greek (Polyb. iii. 20. 5; Nep. *Hann.* 13), alleges that Heraclides won a victory at Artemisium, defeating the Phoenician διεκπλοῦς by having a second line in reserve ready to attack them as soon as they had penetrated the first line. Whether this refers to the well-known battle (Wilcken, *Hermes*, xli. 103f., xlii. 512), or to some unknown combat during the Ionic revolt (Rühl, *RM* lxi. 352f.), cannot be determined (Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 216). Munro (*CAH* iv. 289) holds that Heraclides helped the Massaliots to defeat the Carthaginians off the Iberian Artemisium (Dianium).

**Ἰβανώλλιος**: cf. chap. 37. 1.

#### v. 122

**Κίος**: a Milesian colony (like most towns on this coast), was in later times reckoned Bithynian (Strabo 564; Ptol. v. 1).

[2] **Γέρογιθας**: vii. 43. 2 n.

#### v. 123

**ἐτάχθησαν**. The phrase probably implies that the plan of operations was devised at Susa, not by the satrap Artaphrenes. Apparently the campaign against Ionia is roughly synchronous with those by which the Hellespont and Caria were recovered.

#### v. 124–26

*Flight and death of Aristagoras*. H., who consistently depreciates the Ionic revolt (chaps. 28, 97 n.; vi. 3 n.), naturally regards its authors as untrustworthy adventurers. Aristagoras is moved to action by his own financial difficulties, and fear of losing his tyranny (chap. 35). He has a glib tongue to deceive the multitude (v. 97) and a bribe for the Spartan king (v. 51), but he takes no active part in warfare, e.g., in the march on Sardis (v. 99) or the expedition to Cyprus (v. 108f.). Here he is represented as a coward deserting those he has led into danger. But it would seem probable that discontent had been rife in Western Asia Minor since 512 B.C. (iv. 137), and that there was a widespread movement against the local tyrants imposed by Persia (v. 37), the message of Histiaeus (v. 35) being merely the signal and the expedition to Naxos the opportunity for a premeditated rising (cf. chap. 36 n.; Grundy, p. 84f.). Aristagoras may have been merely the mouthpiece of

the general discontent or the agent of Histiaeus, but the wide extent and initial success of the revolt shows that it was something more than a plot of selfish intriguers.

**v. 125**

**Λέρον:** a small island some thirty miles southwest of Miletus, colonized thence (Strabo 635). The suggestion of Hecataeus seems absurd, though there was perhaps more hope of defeating the Phoenician fleet than the Persian army which threatened Miletus.

**v. 126**

[2] The date which suits H.'s narrative best, 497 B.C. (cf. what is said of Histiaeus, v. 108. 1, vi. 1. 1), is rendered certain by chronological data supplied by Thucydides (iv. 102), who reckons sixty years between the Athenian foundation of Amphipolis in 437–436 B.C. (Diod. xii. 32) and the attempt of Aristagoras (cf. Busolt, iii. 199f.).

**πόλιν:** almost certainly Ἐννέα Ὀδοί (vii. 114), the later Amphipolis (Thuc. iv. 102). The vagueness of H.'s topography, both here and in ix. 75 n., makes it probable that he wrote these passages before 437 B.C.

## Book VI

### vi. 1–5

*The intrigues of Histiaeus in Ionia.*

It is worth noticing that H., who elsewhere insists on the part played by Aristagoras (v. 28, 30f., 98), here seems to regard the intrigues of Histiaeus as not merely the occasion (v. 35, 124 n.) but the cause of the revolt. Histiaeus was a man of wide ambitions (v. 23 n., 106), but his aims are obscure. Anxious to escape from his gilded captivity (v. 35), he has no policy but opportunist self-seeking. His earlier loyalty to Darius was interested (iv. 137f.), and apparently he would even now have been willing to re-establish himself in Miletus (v. 106) as the great king's viceroy of Ionia. Hampered by the opposition of Artaphrenes and by his exclusion from Miletus, he escaped captivity or death in Chios by claiming to be the author of the national revolt. Eventually distrusted by both sides, he became a mere free-lance and perished miserably. For a more favourable view of him, resting largely on conjecture, cf. *Klio* ix. 341–51.

### vi. 3

**κακὸν τοσοῦτον.** No Ionian would at the time have thus described their great struggle for freedom, undertaken of their own free will, but H., after the event, endorsed the shallow view that the revolt was a blunder, if not a crime (v. 28, 97 n., 124).

**αὐτοῖσι** grammatically goes with ἐξέφαινε, but, as is shown by its position, also qualifies τὴν . . . αἰτίην, “what was the true cause that brought the revolt on them.”

This tale of intended transportation was a happy invention in view of the Persians' dealings with Barca (iv. 204), the Paeonians (v. 12 n., 14), and subsequently with the Eretrians (vi. 119) and the Milesians themselves (vi. 20), and of the hatred felt for the Ionians by the Phoenician traders, whom they had supplanted in the Levant and threatened in the West (i. 163; iv. 152). For Greek proposals to transplant the Ionians cf. i. 170; ix. 10f.

### vi. 4

These Persian traitors in Sardis are a puzzle. Could they be Lydians who still nourished national aspirations?

### vi. 5

**κατῆγον:** *reducebant* (i. 60. 5); imperfect, because they failed; cf. § 2 ἔπειθε and ἔπεισε.

Chios and Miletus were old friends (i. 18. 3), hence the former will not use force but only persuasion in favour of Histiaeus.

[3] That merchant vessels from Ionia are meant is shown by chap. 26. 1. Miletus would suffer most from this blockade, as she traded largely with her colonies and factories on the Euxine. Histiaeus in grasping at power in the Northeast Aegean showed at least a keen eye for a trade route.

#### vi. 6–17

*The battle of Lade. The gathering of the fleets, and the secret intrigues of the exiled tyrants (6–10). The attempt of Dionysius of Phocaea to train the Greeks (11, 12). The battle lost through the treachery of the Samians and others (13–17).*

#### vi. 6

The four great naval powers of the Persian empire are combined against the Ionians. Phoenicia, Egypt, Cilicia, and Cyprus furnish Xerxes with 750 ships (vii. 89f.).

#### vi. 7

**προβούλους σφέων αὐτῶν.** The genitive is objective; cf. vii. 172. 1 πρόβουλοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος. These deputies must not be confused with the standing committees appointed in some oligarchic states to examine measures before they were submitted to the people. Arist. *Pol.* 1299b 31–8, etc., Thuc. viii. 1.

**Πανιώνιον:** cf. i. 148 n.; v. 109. 3 n.

The resolution shows that the Ionians realized the importance of their sea-power (i. 27; v. 109 n.) as their past history had taught them (i. 17).

Lade protected the entrance to the harbour, and played an important part in the siege by Alexander (Arr. *Anab.* i. 18f.). Still an island in the days of Strabo (635), it has now been converted by the alluvial deposit into a hill in the plain of the Maeander.

#### vi. 8

For similar detailed catalogues compare those of Xerxes' army (vii. 61f.) and fleet (vii. 89f.), of the Greek fleets at Artemisium (viii. 1f.) and at Salamis (viii. 43f.), and of the Greek army at Plataea (ix. 28), as well as the catalogue of ships and men in the Iliad (bk. ii). The cities on the Hellespont had been reduced by Daurises (v. 117), the Aeolic cities in the Troad by Hymaees (v. 122); those in Aeolis proper probably shared the fate of Cyme (v. 123). Only the island power of Lesbos is left to represent the Aeolians. The Dorian cities are here and elsewhere in the Ionic revolt conspicuous by their absence. Of the twelve Ionic cities, Clazomenae was in Persian hands (v. 123), while Lebedus and Colophon, which lie on the route from Clazomenae to Miletus, may also have fallen. The men of Ephesus took little part in the revolt, for though they furnished guides for the march to Sardis (v. 100), they massacred the fugitive Chians (vi. 16). The small number of Phocaeen ships (three) shows how much that city was reduced by the great emigration (i. 165–7); Samos, on the other hand, has quite recovered after its devastation twenty years before (iii. 149). The order is roughly geographical, but the Samians are posted on

the wing as being the best sailors. The numbers of the contingents agree with the total and may well be authentic; for the “six hundred” Persian ships cf. app. xix, § 2.

#### vi. 9

[4] **τά περ**, “which shall assuredly (*revera*, cf. iii. 68. 2) come upon them.” The remark is not part of the message, but a parenthetical assurance that the threats are serious (cf. chap. 32).

**Βάκτρα**: the city Balkh (ix. 113. 1), mentioned as the furthest limit of the Persian Empire (cf. iv. 204).

#### vi. 10

**ἀγνωμοσύνη** (cf. v. 83. 1). To stigmatize as obstinacy a refusal to listen to proposals of treachery shows a bias against the Ionians and for the Samians, which makes it likely that the story comes from a Samian source (cf. 13).

#### vi. 11

**ἡγορώωντο**. The word in this epic form may be ironically reminiscent of such passages as *Il.* iv. 1, viii. 230. Elaborate oratory, an Ionic failing (iii. 46), was certainly unseasonable, yet the campaign of Salamis too was conducted by discussion (viii. 49, 56f.).

[2] **Ἐπὶ ξυροῦ**, “balanced on a razor’s edge.” Cf. *Il.* x. 173.

#### vi. 12

**ἐπὶ κέρας**, “in column.” Att. ἐπὶ κέρωσ (Thuc. ii. 90, etc.). For the accus. cf. vi. 111. 3; ix. 31. 2 ἐπὶ τάξις.

**ὄκως**: not final “in order that” (Krüger), but temporal “as often as” (Stein, Macan). In sense coordinate with ἔχεσκε παρῆχε τε. Cf. i. 17. 2.

**διέκπλοον**. This maneuver (cf. chap. 15. 2) is again mentioned at Artemisium (viii. 9), but was first used with effect by the Athenians in the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. ii. 83, 89, etc.), its absence in the battle of Sybota proving the inferior skill of the Corinthian and Corcyrean navies (Thuc. i. 49). It consisted in breaking through the enemy’s line, and then turning rapidly to ram one of his ships on its defenceless side or stern. It demanded great skill in the coxswain and efficiency in the oarsmen. It was met by forming in a circle with prows outward (cf. viii. 11), a device which proved useless against Athenian daring and skill (Thuc. ii. 83), or by drawing up the ships on the wings in a double line (Xen. *Hell.* i. 6. 29–31), or by having a second line in reserve (v. 121 n.). If H. is not guilty of an anachronism, the Athenians only perfected a maneuver practised by the Ionians. Sosylus even makes it a Phoenician device brilliantly met by Heraclides (v. 121 n.).

[3] The grievance was that Dionysius kept the sailors on board practising maneuvers, and the marines under arms all day, in stead of letting them enjoy themselves ashore like an army in tents.

ἐκπλώσαντες. For the metaphor, here strikingly appropriate, cf. iii. 155. 3.

#### vi. 13

Anxious to insist on the cogency of the motives which led the Samians to betray the Ionian cause, H. thrusts the bare fact of their treachery between two attempts to excuse it, οἱ Σάμιοι resuming the οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Σαμίων. His primary motive for insisting on the insubordination and effeminacy of the Ionians is to whitewash the Samians. But we can hardly doubt that he was also influenced by the facts and feelings of his own day. The contrast between Lade and Salamis (implicit in H. and explicitly drawn out by Grote, iv. 229) was surely made by men of the Periclean age, when Athenians justified their suzerainty over their Ionic kinsmen by boasting of superior courage and discipline (Thuc. i. 75, 99). Yet the Ionians had long been adventurous sailors, had already once beaten the king's fleet (v. 112), and owed their defeat at Lade to treachery.

πενταπλήσιον: a gross exaggeration. The full force of Xerxes is 1207 ships (vii. 89), or without the Greek and Carian contingents 830.

[2] For Syloson cf. iii. 139f., for Aeaces iv. 138.

#### vi. 14

ἐπὶ κέρως implies an intention to use the διέκπλους. Cf. 12. 1, 15. 2.

οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως συγγράψαι. The similar confession about Salamis (viii. 87. 1) and the reason here given, mutual recriminations, show how conflicting and untrustworthy were the traditions of the different states. On the other hand, they give us a little more confidence when H. by his silence implies that he is satisfied with the evidence at his command.

[3] τὸ κοινόν. No doubt the eleven patriotic trierarchs were members of the Samian aristocracy (τοῖς τε ἔχουσι, chap. 22. 1), opposed to the philo-Persian partisans of the tyrant. Hence after Mycale and the liberation of Samos their conduct is commemorated by the Samian government, which remained aristocratic at least till 440 B.C. (Thuc. i. 115). H. must have seen the stele in Samos (introd. § 21, n. 1).

πατρώθεν, "with the addition of their fathers names." For this honour cf. iii. 1. 4, viii. 90. 4; *Il.* x. 68; Thuc. vii. 69.

#### vi. 15

τεσσεράκοντα. The number on the Persian ships at Salamis was thirty beside the native troops; on the Athenian there are said to have been only eighteen (Plut. *Them.* 14); in the Peloponnesian war the number was reduced to ten (vii. 184. 2 n.). The large number of marines here would only be useful for boarding in the old-fashioned style (Thuc. i. 49); their presence makes it all the more likely that the ascription of the διέκπλους to the Ionians (§ 2; cf. 12. 1) is an anachronism.

## vi. 16

**Μυκάλην.** The Chians, having broken the Persian line, could force their way through the channel past Trogiium, but the crippled ships had to be beached on Mycale and abandoned.

[2] For the Thesmophoria cf. ii. 171 n., and for similar worships v. 61, 82, 83 n.

**οἱ Ἐφέσιοι.** This extraordinary ignorance of the fight at Lade may be an excuse put forward when Ephesian abstention from all share in the struggle except this slaughter of the vanquished was accounted treason by patriotic Greeks.

For a real outrage of the kind cf. chap. 138.

## vi. 17

**γαύλους:** cf. iii. 136. 1 n.

**Σικελίην:** where H. probably heard the story; cf. chap. 22; v. 46 n.

**Ληιστής.** The buccaneer was still respectable (Thuc. i. 5). To prey on the enemies of his country would no more seem wrong to Dionysius than to our own Elizabethan seamen (cf. i. 163. 2 n.). By making first for Phoenicia he at once baffled pursuit, and surprised the enemy's convoys.

## vi. 18–21

*The fall of Miletus, with notes on her friendship with Sybaris and Athens.*

## vi. 18

**ὑπορούσσοντες:** cf. v. 115. 2 n.

**κατ' ἄκρης,** "from top to bottom"; chap. 82. 2. First in Homer, *Il.* xiii. 772; xv. 557 κατ' ἄκρης / Ἴλιον αἰπεινὴν ἐλέειν. In later writers it seems to imply citadel and all. Cf. Thuc. iv. 112.

**ἔκτω ἔτει:** i.e., from the seizure of the other tyrants by Aristagoras (v. 37). On the chronology cf. v. 33 n.

**συμπεσεῖν:** usually "coincide" in time, here (cf. ii. 49. 2; vii. 151) "agree with, fulfill."

## vi. 19

The synchronism between the Ionic revolt and the Argive war is valuable (chap. 77 n.).

**περὶ σωτηρίας.** Bury (*Klio* ii. 14f.) shows that the only occasion on which this epicene oracle is probable is during the visit of Aristagoras to Greece. The Argives, threatened by a Spartan attack (chap. 77), consulted the oracle περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς πόλιος τῆς σφετέρης, yet the answer given concerns Miletus as much as Argos, though Miletus had not sent to inquire of Delphi. The answer of the oracle is only explicable on the assumption that the Milesians had asked Argos for help, and Argos had agreed to consult Delphi. We may be sure that Aristagoras sought aid at other places besides Sparta and Athens. Eretria sent five ships (v. 99), doubtless

at his request. What more natural than that, rebuffed at Sparta, he should turn to Sparta's rival? But Argos may well have regarded the risk as too great, and not have gone beyond a promise to inquire of the oracle whether it would be safe for their city to send help to Ionia. Cf., however, the doubts as to the oracle raised by Wells, *JHS* xxv. 194–5.

Delphi now, as later (vii. 140f.), may have thought the Great King invincible, as did Aristagoras (v. 124) and the Samians (vi. 13), and have foreshadowed, if it did not originate, the historian's opinion that the authors of the revolt merely brought evil on their country (v. 28, 97 n.). Probably, too, the proposed confiscation of the treasures at Branchidae (v. 36), which the priests at Branchidae and Delphi must have known was only too likely to be carried out under the hard pressure of war, prejudiced Delphi against Miletus.

[3] **Περσέων . . . κομητέων**, "as may be seen in the sculptures of Persepolis," etc.; hence βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος, Aesch. ap. Athen. 627a.

**ἰρόν**: the whole precinct with all its contents (iv. 108. 2). The actual temple (νηός) and the oracle seem to have occupied different parts of it (Strabo 634).

**Διδύμοισι**. The word is borrowed from the oracle. Elsewhere (i. 46. 2, 157f.) H. calls it Branchidae. H. clearly ascribes the ruin of this and other Greek temples in Asia (25, 32) to Darius. Hence, unless we suppose the work was done twice over, Strabo (634) can hardly be right in attributing the sack of Branchidae and the others, except that of Ephesus, to Xerxes in 479 B.C. Strabo's account seems to depend on the story that the Branchidae themselves betrayed the temple and its treasures, a crime for which their descendants in Sogdiana were said to have been punished by Alexander (Strabo 518; Plut. *Mor.* 557b; Curt. vii. 23). The story may come from Callisthenes (Strabo 814), but is discredited by the silence of Arrian, though accepted by Grote, xii. 25.

**πολλάκις**: explicitly twice, i. 92. 2; v. 36. 3; but cf. also i. 46. 2, 157f.; ii. 159. 3.

#### vi. 20

For such transplantations cf. iv. 204 n.; vi. 3 n. The expatriation of the Milesians can hardly have been complete, since Milesians destroy the fugitive Persians after Mycale (ix. 99, 104). Yet Miletus, though again prosperous under Athens, never recovered her old position.

**Ἐρυθρῇ**: cf. i. 1 n.; iii. 93. 2; iv. 37.

**Καρσὶ Πηδασεῦσι**. For the two places cf. v. 121 n. We cannot tell which is here meant, nor is it obvious why Carians, who had also revolted, should be rewarded at the expense of Miletus. Perhaps it was the Persian policy to set the native races against the Greek and so to hold both in subjection.

#### vi. 21

**Λᾶόν τε καὶ Σκίδρον**. Originally dependent colonies of Sybaris, which, after the destruction of that city in 510 B.C. (cf. v. 44), probably received the exiles. Both lay

on the west coast of Italy, probably not far apart. Laus was on the river still called Lao, the boundary of Lucania (Strabo 253), four hundred stades from Velia.

**ἐξεινώθησαν.** Cf. Athen. xii. 519b ἐφόρουν δ' οἱ Συβαρίται καὶ ἱμάτια Μιλησίων ἐρίων πεποιημένα· ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ αἱ φιλίαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐγένοντο, ὡς ὁ Τιμαῖος ἱστορεῖ. ἡγάπων γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἐξ Ἰταλίας Τυρρηνοῦς, τῶν δ' ἔξωθεν τοὺς Ἴωνας. These friendships of Sybaris with Miletus and Etruria were doubtless commercial. Sybaris was the depot to which the wares of Asia and Egypt were brought by Milesian ships (cf. v. 99 n.). Thence they were carried overland to Laus, and there reshipped for Etruria. The control of this land-route was all the more important, as foes of Miletus, Chalcis, and her allies (v. 99 n.) commanded the Straits of Messina. The friendship of the Etruscans with Sybaris is in marked contrast with their hostility to other Greeks in the Tyrrhene seas (cf. i. 166). Further proof of the importance of this overland route may be found in the alliance coins (Pais, *Ancient Italy*, p. 83) of Siris and Pyxus (before 510 B.C.), and later of New Sybaris and Posidonia (ca. 450), Croton and Temesa, etc. (Hill, *G. and R.C.*, 104, 115), and in the frequent occurrence of Greek vases in Campanian and Etruscan tombs (Lenormant, *La Grande Grèce*, i. 263f.). The colony of Thurii may have been an attempt to revive this old trade, Athens here, as elsewhere, figuring as the heir of Miletus (v. 97. 2 n.). Themistocles would seem to have originated the idea of a colony in that district (viii. 62; Plut. *Them.* 32), afterwards imperfectly realized by Pericles.

**[2] οὐδὲν ὁμοίως.** For asyndeton in such appended notes, which may be later additions by the author, cf. i. 20; vii. 54. 3, 111. 2, etc. "In this they (the Sybarites) were quite unlike the Athenians."

Phrynichus was an elder contemporary of Aeschylus. Of his drama on the fall of Miletus no fragment has survived. It was probably the first attempt to treat in tragedy an event of the day, an attempt repeated by Phrynichus in his *Phoenissae* (476 B.C.), which, like the *Persae* of Aeschylus, represented the defeat of Xerxes. His earlier drama may have contained reproaches of Athens for the desertion of Miletus (οἰκῆια κακά), and have been intended to awaken the national spirit and inspire resistance to Persia, perhaps by sea, since Themistocles, choragus for Phrynichus in 476 B.C. (Plut. *Them.* 5), is said to have begun the building of Piraeus as archon in 493 B.C. (vii. 143 n.). For his manifesto the author was punished, probably by those responsible for the withdrawal from Ionia (v. 103 n.; cf. Meyer, iii, § 182–3). Cf. the prosecution of Miltiades (chap. 104) on his return from the Chersonese.

**διδάξαντι:** the term for the teaching of actors and chorus by the author (i. 23) = "putting on the stage."

## vi. 22–25

*The exiled Samians in the West. Treacherous seizure of Zancle. Submission of Samos and Caria.*

## vi. 22

[2] **Καλήν ἄκτῆν**. A Sicel city, important under the native prince Ducetius, ca. 445 B.C. (Freeman, *S.* ii. 109f.). This is another abortive attempt to spread Hellenism in the West. On the north coast of Sicily, which is almost harbourless, because the hills run right down to the sea, there was no Greek colony between Tyndaris and Himera. Hence the importance of Καλή Ἀκτὴ which faced πρὸς Τυρσηνίην. Cf. the communistic Cnidian settlement on the Lipari islands (Thuc. iii. 88; Diod. v. 9; Paus. x. 11. 4, with Frazer). Originally perhaps a military brotherhood like the knights of St. John at Rhodes, it became a nest of pirates (Livy v. 28). The Samians as friends of Chalcis (v. 99 n.) were on good terms with her colonists in the West. Zancle was a joint colony from Euboic Chalcis and Campanian Cumae (Thuc. vi. 4), but seems at this time to have been a dependency of Dorian Gela.

**Μιλησίων οἱ ἐκπεφευγότες**: i.e., from Lade (chap. 8). Thuc. vi. 4 says more vaguely (Ζαγκλαῖοι) ὑπὸ Σαμίων καὶ ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ Μήδους φεύγοντες προσέβαλον τῇ Σικελίᾳ.

## vi. 23

**Ἐπιζεφυρίοισι**. The epithet distinguishes the Italiot colony from the Locrians of the mother-country, the Opuntii (vii. 203) and the Ozolae (viii. 32), both of whom claimed to be its founders.

[2] **Ἀναξίλεως**: tyrant B.C. 494–476 (Diod. xi. 48). For his friendship with the barbarian cf. vii. 164, 165.

Rhegium, like its neighbour across the strait, Zancle, was a Chalcidic colony. The close connection of the two, and of the Samians with Anaxilaus, is attested by the adoption of similar types on the coins, the calf's head being a Samian type, and the lion's head perhaps taken from the lion's scalp of Samos (Hill, *H.G.C.*, 29f., and in more detail Dodd, *JHS* xxviii. 56–76). Anaxilaus was probably bent on establishing his own supremacy over Zancle, an object he in the end attained (vii. 164 n.).

[3] Hippocrates ruled 498–491 B.C.; cf. vii. 154, 155. He and Anaxilaus are tyrants, while Scythes (§§ 1 and 4) is βασιλεύς and μούναρχος, probably because H. drew from a source favourable to Scythes. Apparently Hippocrates is not an equal ally but his overlord (vii. 154; Freeman, *S.* ii. 113).

[4] **Ἴνυκα**: an unimportant place, probably in the territory of Acragas (vii. 170), famed for its wine.

## vi. 24

Himera was a settlement of Zancaeans (Thuc. vi. 5. 1).

**δικαιοτάτων**. This righteousness is in marked contrast with the conduct of Democedes (iii. 135). It was hereditary in the family, if Cadmus, who resigned the tyranny of Cos (vii. 164), is the son of the same Scythes, as is held by Stein, Macan, and Busolt, though denied by Holm, Freeman, and E. Meyer. Cadmus' resignation of that tyranny and recapture of Zancle from the Samians are more natural if his

father was the exiled lord of Zancle. For a reconstruction of the story cf. vii. 164 n. The full account in Pausanias (iv. 25) is misdated after the second Messenian war, and so confused as to be worthless.

[2] **ἀπονητί.** H., a true Greek, is more impressed by the cleverness of the Samians than by their baseness. But he emphasizes the one good point in their conduct, their mercy to the captive aristocrats (chap. 23).

**vi. 25**

Caria had been temporarily saved from subjugation by the victory of Heraclides (v. 121).

**vi. 26–30**

*The last adventures and death of Histiaeus.*

**vi. 26**

**τὰς Ἰώνων ὀλκάδας.** Cf. chap. 5. 3 n.

[2] **Πολίχνη:** a common name found near Syracuse (Thuc. vii. 4; Diod. xiii. 7, xiv. 72), in the Troad (Strabo 603), in Crete (vii. 170. 1; Thuc. ii. 85), etc. Here probably a town in Chios, or on the mainland opposite (cf. Thuc. viii. 14, 23).

**vi. 27**

**προσημαίνειν:** not really impersonal, ὁ θεός must be supplied (cf. § 3 and i. 45. 2 ad fin.). The theology is that of the age, but it is curious that H. does not here mention the iniquity of Chios (i. 160) (Macan).

[2] Reading and writing were taught in public schools for boys. For another disaster to such a school cf. Thuc. vii. 29.

[3] **ὁ θεός:** perhaps Apollo, but cf. i. 31. 3 n.

**ἐξ γόνυ,** “cast down,” a metaphor from wrestling; Aesch. *Pers.* 930 Ἀσία δὲ χθῶν αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

**vi. 28**

**Θάσον.** The attraction was doubtless the gold mines (ii. 44; vi. 46). For Atarneus cf. i. 160 n.; for the Caician plain ii. 10 n., and for its fruitfulness Strabo 624 σφόδρα εὐδαίμονα γῆν σχεδὸν δέ τι τὴν ἀρίστην τῆς Μυσίας.

[2] **Ἄρπαγος.** Can this otherwise unknown Persian general be a descendant of Harpagus, the Mede conqueror of this region half a century earlier? (i. 162f.). If so, he should not be called ἀνὴρ Πέρσης.

**vi. 29**

**φιλοψυχίην . . . ἀναιρέεται,** “entertains a craven love of life.” So Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 14 “recipiat . . . timiditatem.”

**vi. 30**

ἀνεσταύρωσαν. Impaling was a Persian custom (iii. 159; vii. 238; Behistun Inscr.). The explanation of the satrap's and general's action is doubtless correct. The Persian grandees (cf. v. 23, vi. 1) feared and distrusted the Greek tyrant, who may have been ready to serve Darius, but not his lieutenants.

[2] For benefactors cf. viii. 85 n., and for the justice and mercy shown them, i. 137; vii. 194.

**vi. 31–32**

493 B.C. *Final reduction of Ionia, and of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos.*

**vi. 31**

τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, "next year," i.e., 493 B.C.

[2] The passage is used in the pseudo-Plato *Menex.* 240c (cf. *Leg.* 698d) in describing the fall of Eretria. In fact, this "netting" of the population would be as impossible in the mountains and clefts of the smaller islands as in Euboea. Indeed, the flourishing condition of these regions soon after shows that these severities have been exaggerated. M. Polo, i. chap. 18 (Yule, ii. 98), speaks of the Caraonas (apparently a Tartar tribe in Persia) riding abreast so as to catch every living thing outside the fortified towns and villages. A similar method was tried in Tasmania in 1850, but without much success. Cf. N. Ling Roth, *Aborigines of Tasmania*, 2, for this modern instance.

**vi. 32**

Cf. i. 169. The thrice-repeated conquest is true of the Ionians on the mainland, but the islanders had not been conquered by Croesus (i. 27), nor yet probably by Cyrus, who had no fleet (i. 143), though the Ionian islands submitted (i. 169). Samos probably surrendered when Cambyses got control of the Phoenician navy (iii. 44), Lesbos and Chios before the Scythian expedition of Darius (iv. 97. 138) (Macan).

**vi. 33–41**

*Reduction of the Hellespont and Chersonese. Story of the establishment of the elder Miltiades in the Chersonese and of his successors. Flight of the younger Miltiades to Athens.*

**vi. 33**

αὐτοῖσι . . . κατ' ἤπειρον: to the Persian army attacking by land (v. 117. 122), as opposed to the Phoenician fleet.

τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηίκης, "strongholds on the coast of Thrace." For a list cf. Pseudo-Scylax *Periplus* 68. On Perinthus cf. v. 1 n., on Byzantium iv. 144, v. 26 nn. Selymbria was a Megarian colony founded before Byzantium, i.e., before 660 B.C.; Mesembria too was Megarian, the ending βρια being Thracian for city (Strabo 319).

[2] οἴκησαν, “took up their abode in,” not οἰκισαν, “founded”; the previous existence of Mesembria is implied in iv. 93.

For Proconnesus, Artaca, and Cyzicus cf. iv. 14.

[3] Οἰβάροει: probably brother of Bubares (vii. 22. 2), and perhaps successor to Daurises (v. 121f.).

ἐν Δασκυλείῳ. Cf. Thuc. i. 129; the third satrapy, iii. 90 n., v. 25 n.; cf. app. i.

Cardia lay on the west side of the Chersonese, at the narrowest part of the Isthmus (vii. 58). Loyalty to Persia (cf. ix. 115), rather than its geographical position, explains its escape.

#### vi. 34

The Dolonci occur elsewhere only in Steph. Byz., and in the catalogues of Pliny (*H.N.* iv. 41) and Solinus. The Apsinthii (ix. 119), evidently just north of the Chersonese (chap. 37), are said to have extended as far as the Hebrus (iv. 90), where the district round the city Aenus had once been called Apsinthis (Steph. Byz.; Strabo 331, frag. 58). Myres (*JHS* xxvii. 173) holds that the Apsinthii and Caeni overran the region occupied by Pelasgians in the Homeric catalogue.

[2] ἰοήν. Wayfarers on the road were under the god’s protection. This sacred way seems to have led east by Daulis, Panopeus, and Chaeronea, then southeast by Coronea, Haliartus, and Thebes, then south over Cithaeron to Eleusis, whence it was continued to Athens by the best-known ὁδὸς ἱερὰ (Paus. i. 36, 37). This was the route of the sacred embassies to Delphi; by it Apollo himself once went (Strabo 422).

ἐκτρέπονται. It is not clear how the Dolonci could turn off this road to go to Athens since Laciadae, in which stood the family home of the Philaids (Plut. *Cim.* 10), was between Eleusis and Athens. Hence van Herwerden would omit ἐκ as a dittograph from ἐκάλεε.

#### vi. 35

Mahaffy (*Social Life in Greece*, 144) draws attention to this picture of the old Attic country life (cf. Thuc. ii. 15–7).

τηνικαῦτα: during Pisistratus’ first tyranny (i. 64), while Croesus still reigned (chap. 37), i.e., ca. 558 B.C.

ἐδυνάστευε. In H. a vague term applied to a powerful city (v. 97. 1) or to prominent individuals (39. 2), even if they were subjects of a tyrant. The technical sense of δυναστεία, narrow and despotic oligarchy (Thuc. iii. 62, iv. 78; Arist. *Pol.* 1293a 31), belongs to a more advanced political science.

τεθριπποτρόφου: a sign of wealth (chaps. 36, 103, 122, v. 77. 2 n.; Ar. *Nub.* 13f.).

Pausanias (i. 35. 2) makes Philaeus the son of Eurysaces, the only son of Ajax recognized by Sophocles, but Plutarch (*Solon* 10), with Herodotus, Hellanicus, and Pherecydes, regards him as the son of Ajax. Further, he makes the brothers,

Philaeus and Eurysaces, surrender Salamis to Athens, Philaeus settling in Brauron, where the deme Philaidae lay.

[2] **αἰχμάς**: the wearing of arms had passed out of use (Thuc. i. 6).

The Dolonci may have seen in the encouragement of a Greek colony their only hope of resisting the Apsinthii; but probably the initiative came from Athens. Pisistratus was fully alive to the importance of Thrace and the Hellespont (i. 64; v. 94, 95; app. xvi, § 8). Miltiades in the Chersonese might prove a useful vassal of the ruler of Athens, in Attica he would have been discontented, and perhaps disloyal. The removal of dangerous citizens was part of the policy of despots. Cf. the pilgrim fathers in America.

#### vi. 36

[2] **ἀπετείχισε**: from sea to sea, Cardia being on the north and Pactya on the south coast of the Chersonese. The wall was rebuilt by Pericles (Plut. *Per.* 19), by Dercyllidas (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 8f.), and finally by the emperor Justinian.

The measurements given are accurate, though Dercyllidas measured the breadth as 37 stades (Xen. loc. cit.); Strabo (p. 331, frags. 52, 54) follows Pseudo-Scylax (68) in giving rough approximations, 40 and 400 stades.

#### vi. 37

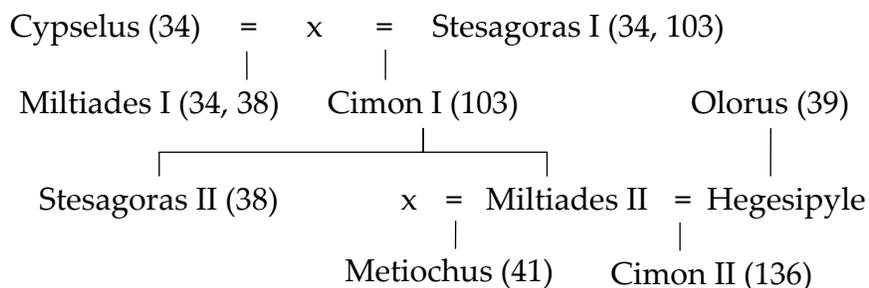
**Λαμψακηνοῖσι**. Probably Miltiades, like Pisistratus (v. 94), tried to seize a stronghold on the Asiatic side.

**ἐν γνώμῃ γεγονώς**: not a mere periphrasis for ἐγνωσμένος, but “standing high in favour with.”

[2] **πίτυος τρόπον**. The old name of Lampsacus was Pityusa (Charon, frag. 6, *FHG* i. 33; Strabo 589). No Lampsacene could have misunderstood the jest, nor could H., if he had read Charon (Macan; cf. introd. § 19 (b)).

#### vi. 38

**ὁμομητροῦ**. Miltiades and Cimon were sons of the same mother by different fathers (cf. v. 25. 1). Since, however, the Cimonidae were afterwards recognized as Philaidae, there was probably relationship by descent or adoption on the father's side also. The genealogy as given by H. is:



**ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ**. On hero-worship cf. v. 47 n., 114.

[2] **ὑπόθερμότερου**: perhaps “passionate beneath the surface,” as **ὑπόπετρος**, **ὑποψαμμότερος** (ii. 12. 3), and perhaps **ὑπομαργότερος** (iii. 29. 1, 145. 1; vi. 75. 1).

#### vi. 39

**οἱ Πεισιστρατίδαι**: i.e., after 527 and before 510, or, if the plural be pressed, before the death of Hipparchus 514 B.C. (v. 55).

**ἄλλω λόγῳ**: chap. 103.

[2] **ἐπιτιμίων**: paying honour to the dead; so perhaps **τὰπίτιμια**, Aesch. *Sept.* 1021; Soph. *El.* 915.

**οἱ δὲ Χερσονησίται . . . δυναστεύοντες**. Probably Aeolic immigrants in the towns, the tyranny resting on the native Dolonci. For **δυναστεύω** cf. chap. 35 n.

**συλληπηθησόμενοι**, “to mourn with him” (ix. 94. 1); cf. **συνάχθεσθαι** (viii. 142. 3). For the practice cf. 2 Sam. x. 1. Olorus may have been a prince of the Dolonci, or the name of his tribe may have fallen out of the text after **Θρηίκων**. Olorus, father of Thucydides, seems to have been a son of Hegesipyle, probably by a second marriage. Thucydides’ monument was among the tombs of the family of Cimon (Plut. *Cim.* 4 and Marcellinus, quoting Polemo on the Acropolis).

#### vi. 40

A confused chapter, ambiguous in expression and difficult in substance. The central statement that Miltiades fled before a Scythian raid and was restored by the Dolonci is clear enough. But of the obscure sentences before and after two interpretations are given.

(1) Rawlinson takes **νεωστὶ ἐληλύθεε** of the first coming of Miltiades to the Chersonese, the **τῶν κατεχόντων πρηγμαίων** of the advance of the Phoenician fleet, and the **ἄλλα χαλεπότερα** of the Scythian raid. But to this the following objections seem fatal:

(a) It is absurd to apply **νεωστὶ** to a period of at least fifteen years, but the Scythic raid is clearly dated to 495 B.C., while Miltiades’ accession was before 510, probably before 515 B.C.

(b) The argument is weak. Rawlinson’s explanation implies that Miltiades’ temporary expulsion by the Scyths was worse than his permanent expulsion by the Persians, which is absurd.

(c) The clear intention of the author in the last sentence of the chapter is to explain what precedes. Hence **τρίτῳ ἔτει** (§ 1) must be identical with **τρίτῳ ἔτει πρότερον** (§ 2).

(2) Therefore with Stein we must understand **ἐληλύθεε** and **ἐλθόντα** (§ 1) of Miltiades’ return to the Chersonese (**κατήγαγον**, § 2), H. awkwardly inserting the notice of his flight before the Scyths after mentioning his return. H. means that the fortunes of Miltiades went from bad to worse, his final expulsion by the Phoenicians being a yet greater misfortune than his temporary flight before the

Scyths. Thus τρίτῳ ἔτει τούτων must mean the third year *before* this (cf. § 2; Cobet, Abicht), or, if this translation be thought impossible, πρό must be inserted before τούτων (Stein). Wells (*Stud. Herod.*, 118–20) gives another interpretation of this obscure passage (chap. 40).

**Σκύθαι οἱ νομάδες:** cf. iv. 11. 1. 19.

**ἐρεθισθέντες ὑπὸ Δαρείου.** The idea of a war of vengeance on the part of the Scyths seems a mere fiction (chap. 84), since the expedition of Darius was at least fifteen, and probably twenty years before. Perhaps the Scyths took advantage of the temporary weakening of the Persian Empire by the Ionic revolt; more probably these nomads were some Thracian or Moesian tribe and not Scyths. Grote's suggestion (iv. 201) that it was the Persians and not the Scyths who expelled Miltiades is not what H. says, and rests on Miltiades' supposed treachery to Darius at the bridge over the Danube (iv. 137). But this patriotic scheme is very doubtful; perhaps it was invented when the tyrant of Chersonese had reached Athens (chap. 104), and was anxious to prove himself a true friend of Hellenic liberties (Thirlwall, ii, app. ii; Macan, app. iii, § 14; *Klio* ix. 413).

#### vi. 41

**τότε:** i.e., 493 B.C. Miltiades fled at the first approach of the Phoenicians, as is shown by the mention of Tenedos (cf. chap. 31) and by his starting from Cardia.

[4] **κεκοσμέαται:** = τελέουσι ἔς (chap. 108. 5), "are reckoned as"; cf. iii. 91.2.

#### vi. 42

*The settlement of Ionia by Artaphrenes.*

**ἐς νεῖκος φέρον:** hostile, opposed to εἰρηναῖα (chap. 43); cf. ἐς αἰσχύνην φέροντα (iii. 133; i. 10), ἐς ἄκεσιν (iv. 90).

**δωσίδικοι.** The meaning is clearly that all warfare between cities, as well as piracy and brigandage, was abolished, and δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβολῶν established throughout Ionia. We cannot say how far such treaties already existed, but the position of Histiaeus shows that hitherto the local authorities in Ionia had been allowed much independence. The organizing genius of Darius took advantage of the revolt and its suppression to put an end to this. Thus the Ionians were compelled by their Persian masters to accept a unity which they had refused to impose on themselves at the suggestion of Thales (i. 170). In the same way private wars were checked by the Athenian ἀρχή (Thuc. i. 115). Evidence of long-continued enmity may be found in the dispute between Samos and Priene recorded in an Inscription in the Ashmolean Museum (Hicks<sup>1</sup>, 152).

[2] **φόρους:** cf. iii. 89, 90. The statement as to the tribute is defective and difficult. Doubtless the arrangement of Artaphrenes applied to other revolted tributaries as well as to Ionians, but H. mentions only the most important, just as the whole rebellion is usually called the Ionic revolt. Again, the words ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ cannot bear the natural meaning that tribute was still paid to Persia in accordance with

this assessment at the time when H. wrote his history, but must be explained in one of the following ways:

(1) Grote (v. 194–5) thinks that the Persian king still maintained his claim to the old tribute, though it was not really paid. The satrap was still responsible to the king for the money, though unable to exact it. As soon as the Athenian power seemed broken in 412, the great king pressed Tissaphernes for payment (Thuc. viii. 5). The claim had been for years in abeyance but never withdrawn. We may compare the grants of Myus and Lampsacus to Themistocles (Thuc. i. 138), and of Myrrhina and Gryneium to Gongylus the Eretrian (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 6). The latter were held by Gongylus' descendants in 399 B.C., but all four cities were included in the Athenian empire in its palmy days.

(2) Some suggest that the unlucky states on the Asiatic seaboard paid tribute both to Athens and to the Great King. Some such arrangement seems certainly to have prevailed on the coast of Thrace under the Odrysian kings (Thuc. ii. 97), but the cases are not really parallel.

(3) Another suggestion is that the assessment of Artaphrenes was the basis of the Athenian φόρος, which was certainly paid by these cities before 450 B.C., and probably from 465. If, however, H. meant that the Athenian τακταί used the old valuation, he has failed to express himself clearly, and the frequent alterations of the Phoros on the existing quota lists seem inconsistent with this explanation.

(4) The simplest explanation is that H. uses ἐς ἐμέ loosely, meaning merely till the Persian power was overthrown, i.e., between 479 and ca. 465 B.C. Some of the states were still paying tribute when H. was a boy; in all he could (and doubtless did) talk with those to whom the claims of the Persian tax-collector were familiar. So a septuagenarian Bengalee might well write to-day: "The rule of John Company lasted down to my time," although it really ended in 1858.

It should further be noticed that Diodorus (x. 25. 2) ascribes not only this regulation of taxes, but also the restoration of constitutional government in Ionia (cf. chap. 43 n.) to Artaphrenes, acting on the suggestion of Hectaeus. Was H. unwilling to allow credit to his great predecessor for the conciliatory and successful reorganization of Ionia?

#### vi. 43–45

*Mardonius establishes democracies in Ionia. He invades Europe subjugating Thasos and Macedon, but loses his fleet off Mount Athos and retires.*

#### vi. 43

τῷ ἔασι: of 492 B.C. H. here begins his year, like Thucydides, with spring.

[3] H. is so anxious to put forward his supposed proof that he makes ἐρέω the main verb instead of leaving it in a dependent clause. Cf. i. 27. 2; ii. 103. 2; vi. 14. 1, etc.

For the speech of Otanes cf. iii. 80, and for the "Seven" iii. 84.

It has been held that this is a reply to criticisms passed on the story of the debate (iii. 80f.), but the incredulity of the critics is already noticed there, and may perhaps apply rather to the tradition handed down to H. than to the form given it in his work. The proof here alleged is of the weakest. Otanes, not Gobryas, was the advocate of democracy, and there was all the difference between establishing democracy in Persia and permitting it in Ionia. Further H. seems to have exaggerated and misrepresented the action of Mardonius. In many Greek and Carian cities (vii. 98, 195) dynasts held their own. So in Chios Strattis (iv. 138; viii. 132), in Samos Aeaces (chap. 25), in Cos Cadmus (vii. 164), in Halicarnassus Artemisia (vii. 99). In Lampsacus, too, the sons of Aeantides, son of Hippoclus (iv. 138) succeeded to the throne (Thuc. vi. 59). Here again, as in chap. 42, it is true that H. only speaks of Ionians, but such a measure would naturally extend to all the revolted states which had expelled their tyrants. This establishment of democracies then may mean little more than the restoration of local liberties ascribed by Diodorus to Artaphrenes (chap. 42 n.). In any case it would seem to have been partial, and dictated rather by distrust of the tyranny which had proved a dangerous instrument of government, than by any preference for democracy.

#### vi. 44

**Μακεδόνας** (cf. v. 17f.). H. (vii. 108) speaks as if Megabazus had conquered Macedon before Mardonius, but probably the Persian troops did not actually cross the Strymon till 492 B.C.

**ἐντὸς Μακεδόνων**: from a Persian point of view, i.e., east of Macedon (cf. i. 6. 1).

[2] **μέχρι Ἀκάνθου**: i.e., where Xerxes later cut his canal (vii. 22). Mount Athos is a harbourless coast off which high seas and dangerous currents are prevalent (vii. 24 n.).

[3] For Persian inability to swim cf. viii. 89.

#### vi. 45

**Βρύγοι**. These Thracian neighbours of Macedon may be placed between the Strymon and Mount Athos. In the list of tribes given in vii. 185 they come between the men of Chalcidice and the Pieres. The two passages agree if in vii. 185 the Pieres are the branch of the tribe who lived east of the Strymon (vii. 112). Scymnus (434) and Strabo (326) locate the Brygi far to the west on the borders of Epirus and Illyria. Probably they are connected with the Βρίγες (vii. 73), the European ancestors of the Phrygians.

[2] **αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος**. Macan suggests that with the exception of the loss to the fleet the expedition was a brilliant success, since H. elsewhere (vii. 9. n. 2) allows Mardonius to claim credit for his operations, and acknowledges his success in re-conquering Thrace and Macedon (vii. 108). But if the object of the campaign was the conquest of Hellas in general and of Athens and Eretria in particular, his task was unfulfilled. And in spite of modern scepticism there is good reason to suppose that the idea of a punitive expedition and wide schemes of conquest were

entertained at the Persian court. The conquest of European Hellas may well have seemed the only means of securing the dominion of Persia over the Greeks of Asia. The expedition of Datis shows that Athens and Eretria were to be punished, and also that the advance by land was considered to have failed. Probably its difficulties had not been foreseen. When this plan of campaign was again adopted, great preparations were made to meet them (vii. 21f.). No doubt Greek writers exaggerate the failure of Mardonius, but his losses were real, and his recall is best explained by Darius' adoption of a different plan of operations.

#### **vi. 46–50**

491 B.C. *Reduction of Thasos. Darius demands earth and water from the Greeks. Medism of Aegina.*

#### **vi. 46**

**δευτέρω . . . τούτων.** In the next year after these things, i.e., 491 B.C.

**Θασίους.** Macan suggests that this second submission of Thasos is a dittograph, i.e., that H. gives two accounts drawn from different sources of one surrender. It is doubtless true that the accounts are quite independent, the second being perhaps learned by H. in Thasos. But the prosperity of the Thasians might well cause their jealous neighbours falsely to accuse them of intending to take advantage of the recent Persian losses.

**Ἀβδηρα:** colonized from Clazomenae and re-colonized from Teos (i. 168 n.). It may, however, have been earlier a Phoenician station, since the name is Phoenician, and the early coins are of the Phoenician standard (Head, *H.N.*, 253). It was evidently loyal to Persia (viii. 120).

**[2] πολιορκηθέντες:** cf. chap. 28. The blockade showed them the necessity of equipping a fleet.

**ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου.** On the opposite coast of Thrace the Thasians held Stryme, Galepsus, Osyme, Daton, Scaptesytle, etc. (vii. 108, 118, ix. 75; Thuc. i. 100, iv. 107). From these mines the state drew its ordinary revenue, royalties, etc., while the citizens were free from land-tax and apparently all direct taxes (§ 3). Thasos is said to have spent four hundred talents in entertaining Xerxes (vii. 118); its tribute to Athens at its highest was only thirty talents, which is, however, as much as was paid by any state.

#### **vi. 47**

This passage proves a visit to Thasos and to its mines over against Samothrace. Yet though the site of Koenyra is marked by the modern Kenira, Tozer (*I. of Aeg.*, 307) could neither find nor hear of any traces of mining in that district.

**Φοίνικες.** This settlement from Tyre is dated by H. (ii. 44) five generations before the birth of Heracles, on the faith of mythical genealogies; cf. iv. 147, v. 59. Thasos was colonized from Paros (Thuc. iv. 104) ca. 700 B.C. (Busolt, i. 458), the best-known colonist being the poet Archilochus.

τοῦ Φοίνικος. For the genealogy cf. i. 2. 1 n.

οὔνομα ἔσχε. The old name was Aeria (Steph. Byz.) or Odonis (Hesych.). For the aorist cf. vii. 61. 3, 74. 1.

#### vi. 49

πολλοὶ μὲν ἠπειρωτέων. The expression is vague and perhaps exaggerated, though Thessaly, Boeotia, Argos, and Delphi may have made submission.

πάντες δὲ νησιῶται. Many had been already conquered. The phrase may apply to the Cyclades, except Naxos and Delos (cf. 96, 97), and to Lemnos, Imbros, and Samothrace.

The account here given plainly implies that Sparta and Athens refused to submit, but the omission of the story told later (vii. 133f.) of the treatment of the Persian heralds is remarkable. Cf. vii. 137 n.

[2] This appeal to Sparta against Aegina (491 B.C.) implies recognition by Athens of Spartan hegemony (for which cf. i. 69 n.). Either Miltiades (cf. the sending of Philippides before Marathon, chap. 105) or Themistocles (cf. the tale of Polycritus at Salamis, viii. 92) may well have seen how menacing was the attitude of Aegina, and how necessary to Athens the help of Sparta.

#### vi. 50

Cleomenes is given his full style and title, probably to add emphasis; chap. 36. 1.

[2] Κριός: cf. chap. 73. 2; viii. 92. Possibly the wrestler referred to by Simonides, frag. 13 ἐπέξαθ' ὁ Κριός οὐκ ἀεικέως: cf. Ar. *Nub.* 1356. Such plays on names were irresistible; cf. § 3, and Cicero, *Verr. II*, iv. 43, etc. But the jest of Cleomenes is bitter, like those in Shakespeare attributed to Gaunt (*Rich. II*, act ii, sc. 1).

[3] The retreat of Cleomenes from Aegina without hostages and his return with the other king to take them, implies that he admitted the validity of the plea (chap. 73). Yet the presence of both kings might seem to contravene the law made some fifteen years before (v. 75 n.). On the powers of the Spartan kings in foreign affairs cf. app. xvii, § 2.

#### vi. 51–60

*The story of the dual kingship at Sparta. Privileges of the kings with notes on non-Hellenic customs* (chaps. 59, 60). This digression (the main story is not resumed till chap. 61) is the most important contribution in H. to Greek constitutional history. It illustrates admirably how much and how little the Greeks knew of their origins, and also the religious and military character of early kingship. The legend of the twins is a clumsy fiction intended to account for the dual kingship. The most probable origin of this anomaly is the fusion of two distinct communities whose chiefs shared the throne. That the two royal houses were of different origin seems proved by the fact that their homes and tombs were to be found in different quarters of Sparta, those of the Agiads close to the Acropolis (Paus. iii. 14. 2), those of the Eurypontids on the heights of New Sparta (Paus. iii. 12. 8). The two quarters

may have been originally (cf. the case of Rome) two distinct communities. It is perhaps most likely that both communities and both kings were Dorian invaders (Duncker, *G.* i. 351f.), and that the claims of the kings to Achaean descent (cf. v. 72; i. 67; vii. 159) were a fiction intended to justify the Dorian conquest. Wachsmuth, however (*Jahrbuch f. Philologie*, 1868, p. 1f.), sees in the superior dignity of the elder Agiad line, and in the claim of Cleomenes to be an Achaean (v. 72), indications that the old Achaean royal house survived side by side with that of the invading Dorians. In any case, the rival theory that the dual kingship was instituted to weaken the royal power (cf. the Consulship at Rome) confuses effect and cause, and fails to explain such facts as the separate burying-places. For other instances of double kingship in Greece and elsewhere (e.g., Siam), and for further discussion cf. Busolt, i. 546. 4; Frazer, *P.*, iii. 312.

#### vi. 52

It is interesting to note H.'s claim to speak from complete knowledge of Greek poets; cf. chap. 53. 1, and introd. § 18. The poets' story was that Aristodemus died just *before* the Dorian invasion (Paus. iii. 1. 6; Apollod. ii. 8. 2). H. follows local Spartan tradition, as does Xenophon (*Ages.* viii. 7).

[2] Ἀργείην. Sister of Theras (iv. 147), and of Theban descent.

[5] τιμᾶν. Probably the oracle punned on the double sense of γεραίτερον, "elder" and "more honourable." The verse may have ended γεραίτερον ἔστι γεραίρειν. For τιμᾶν and γεραίρειν together cf. v. 67. 5.

[6] The device of Panites, used to interpret the oracle, might well have settled the question of succession. Indeed, the younger child seems to have been brought up as a private individual (§ 7). The story is inconsistent as well as unhistorical.

[7] ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ, "in some state building" (cf. vii. 144 ἐν τῷ κοινῷ) (Abbott) rather than (Stein) "at the public charge" under official guardianship (cf. chap. 57. 2, 92. 2). Theras is ignored in this story, but cf. iv. 147.

#### vi. 53

τὰ λεγόμενα: i.e., the common Hellenic tradition found in the poets and logographers.

τούτους . . . βασιλέας. The Heracleid leaders (cf. § 2) of the Dorian invasion. The genealogy is Hyllus—Heracles—Amphitryon—Alcaeus—Perseus.

τοῦ θεοῦ: i.e., Zeus, called father of Perseus (vii. 61. 3). "Omitting the god, the accepted list is correct." H. cannot accept the divine parentage of Perseus, as is shown by his treatment elsewhere of heroic genealogies (cf. ii. 43–5, 142–6; iv. 5. 1).

ἤδη . . . ἐτέλεον. Perseus and his race, though by descent Egyptian, from his time on were accounted Hellenes reigning for four generations in Argos. For ἐτέλεον cf. ii. 51. 2; vi. 108. 5.

[2] **Ἀμφιτρύων**. Had there been in the case of Perseus a reputed mortal father as in the case of Heracles Amphitryon, H. might have assumed the existence of two Perseus' (cf. ii. 43), one son of a god, the other of a mortal.

**ἰθαγενέες**: by direct descent genuine. H. (cf. ii. 91. 5) accepts the well-known Danaid legend, from the Epic *Danaïdes*, and the *Supplices* of Aeschylus.

#### vi. 54

This "Persian" story varies from the ordinary Hellenic (vii. 61. 150) in the important points, that Perseus does not go from Argos to Cepheus, king of the Cepheneas (i.e., the Assyrians, vii. 61. 2), to marry his daughter Andromeda, and so become the father of Perses, the eponym of the Persians, but is himself of Assyrian descent, and the first of his family to become a Greek. Yet the envoys of Xerxes (vii. 150) are represented as accepting the ordinary Greek view.

#### vi. 55

**ὅτι δέ**, "wherefore and for what services they, though Egyptians, attained." The points omitted are the adoption of the Heracleid Hyllus by the Dorian king Aegimius, which gave the Dorians a claim to the heritage of the Heracleids, the Peloponnese, and the exploits of the Heracleids who led the Dorian invasion (ix. 26f.).

**ἄλλοισι**. Possibly the writer of the Epic *Aegimius*, more probably the Logographers, e.g., Charon of Lampsacus; cf. introd. § 19. This refusal to repeat a story which had already received literary treatment cannot be generalized into a maxim for H.'s whole work (Macan, p. lxxxiii n.).

#### vi. 56

The honours given the Spartan kings are divided into three classes: (1) in war, chap. 56; (2) in peace, chap. 57; (3) after death, chap. 58. H. (cf. 58. 1) perhaps regards them as resting on some such contract between king and people as the monthly oath in Xen. *Lac.* xv. 7. The eponymous hero Lacedaemon is (in Paus. iii. 1. 2, 20. 2), son of Zeus and Taygete, and husband of Sparta. His shrine was at Alesiae between Therapne and Taygetus. With Ζεὺς Λακεδαιμῶν Stein compares Ζεὺς Ἀγαμέμνων, Ζ. Ἀμφιάραος, Ζ. Ἀμφικτύων, Ζ. Ἡρακλῆς, Ζ. Τροφώνιος, but none of these is so definitely local. Ζεὺς Λακεδαιμῶν would seem to be a primitive local deity, possibly chthonian, afterwards degraded into a "hero." Ζεὺς Οὐράνιος is the lord of the heavens. The latter cult (τὰ μέγαρα Οὐράνια) continued under the Roman empire (*CIG* 1241, 1420). The Spartan kings as Heracleids were descendants of Zeus, and his natural representatives, as were the Heracleid kings of Macedon of the Bottiaean Zeus, and the Aeacid princes in Epirus of the Dodonaean (Preller, i. 149). Xenophon (*Lac.* xiii and xv) tells us the king offered all public sacrifices, and in particular, to Zeus Agetor on setting forth to war, and to Zeus and Athena on crossing the frontier.

**πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν**. Perhaps in prehistoric times the kings could actually declare war, but, even if this be so, the necessity of the people's consent was early

established (cf. app. xvii, § 2). Traces of the royal control of foreign affairs may be found even in the fifth century (cf. v. 74, 75; vi. 73), but later this power was vested in the Ephors (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 1; v. 2. 9, 11); Xenophon describes this state of things when he limits the power of the kings to the conduct of the campaign. (*Lac.* chap. xv στρατίαν ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ ἡγεῖσθαι, cf. chap. xiii.) Only when he had crossed the frontier after favourable auspices (διαβατήρια) did the king exercise a really sovereign power (Thuc. v. 60, 66; viii. 5, and in general app. xvii, § 2). Even in the field insubordination was not unknown (ix. 55; Thuc. v. 72).

ἐν τῷ ἄγει. Probably such an execration entailed exile (cf. Thuc. v. 72). Such curses often were extended to the whole house (cf. Hicks, 23; *CIG* 2691; Aeschin. *In Ctes.* § 110).

**πρώτους:** cf. Xen. *Lac.* xiii οὐδείς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται, πλὴν Σκιριῖται καὶ οἱ προερευνώμενοι ἵππεῖς.

**ἐκατόν.** The full number of ἵππεῖς was three hundred; cf. i. 67. 5 n., vii. 205. 2, viii. 124. 3; Thuc. v. 72. This hundred might be the contingent of one of the three Dorian tribes.

**προβάτοι:** for offerings, victims being required for the διαβατήρια and for sacrifices before battle. The king's perquisites remind us of Homeric customs (cf. *Il.* vii. 321; *Od.* iv. 66), and may be due to the religious origin of the office. For similar priestly claims cf. 1 Sam. ii. 13f.

#### vi. 57

**θυσίη . . . δημοτελής:** offered by the kings; cf. 56 n.; Xen. *Lac.* xv. 2.

**ἄρχεσθαι:** sc., τοὺς νέμοντας, the attendants. For similar honours cf. Thuc. i. 25 οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν (Abbott).

**δίπλησια.** οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν, εἴ τινα βούλοιντο (Xen. *Lac.* xv. 4). Xerxes (vii. 103. 1) distinctly alludes to this custom.

**σπονδαρχίας:** again a Homeric custom (*Il.* xii. 310f.).

[2] **νεομηνίας.** The first day of the month ("new moon") was everywhere sacred, and a day of offering to the gods (ἱερὰ ἐπιμήνια, ἔμμηνα: cf. viii. 41. 2); the seventh was the birthday of Apollo and specially dedicated to him (Hesiod, *Op.* 770). For the accusative cf. i. 181. 5, 186. 3; vii. 50. 4, 203. 1.

**μέδιμνον.** The old view that the Laconian or Aeginetan medimnus was half as much again as the Attic (Athenaeus, 141c) is disproved by *Ath. Pol.* chap. 10 (Sandys, note; cf. G. F. Hill, *Num. Chron.* 1897, p. 284f.). Probably the Pheidonian measures are equivalent to the Babylonian, and stood to the Solonian in the ratio of 12 : 13. Since the Attic medimnus contains nearly twelve gallons, the Pheidonian would be nearly eleven gallons.

**τετάρτη** cannot be the Attic τέταρτον, which, being the quarter of the sextarius (ξέστη), belongs to Roman times and is far too small, being about a quarter of a

pint. Since the monthly contribution of each Spartan to the Syssitia was a medimnus of meal and eight χόες of wine (Plut. *Lyc.* 12), this Laconian τετάρτη may be one of eight χόες, or about five and a half gallons; if, however, the proportion given in § 3 of one cotyle to two choenices be taken, it would be but two χόες.

**προεδρίας:** concrete; cf. iv. 88. 1. For the abstract sense cf. i. 54. 2; ix. 73. 3. This custom is illustrated by the anecdote in chap. 67.

**προξείνους.** Proxeni are usually citizens of a foreign city who undertook to watch over the interests of the community which they represented, e.g., Callias was Proxenus of Sparta at Athens (cf. viii. 136. 1; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 4). The Proxenia in these cases seems to have been almost hereditary in character (Thuc. v. 43; vi. 89). It does not appear probable that the kings had the appointment either of these Spartan Proxeni abroad or of the representatives of foreign states in Sparta. Hence P. Monceaux has suggested that these proxeni nominated by the kings were special ones appointed to do the honours of the state to foreigners who had no ordinary representative at Sparta; for some late analogies cf. Smith, *Dict. Ant.*, i. 978.

**Πύθιοι.** The connection of Sparta with Delphi was peculiarly close. Cic. *Div.* i. 95 "(Lacedaemonii) de rebus maioribus semper aut Delphis oraculum aut ab Hammone aut a Dodona petebant." Cf. v. 63. 90; vii. 220. Other states employed θεωροί.

**σιτεόμενοι.** Apparently they messed with the king at the Phiditia. Xen. *Lac.* xv. 5 ἔδωκε δ' αὖ καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἑκατέρω προσελέσθαι οἱ δὲ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται.

[3] The prisoners at Sphacteria were allowed two *Attic* choenices of meal and two cotylae of wine; their servants were given half this amount (Thuc. iv. 16).

[4] τὰς μαντηίας: so Cleomenes carried off a collection from Athens (v. 90).

**μούνους:** i.e., without the Ephors and Gerousia.

**πατρούχου.** An only daughter was styled ἐπίκληρος (or in Doric ἐπιπαματίς or παμῶχος), which means not that she is the heiress, but that she passes with the inheritance. Aristotle (*Pol.* ii. 6. 11, 1270a 26f.) distinctly tells us that if a father died intestate leaving only a daughter, the heir, as guardian of the orphan daughter, chose her a husband, and that even the father had but recently acquired the right to dispose of his daughter's hand as he pleased. In the days of H. the kings dealt with the question, as did the Archon Eponymus at Athens. In so doing they clearly acted as judges merely determining to whom the ἐπίκληρος belonged by law. All this is explained by the primitive constitution of the Graeco-Roman family. The inheritance, along with the household cults, and *patria potestas*, always passed to males. If, then, there were no sons but only a daughter, the ancient principle debarred her from heirship, but by custom she passed with the inheritance to the nearest male relative, whom she married (so Gorgo Leonidas, vii. 205; cf. also vi.

71; Plut. *Agis* 11). Apparently a father, if he gave an only daughter in marriage, must give her to the nearest relative, or to an adopted son. But adoption (§ 5) itself took place before the kings, and must have been subject to legal rules. If the father died without betrothing his daughter, the nearest male relative could claim both the inheritance and the hand of the daughter. If there were several claimants the kings decided between them. The same principles held good in Crete (cf. the Gortyna Code) and at Athens. Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, *Nouvelles Recherches*, 97f.

**ὁδῶν δημοσιέων.** According to Stein and Gilbert, this refers only to the delimitation of roads and private estates, but the kings as leaders in war may have been charged with the care of roads.

[5] **παρίξειν.** The words imply that the kings were not *ex-officio* presidents. Doubtless the Ephors both convened (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. 8) and presided over the Gerousia. Cf. app. xvii, § 2.

**δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους.** There can be little doubt Thucydides refers to this passage (i. 20. 3) when he gives as an instance of popular errors the belief that each of the Spartan kings had two votes, not one only, since he corrects in the same sentence another supposed error in H. (ix. 53), *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὄντα καὶ οὐ χρόνῳ ἀμνηστούμενα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληγες οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴονται, ὥσπερ τοὺς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἀλλὰ δυοῖν, καὶ τὸν Πιτανάτην λόχον αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὃς οὐδ' ἐγένετο πώποτε.* But H., though the expression is obscure, probably means not that each king had two votes, but that two votes were given for the *two* absent kings, and that the vote of the relative who acted as proxy for both was the third. He, however, overlooks the fact that the same person could not be the nearest relative of both kings, since the two houses were only related by a fictitious genealogy and never intermarried. Really there must have been two proxies, one for each king. H. Richards (*CR* xix. 343) would omit *τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἑωυτῶν* as a late insertion, and so get clearly the sense that the nearest relative of each king gave two votes, his own and that of the king his kinsman.

#### vi. 58

**λέβητας.** Beating a bronze cauldron would keep off evil spirits, the original meaning of the "passing bell." Cf. A. B. Cook, *JHS* xxii. 14f.

**καταμιαίνεσθαι.** Such extravagant signs of mourning (*μιασμοί*) as tearing the hair, rending the garments, and throwing dust on the head and clothing, were at Athens restricted by Solon (Plut. chap. 12; cf. Thuc. ii. 45), and at Sparta forbidden by Lycurgus for private persons (Plut. *Lyc.* 27, *Mor.* 238d). They are a survival from barbarism (cf. viii. 99; ix. 24) or from heroic times (cf. *Il.* xviii. 23f.). So Xen. *Lac.* xv. 9 *αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῆδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.* Cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 3. 1.

[2] **Λακεδαίμονος** = Laconia (cf. vii. 234. 2), including Messenia (Paus. iv. 14. 4).

ἀριθμῶ, "in fixed number." Cf. Thuc. ii. 72.

[3] εἶδωλον. This took the place of the body if it could not be brought home, but the only certain case before the time of H. is that of Leonidas (vii. 238; cf. Plut. *Agis* 21). Later Agesipolis (Xen. *Hell.* v. 3. 19) and Agesilaus (Plut. chap. 40) died on foreign service, but their bodies were embalmed in honey or wax and brought home.

ἀγορή: traffic (cf. i. 153. 2) as well as public business.

ἀρχαιρεσίη: meeting for election.

#### vi. 59, 60

These chapters contain additional notes subsequently inserted by the author; perhaps they are meant to bear on the alleged Persian or Egyptian descent of the Spartan kings (cf. 53, 54).

#### vi. 60

κήρυκες: the most famous are the Talthybiadae, sprung from the herald of the Atridae (vii. 134).

αὐληταί: important, as the Spartan army marched to battle to the sound of the flute (Thuc. v. 70).

μάγειροι: clearly those who prepared the Phiditia. They had their heroes, Μάπτων (kneader) and Κεράων (mixer), whose statues stood on the Hyacinthine way (Athen. 39e). Apparently they accompanied the army on campaigns (ix. 82).

No general caste-system should be inferred. Nowhere in the ancient world, not even in Egypt (ii. 164f.), was there so fully established a caste-system as now exists in India, where status is fixed and free competition eliminated. Yet in all non-progressive societies, such as Sparta, crafts tend to be hereditary.

σφέας παρακληίουςι, "shut out the hereditary heralds."

#### vi. 61–70

*The birth, deposition and exile of Demaratus.*

#### vi. 61

προεργαζόμενον. πρό is not temporal but = "for," "on behalf of" cf. ii. 158. 5 ad fin. H.'s tone here is unusually favourable to Cleomenes.

ἐπίβασιν: either making an attack = ἐπιβαίνων (Stein), or getting a footing; cf. Plato *Resp.* 511b, and ἐπιβατεύων (chap. 65. 4) (Schweighauser).

βασιλεύοντι. He was contemporary with Anaxandridas, ca. 550 B.C.; cf. i. 67. 1.

[3] μιν: resumed in αὐτήν: i.e., dependent on ἐφόρεε (Stein); cf. i. 115. 2.

Therapne stood on some precipitous heights nearly two miles southeast of Sparta on the opposite side of the Eurotas. The view that it was the site of Homeric (Achaean) Sparta, suggested by its commanding position, is confirmed by the

discovery there of Mycenaean pottery and by the worship of Helen and Menelaus (Isoc. x. 63). This sanctuary of Helen is probably identical with the temple of Menelaus, where Menelaus and Helen were buried (Paus. iii. 19. 9). Its ruins, and near them some Mycenaean remains, have been discovered on the top of the hill called Menelaium (Polyb. v. 18. 21; Livy xxxiv. 28). Castor and Pollux, Helen's brothers, were supposed to lie buried in Therapne on alternate days (Pind. *Nem.* x. 55; *Pyth.* xi. 62; cf. Frazer on Paus. iii. 19. 9). The Phoebaeum was below Therapne in the plain on the western bank of the Eurotas (Paus. iii. 14. 9).

**Ἑλένης.** The view that Helen was a goddess of beauty, and the identification of her with ξείνη Ἀφροδίτη (ii. 112), seem to be H.'s own conjectures, and erroneous. The foreign Aphrodite must be Astarte, while Helen was a native heroine more akin to Artemis (Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, 340f.), perhaps originally a tree nymph. The Rhodians worshipped Helen of the tree (Paus. iii. 19. 9, with Frazer), and the Spartans Helen's plane-tree (Theoc. xviii. 43). The whole story reads like the miracle of a mediaeval saint, and illustrates a side of Greek life which hardly appears in our literary sources.

#### vi. 62

[2] Ordinary Greek feeling seems to have been less shocked by a technical observance and a virtual breach of contract (cf. iv. 154. 201; Thuc. iii. 34) than by a refusal to be bound by an oath whose real purport had not been understood. Euripides earned much opprobrium by making Hippolytus say in such a case (612) ἡ γλῶσσο' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος, yet all moral philosophers would now agree with Cicero (*Off.* iii. 29. 107) that such an oath was not binding.

Probably the true motive of Ariston's third marriage was the barrenness of his earlier wives (cf. v. 39f.).

#### vi. 63

**τοὺς δέκα:** the usual ten lunar months; cf. 69. 5.

[2] **ἐν θώκῳ:** at a sitting of the council. So Paus. iii. 7. 7 ἐν βουλῇ.

**ἐπὶ δακτύλων:** a well-known mode of counting (cf. Juv. x. 249 with Mayor), especially among savages (cf. Tylor, *P.C.* i. 244f.).

**πρῆγμα . . . οὐδέν,** "paid no heed" (cf. vii. 150. 3). The carelessness of the Ephors is incredible, since it was their duty to preserve the purity of the Heracleid race (v. 39).

[3] **εὐδοκιμέοντι.** For Ariston's victories cf. i. 67 n.

**ἀρήν:** a rare word, here used for εὐχήν to get the play on the name Δημάρητος. Cf. Ἀρήτη (Hom. *Od.* vii. 54), Louis le Désiré and Samuel (1 Sam. i. 20).

**vi. 64**

**διὰ τό** or **διὰ τά** (MSS.) cannot mean “on which account” = **δι’ ὅ** or **δι’ ἅ**: nor did Cleomenes attack Demaratus on account of any doubts of his legitimacy. For **διότι** cf. vii. 197. 3, 205. 1; CR xix. 343.

**διεβλήθη**, “was at enmity with” (i. 118. 2; v. 35. 1). To the grounds given (v. 75; vi. 50f.) we may perhaps add the conduct of Demaratus in and after the Argive war; cf. chap. 82 (Macan).

**vi. 65**

**Ἄγιος**: called Agesilaus in the list of Eurypontids (viii. 131). The reigning line was Theopompus, Archidamus, Zeuxidamus, Anaxidamus, Archidamus, Agasicles, Ariston, Demaratus: for the collateral line cf. viii. 131 n.

[2] **Χίλων**: probably grandson of the famous Ephor (cf. i. 59; Hunt, Rylands Pap. i, pp. 29, 31), and brother of Prinetales (v. 41. 3), the father of Cleomenes’ mother.

**ἀρπάσας**: dependent on **φθάσας**. The forms of marriage by capture survived at Sparta (Plut. *Lyc.* 15); Demaratus seems to have turned the form into a reality. On marriage by capture cf. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, I. ii-v, with Westermarck’s criticisms, *H.M.*, chap. xvii.

[3] **οὐκ ἰκνεομένως**, “without right.” Cf. **ἰκνέεται**, etc., ii. 36. 1; vi. 57 21, 86 a 3.

**κατωμοσίην**: the oath of accusation, answering apparently to the **προωμοσία** of an Attic suit; it might be met by the defendant’s **ἀντωμοσία**. Then the suit proper (**ἐδίωκε**) began with the proofs alleged on either side. Leotychides tried to revive the memory of Ariston’s saying. For the court cf. v. 40 n.

[4] **ἐπιβατεύων**, “taking his stand upon.” The word implies that the claim was unfounded; cf. iii. 63. 3, 67. 2, ix. 95, and vi. 61 n., and the Homeric use of **ἐπιβαίνειν**.

**μάρτυρας**. The trial must be placed in 491 B.C., when Demaratus had been king quite twenty years. The Ephors summoned must have been in extreme old age, if any survived.

**vi. 66**

[2] **πρόμαντιν**: cf. vii. 111. 2. For bribery of the oracle cf. v. 63. 2 n.

**vi. 67**

[2] **γυμνοπαιδία**: one of the three great Spartan festivals, the others being the Carneia and the Hyacinthia; it took place just after midsummer (Thuc. v. 82; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 16). Choruses of naked boys, youths, and men danced and sang in honour of Apollo in the Agora (Paus. iii. 119) and in the theatre just east of the Agora (Xen. loc. cit.; Plut. *Ages.* 29).

**ἄρχειν**, “to be a magistrate.” Probably Demaratus conducted the festival as Ephor (Xen., Plut. loc. cit.) unless he was one of the **βίδεοι** who supervised the youths’

gymnastics (Paus. iii. 11. 2; Gilbert, i. 26). In any case Leotyichides as king would have the seat of honour (57. 2).

[3] **μυρίης . . . εὐδαιμονίης**. The alternative, not seriously meant, is added for rhetorical contrast; cf. vii. 8. c 3, viii. 68. c.

**κατακαλυψάμενος**: *obvoluto capite*, as a sign of dejection (Hom. *Od.* x. 53).

#### vi. 68

**καταπτόμενος**, “appealing to” (cf. viii. 65. 6 ad fin.). Here it might mean “laying hold of,” as τοῦδε implies that there was an altar of Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος at hand, and his altar would naturally stand in the court-yard (Hom. *Od.* xxii. 334). Ζεὺς ἑρκεῖος is the god of the home and also of the family (Soph. *Ant.* 487; Farnell, *G.C.*, i. 54). He is akin to, though not the same as, Ζεὺς ἐφέστιος (i. 44. 2).

Demaratus is anxious to get from his mother a denial on oath, hence the ceremony by which he makes her partaker of the sacrifice (σπλάγχων), and accursed if she forswore herself (Macan; cf. Iwan Muller, v. 3, § 77; Hermann, *Gr. Antiq.* ii<sup>2</sup>. 22).

[2] **ὄνοφορβόν**. Malicious rationalism turned the muleteer’s god Astrabacus into a muleteer. The views taken of Spartan women are widely divergent (Abbott); Plutarch (*Lyc.* 15; *Mor.* 228b, c) represents adultery as unknown (cf. Isoc. *Panath.* 259), but Aristotle (*Pol.* 1269b 22f., with Newman) accuses them of every kind of excess.

#### vi. 69

[3] The Heroon lay just outside the door from the court to the street. For Astrabacus cf. Paus. iii. 16. 9 μαρτύρια δέ μοι καὶ τάδε τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ὀρθίαν τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶναι ξόανον· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένου τοῦ Ἀμφικλέου τοῦ Ἄγιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὗροντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν, wherefore the Spartans dedicated a shrine to them near that of Lycurgus (Paus. iii. 16. 6), and presumably near that of Artemis. The heroes are usually connected with the fox and the sumpter-mule, ἀστράβη being a pack-saddle, but Wide (*Lakon. Kulte*, 279) interprets “one riding on a mule-saddle,” and compares Dionysus. Their insertion in the genealogy of the royal house is clearly late.

[5] Hippocrates i. 447 (ed. Kühn) τίκτειν καὶ ἑπτάμηνα καὶ ὀκτάμηνα καὶ ἑννεάμηνα καὶ δεκάμηνα καὶ ἑνδεκάμηνα, καὶ τούτων τὰ ὀκτάμηνα οὐ περιγίνεσθαι suggests why the eighth month is not here mentioned.

#### vi. 70

Plutarch (*Agis*, chap. 11) mentions an old law invoked against Agis IV, forbidding any Heracleid to settle abroad under pain of death. But this law was not enforced against Dorieus, and if Demaratus was not son of Ariston and king, he was no Heracleid (Macan).

[2] Zacynthus proved a less secure refuge for Hegesistratus (ix. 37 ad fin.). It is noticeable that Themistocles too escaped to Persia by way of western Greece

(Thuc. i. 136, 137). According to Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. i. 6; cf. *An.* ii. 1. 3, vii. 8. 17) Xerxes gave Demaratus the cities Pergamus, Halisarna, and Teuthrania in the Troad, which his descendants, Procles and Eurysthenes, still retained. We may compare the rewards given to Gongylus, the Eretrian traitor (*Xen. Hell.* iii. 1. 6), to Themistocles (Thuc. i. 138), and to Histiaeus and Coes (v. 11).

[3] **Λακεδαιμονίοισι**, “in the opinion of the Spartans”; cf. iii. 88. 2. Their opinion is not justified by his recorded deeds or sayings (Plut. *Mor.* 220). He plays a greater part at the Persian court (vii. 3, 101f., 209, 234f.).

**προσέβαλε**: conferred on them the honour of an Olympic victory, perhaps by having the victory proclaimed in the name of the city and not in his own (cf. 103. 2). For the irregular construction cf. i. 85. 1.

#### vi. 71–72

*Leotychides and his fate later.*

#### vi. 71

The grand-daughter of Zeuxidamus, Cynisca was the first woman to win a prize at Olympia with horses (Paus. iii. 8. 1, vi. 1. 6; Frazer, ad loc.). This she is said to have done at the suggestion of her brother Agesilaus to prove that such victories were a mere question of expense, not of merit (Plut. *Ages.* 20) (Abbott).

[2] **Λαμπιτώ**: in Plato *Alc.* 1, 124; Plut. *Ages.* 1 **Λαμπιδώ**, mother of Agis II. The object of marrying Lampito to her nephew was to prevent rivalry between the families.

#### vi. 72

**ἐστρατήγησε**. Two tyrants, Aristomedes and Angelus, are said to have been expelled (Plut. *De Mal.* 21). This expedition is usually placed soon after the repulse of Xerxes, and regarded as an attempt to punish the Medism of the Aleuadae, the princes of Larisa (cf. vii. 6, 130, ix. 58; Paus. iii. 7. 9), as Thebes had been already punished (ix. 86f.), and as it was proposed to punish other traitors (cf. vii. 132, 213). Busolt (iii. 80–7) takes the expedition as part of the Spartan policy of turning the Amphictyonic league into a weapon against Medism, and fixes the expedition with Duncker in 476 B.C., explaining the erroneous dating of the reign of Archidamus in Diodorus (xii. 35) 476–434 B.C., as due to a confusion between the banishment of Leotychides 476 B.C. and his death 469 B.C. E. Meyer, however (F. ii. 504–9), argues that the crown passed to Archidamus, not at the death, but on the exile of Leotychides (Thuc. iii. 26, v. 16; *Xen. Hell.* iii. 5. 25, v. 2. 6), and therefore that the exile of Leotychides must be placed in 469–468 and the expedition shortly before, as soon as Sparta had put down opposition in the Peloponnese. In view, however, of the case of Agesipolis, whose twenty years in exile are reckoned in his reign (Diod. xiii. 75), Busolt’s solution is preferable. (For another suggestion cf. Grote abridged, 273, ed. note.)

[2] **δικαστήριον**: for the court cf. v. 40 n.

The Spartans were considered corruptible (iii. 56), and the charge is specifically made against both Ephors and Gerontes (Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9, 1270b 9f., 1271a 3). Of the kings Cleomenes resists Maeandrius (iii. 148), and with difficulty Aristagoras (v. 51f.), yet he is suspect in the case of Argos (chap. 82), while Pleistoanax and his adviser were bribed by Pericles (Thuc. v. 16; Plut. *Per.* 22). Of other distinguished Spartans, Eurybiades was believed to have been bribed by Themistocles (viii. 5), and Pausanias trusted to bribery to secure his acquittal (Thuc. i. 131).

**Τεγέην.** So Hegesistratus took refuge in Tegea (ix. 37. 4), as did the king Pausanias in the temple of Athena Alea (Paus. iii. 5. 6).

#### **vi. 73**

*Cleomenes takes hostages of Aegina.*

#### **vi. 74–84**

*The exile, restoration, and awful death of Cleomenes, with theories accounting for his fate. Digression on his earlier defeat of the Argives, and their desperate condition.*

#### **vi. 74**

**ὕπεξέσχε** (cf. v. 72. 1). Ephialtes, too, took refuge in Thessaly (vii. 213. 2).

**Νώνακρον.** In northern Arcadia, near the river Crathis (i. 145), some five hours northwest of the city of Pheneus, to which it belonged.

**ἔξορκουῶν:** with acc. of the object by which the oath is taken; cf. Hom. *Il.* xiv. 271 νῦν μοι ὄμοσσον ἀάατον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, and “Iovem lapidem iurare,” with Strachan-Davidson, *Polybius*, Prolegom. viii. Although this is the only instance recorded in history, there can be no doubt that an oath by the water of Styx had always been regarded by the Arcadians as most solemn, and that when the poets made the gods swear by Styx, they only transferred to heaven a practice long customary on earth. Hom. *Il.* xv. 37 τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὃς τε μέγιστος / ὄρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν: Hesiod, *Theog.* 785. The water of Styx was supposed to be instantly fatal (Paus. viii. 18. 4; Plin. *H.N.* ii. § 231, xxxi. § 26) and to burst or corrode all vessels save those of horn. Yet it is chemically harmless, though being snow-water it is icy cold. Perhaps its supposed deadliness caused it to be used as a kind of ordeal. Such oaths, accompanied by draughts or libations of water, are common (Frazer, *P.*, iv. 254). The Styx is the only considerable waterfall in Greece, but H. is right in calling the stream ὀλίγον (Tozer, *G.* p. 118). Frazer (*P.*, iv. 252) describes the scene as one of “sublime but wild and desolate grandeur.”

**Φενεῶν:** at the southwest foot of Mount Cyllene, quite eight hours from the Styx, but the nearest large town. It is remarkable for its lake, which at intervals is drained away through subterranean channels (*katavothra*) into the Ladon, leaving a rich swampy plain (Frazer, iv. 231–2, 235f.; *JHS* xxii. 228–40).

## vi. 75

An Arcadia combined into a federal league, traces of which are found on coins (Hill, *G. and R.C.*, 107), would have been a serious menace to Sparta. The project of Cleomenes seems to have been revived by Themistocles, for all Arcadia, except Mantinea, fought against Sparta at Dipaea (ix. 35). It was realized by Epaminondas.

[3] ἐς Ἐλευσίνα: cf. v. 74.

τῶν θεῶν: the goddesses Demeter and Persephone.

For sacrilege at Eleusis and its consequences cf. ix. 65.

καταγινέων. Probably "bringing home," as Cleomenes gave out that he would take a ransom (79. 1); Stein, however, prefers "bringing down," as the grove of Argos lay on a hill. Macan follows Panofsky in holding that these variant accounts do not represent genuine local traditions, but are conjectures due to the historian. Clearly, however, there was a general belief that Cleomenes came to a bad end, while each people would naturally select the impiety which injured itself as the ground of heaven's vengeance. Again, H. distinguishes his own opinion (chap. 84) from these more widely accepted views. Some critics, quite needlessly, see in the story of Cleomenes' awful death a Spartan fiction devised to hide the fact that he was put out of the way as a danger to the state.

## vi. 76

The arguments for dating this war between Sparta and Argos after 500 B.C., and not (with Paus. iii. 4. 1) just after 520 B.C., are given in app. xvii, § 3.

Στυμφηλίδος λίμνης. The lake of Stymphalus, near the foot of Mount Cyllene, may be 1½ miles in length and half a mile in breadth, but its area has varied greatly at different times. An escarpment of rock runs down sheer into the water, and at the foot of this there is an arched cavern through which the lake is discharged (Tozer, *G.* p. 112). The view that the water which here enters the cavern reappears as the Erasinus near Argos is still held by the natives of the valley, and is generally accepted, though the distance (thirty miles) is much greater than the length of any of the other subterranean rivers of the Peloponnese, and several high mountains and intersecting ridges intervene (Leake, *Morea*, iii. 113; cf. further Frazer, *P.*, iv. 268–75).

[2] Ἐρασίνου. The river Erasinus was at that time the southern boundary of Argolis; Cleomenes sacrificed to the river-god (αὐτῷ) the usual διαβατήρια (cf. Thuc. v. 54), but the omens were unfavourable (οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει) (cf. ix. 36, 38).

Θυρέην: in Spartan territory (i. 82), and near the shore (Thuc. iv. 57).

ταῦρον: so *Od.* iii. 6. The Pylians sacrifice ταύρους παμμέλανας, ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτη.

πλοίοισι: supplied by Sicyon and Aegina, in spite of the suzerainty claimed by Argos over both cities; cf. chap. 92. Macan suggests that the demonstration on the

Erasmus was a feint to draw the Argives away from the city, as the ships must have been summoned beforehand.

**vi. 77**

[2] ἐπίκοινα: adverbial (i. 216. 1). For the Milesian half of the response cf. chap. 19 n. The oracle is obscure enough to be regarded as a genuine Pythian response. It is not easy to see how it could raise a suspicion of trickery, unless it be assumed that the victory of the female over the male implies a success won by craft over force. But at least three interpretations are possible:

1. Hera of Argos shall defeat and drive out him of Lacedaemon (Cleomenes or Apollo), but it will be a Cadmeian victory, bringing mourning and ruin on Argos. But unless the first lines be applied to the expulsion of Cleomenes by Hera (chap. 82), they promise Argos a victory not recorded by H.
2. Sparta (female) shall conquer Argos (a male hero), so the women of Argos shall make lamentation, and men in time to come count that day the ruin of Argos. In this case, however, ἐξέλαση remains unexplained.
3. Later authors (Pausanias, ii. 20. 8; Plutarch, *Mor.* 245d–e, quoting Socrates of Argos, *FHG* iv. 497) tell us how Telesilla, the poetess, armed the women, the infirm, and the slaves, and drove back Cleomenes from the defenceless town after his victory in the field. This tradition, which fits the oracle admirably, is clearly of local Argive origin, whereas H. gives us the official Spartan version, which presents obvious difficulties (cf. chap. 82 n.). But the story of Telesilla appears to be late and is most probably unhistorical, since it seems designed to explain the oracle, and the festival of Wantonness (τὰ Ὑβριστικά) at Argos. At this feast the women dressed as men and the men as women, even wearing veils (Plutarch, loc. cit.; Polyaeus, viii. 33). Such exchange of garments is a widely spread religious custom, particularly at the time of marriage; thus Argive brides wore beards (Plutarch, loc. cit.) and Spartan brides men's clothes on their wedding nights (Plut. *Lyc.* 15). So too there was in Cyprus a sacrifice to a bearded Aphrodite, at which men were dressed as women and women as men (Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 8; Servius on Verg. *Aen.* ii. 632); for other parallels see Frazer, *P.*, iii. 197; Farnell, ii. 634–5, 748 n. 104. Again, Lucian (*Amores* 30) says that in consequence of Telesilla's victory the war-god (Ares) was deemed at Argos a god of women, and Plutarch adds (loc. cit.) that the victorious women built a temple to the war-god (Enyalios), but in view of Pausanias' statement that the statue of Telesilla stood in front of the temple of Aphrodite, it seems likely that the supposed war-god is really an armed Aphrodite, a goddess of Eastern origin (cf. i. 105 n.; Frazer, iii. 338; Farnell, ii. 653–4). The story of Telesilla then seems to be an aetiological myth, founded on a misunderstood rite and a misinterpreted oracle. Wells (op. cit. pp. 91–4) defends the historical character of the tale of Telesilla.

ἀμφιδροφέας: Homeric (*Il.* ii. 700), as are κῦδος ἄρεσθαι, ἐπεσσομένων, δουρὶ δαμασθεῖς.

ὄφις = Argos. Δωριεῖς καὶ μάλιστα Ἀργεῖοι τὴν ὄφιν ἄργαν ἐκάλουν, Bekker, Anec. 442. Again, Ἀργειφόντης, the title of Hermes, who slew Argos or Panoptes, was interpreted as ὀφιοκτόνος. Hence, though the proper crest of Argos is the wolf or wolf's head (Busolt, i. 214), the serpent is used as the symbol of Argos (Soph. *Ant.* 125) and borne as arms by Adrastus (Eur. *Phoen.* 1137). It may be added that Sepeia gives further point, since like Mount Sepia in Arcadia, it doubtless got its name from the presence there of the σήψ, a dangerous viper (= ὄφις) described by Pausanias. See Paus. viii. 4. 7, 16. 2, Frazer, ad loc.

**τριέλικτος**, "of three coils" (cf. τρικάρηνος, ix. 81 n.), an inferior variant *metri gratia* for ἀέλκτος, "coil-less."

[3] **ταῦτα πάντα συνελθόντα**: loosely used of two things (cf. v. 36. 1), said by Stein to be the invasion and the oracle, but this is vague and unsatisfactory. Bury (*Klio* ii. 19) ingeniously suggests that one portent (ὄφις τριέλκτος) was realized, in that Sepeia, the place of snakes, was in danger, and the other, the driving forth of the male by the female, in that the waters of the river Erasinus, a male divinity, were driven forth by the Stymphalian lake, a female (cf. 76). The explanation is far-fetched, but not more so than other interpretations. It might well have occurred to the Argives, though not contemplated at Delphi.

#### vi. 78

Polyaenus (*Strat.* i. 14) repeats the improbable story here given. Plutarch (*Mor.* 223) says Cleomenes tricked the Argives by agreeing to a truce for seven *days*, and attacking them on the third *night*. This may be an Argive excuse for defeat, but H.'s story may be "a Spartan version devised to disguise the king's breach of faith" (Macan).

#### vi. 79

**ἄποινα**, "ransom" (Homeric); cf. ix. 120. 3. For the tariff of two minas cf. v. 77. 3.

#### vi. 80

The weight attached to the oracle by a king who knew that oracles could be bought (chap. 66), and who neither here nor elsewhere (at the Heraeum (81), at Eleusis (75), or at Athens (v. 72)), shrank from sacrilege, is a glaring inconsistency. It is most unlikely that Cleomenes after a great victory would allow himself to be robbed of its fruits by any such scruple. More probable explanations of his failure to attack the town are (1) the bribery alleged (chap. 82, cf. chap. 72 n.); or (2) reluctance to face great loss of life in storming the wall, and consciousness of the Spartans lack of skill in siege operations (ix. 70; Thuc. i. 102; cf. Busolt, *Lakedaimonier*, i. 335); or (3) unwillingness to destroy Argos, "the kite which frightened the other cities of the Akte to take refuge under the wing of Sparta," and by her close connection with Aegina kept Corinth loyal to Sparta (Grundy, *Thuc.* i. 223; *JHS* xxviii. 85).

## vi. 81

The Heraeum stood on a terraced hill at the foot of a bare steep mountain, some forty-five stades northeast of Argos, and but twenty-five southeast from Mycenae, with which it was connected by a sacred road. The temple entered by Cleomenes was burnt down in 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 133), and a new one built immediately below it. For a summary of the results of the American excavations cf. Frazer, *P.*, iii. 165–79 and v. 561–2.

**ὁ ἱερεύς.** Probably a subordinate attendant (ζάκορος). Cleomenes would hardly have scourged the *priestess* of Hera (cf. i. 31). For the incident cf. v. 72.

## vi. 82

**ὑπὸ τοὺς ἐφόρους.** The ephors may have held a preliminary inquiry, but such a charge must have come before the court described in v. 40 n.; cf. vi. 72, 85.

[2] **αἰρέειν ἄν** = in direct narration ἦρθεον ἄν, *caperem*. The infinitive, like πεποιῆσθαι, seems to be loosely dependent on μαθεῖν. “I should have perceived I was destined to take.”

**κατ’ ἄκρης:** cf. 18. Had the flame appeared at the head (ἄκρη = κεφαλή) the conquest of Argos would have been complete (κατ’ ἄκρης).

**πιστά τε καὶ οἰκότα.** The explanation for which H. pointedly refuses to be responsible (§ 1) was satisfactory to the Spartans. Probably the plea was really used by Cleomenes and became the official Spartan account.

## vi. 83

**ἀνδρῶν ἐξηρώθη:** cf. Solon, frag. 37. 4 πολλῶν ἄν ἀνδρῶν ἦδ’ ἐξηρώθη πόλις, Hom. *Il.* v. 642, Verg. *Aen.* viii. 571. The number of fallen is given as 6,000 by H. (vii. 148. 2), as 5,000 by Pausanias (iii. 4. 1). Later Argive tradition (ridiculed by Plutarch, *Mor.* 245) chose the sacred number 7,777, but this, as well as the stories that Cleomenes made a truce for *seven* days (Plut. *Mor.* 223) and that the battle was fought on the *seventh* day of the month (Arist. *Pol.* v. 3. 7, 1303a 6), is no doubt due to the connection with the festival of the Hubristika.

**οἱ δοῦλοι.** There appear to have been at Argos serfs (known as Γυμνήσιοι), resembling the Spartan Helots (Pollux, iii. 83), who might be described as δοῦλοι, though, like the Helots, they served as light-armed. Plutarch, however (*Mor.* 243), attacks H. for this statement (ἐπανορθούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν, οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἰστορεῖ τοῖς δούλοις, ἀλλὰ τῶν περιοίκων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους συνώκισαι τὰς γυναῖκας), clearly meaning that dependants of the same type as the Spartan Perioeci were granted citizenship and *connubium*. Aristotle (loc. cit.): ἐν Ἀργεῖ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ἠναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς is generally interpreted (Gilbert, *Gr. Staats*, ii. 75; Susemihl, ad loc.) in agreement with Plutarch; but Newman (ad loc.) holds that there as elsewhere Aristotle means by “Perioeci” serfs. If so, H. is justified in calling them δοῦλοι. For a fuller account of the troubles of the Argives cf. P. A. Seymour in *JHS* xlii, pp. 24f.

Though Argos was professedly neutral in the Persian war, Tiryns and Mycenae sent hoplites to Plataea (ix. 28. 4) and had their names inscribed on the three-headed snake (ix. 81 n.). They were therefore at that period independent. For the remains of Tiryns see Frazer, iii. 217–30.

[2] **Φιγαλεύς**. Phigaleia is southwest Arcadia, near the Messenian frontier, and is built on a high plateau, bounded by deep glens, surrounded on three sides by mountains. Four miles off is the famous temple of Bassae (Frazer, *P.*, iv. 390–404).

The war ended in the destruction of Tiryns and Mycenae (Paus. v. 23. 3; vii. 25. 6; ii. 16. 5; 25. 8). An aggressive war on the part of Tiryns is only conceivable if Argos was engaged elsewhere. Now about 472 Argos was allied to Tegea against the Spartans (cf. ix. 35 n.), by whom the allies were defeated near Tegea, but in the next great battle, fought by the Arcadians against the Spartans at Dipaea (ca. 470), the Argives took no part. The suggestion seems probable that Tiryns was encouraged to attack Argos by the battle of Tegea, and that the Argives were absent from the field of Dipaea because they were fully occupied in the siege of Tiryns, which was obstinately defended (Busolt, iii. 121f.). Possibly Mycenae too fell at this time (468 B.C.). More probably, however, it was while Sparta was occupied with the Helot revolt after 464 B.C. (Diod. xi. 65); cf. Busolt, iii. 244; Meyer, iii, § 325. Neither city was left so completely desolate as Strabo (372) implies, as is proved by remains at Mycenae (Frazer, iii. 97f.). Tirynthians found refuge at Halieis (viii. 137. 2 n.).

#### vi. 84

[2] **τοὺς νομάδας**: of the whole nation (cf. iv. 11. 1), not the particular section (iv. 19). This programme of a joint attack on the Persian is even more magnificent than the scheme of Aristagoras (v. 49–54). But it is even less likely to have been conceived by a Scyth than by the astute Milesian. The whole story seems like a spiteful bit of gossip invented to explain the term ἐπισκυθίζειν. For Scythian raids on upper Asia cf. i. 104. 2; iv. 11. 1; 12. 3; and app. xii.

[3] **ἀκρητοποσίην**. The Greeks diluted their wine with water, and to drink undiluted wine was dangerous and barbaric. Athen. 36b ἐὰν δ' ἴσος ἴσῳ προσφέρῃ, μανίαν ποιεῖ Ἐὰν δ' ἄκρατον, παράλυσιν τῶν σωμάτων: Plato, *Leg.* 637e Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θρᾶκες ἀκράτῳ παντάπασι χρώμενοι, κτλ.

**Ἐπισκύθισον**, “pour in Scythian style,” i.e., unmixed wine. (We may compare the use of ἀποσκυθίζειν for *scalping*, described in iv. 64. 2.) The verb may have had the origin here attributed to it (cf. Athen. x. 7, 427 b), but Anacreon (*flourit* 540 B.C.) is quoted (Athen. loc. cit.) for a similar phrase and practice: Σκυθικὴν πόσιν παρὸ οἴνω μελετῶμεν.

#### vi. 85–93

*The refusal of Athens to restore at the request of Leotyichides the Aeginetan hostages leads to renewed hostilities between Aegina and Athens.*

The change in Spartan policy, indicated by the demand for the restoration of the Aeginetan hostages, is in all probability subsequent to the battle of Marathon and the Parian expedition, its motive being fear of Athenian ambition. For the chronology cf. chap. 93 n.

#### vi. 85

For the hostages cf. chap. 73, and for the court v. 40 n.

[2] ὅπως . . . μὴ . . . ἐσβάλωσι. Only here does H. use independent ὅπως μὴ with the subjunctive, expressing a desire to avert something (Goodwin, §§ 278, 280; v. 79. 2 n.).

#### vi. 86

The beautiful tale of Glaucus, with its high moral, is strangely placed in the mouth of a man who had reached the throne by corruption of the Pythia (chap. 65), and who was himself corrupt (chap. 72). Neither this nor the inexactitude of the parallel between Glaucus and the Athenians induces H. to sacrifice so good a story.

**προφάσις εἰλκον:** perhaps “lengthen out excuses,” but “drag in by the hair of the head” would suit Ar. *Lys.* 726 πάσας τε προφάσεις ὥστ’ ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε / ἔλκουσιν.

[a. 2] **κατὰ . . . ἐμείο:** *avorum memoria*, i.e., ca. 550 B.C., when Miletus was much troubled by internal dissensions (v. 28 n.).

[a. 3] **ἰκνευμένω,** “at the appointed time,” *fatali tempore*, “in the fullness of time”; cf. 65. 3 n. The fall of a house is the work of fate, no mere chance.

[a. 5] **ἀποδοῦναι:** infinitive for imperative, usually, as here, joined with an imperative; cf. iii. 134. 5, 155. 5; v. 23. 3.

[b. 1] **σύμβολα** might be merely the token of friendship (*tessera hospitalis*; cf. schol. ad Eur. *Med.* 613), which would prove to Glaucus that the applicants were heirs of the Milesian, but here probably = tallies, proofs of the agreement such as two halves of a broken coin.

[b. 2] **με περιφέρει,** “nothing you say brings me to remember the fact.” *περιφέρει* is here active, “remette en mémoire”; cf. Plato *Lach.* 180e περιφέρει δέ τις με καὶ μνήμη ἄρτι τῶνδε λεγόντων.

**νόμοισι:** the common laws of the Greeks, recognized by Spartan and Ionian alike. Glaucus will make a public and legal disavowal of the deposit on oath (cf. c).

[c. 1] **ληίσηται:** cf. iii. 47. 2, and especially Hesiod, *Op.* 322 εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ χερσὶ βίη μέγαν ὄλβον ἔληται, / ἢ ὄγ’ ἀπὸ γλώσσης ληίσσεται κτλ.

[c. 2] **Ὀρκου παῖς.** The punishment for the broken oath personified, yet without name or visible form. For similar phrases cf. viii. 77 n.; Epicharm. frag. 150 ἐγγύας ἄτα “στι θυγάτηρ, ἐγγύα δὲ ζαμίας. In Hesiod Ὀρκος himself punishes perjury.

*Theog.* 231 Ὅρκον θ' ὅς δὴ πλεῖστον ἐπιχθονίους ἀνθρώπους / πημαίνει, ὅτε κέν τις ἐκῶν ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση. Cf. also *Op.* 219.

**ἀνδρός.** The line is from Hesiod, where ἀμείνων = *beatior*, and is contrasted with ἀμαυροτέρη. *Op.* 285 ὅς δέ κε μαρτυρήσιν ἐκῶν ἐπίορκον ὁμόσσης ψεύσεται, . . . / τοῦ δέ τ' ἀμαυροτέρη γενεὴ μετόπισθε λέλειπται, / ἀνδρὸς δ' εὐόρκου γενεὴ μετόπισθεν ἀμείνων. The penalty of the destruction of the house, which would leave the dead ancestors without the honours due to them, the gods without their sacrifices, the hearth without its flame, is the most fearful known to the primitive moralist. Individual punishment in the life after death is a later idea.

It was a maxim in Attic law τὸν βουλευσάντα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνέχεσθαι καὶ τὸν τῆ χειρὶ ἐργασάμενον (*Andoc. Myst.* § 90). For the wickedness of tempting God cf. i. 159.

#### vi. 87

**τῶν πρότερον ἀδικημάτων:** cf. v. 81. H. regards the Aeginetans as again the aggressors, though they might justly complain of the refusal of Athens to restore the hostages.

**πεντετηρίς:** a quadrennial festival like the Panathenaea (chap. iii. 2; v. 56). A regatta was held off Sunium (*Lys.* xxi. 5), probably in honour of Poseidon (*Paus.* ii. 35. 1), to whom the great temple on the cape was dedicated (viii. 121 n.), while that of Athena (*Paus.* i. 1) lay a quarter of a mile to the northeast. For Greek boat-races cf. P. Gardner, *JHS* ii. 90f., 315f., xi. 146f.

**τὴν θεωρίδα:** the ship conveying the θεωροί from Athens to Sunium. Macan (app. viii, § 5) ingeniously suggests that these captives were exchanged for the Aeginetan hostages. Both, in spite of their importance (78), disappear henceforth from view.

#### vi. 88

**Κνοίθου καλεόμενος,** "son of Cnoethus," an expression not uncommon in poetry. Cf. also vii. 143. 1 and *Thuc.* viii. 6.

**τὴν παλαιήν.** Probably the old city was some few miles from the coast, as was the ancient practice (*Thuc.* i. 7).

#### vi. 89

**τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον.** Corinth had twice saved Athens from Spartan aggression about 506 B.C. (v. 75, 92), and had long found it to her interest to support Athens against the stronger power of Aegina. Her friendship did not survive the creation of the great Athenian navy by Themistocles (vii. 144), as is shown by the enmity of Adimantus in 480 B.C. (viii. 61f.). It turned into active hostility ca. 458 B.C. (*Thuc.* i. 105f.).

**πενταδράχμους:** five drachmas (i.e., francs) a piece is of course a nominal price.

For the Corinthians' conduct cf. Thuc. i. 41 νεῶν γὰρ μακρῶν σπανίσαντες ποτε πρὸς τὸν Αἰγινήτων ὑπὲρ τὰ Μηδικὰ πόλεμον παρὰ Κορινθίων εἴκοσι ναῦς ἐλάβετε.

The number of the Athenian ships, fifty, making with twenty Corinthian vessels the total seventy, may be an inference from the fifty naucraries of the Cleisthenic constitution (Cleidemus, frag. 8, *FHG* i. 360). In chap. 132 the Athenian fleet sent to Paros is seventy sail, as is the Aeginetan in chap. 92. 1; but these numbers may rest on the total given here, the Aeginetan fleet being presumed to be equal in number to the enemy; and even if the number of Miltiades' fleet be correct, we may suppose that it included as transports ships unfit for action, or, again, that the Athenian navy had been allowed to decay between 489 and 486 B.C. Macan indeed argues that though the principal war is subsequent to Marathon, the Corinthian loan of ships must be placed earlier (possibly during the Ionic revolt, 498 B.C.), because "(1) Miltiades took seventy ships to Paros, (2) it is scarcely credible the Corinthian gift to Athens was after Marathon." But the loan of ships can hardly be separated from the great war which he rightly places ca. 486 (cf. below chap. 93 n.), and Corinth would still prefer Athens to Aegina till Themistocles made the navy of Athens superior; so it is easier to suppose an error in the number of Miltiades' fleet than to dislocate the whole narrative of Herodotus.

#### vi. 90

With this settlement of raiding exiles cf. the Corcyreans at Mount Istone (Thuc. iii. 85; iv. 46), Messenians at Pylos (Thuc. iv. 41; v. 56), Samians at Anaea (Thuc. iv. 75), Lesbians at Rhoeteum and Antandrus (Thuc. iv. 52, 75).

#### vi. 91

**ὑστερον**: i.e., on any theory after 490 B.C., the rising of Nicodromus being probably in H.'s view before Marathon. Even if the rising be dated 486 B.C. there is still room for an interval, as the war with Aegina went on till 481 (vii. 144. 1, 145. 1).

**ἐκπεσόντες πρότερον**. Cf. Thuc. ii. 27 (431 B.C.) Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῶ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἕξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἦκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι . . . ἐκπεσοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι. It is characteristic that Thucydides should give the political ground and that H. should palliate Athenian violence by representing the expulsion of the Aeginetans as a consequence of their own impiety. This notice of the expulsion of the Aeginetans 431 B.C. is one of the latest references in H.'s work, and written when old stories were eagerly raked up at Athens against the Aeginetans. The historian can hardly have known of the later extirpation of the Aeginetans settled at Thyrea in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 57) or he would not have failed to allude to it (cf. introd. § 9).

[2] **θεσμοφόρου**: cf. ii. 171. 2 n.; vi. 16. 2.

## vi. 92

ἑβδομήκοντα: cf. 89 n. The Aeginetans put only thirty ships in line at Salamis, though they had some others (perhaps twelve) manned (viii. 46 n.).

τοὺς . . . πρότερον: cf. v. 86. 4. The town of Aegina was besieged (ix. 75).

ἀνάγκη λαμφθεῖσαι is the historian's, or the Aeginetans', excuse for sending the ships.

[2] Since Sicyon paid the fine, at a time when Argos was too weak to enforce it, probably Argos had the right to impose it, as head of a religious association and guardian of the temple of Apollo Pythaeus (Thuc. v. 53. 47, with Busolt, *Lakedaimonier*, p. 83f.). But the presidency of a religious amphictyony could be, and was by Pheidon, used to advance a claim to political suzerainty over the whole "lot of Temenus."

πεντάεθλον ἐπασκήσας (cf. ix. 105). "Having practised the pentathlon" (cf. ix. 75) implies a victory which Pausanias (i. 29. 5) tells us was won at Nemea. For the Pentathlon cf. ix. 33. 2 n.

[3] ἐπασκῆων: practising, i.e., engaging in single combat. Cf. ii. 77. 1, 166. 2; iii. 82. 3.

For Sophanes cf. ix. 74, 75, and for Decelea ix. 73.

## vi. 93

The story breaks off short. Apparently the Athenians are successful both on sea (92. 1; Thuc. i. 41) and land (92. 3); yet we find their fleet in disorder (93), and defeated with the loss of four ships. No doubt the Argive corps suffered severely in the land-fight, but only a success of the Aeginetans on land can account for a second sea-battle, and the disorder and final retreat of the Athenians. Hence it has been proposed to transfer to this war the events given by H. as the Argive and Aeginetan version of the earlier war (v. 86, 87 n.; Busolt, ii. 648). That Aegina had the better in the war is proved by the increase of the Athenian navy, which was justified by the exigencies of this war.

The date of this war has been much discussed. H. placed its outbreak before Marathon, as is shown by its position in his narrative and by the pluperfect in chap. 94: Ἀθηναίοισι μὲν δὴ πόλεμος συνῆπτο πρὸς Αἰγινήτας, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τὸ ἔωπτοῦ ἐποίει. But the reasons for preferring a later date (ca. 488–486) are very strong.

1. The accession of Leotychides, since it follows the arrival of the heralds of Darius, must be placed late in 491 B.C. There is not time before Marathon (490 B.C.) for the discovery of the corruption of the Pythia, the exile of Cleomenes, his restoration and his death (85. 1). Yet his death preceded the demand for the return of the hostages, which led to this war.

2. The Aeginetan war is always treated as the ground or pretext for the creation of a great Athenian navy by Themistocles (vii. 144; Thuc. i. 14), dated by *Ath. Pol.* 22

to 483 B.C., and clearly immediately preceded the invasion of Xerxes, since in 480 the feud between Athens and Aegina is still the bitterest among patriotic Greeks (vii. 145). The connection of the Aeginetan war with the Attic navy dates it to the years preceding Salamis. Did the war belong to 491–490 B.C. we might well ask what were the Aeginetans about when Datis and Artaphrenes sacked Eretria and threatened Athens.

3. The oracle (v. 89) bidding the Athenians wait thirty years for their revenge would seem to be a *vaticinium post eventum* dating from 458 B.C., when Aegina was reduced. If so, it would refer to the greatest war between Athens and Aegina and would date it about 488 B.C. (cf. v. 89 n.).

4. If the Argive war of Cleomenes be correctly placed, ca. 495 B.C. (cf. app. xvii, § 3), it would be barely possible that Argos should send a thousand volunteers as early as 490 B.C., though she might have sufficiently recovered to do so four years later. On the whole question cf. Macan, app. viii, §§ 5, 6; Busolt, ii. 644f.

5. The dispatch of the whole navy (cf. 89 n.) to Paros in 489 B.C. is irreconcilable with a still undecided struggle with Aegina.

#### vi. 94–101

*Datis and Artaphrenes sail across the Aegean, conquering Naxos and the Cyclades, Carystus, and Eretria. Note on Delos and its earthquake (97, 98).*

#### vi. 94

**ὁ Πέρσης:** the Persian king (i. 80. 4; ii. 137. 2) resumed in ὁ Δαρείος (cf. vii. 165; v. 1. 2).

**Πεισιστρατιδῶν.** In v. 96 (ca. 507) Hippias is intriguing from Sigeium, in 490 (as later, vii. 6) Pisistratidae are at the Persian court; cf. Thuc. vi. 59.

[2] **Μῆδον.** Medes were occasionally employed in high commands, Mazares (i. 156f.) and Harpagus (i. 162f.) by Cyrus, the sons of Datis (vii. 38) by Xerxes, and by Darius earlier in his reign, Tachamaspatas, and Intaphres (B.I. ii. 14. 6; iii. 14. 3). Here Datis is evidently in command; Artaphrenes, who was probably still young, seems to hold an honorary position. He is son (vii. 74) of Artaphrenes, brother of Darius, once satrap of Sardis (v. 25f.).

#### vi. 95

**Ἀλήιον πεδῖον,** said to derive its name from a town Alae (Steph. Byz.), is a rich plain, inland from Mallus, between the rivers Sarus and Pyramus (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 5; Strabo 676). The name at least is Homeric; cf. *Il.* vi. 201 Βελλεροφόντης . . . καὶ πεδῖον τὸ Ἀλήιον οἶος ἀλάτο. The military road from the Euphrates through the Cilician gates to Tarsus, used by the younger Cyrus, traversed this plain.

**ἐπιταχθεῖς:** ordered the year before (491 B.C.); cf. 48. 2.

Warships for the transport of horses were a novelty at Athens in 430 B.C. (Thuc. ii. 56), so their early use by the Persians is to be noted.

[2] ἑξακοσίησι. This does not include the horse transports, and since it appears to be a conventional number for a great Persian fleet (cf. app. xix, § 2), cannot safely be used as a basis for calculating the Persian force at Marathon, though it may exclude the exaggerated totals given by late authors (cf. 117 n.).

To H. the natural course is to coast round the shores of the Aegean, as did Mardonius (chap. 43) and Xerxes (bk. vii). διὰ νήσων is the technical term for the opposite course by the open sea between the islands, i.e., the Cyclades; cf. v. 30, 31.

προτέρω: a slip on the part of the historian, as the disaster at Athos (chaps. 45, 46) took place the year before the preparations of Darius, which are just above said to be τῷ προτέρω ἔτει.

#### vi. 96

Ἰκάριον. The Icarian sea reached from Chios to Cos, where the Carpathian began (Strabo 488). Icarus itself (95. 2) is due west of Samos.

τῶν πρότερον: cf. v. 34. Though the resistance of the Naxians was successful in 500 B.C., the hardships of the four months' siege may have been severe. Further, the failure of the Ionic revolt had no doubt dispirited the Greeks of the islands. Plutarch (*De Mal.* 36, *Mor.* 869b) follows the Naxian chroniclers (ὠρογράφου) in declaring that Datis, after laying waste the town and part of the island, was repulsed by the Naxians. But the subjugation of Naxos is proved by viii. 46. 3, and could only be doubted by a blind patriotism.

ὄρεα: the interior of Naxos is mountainous. The capital was on the northwest coast.

#### vi. 97

Δῆλος. For a summary of the history of Delos, and the antiquities discovered by the French excavators, see Jebb, *JHS* i, pp. 7–62; and for a general description of Delos, Rhenea, and Tenos, Tozer, *Is. Aeg.* i. Tenos is some thirteen miles due north of Delos. Rhenea is but half a mile away and is much larger than Delos, to which, however, Polycrates made it an appendage. The sacred associations of Delos did not extend to Rhenea, hence it served as the Delian necropolis (Strabo 486; cf. Thuc. iii. 104).

[2] οἱ δύο θεοί: Apollo and Artemis (iv. 35. 2). The Persians may well have seen in them their own gods of sun and moon, Mithra and Mah (cf. i. 131. 2). But Datis may also have wished to please his Ionian sailors, or have been influenced by Hippias. To turn the religious meetings of Ionians at Delos to political account is an idea of Pisistratus (Thuc. iii. 104) which may well have been adopted by Hippias, as it was later by democratic Athens. In any case toleration was the policy of the Persian monarchs (E. Meyer, iii, § 57), and in particular of Darius; cf. his letter to Gadatas (Hicks, 20): ὅτι δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ θεῶν μου διαθέσιν ἀφανίζεις, δώσω σοὶ μὴ μεταβαλομένῳ πεῖραν ἡδικημένου θυμοῦ· φυτουργοὺς γὰρ ἱεροὺς Ἀπόλλωνος φόρον ἔπρασσεσ καὶ χώραν σκαπανεύων βέβηλον ἐπέτασσεσ, ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν νοῦν.

vi. 98

**καὶ Ἴωνας.** The same kind of remark is made ii. 1. 2, iii. 1. 1. It may be added here to mark the fact that the Greeks of Asia and the Islands were now first compelled to fight against their kinsmen in the mother country (Abbott).

**σεισθεῖσα.** Thucydides (ii. 8), speaking of 431 B.C. says ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, πρότερον οὐπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι σημεῖναι. It can hardly be doubted that Delian tradition, as H. says, recognized only one earthquake, and that Thucydides is deliberately correcting the date given by his predecessor. Nor can H., when he visited Delos (cf. ὡς ἔλεγον Δῆλιοι, μέχρι ἐμεῦ), or when he wrote the passage, as it would seem (chap. 92) after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, have heard of more than one earthquake. Hence it is unlikely that the historians refer to two separate earthquakes. It is, however, probable that both misdated the earthquake. H. must be taken to mean soon after the departure of Datis, i.e., 490 B.C., or at least before the invasion of Xerxes in 480 B.C.

Thucydides, although a little later (ii. 16) he says ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνειληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικὰ, can hardly have intended any date before 445 by the phrase ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων. Possibly the earthquake really occurred some time before H.'s visit, ca. 460 B.C., and was connected by credulous piety either with the Persian or the Peloponnesian war, and its date altered accordingly. But certainty is unattainable.

According to Pindar (frag. 58 (65), ap. Strabo 485), Delos was borne about by winds and waves till Leto gave birth to her children there; afterwards it was firmly fixed, supported on four iron columns.

[2] Darius reigned 522–486 B.C., Xerxes 486–465 B.C., Artaxerxes 465–424 B.C. (vii. 4 n.). The words do not imply that Artaxerxes' reign was over, nor does H. elsewhere refer clearly to an event so late. Cf. introd. § 9. Yet the identification of these three reigns with three generations—that is, one hundred years (ii. 142. 2)—implies that the passage was written nearly a century after the accession of Darius; and though the war between the leaders of Greece might be the battle of Tanagra, and other hostilities before 445 B.C., the phrase has far more point if written in the early years of the Peloponnesian war. Twenty generations =  $666\frac{2}{3}$  years (ii. 142. 2), so the period intended is 1189–522 B.C. H. seems to place the Trojan war ca. 1260 B.C. (ii. 145 ad fin.), and the Dorian migration was usually dated some eighty years later, so that the meaning would be that never since the return of the Heracleids had Greece been so troubled.

[3] **ἀεικές:** poetical = οὐκ εἰκός, “wonderful, extraordinary”; cf. iii. 33. The un-Herodotean phrase ἐν χρησμῶ ἦν γεγραμμένον betrays the interpolation of the quotation.

**δύναται . . . καλέοιεν.** These words have but a slight connection with the context, and look like a footnote appended either by the historian or by a commentator. The ignorance of Persian is similar to that shown elsewhere (cf. i. 131, 139 nn.).

The author evidently believes that Artaxerxes is a compound of Xerxes, whereas the Persian forms Khshayârshâ and Artakhshathra are plainly distinct. Nor are the translations in any sense accurate. Dârayavau probably means "he who holds goods," *bonorum possessor*, though it might perhaps mean "he who holds back," Greek ἔκτωρ, Lat. *coercitor*. Khshayârshâ = "the mighty prince," if Khshaya can = Shah, or prince, since *arsha* is clearly ἄρσην (cf. Arsames, Arsakes), "strong, mighty." Artakhshathra (later Ardashir) = "he whose kingdom or rule is perfect." Arta = perfect, *excelsus*; shathra = *regnum*. See further Darmesteter in Abbott, p. 330, and Meyer, *Forsch.* i. 194–5. A. B. Cook (*CR* xxi. 169) would rewrite the passage Δαρειῖος ἀρηίος, Ξέρξης ἐρξίης, Ἀρταξέρξης κάρτα ἐρξίης, so as to connect the Persian names with the Greek words similar to them.

#### vi. 99

[2] **Carystus**, famous for its green and white marble (*cipollino*), lay in a deep bay on the south coast of Euboea. The Carystians, being Dryopians (Thuc. vii. 57), were not kinsmen of Ionians. Their unwillingness to attack their neighbours may have been prompted by trade connections (iv. 33 n.). They suffered later for yielding now and for joining Xerxes in 480 B.C. (viii. 66. 112). Indeed, their subjugation by Athens (ix. 105; Thuc. i. 98) was doubtless justified by the charge of Medism.

#### vi. 100

τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους: cf. v. 77. 2 n.

Clearly H. is anxious to justify the Athenian people for not sending succour from Attica, and the Athenian cleruchs for leaving Eretria to its fate, by emphasizing the divided counsels and positive treachery of the Eretrians. After Marathon it may well have been thought that a bold stand might have been made at Eretria. At the time so heroic a counsel could only be justified if the Eretrians, like the Athenians, were willing to meet the Persians in the open field. It is likely enough that in Eretria, which had favoured Pisistratus (i. 62), the Medizing party was strong, but H. implies that there was but one true man, Aeschines, in a rotten State. Curiously enough Xenophon (*Hell.* iii. 1. 6) says there was but one Eretrian who Medized, Gongylus; and his treachery seems to have been of later date, as he is lieutenant and agent of Pausanias in Byzantium B.C. 478–477 (Thuc. i. 128). For his reward cf. chap. 42 n.

ἰδέας, "their thoughts took two shapes or forms"; cf. 119. 2. So too ὁδός, i. 95. 1; ii. 20. 1.

[3] τὰ πρῶτα: *unus e primoribus*. Cf. ix. 78. i; iii. 157. 4 n.; also Ar. *Ran.* 421; Eur. *Med.* 917. In imitation, Lucretius i. 86 "Ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum."

#### vi. 101

Ταμύνας: cf. Strabo 448 ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἐρετρικῇ πόλιν ἦν Ταμύναι πλησίον τοῦ Πορθμοῦ. The other places were probably dependent villages (Bähr).

[3] ἐνέπηρσαν. A distinction seems to be drawn between the enslavement of the men by order of Darius (94. 2) and this perhaps unauthorized act of vengeance. The burning of temples is not infrequent (v. 102 n.), but the motive of the war was not religious, nor should this view be attributed to H. (as by Wecklein, *Ber. der Bayer. Akad.* (1878), 263f.). Eretria (for whose earlier history cf. v. 99 n.) never recovered after its destruction, though it was rebuilt on the old site (*AJA*, vii, 233f.), and sent seven ships to Salamis (viii. 46. 2), and, with its colony Styra, 600 hoplites to Plataea (ix. 28. 5).

#### vi. 102–108

*The preliminaries of the battle of Marathon. The Persian landing, the generalship of Miltiades, the appeal to Sparta for aid, and the coming of the Plataeans.*

#### vi. 102

κατέργοντές τε πολλόν. If the text be sound, κατέργοντες is probably transitive, “bringing the Athenians into great straits” (cf. v. 63. 4), not intransitive, “in great haste.”

Μαραθῶν: here used for the whole district, the Tetrapolis, not merely the deme of Marathon. But it is not so near Eretria as Rhamnus or Oropus, and not such good ground for cavalry as the Athenian or the Thriasian plains. Though the plain of Marathon extends in a perfect level along the bay, and is in length about six miles, and in breadth at least a mile and a half, the ground is by no means as favourable to the Persians as it appeared. It is divided into two halves by a mountain torrent (Charadra) which rushes down from Mount Pentelicus. And the apparent length of the plain is deceptive, for at either extremity there is a marsh. That on the southwest is small, but that on the northeast is extensive and impassable, reaching from the mountains almost to the sea. On the reasons for landing at Marathon, and for the absence of the Persian horse from the battle, cf. app. xviii, §§ 5, 8.

#### vi. 103

Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 22 (501 B.C.) ἔπειτα τοὺς στρατηγούς ἤροῦντο κατὰ φυλάς, ἐξ ἑκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα, τῆς δὲ ἀπάσης στρατιᾶς ἡγεμῶν ἦν ὁ πολέμαρχος.

ὁ δέκατος. Stein holds that the order of the Strategi followed the annual order of the tribes (cf. 111 n.) which they commanded, and to which they belonged, and that in this year the Oeneid tribe to which Miltiades of Laciadae belonged must have been tenth and last: but the phrase suggests rather δέκατος αὐτός (Thuc. i. 116, ii. 13), which implies superiority over colleagues.

[2] τῶντὸ ἐξενείκασθαι, “to win the same honours with.” For the fact cf. 36. 1.

[3] As Pisistratus died in 528–527, this third victory would fall in 524 B.C. (Olymp. 64).

πρυτανήμιον. The Prytaneum stood later on the northwest of the Acropolis (Paus. i. 18. 3, with Frazer), and there seems no sufficient reason for the hypothesis

(Curtius and Dörpfeld) of an earlier Prytaneum south of the Acropolis (E. A. Gardner, *Athens*, p. 126).

**ὑπέισαντες.** This is the only instance recorded in which the Athenian tyrants adopted Periander's policy (cf. v. 92 g 1 τοὺς ὑπερόχους . . . φονεύειν).

**τέθαπται:** cf. Marcellinus, vit. Thuc. 17 πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα. The gate was between the long walls (Gardner, *Athens*, 65–6), probably in the hollow between the hill of the Nymphs and that of the Pnyx, where the city deme Melite adjoins the suburban Koile. The tombs would be on either side the way just outside (πρὸ) the gate.

#### vi. 104

Cf. chap. 41.

[2] **οἱ ἐχθροί.** These enemies were probably the same who prosecuted him later with more success (chap. 136), Xanthippus and his Alcmaeonid friends. They might easily excite the people against a tyrant whose dominion over the Chersonese had the support of the Pisistratidae, although his father had been murdered by them. For internal politics at Athens cf. v. 103 n., vi. 21 n.; app. xviii, § 6.

**στρατηγὸς . . . αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.** If this means election by the Ecclesia, and not by a single tribe, it is an anachronism (*Ath. Pol.* 22, cit. above), but probably H. is only contrasting the people as an electoral body with the judicial dicastery.

#### vi. 105

It is most improbable that Athens had no understanding with Sparta before the mission of Philippides. Indeed, his hasty dispatch by the generals seems an appeal to an existing ally to fulfill her obligations. But if, as Busolt (ii. 580) suggests, Sparta had concluded only an ἐπιμαχία with Athens, the *casus foederis* would only arise when the Persians directly attacked Attica (Thuc. i. 44; v. 47, 48, etc.). Nor could the Athenians reasonably demand aid until they had resolved to risk a battle in the field (Hauvette, 250).

**Φιλιππίδης,** though only found in the second family of MSS., is supported by the other authorities (Paus. i. 28. 4, viii. 54–6; Plut. *De Mal.* 26, etc.), and almost certainly right. It is a common Athenian name (CIA), whereas Pheidippides is a witticism of Aristophanes (*Nub.* 67), which he would hardly have dared to make had the name been consecrated in the tale of Marathon.

Mount Parthenion divides the little plain of Hysiae from that of Tegea. It is crossed directly by the "ladder of the Bey," a path paved in Turkish style with large unhewn blocks, and one of the wildest and most desolate tracks in Greece (Paus. viii. 54. 6; cf. Frazer, iv. 446). Here we may believe Philippides saw the vision of

Pan, though the sanctuary is placed by M. Bérard on the circuitous carriage-road, where he found an inscription on bronze.

[3] Πανὸς ἱόν. The grottos of Pan and of Apollo have been excavated by M. Cavvadias (1897). There are two caves with narrow entrances, partly blocked by natural pillars of rock, so that they offer complete seclusion, though but narrow space within. These would be suitable for the secret meetings of Apollo and Creusa (Ion 10f., 492f., 936f.), which Pausanias (i. 28. 4) places in the cave of Apollo, but Euripides in that of Pan, as does Aristophanes that of Cinesias and Myrrhina (*Lys.* 911f.). Subsequently the worship of Apollo seems to have been transferred to the more open cave where votive tablets were found (Gardner, *Athens*, 93f.; for a full discussion with plan cf. D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, 6–9), the more secret caves being now the shrine of Pan. In the grotto was a statue of Pan (*Anth. Plan.* 232; cf. 259) with an inscription ascribed to Simonides, frag. 136 τὸν τραγόπουν ἐμὲ Πᾶνα, τὸν Ἀρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων, / τὸν μετ' Ἀθηναίων στήσατο Μιλτιάδης. Such a statue, now at Cambridge, was discovered in a garden at the foot of the Acropolis, but it appears to have decorated a column or balustrade like the similar statue found in Peiraeus (Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 248). The representations of the cave of Pan on Attic coins of Antonine date, giving views of the Acropolis, appear to be too inaccurate to be of service (*JHS* viii, pp. 24–5). His worship may have been established or revived by Cimon (καταστάντων σφι εὔ ἤδη τῶν προηγμάτων). (Cf. Macan, ii. 153, 181.)

λαμπάδι = a torch-race (cf. viii. 98. 2 n.).

Browning in his *Pheidippides* (ii. 582, ed. 1896) accepts Lucian's addition to the story that Pheidippides ran back to fight at Marathon, and died after bringing the news of the victory to Athens, a feat commemorated by the Marathon races of today.

#### vi. 106

δευτεροῖος. Isocrates (*Panath.* 24) makes the distance 1,200 stades = 150 miles. Pliny (vii. § 84) "cucurrisse MCLX (or, as quoted by Solinus, MCCXL) stadia ab Athenis Lacedaemonem biduo Philippidem." Pliny adds other and even more astounding long distance runs.

τοὺς ἄρχοντας: cf. iii. 46, and app. xvii, § 2.

[2] ἀρχαιοτάτην: the regular Athenian claim (vii. 161. 3; Thuc. i. 2, 6).

[3] μὴ οὐ might mean "unless the moon be full that day" (cf. chap. 9. 1); but that a full moon should fall on the ninth of the month would imply a grossly disordered calendar, and the answer must be taken to mean that the Spartans could not go out on the 9th or any day till the 15th (full moon). The ancient authorities (Paus. i. 28. 4; Plut. below; Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 84, etc.) speak as if this rule was valid for all months, but H. may only mean it to apply to the month Carneius (Attic Metageitnion), when the Carneia, in honour of Apollo Carneius, were celebrated 7th–15th, i.e., up to the full moon (Eur. *Alc.* 449–51), and all Dorians abstained from warfare (H. vii.

206; Thuc. v. 54. 75). It is, however, to be noticed that in other like cases (vii. 206, ix. 7) he specifies the festival which hindered action. Plutarch's criticism of H. (*De Mal.* 26) οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἄλλας μυρίας ἐξόδους καὶ μάχας πεποιήνται μηνὸς ἰσταμένου μὴ περιμείναντες τὴν πανσέληνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης τῆς μάχης ἑπτῇ Βοηδρομιῶνος ἰσταμένου γενομένης ὀλίγον ἀπελείφθησαν is in the first part vague and inaccurate, and in the second rests on a confusion between the actual day of the battle and that of the yearly festival at which, in fulfillment of a vow of the Polemarch, five hundred goats were sacrificed to Artemis Agrotera (cf. Boeckh, *Kl. Schr.* iv. 85f., vi. 329f.). The most probable date is Metageitnion 17 = Sept. 12, i.e., the full moon of the month Metageitnion which preceded the festival. The speed of the Spartan march seems to show that their desire to help Athens was genuine, and that the battle took place on the first day it was lawful for them to march.

#### vi. 107

For the dream and its interpretation compare that of Caesar (Suet. chap. 7).

[2] **Styra** is a town in southwest Euboea over against Marathon. Aegilia lies just off its harbour.

[3] In many lands a sneeze is by itself regarded as ominous, and even to dream of losing a tooth portends death or misfortune (*Class. Phil.* i. 235; vi. 429f.).

#### vi. 108

The ancient Marathon must be placed not at the modern Marathona, which is far too near Oenoe (Ninoi) and contains no ancient remains, but, with most topographers from Leake (*Top. of Athens*, ii. 89–92) to Milchöfer (*Karten von Attika*, text, iii. 52), at or near Vrana, a commanding site with abundant ancient remains. The camp of the Athenians was probably not at the Μάνδρα τῆς Γραΐας (Lolling, *MAI* i. 67f.), since that enclosure seems to be the work of Herodes Atticus in later days and not the precinct of Heracles. Again, if the Athenian camp was in the side valley of Avlona the Persians would be hidden from the Athenians by the intervening ridge of Kotroni; this position too might be threatened in rear by a Persian advance up the Charadra past Oenoe, and would not have guarded the coast road to Athens by Pallene. Further this site, like that under Mount Agrieliiki, preferred by Leake and Milchöfer (loc. cit.), is waterless. Hence the most suitable position for the Heracleum and the Athenian camp seems to be the convent of St. George on the spur of Mount Aphorismos above Vrana. This contains ancient remains, which may well be those of the Heracleum, the Christian champion having naturally replaced the heathen hero. Cf. Caspari, *JHS* xxxi. 100f.

[*Additional note* (1928). Soteriades has identified Marathon in a small fortified site with good water-supply on a spur of Mt. Agrieliiki, a mile southwest of the Soros, and would place the Athenian camp close by (*JHS* xlvii (1927), pp. 253–4).]

ἐδεδώκεσαν. According to Thucydides (iii. 68) this took place ninety-two years before the destruction of Plataea in 427 B.C., i.e., in 519–518 B.C., a date accepted by

Curtius and E. Meyer (ii, § 478) and defended by Wells (*JHS* xxv. 193f.). But Herodotus (cf. v. 76) seems to know nothing of any Spartan expedition against Attica at that date, nor does he mention the presence (παρατυχοῦσι) of Cleomenes in central Greece before his intervention in Attica after the fall of Hippias (509–508 B.C.). Again, an attempt to embroil Athens and Thebes is unlikely when Hippias was on good terms with Sparta (v. 91), but probable enough when Athens had asserted her independence. Busolt (ii. 399) and Macan (ad loc.) adopt Gutschmid's suggestion of an error of Δ (= 10) in an uncial MS. of Thucydides. Cf. further Grote (iv. 94), who first advocated the date 509 B.C., and, *per contra*, his editors (Abridgement, p. 82).

[2] Cf. the speech of the Plataean orator in Thuc. iii. 55.

[4] This altar, like that in the Pythium (cf. Hicks, 10), was set up by Pisistratus, son of Hippias, as archon in the Agora, and was afterwards enlarged (Thuc. vi. 54). It was the "miliarium aureum" of Athens, whence roads in all directions started and distances were measured (ii. 7. 1; *Ar. Av.* 1005; *CIA* ii. 1078). It was specially honoured with offerings and processions (*Xen. Hipp.* iii. 2; *Pind.* frag. 45). For its use as an asylum for suppliants cf. *Diod.* xii. 39; *Plut. Per.* 31.

The twelve gods (ii. 4. 2) at Athens were Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Hephaestus, Athene, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Hestia. Cf. the Borghese altar in the Louvre and Baumeister (s.v. Zwölfgötter).

[5] For the policy of Corinth cf. chap. 89; v. 75, 92.

ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν (cf. 53. 1), "to belong to the Boeotian league under Theban hegemony."

τῇ μάχῃ: not the victory recorded in v. 77, for the battle here mentioned precedes the annexation of Hysiae by Athens. In v. 74 Hysiae is Athenian, but it is lost again to the Boeotians, in whose possession it was in 479 B.C. (ix. 15. 3, 25. 3).

#### vi. 109–17

*Battle of Marathon. The decision to fight. The rout of the Persians and the return of Miltiades to Athens. The losses on each side.*

#### vi. 109

[2] ὁ τῷ κνᾶμῳ λαχών. The lot was not reintroduced after the tyranny for the archonship till 487–486 B.C. Cf. *Ath. Pol.* 22 εὐθὺς δὲ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει ἐπὶ Τελεσίνου ἄρχοντος ἐκνᾶμευσαν τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας κατὰ φυλὰς ἐκ τῶν προκριθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν δημοτῶν πεντακοσίων τότε μετὰ τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶτον· οἱ δὲ πρότεροι πάντες ἦσαν αἰρετοί. In this *obiter dictum* then H. is guilty of a slight anachronism, though he is careful to distinguish the duties of the polemarch at Marathon and in his own day.

τὸ παλαιόν. In later days the Polemarch had no military duties but retained jurisdiction over metics and privileged aliens, and also the right to offer certain

sacrifices, e.g., those in commemoration of Marathon, and of Harmodius and Aristogiton (*Ath. Pol.* 58).

Like Callimachus, Harmodius and Aristogiton (v. 55, 57) were of Aphidna, a deme of the Aeantid tribe (ix. 73. 2).

[3] πόλις . . . πρώτη. This confident prophecy of Athenian empire is an anachronism due to Herodotus or to his Philaid source.

[5] σαθρόν: the metaphor appears to be taken from a squall (ἐμπεσοῦσαν διασεΐσειν) splitting a ship and causing a leak; cf. Plato *Grg.* 493e ἀγγεῖα σαθρά. Miltiades' fear of a Medizing party hostile to the Athenian government was apparently well grounded; cf. chaps. 115, 121, 124, and app. xviii, § 6.

#### vi. 110

πρυτανήϊη: though not used in the same sense elsewhere, clearly means to H. "the command" which he conceived as changing every day. This is confirmed by Plut. *Arist.* chap. 5, and believed by Diodorus (xiii. 97. 106) to have been the case at Arginusae and Aegospotami. Possibly, however, in the source followed by H., πρυτανεία may have been used more nearly in its ordinary sense to denote an order of precedence among the tribes and their commanders. Such an arrangement existed in Alexander's army (*Arr.* i. 14. 6, 28. 3, etc.). In that case, however, the tribe of Miltiades (Oeneis presumably) should have been on the right wing on the day of the battle, but there is evidence to show it was not. Cf. chap. 111 n., and app. xviii, § 4.

#### vi. 111

ἡγέετο. The right wing was the post of honour and of danger in Greek armies (ix. 28. 46; Thuc. v. 71), and was naturally led by the king (*Eur. Supp.* 657) and by his successor in command (*Ath. Pol.* 3. 2), the Polemarch; cf. app. xviii, § 4.

ὡς ἀριθμείοντο αἱ φυλαί. The fixed official order instituted by Cleisthenes (v. 66. 2) —Erechtheis, Aegeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Acamantis, Oeneis, Cecropis, Hippothoontis, Aeantis, Antiochis—is followed on inscriptions of the time of the Peloponnesian war (*CIA* i. 443, 446, 447). As arrangement by tribes is expressly attested by Pausanias (i. 32. 3) for the monument at Marathon, and is confirmed by the stele of the tribe Erechtheis (459–458 B.C., Hicks 26), this would seem to be the natural meaning here. It is, however, inconsistent with the traditions in Plutarch (*Arist.* 5) that the tribes Antiochis and Leontis stood together in the centre, and (*Mor.* 628d) that the Aeantis stood on the right of the line. The latter point is confirmed by a reference to an elegy of Aeschylus, and might be explained by the fact that the Polemarch belonged to the tribe Aeantis, only in that case H. would naturally have written αἱ ἄλλαι φυλαί. Plutarch implies (*Mor.* 628d) that the Aeantis was πρυτανεύουσα φυλή at the time of Marathon. It is likely enough that the order of the tribes in battle was determined by lot, as was that of the Prytanies (*Ath. Pol.* 43. 2), but improbable that the two were identical. Stein's argument (chap. 103 n.) for placing the Oeneis under Miltiades on the left is not convincing.

[2] Five such quadrennial festivals—Delia, Brauronia, Heracleia, Eleusinia, and Panathenaea—are enumerated (*Ath. Pol.* 54. 7; cf. chap. 87 n.). Of these the Panathenaea was far the most important.

**κατεύχεται.** The herald in the assembly (cf. Thuc. vi. 32) used this regular form of prayer.

[3] **ἐγίνετο τοιόνδε.** It is most unlikely that this arrangement was accidental (Stein) or that this weakening of the centre is a fiction designed to explain its defeat. No doubt it was intended to prevent outflanking, but it would seem probable that the centre was obstructed by plantations of olives and vines (cf. Nep. *Milt.* 5), and that Miltiades therefore decided to concentrate a decisive force on either wing where the country was open, and suitable for a charge of hoplites (Caspari, *JHS* xxxi. 103).

#### vi. 112

**ἀπείθησαν,** “were let go like runners” (cf. vii. 122).

**δρόμω.** The thrice-repeated statement that the Athenians charged at the double (§§ 2, 3) is not to be explained away as an inference from the festival of the Boedromia (A. Mommsen, *Feste Athen.* 176) or by making δρόμω the opposite of βάδην (ix. 57. 1), “quick” and “slow” march. On the other hand, an orderly and effective charge after a mile’s run in full armour would be beyond the power of any large body of soldiers, however well trained. The “mile,” however, is probably an inference from the distance between the Athenian position near Vrana and the place where they charged the Persians near the Soros. No doubt the advance was rapid, but only for the last 200 yards, when within bowshot, would the Attic hoplites charge at full speed. I have shown (*CQ* xiii (1919), pp. 40–2) that in accounts of battles βάδην means “at foot’s pace,” and δρόμω “at the double.”

[2] **καὶ πάγχυ** is best taken (Stein) with *μανίην* . . . *ἐπέφερον* (cf. viii. 10. 1 n. and the common use of *τὸ κάρτα*, i. 71. 2 = *haud dubie*): others would join it here with *ὀλεθρίην*.

**ἵππου . . . τοξυμάτων** (ix. 49. 3). The existence at Athens of a class of *ἵππεῖς*, and the alleged furnishing of two horsemen by each naucrary, might seem to prove that Athens possessed cavalry. But Helbig has shown (*Les Ἴππεῖς Athéniens*, 191f.) from vases, etc., that these knights were, at least till 478 B.C., equipped not as true cavalry but as mounted infantry. Hence Athens depended on Thessalian horse in 510 B.C. (v. 63), and in 490 B.C. had certainly no cavalry fit to meet the Persian (cf. also ix. 40, 68, 69). At Salamis (Plut. *Them.* 14; Aesch. *Pers.* 460) the Athenians had archers, and at Plataea (ix. 22. 1, 60. 3) a regular corps of bowmen. The barbarians’ astonishment at the absence of these forces may fairly be held to imply the presence of archers on their side otherwise unmentioned. For the cavalry cf. app. xviii, § 8.

[3] **πρώτοι . . . ἀνέσχοντο.** The statement, taken literally, is an exaggeration, disproved by the conduct of the Greeks in resisting the conquest of Ionia (i. 169)

and in the Ionic revolt (v. 2, 102, 110, 113; vi. 28). Yet the fear of the Mede is proved by Theognis 764 πίνωμεν χαρίεντα μετ' ἀλλήλοισι λέγοντες / μηδὲν τὸν Μήδων δευδιότες πόλεμον (cf. 775), and the first occasion on which the Greeks won a clear victory in the open field might well be described by an Athenian as the first occasion on which Greeks dared to face the Mede (cf. introd. § 32 (2)). The Persians had borrowed the Medic dress (cf. i. 135; vii. 62).

#### vi. 113

**Πέρσαι . . . καὶ Σάκαι.** The centre appears to have been the regular post of the best troops in Persian as in Turkish armies (cf. Arr. *Anab.* ii. 8. 11; Xen. *An.* i. 8. 21–3), though not at Plataea (ix. 31). The Sacae or Amyrgian Scyths (iii. 93. 3; vii. 64. 2 nn.) were among the troops selected by Mardonius (viii. 113. 2).

The imperfects used throughout this chapter are not only graphic, but show that the actions recorded are continuous or incomplete.

#### vi. 114

In the picture of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile there were figures of Miltiades cheering on his men with extended hand (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* iii. 186; Nep. *Milt.* 6), of Callimachus (Paus. i. 15. 3, with Frazer), of Cynegirus (Plin. *H.N.* xxxv, § 57), and apparently of his brother Aeschylus (Paus. i. 21. 2), who is said to have caused the fact to be recorded on his tomb as his greatest distinction. There were also figures of Datis and Artaphrenes (Plin. loc. cit.) and of Epizelus (117 n.).

For the scenes depicted and for their relation to H.'s account cf. app. xviii, § 1. The historian's simple and straightforward account of Cynegirus' bravery contrasts most favourably with the tasteless exaggeration of later romancers, e.g., Justin, ii. 9.

#### vi. 115

**ἐξανακρουσάμενοι,** "pushing off to the open sea." Cf. ἐξανάγεσθαι.

A force that was hurrying round Sunium would not waste time in picking up prisoners. Grundy (p. 191) reasonably suggests that the Persian fleet was divided, the first section sailing direct to Phalerum, the second following after picking up the prisoners (cf. app. xviii, § 7f.).

**ἀναδέξαι:** as a signal (cf. vii. 128. 2; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 27) whose meaning had been agreed upon beforehand. For the time and meaning of the signal cf. app. xviii, § 8.

#### vi. 116

On the Heracleum cf. v. 63. 4 n. For a similar coincidence cf. ix. 101.

The distance from Marathon to Athens (twenty-five miles by the modern road, twenty-two by Kephisia and the hills) is more than an army could march after a pitched battle, nor could the Athenians leave Marathon before they were certain of the intentions of the enemy. But the voyage round Sunium (seventy miles) would take longer. Hence both march and voyage, placed by Plutarch (*Arist.* 5) on the

same day as the battle, should probably be assigned to the following day. If the Athenians really by a heroic effort marched back on the actual day of battle, it must have been to meet a detachment carried by a flying squadron which set sail before the battle (*JHS* xxxi. 104, and app. xviii, §§ 8, 9).

**τότε:** until Themistocles made the triple harbour of Piraeus the port and arsenal of Athens. Even if he began this work in 493 B.C. (vii. 143. 1 n.; Thuc. i. 93), it would not be finished in 490.

#### **vi. 117**

The number of the slain (as of captured ships, chap. 115) is probably trustworthy. The names of the Athenians would be recorded on the stelae which once adorned the great mound (Soros) over the tomb of the fallen heroes (Paus. i. 32. 3). That the Soros is the grave of the victors has been proved by recent excavations (Frazer, ii. 433–4). The barbarian dead may well have been counted on the field. The moderation of the estimate contrasts most favourably with later exaggerations—the 200,000 of the inscription in the Stoa Poikile (Suidas), 300,000 of Pausanias (iv. 25. 5), or the innumerable multitude of Xenophon (*An.* iii. 2. 12) and Plutarch (*De Mal.* 26; 862b). It is noticeable that H. gives no figures for the total number engaged on either side. Both Justin (ii. 9) and Nepos (*Milt.* 5) give 1,000 Plataeans, a good round exaggeration (ix. 28. 6 n.); but the former puts the Athenians at 10,000, the latter at 9,000 (cf. Paus. iv. 25. 5; x. 20. 2). These numbers are probably derived from Ephorus, and rest on a calculation of 1,000 men to a tribe. Yet they may well be near the truth, allowing for the total omission of light-armed troops. On the other hand, even the lowest ancient estimate of the Persians—200,000 foot (of whom only 100,000 fought in the battle) and 10,000 horse (Nep. *Milt.* 4, 5)—is greatly exaggerated, not to speak of the 500,000 of Plato (*Menex.* 240a) and Lysias (*Epitaph.* 21), or the 600,000 of Justin (ii. 9). Modern estimates rest on conjecture or on the number of the Persian ships (vi. 95 n.), an insecure foundation. Duncker's 60,000 is an outside estimate; perhaps 40,000 would be nearer the mark.

**Θῶμα:** Epizelus was depicted in the Stoa Poikile (Aelian *N.A.* vii. 38). Blindness following on a vision is not in itself incredible (Acts ix. 1–9). But the vision is recorded with some doubt by H. It is strange that he, unlike Pausanias (i. 15), puts the supernatural aid on the side of the Persians, not of the Greeks. Cf. also app. xviii, §§ 1 and 3.

#### **vi. 118–20**

*The return of the Persians to Asia, and the arrival of the Spartans.*

#### **vi. 118**

According to Ctesias (Pers. 18, p. 69), Datis fell at Marathon.

**Μυκόνω:** a little east of Delos.

[2] **Δήλιον** is more nearly opposite Eretria than Chalcis. For the temple cf. Thuc. iv. 76, 89f.

## vi. 119

[2] **Ardericca** in Cissia (cf. iii. 91. 4), not the village on the Euphrates (i. 185. 2), may be at Kir-Ab, thirty-five miles from Susa, where there are remains of an ancient road and town, and where bitumen is still collected in the way described by H. His description suggests a visit, though the phrase μέχρι ἐμέο (§ 4) does not affirm it (cf. introd. § 16 (4)). Strabo (747) places Eretrians in Gordyene on the upper Tigris, but H. is supported by the epigram of Plato, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 259 Εὐβοίης γένος ἐσμὲν Ἐρετρικόν, ἄγχι δὲ Σούσων / κείμεθα· φεῦ, γαίης ὄσσον ἀπ' ἡμετέρης.

**σταθμῶ**, “station” (v. 52. 1); here settlement of dependents on a crown domain.

[3] **τριφασίας ὁδούς**. The second receiver had three outlets by which the different elements in the petroleum were separated. For the κηλωνηῖον cf. i. 193, 1 n.

[4] **τὴν ἀρχαίην γλῶσσαν**. Diodorus (xvii. 119) says that some Boeotians, settled by Xerxes beyond the Tigris, still spoke their mother-tongue when Alexander came there.

## vi. 120

According to Plato (*Leg.* 698e; cf. *Menex.* 240c) the Spartans came the day after the battle, and H. implies that they arrived before the burial of the Persian dead. Isocrates (*Paneg.* 87) allows three days and nights for the march of 1,200 stades, but even so the feat is wonderful (cf. 106).

## vi. 121–24

*The shield-signal. Defence of the Alcmaeonids.*

## vi. 121

H.'s attempt to prove Alcmaeonid hatred of the barbarian and of the tyrant is illogical and unconvincing. Even here (125) he relates their friendship with Croesus, the first barbarian who enslaved Greeks (i. 6. 2), and with Cleisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon (126f.), and he conveniently forgets their alliance with Pisistratus (i. 60; *Plut. Mor.* 863b) (Macan); cf. *Plut. Mor.* 862–3 and app. xviii, § 6.

The house of Callias was one of the richest and noblest in Athens. Plutarch (*Mor.* 863) attacks H. for dragging in the story to please Hipponicus, the head of the house in H.'s time, but the critic seems to have confused two relatives of the same name.

[2] **ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοσίου** (sc., δούλου): the public slave acting as auctioneer.

## vi. 122

The chapter is an interpolation, probably a note of some reader. (1) It is wanting in the best family of MSS. (2) The καὶ οἱ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι of 123. 1 answers to the Καλλίης τε of 121. 2. (3) It is not criticized by Plutarch in his attack on H. for mentioning Callias (chap. 121 n.). (4) The following phrases and words are late or

un-Herodotean: τὰ προλελεγμένα = τά μοι πρότερον εἴρηται, ἐφανερώθη = ἀπολαμπρυνθείς (70. 3), δωρέη = dowry; so σφι . . . ἐκείνησι is incorrect. (5) The imitations of Η. ἄξιον μνήμην ἔχειν (i. 14. 1; ii. 111. 4), ἄκρος (v. 112. 1), γάμου ὠραῖαι (i. 196. 1), τοῦτο μὲν . . . τοῦτο δέ are rather forced. Yet the facts stated may be true, though ἐλευθερῶν is rhetorical exaggeration.

ἵππῳ νικῆσας. In Olympiad 54 = 564 B.C. Schol. ad Ar. *Av.* 283.

#### vi. 123

ἔφευγον (v. 62. 2). The Alcmaeonidae were in exile not throughout the tyranny, but from the second restoration of Pisistratus till the expulsion of his sons.

[2] Thucydides (vi. 54) agrees in denying that Harmodius and Aristogeiton freed Athens (cf. v. 55 n.).

πρότερον: cf. v. 63, where the story is said to be Athenian.

#### vi. 124

ἀλλὰ γὰρ introduces an objection met by μὲν ὦν, *immo*, "on the contrary." Η.'s assertion is discredited by the position held at the time by Miltiades, the head of the rival house of Philaids, by the ostracism of Megacles in 487 B.C., and by the ode of Pindar (*Pyth.* vii); cf. further app. xviii, § 6.

[2] ἀνεδέχθη. Delbrück (*Perserkriege* 60f. and Wilamowitz, *A. and A.* ii. 85) consider the shield-signal an invention of the excited imagination of the returning Athenian hoplites, but it is one of the incidents most positively attested. Nor is it victorious but vanquished armies which imagine treason in this way. For a better explanation cf. app. xviii, § 8.

#### vi. 125–31

*Tales of the Alcmaeonid house. Of Croesus and Alcmaeon (125). Of the wooing of Agariste (126–30).*

#### vi. 125

Η. again insists on the eminence of the Alcmaeonids (cf. v. 62. 2 n.). Megacles, father of Alcmaeon, was archon at the time of the Cylonian massacre (? 632 B.C.) (cf. v. 71 n.). That Alcmaeon was the founder of the family's great wealth is suggested by the name Alcmaeonid, and by the story here given, which is obviously a comic version of the enrichment of the family by the Lydian king or by successful trade with Sardis (Meyer, i,<sup>1</sup> § 488). As is usual in such stories (cf. i. 29. 1; vi. 127. 3 n.), the chronology is confused and erroneous. Croesus reigned in Lydia ca. 560–546 B.C. (or five years later, Busolt, ii. 458–60), and his embassy to Delphi is not likely to have been earlier than 556–555 (*Marm. Par.*); but Alcmaeon appears to have been general in the Sacred war with Cirrha (ca. 595–586 B.C., *Plut. Sol.* 11), and ca. 550 B.C. has a grand-daughter old enough to be married to Pisistratus. The marriage of Megacles and Agariste (below) must therefore be placed before 565, probably 572 B.C. (cf. 126. 2), and the connection of Alcmaeon with the Lydian king a generation earlier (below). It is, however, mis-spent



εἰς ἀνήρ intensifies the superlative; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 327. Anecdotes of the luxury of Smindyrides are given (from Timaeus) by Athenaeus, 273 b–c, 541 b. He is said not to have seen the sun rise or set for twenty years, and to have been attended by 1,000 fowlers and 1,000 cooks. According to Seneca (*De Ira* ii. 25) he complained of crumpled rose-leaves on his couch, and declared that to see a man hard at work in the field made him feel tired.

**Σιρίτης**: on Siris see viii. 62. 2 n.

[2] **Τιτόρμου**. In Aelian, *V.H.* xii. 22, Titormus is said to have conquered Milo in a trial of strength, a story which would bring his date down to ca. 520 B.C. In such stories anachronisms are common (cf. I. vi. 27. 2, 125 n., 291 n.).

[3] **Λεωκίδης**: identified by Müller with Lakedas, an effeminate king of Argos, twelfth in descent from Temenus (Paus. ii. 19. 2).

Lehmann supposes H. confused two Pheidons (*Hermes*, xxxv. 648f.; *Klio* ii. 336; cf. v. 113 n.).

**Φείδωνος**. The date here assigned to Pheidon, viz., the age of Cleisthenes (ca. 600–570), though accepted by Beloch (i. 282; *RM* xlv. 595) and Trieber, and supported by the statement that he expelled the Elean Agonothetae, apparently after 572 B.C. (cf. Busolt, i. 604 and 612), can hardly be maintained. If, indeed, Pheidon first coined money (Ephorus in Strabo 358, *Marm. Par.*) in Greece proper, he would belong to the seventh century according to the numismatists, but the statement is an unhistorical amplification of H. (τὰ μέτρα) and inconsistent with the dates explicitly or implicitly assigned to Pheidon by Ephorus and the Parian marble.

On the other hand, Ephorus making Pheidon the tenth descendant of Temenus (Strabo loc. cit.; cf. Paus. ii. 19. 2) would appear to place him ca. 800–770 B.C. (Busolt, i. 613), or a generation later (Abbott, Excursus vi to bk. vi). The yet earlier dates for Pheidon seem due to his connection with the royal line of Macedon. Caranus, the founder of the dynasty (unknown till the fourth century), is declared to be brother of Pheidon, and seventh in descent from Temenus (Theopomp. frag. 30, *FHG* i. 283), and eleventh from Heracles. This made the Macedonian dynasty older than the Median, then believed to have succeeded the Assyrian in 884 (Ctesias), and placed Pheidon in the same generation as Lycurgus, ca. 900–870 (*Marm. Par.* 894 B.C.). Finally, when Lycurgus, on account of the disk of Iphitus, was brought down to the first Olympiad (776 B.C.), Caranus and Pheidon too were moved down. Pheidon's accession was fixed in 798 (Jerome; cf. Eusebius and Syncellus), and his Olympiad (the 8th) fifty years later, as the crown and consummation of a long and prosperous reign (748 B.C.) (Paus. vi. 22. 2). This date is accepted by Grote (ii. 315), Duncker (ii. 67), Holm (i. 215), and Abbott (loc. cit.).

Pausanias, however, makes Pheidon celebrate the Olympia in conjunction with the men of Pisa. Now Strabo (355) distinctly places the presidency of the Pisatans after the 26th Olympiad, though quite aware of Ephorus' views on Pheidon (p. 358).

Africanus also knows no break in the official (Elean) list of Olympiads till the 28th, which was held by the Pisatans. Hence Falconer and Weissenborn would emend the text of Pausanias (28th for 8th), and so date Pheidon in 668 B.C. Whether the emendation be justifiable or not, the date is most suitable (E. Curtius, *Busolt*, loc. cit., Macan, Bury, p. 860). Pheidon would thus be placed between the two Messenian wars at the time of the great Argive victory over the Spartans at Hysiae (Paus. ii. 24. 7). This date would also make it possible for him to have spread abroad the use of the Φειδώνεια μέτρα (used at Athens before Solon, *Ath. Pol.* chap. 10), or rather perhaps of the Aeginetan system of weights and measures. Lastly, the anachronism here is more intelligible if the 28th Olympiad be accepted. In a legend Solon and Croesus may well meet, but hardly Croesus and Lycurgus. Wells (op. cit. pp. 54–62) argues strongly for placing Pheidon in the eighth century B.C. rather than in the seventh, and P. Gardner (op. cit. pp. 111–13) inclines to the earlier date.

In any case the anti-Dorian and anti-Argive policy of Cleisthenes (cf. v. 67) makes the presence of a son or descendant of the Dorian despot of Argos among the suitors of Agariste improbable. It is noticeable that the list of suitors contains no representative of the Samos, Chalcis, Croton, Corinth league, for which cf. v. 99 n. Ἀζήν: i.e., of Azania, a district comprising Western and Northwestern Arcadia. Paeus is in the northwest, Trapezus in the southwest near Mount Lycaeus.

#### vi. 128

ὀργῆς. In the original sense, common in poetry and Ionic, “temper, disposition.”  
 γυμνάσια. The application of athletic tests is very characteristic of Greek ideas.

[2] **Hippocleides**, son of Tisander, was, according to the chronicler Pherecydes, descended from the Aeantid Philaus (cf. *Marc. Thuc.* 3), whose mother Lysidice was a descendant of Caeneus, from whom the Cypselids traced their line (v. 92 b). It is also probable that Hippocleides is the brother of the Philaid Cypselus (chap. 34. 1), whose name may point to some more recent intermarriage between the Philaids and Cypselids, or to an attempt to revive the legendary connection.

#### vi. 129

τῆς . . . κατακλίσιος, “the marriage feast.” Cf. i. 126. 3; ix. 16. 1.

[2] ἐς τὸ μέσον: stories told “for all to hear.” Cf. chap. 130. 1; vii. 8. d 2.

κατέχων: rather “holding as with a charm” than “surpassing.”

ἐμμέλειαν: strictly a “tragic dance” (Aristoxenus); here simply “dance tune.”

[3] σχημάτια, “figures” (cf. *Ar. Pax* 322), including comic gestures and mimicry.

ἄλλα: idiomatic; “others that were Attic.” Cf. i. 193. 3.

[4] A. B. Cook, on rather slight grounds, sees in Hippocleides’ third performance a Theban Dionysiac or Cabeiric dance (*CR* xxi. 169; cf. 232).

γε μὲν, (you dance well) “nevertheless you have danced away your marriage.”

**vi. 130**

**ὄνομάζονται**, “is proverbial.” Macan (app. xiv) quotes an interesting parallel from Buddhist Birth-stories (Rhys Davids edition) in an old Eastern fable, “The Dancing Peacock”; but it remains uncertain whether H. is the borrower or the original.

[2] **νόμοισι**. These words imply that marriage with an alien was at that time recognized as legitimate by Attic law, as is shown by the position of Cleisthenes, Themistocles, and Cimon. By a law of Pericles, 451 B.C. (Plut. *Per.* 37, and especially *Ath. Pol.* 26), ἔγνωσαν μὴ μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως ὅς ἂν μὴ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἀστοῖν ἢ γεγονώς. This law was in accordance with the general feeling in Greece that only those descended from two citizen parents were genuine citizens (*Arist. Pol.* 1275b 21, 1278a 34; Gilbert, *S.* ii. 297).

**vi. 131**

**ἐβώσθησαν**, “their fame was noised abroad.” Cf. iii. 39. 3; viii. 124. 1.

[2] **λέοντα**: a symbol of royal power: cf. v. 92. b 3, and the oracular parody (424 B.C.) in *Ar. Eq.* 1037 ἔστι γυνή, τέξει δὲ λέονθ' ἱεραῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις. The birth of Pericles may be dated 493 B.C. or later, since he first took part in public affairs ca. 463 B.C. (*Ath. Pol.* 27 against Plut. *Per.* 16). It is tempting to see in this exaltation of Pericles the key to H.'s defence and glorification of the Alcmaeonids, and to suppose that this excursus (chaps. 121–31), or at least the story of the wedding (126–31), was inserted in the history (ca. 432–0 B.C.) when the ancient curse on the Alcmaeonids was turned into a weapon against Pericles. The male line of the Alcmaeonids disappeared; Pericles and Alcibiades were connected with the family on the female side.

**vi. 132–36**

*Miltiades' expedition against Paros. His failure, condemnation, and death.*

**vi. 132**

**τρῶμα**, “disaster,” seems to require the insertion of Περσέων; but cf. ix. 90. 1.

**ἐβδομήκοντα**. For this number cf. chap. 89 n.

**vi. 133**

Paros was a most prosperous island, rich in marble (iii. 57; v. 62), Tozer, *Is. Aeg.*, 115. In the historian's own time it paid a tribute of 16½ talents to Athens, an amount only exceeded by Thasos and Aegina (30 talents), and more than twice as much as Naxos and Andros, larger islands, paid. Beloch (i. 402–3) suggests it was then the mart of the Aegean, as in Roman times Delos, and in modern Syra.

**Hydarnes**: probably not the man who took part in the conspiracy of the seven, but his son was commander of the “Immortals” in the invasion of Xerxes (vii. 83, 211), and subsequently στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων (vii. 135). He may have

already held this command when Miltiades was driven from the Chersonese, 493 B.C. (chap. 33).

[3] καὶ τῆ, “wherever there was from time to time a weak place in the wall.” The genitive τοῦ τείχεος depends on τῆ. The iterative form ἔσκε emphasizes ἐκάστοτε. For ἐπίμαχον cf. i. 84. 3.

#### vi. 134

H.’s account of the Parian expedition shows his characteristic defects (introd. § 32): (1) the ascription of great events to petty personal motives (chap. 133, the rancour of Miltiades); (2) the preference for a version of the tale (the Parian) attributing the event to divine interference. Some critics (e.g., Macan, app. xi) have therefore preferred the rationalizing version of Ephorus (frag. 107, *FHG* i. 263; Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρος; cf. Nep. *Milt.* chaps. 7, 8) ὁ δὲ Μιλτιάδης τῶν μὲν ἄλλων νήσων τινὰς ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος ἐπόρθησε: Πάρον δέ, εὐδαιμονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην οὖσαν τότε τῶν Κυκλάδων, καθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει πολὺν χρόνον τῆς θαλάττης εἰργων, καὶ κατὰ γῆν μηχανήματα ἄγων· ἤδη τῶν τειχῶν πιπτόντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν διωμολογημένων, ὕλης τινὸς ἐξ αὐτομάτου περὶ τὴν Μύκονον ἐξαφθείσης, οἱ μὲν Πάριοι τὸν Δάτιν αὐτοῖς πυρσεύειν ὑπολαβόντες, ἐχέυσαντο τὰς ὁμολογίας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι τῶ Μιλτιάδῃ παρέδοσαν. ὅθεν φασὶν ἡμᾶς ἔτι καὶ νῦν χρῆσθαι τῇ παροιμίᾳ, τοὺς ψευδομένους τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀναπαριάζειν φάσκοντας. Now in this version there are good points. For an isolated attack on Paros is substituted a commission to punish the islands which had assisted the barbarian, and the subjugation of several ( Nep. *Milt.* 7 “Ut insulas quae barbaros adiuverant bello persequeretur. Quo imperio plerasque ad officium redire coegit nonnullas vi expugnavit”). Such an attempt to establish Athenian dominion in the Cyclades, the dream of Pisistratus (cf. app. xvi, § 8), is in itself probable. Yet even the motive may be an inference from the pretext given in H. (133. 1), just as the supposed signal fire of Datis on Myconos (Nepos’ “in continenti” is a physical impossibility) is apparently an inference from Datis’ stay at Myconos (chap. 118). The only independent element in Ephorus (E. Meyer, *F.* i. 19) appears to be the proverbial phrase ἀναπαριάζειν, the explanation of which is the kernel of his narrative. But the explanation is untrustworthy. Miltiades’ expedition can hardly have taken place before the spring of 489 B.C. (there is an interval after Marathon (autumn 490) during which Miltiades enjoyed increased fame (chap. 132)), and in 489 B.C. Datis cannot well have been even thought to be lingering in the neighbourhood of Myconos. Lastly, the precise duration of the expedition given by H. (135), twenty-six days, looks like genuine tradition, and contrasts favourably with the vague πολὺν χρόνον of Ephorus. Probably Ephorus, like modern critics, was offended by the shortcomings of H. and rationalized the traditional story. I have argued in detail (*JHS* xxxix (1919), pp. 58–61) that the account in Nepos (Ephorus) of the Parian expedition and the trial of Miltiades is untrustworthy.

τῶν χθονίων. Demeter Thesmophoros (cf. § 2, chap. 16. 2 n.) and Persephone (vii. 153. 2).

[2] **κινήσοντα**. Probably Miltiades was to steal a sacred image, like the Palladium, on which the safety of the state depended.

H. inserts in an account ascribed to all Greeks, but presumably Athenian, a Parian story heard perhaps on the spot; cf. κολωνός, and αίμασίη, a dry wall (cf. i. 180 n.), defining the ἔρκος. The Athenian account, with its unfavourable view of Miltiades' motives and conduct, is probably Alcmaeonid, derived perhaps from the speech made by Xanthippus in prosecuting Miltiades (chap. 136).

#### vi. 135

[2] **ἄρρητα**. For secret rites confined to women cf. v. 82, 83 nn.

[3] **δεῖν** (cf. ii. 161. 3). To H. this is the general nemesis of too great success and fame; by the time of Pausanias (iii. 12. 7) a special transgression has been discovered, the proposal to throw the heralds of Darius into the Barathron, for which cause the wrath of Talthybius fell on Miltiades. This tradition must have been unknown to H. (cf. vii. 133. 2), and like the story in Plato (*Grg.* 516e) that Miltiades himself only escaped being cast into the Barathron through the interference of the Prytanis, seems a later accretion designed to heighten the effect.

**φανῆναι**: i.e., an apparition was sent to Miltiades in the shape of Timo (Stein); cf. iv. 15. 2; vii. 16. c 1 and 3; viii. 37. 2; ix. 100, and φάσμα, vi. 69. 1, 117. 3.

#### vi. 136

**Xanthippus**, father of Pericles (cf. chap. 131. 2). The enmity still existed in the next generation between Pericles and Cimon.

The charge was clearly ἀπατησέως τοῦ δήμου, a form of προδοσία. But treason was not exactly defined till the archonship of Euclides, 403 B.C. (*Nep. Milt.* 7). Ephorus makes the treason consist in taking bribes from the Persian, for in his account there is no deceiving of the people.

The procedure was no doubt by εἰσαγγελία (ὑπὸ τὸν δῆμον) before the Assembly; cf. Plato, loc. cit.

[2] **σηπομένου**: mortification following a sprain or bruise seems improbable. In the account of Nepos (*Milt.* 7) Miltiades had been wounded in the siege.

**οἱ φίλοι**: Nepos (loc. cit.) names his brother Stesagoras (elsewhere Tisagoras), but he was long dead; cf. chap. 38.

[3] **προσγενομένου**. At least in an ἀγὼν τιμητός there were two questions decided by separate votes: (1) the guilt of the accused, (2) the amount of the penalty. Miltiades was found guilty on the charge of deceiving the people, but on the second point the people was favourable to him. The penalty of death proposed by Xanthippus was reduced to a fine of fifty talents, which was probably proposed by his friends. They would suggest a large sum so as to secure the rejection of the

death-penalty (contrast the case of Socrates). The suggestion of Nepos (Ephorus) that fifty talents was the cost of the expedition is a mere guess. The exaggerations of later writers, e.g., that Miltiades died in prison (Nep. *Milt.* 7; Diod. x. 30; Plut. *Cim.* 4), and that Cimon was imprisoned, are baseless fictions (Meyer, *F.* ii. 25f.) unknown to H.

#### vi. 137–40

*The Pelasgi in Attica and in Lemnos. Miltiades secures Lemnos for Athens.*

#### vi. 137

Stein approves the suggestion of E. Meyer (*F.* i. 14f.) that the conquest of Lemnos and Imbros was not the work of the great Miltiades, but of his namesake and predecessor, the son of Cypselus (cf. vi. 34f.), oekist of the Chersonese. If so, he acted as the agent of Pisistratus (cf. vi. 37) in seizing Lemnos and expelling the Pelasgi. This would fit in with the prediction (chap. 140. 1), which regards the conqueror of Lemnos as representing Athens. Meyer urges that there was no time for the conquest and Hellenizing (cf. viii. 11) of the island during the troubled period of the Ionic revolt, so that he would in any case date the settlement of Attic cleruchs there, even if ascribed to Miltiades II, to the period of Pisistratid rule, before the Persian conquest of the islands (v. 27). But H. distinctly says that up to that time the Pelasgi still dwelt there (v. 26 ἀμφοτέρως ἔτι τότε ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν οἰκούμενας). It seems therefore better to accept the solution of Busolt (ii. 531; iii. 415) that the Pelasgi, already weakened by the Persian conquest, were expelled by Miltiades after 500, who settled the island as tyrant of the Chersonese, and that the Attic cleruchy in Lemnos (Thuc. vii. 57; *CIA* i. 443, 444) is to be connected with the reduction of the tribute ca. 447 B.C. Previously, as in the Chersonese, there had been settlers from Attica, not a formal Attic colony.

The rest of the chapter is a long parenthesis, to explain εἴτε δικαίως εἴτε ἀδίκως: then the subject here, Πελασγοί, is resumed loosely 138. 1.

Ἑκαταῖος . . . ἀδίκως. Hecataeus used the expression “unjustly” in his work. Cf. chap. 53. 2; on Hecataeus cf. introd. § 20.

On the Pelasgi cf. app. xv, § 5. E. Meyer holds that there was no old Attic tradition about the Pelasgi, the story given here being a mere reply to Hecataeus (*F.* i. 8f.).

[2] τοῦ τείχεος. Probably the early tradition here followed made the “Pelasgic” wall run right round the Acropolis (D’Ooge, p. 21). On the more special sense of Pelasgicon cf. v. 64 n.

[3] Ἐννεάκρουνος. The name is here an anachronism, since only in the days of the tyrants was the spring Callirhoe walled in and renamed “Nine-Spouts” (Thuc. ii. 15. 5). The position of Callirhoe Enneacrurus is much disputed. That there was a Callirhoe on the Ilissus is clear; cf. pseudo-Plato *Ax.* 362a γενομένῳ μοι κατὰ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν . . . Κλεινίαν ὀρῶ τὸν Ἀξιόχου θεόντα ἐπὶ Καλλιρόην. This site south of the Acropolis, near the (later) Olympieium, would suit this passage, since it should be outside the old city and towards Hymettus. The ordinary

interpretation of Thucydides (ii. 15. 5) favours the same position. But Pausanias (i. 14. 1) mentions an Enneacrunus, apparently in the Agora, somewhere near the Pnyx and the Areopagus. Most topographers believe in a break in the narrative of Pausanias (Leake, Curtius) or a mistaken identification of Enneacrunus on his part (Frazer, ii. 112f., v. 485f.; Gardner, *Athens*, 28f., 535f.). But Dörpfeld (for whose views cf. Harrison's *Primitive Athens*) interprets the older authors, and especially Thucydides, in conformity with the natural meaning of Pausanias, and believes he has found the true Callirhoe-Enneacrunus in a cistern, conduit, and other water-works hewn in the rock below the Pnyx (*Primitive Athens*, 111–36 and 153f.).

**τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον.** The Pelasgians are said by Strabo (401) to have been driven from Boeotia to Attica by the Boeotian immigration, i.e., some two generations after the Trojan war (Thuc. i. 12; cf. vii. 176. 4). The Pelasgian sojourn in Attica would thus be dated ca. 1100–1000 B.C.

**οἰκέτας.** H. is not thinking of the fancied golden age when there were no slaves (Athen. 263, 267), but contrasting primitive simplicity (cf. viii. 137) with the large households of later days. There were slaves even in Homeric days, but in the more backward parts of Greece, Phocis, and Locris, there were but few even as late as the time of Aristotle (Timaeus, frag. 67, *FHG* i. 207; Athenaeus 264, 272).

[4] **ἀλλά.** Placia and Scylace on the Propontis (i. 57. 2), Samothrace (ii. 57. 3), Imbros (v. 26), and perhaps near Creston (i. 57. 1) and at Antandrus (vii. 42. 1). Cf. Myres, *JHS* xxvii. 191f.

#### vi. 138

The story may be a reminiscence of primitive customs, marriage by capture and exogamy, on which see McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (chap. vii, f.), and Westermarck (chap. xiv), and (especially on exogamy) Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (vol. iv).

Brauron lay on the east coast of Attica, between Prasiae and Marathon, probably at the modern Vraona (Frazer, *P.*, ii. 446). Attic legend (Eur. *I.T.* 1435f.) identified Brauronian Artemis with the Tauric Artemis brought by Orestes (but cf. Paus. iii. 16. 7, as well as i. 23. 7, 33. 1, and Harrison, *Athens*, 395f.). The implied dependence of Brauron on Athens, and possibly the festival itself, belong to a later date than the legendary expulsion of the Pelasgi.

[2] **ἄρχειν.** The legend invented to justify Athenian dominion over Lemnos treats these Attic boys as its natural lords and masters; cf. the tale of Cyrus i. 114.

[4] **Θόαντι.** The ordinary legend was that King Thoas was concealed by his daughter Hypsipyle, but afterwards discovered and killed by the other women (Apollod. i. 9. 17; iii. 6. 4). H. may be only summarizing, not differing from this account. Cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 633 ἤκασεν δέ / τις τὸ δεινὸν αὖ Λημνίοισι πῆμασιν.

**vi. 139**

[2] For the curse of fruitlessness cf. iii. 65. 7, v. 82. 1, ix. 93. 3; and for similar visitations i. 167. 1; iv. 151. 1.

[4] ἐξάνυση: abs. to “arrive at.” Cf. vii. 183. 3, and κατανύσας, chap. 140. 1.

πολλόν: far, about 140 miles.

**vi. 140**

τότε: at least five hundred years before the Ionian revolt by the ordinary computation; cf. 137. 3 n.

κατεστηκότων: during the prevalence of the Etesian winds, which blow from the northeast during July, August, and September.

[2] Hephaestia and Myrina are the two towns of the islands. The former in the northeast (Palaeopoli), though not very strong for defence, was well situated for commerce (Tozer, *Is. Aeg.*, 268); the latter (Kastro) in the southwest occupies a striking position which marks it out as the natural capital (*ibid.* p. 246). The former paid twice as much tribute as Myrina to Athens in 444 B.C. and later.

The capture of Lemnos forms an admirable finale, making a pause in the history before the great war, and recalling the great services of the hero Miltiades instead of closing the book with his miserable death.

## Book VII

### vii. 1–4

*Further preparations against Greece. Dispute about the succession to the Persian throne. Death of Darius.*

There is an obvious break between the sixth and seventh books. Indeed, it is probable that the story of the Invasion of Xerxes was written before the rest of the history (cf. introd. § 12).

### vii. 1

**τὴν ἐς Σάρδις ἐσβολήν.** For the “attack on Sardis” cf. chap. 8. *b* 3 and especially v. 99f.

[2] **κατὰ πόλις.** H. writes like a Greek here, though at times (e.g., chap. 8. *c* 3) he remembers that there are tribes as well as cities in the East. No real attempt was made to “urbanize” the interior of Asia before Alexander.

**πολλῶ πλέω.** Nothing is said in iii. 89f. of Persian subjects furnishing contingents, but no doubt this had been part of Darius’ organization. Cf. app. vi, § 8.

**νέας:** war-ships, and especially triremes (cf. viii. 1, 2).

**πλοῖα:** transports, to carry horses (*ἰππαγωγά*, cf. chaps. 21. 2, 97) and provisions (*σιταγωγά*, cf. chaps. 186. 1, 191. 1).

**ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα.** For the chronology cf. vii. 20 n.

### vii. 2

**νόμον.** There is no hint of any such rule or law, when Cambyses invaded Egypt (ii. 1; iii. 1), Darius Scythia (iv. 1. 83), or Xerxes Greece, though Xerxes clearly made his uncle Artabanus viceroy during his absence (chap. 52). On the other hand, Cyrus is said to have named Cambyses as his successor before his last expedition (i. 208). The fact that the monuments call Cambyses “king of Babylon” in the lifetime of Cyrus (E. Meyer, *F.* ii. 470–2) cannot be used as an argument, as Babylon was in a special position till the time of Xerxes (i. 183 n.). Perhaps the question arose because Darius was old; on this ground Artaxerxes Mnemon appointed a successor to avoid strife (Plut. *Artax.* 26): or possibly Plutarch (*Mor.* 488) and Justin (ii. 10), who call the eldest son Ariamenes, are right in saying that the dispute arose after the death of Darius, and was decided by the intervention of one of his brothers, Artabanus or Artaphrenes.

[2] Gobryas was one of the seven (iii. 70). For the family of Darius cf. iii. 88 n.; vii. 11.

### vii. 3

**κατὰ τὸντό,** “at the same time” (i.e., 487–486 B.C.). Demaratus had gone into exile voluntarily (ca. 491 B.C.); cf. vi. 67–70.

[3] Nothing is known otherwise of this alleged Spartan custom. H. himself attaches no weight to this supposed intervention of Demaratus, whose importance he as a rule exaggerates. The true reason doubtless was the influence of Atossa (§ 4) as daughter of Cyrus and chief wife of Darius. She held the position filled by Amestris under Xerxes (ix. 109f.), and by Parysatis under Darius Nothus. Cf. the influence of Bathsheba with David, 1 Kings i.

#### vii. 4

Darius died in the autumn of 486 B.C. and had reigned thirty-six years (Manetho, frag. 68, 69, *FHG* ii. 595). Ctesias' statement (*Persica* 19. 69) that he reigned only thirty-one years is worthless. Weissbach, *Z.D.M.G.* (1901), 195f., esp. 220, and (1908) 629–47, shows that, the death of Artaxerxes being placed in 425–424 (Thuc. iv. 50), his reign being at least forty years and ten months in length, must have begun in 465, and that Xerxes, since he reigned over twenty years (Ptolemaic Canon), must have come to the throne in 486.

#### vii. 5–6

*Counsellors who urged Xerxes to war. Mardonius, the Aleuadae, the Pisistratidae, and Onomacritus.*

#### vii. 5

**ἀνεχώρησε:** like ἀναβαίνειν (i. 109. 4; vii. 205. 1), ἀναλαμβάνειν (vii. 154. 1), of regular succession by an heir, opposed to περιχωρέειν, περιελθεῖν (i. 7. 1 n.), when a kingdom passes into strange hands.

[2] Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 236 στρατὸς τοιοῦτος ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά: and for similar imitations vii. 8. c 3, 16. a 1, 103.4; viii. 68. c, 109. 3; and in general, introd. § 18.

**ἀλλ' εἰ . . . πρήσσοις.** Stein says εἰ with optative is here a mild imperative; cf. Hom. *Il.* x. 111; xv. 571; xvi. 559 ἀλλ' εἴ μιν ἀεικισσαίμεθ' ἐλόντες, and xxiv. 74. Cf. Monro, *Homeric Grammar*, § 311. Goodwin (§ 723) regards these as optatives in a wish with εἰ, which was probably in origin a protasis, with apodosis suppressed.

[3] **τιμωρός:** better construed "demanding vengeance" than = σύμμαχος, "that helped him," for which cf. v. 65. 1; vii. 6. 1.

**δένδρεα.** The Persians took great pride in the cultivation of fruit trees and gardens. Cf. Vendidad, iii, § 4, l. 12: "Which is the third place where the Earth feels most happy." Ahuramazda answered, "It is the place where one of the faithful cultivates most corn, grass, and fruit"; and iii, § 23, l. 76. So Xerxes pays great honour to a splendid plane-tree (chap. 31), and Darius commends his servant Gadatas for acclimatizing crops and fruit-trees in lower Asia (Hicks, 20). Kings and satraps rivalled each other in laying out gardens and orchards (Xen. *Oec.* 4).

#### vii. 6

[2] **Ἀλευάδαι.** This famous and powerful family, which claimed descent from a mythical king of Thessaly, Aleuas (chap. 130. 3; ix. 58. 2; Pind. *Pyth.* x. 5), was

connected with the house of Antiochus of Pharsalus (Theoc. xvi. 34f.) and with the Scopadae of Crannon (Ovid, *Ibis* 511f.). They do not seem to have been “kings” of Thessaly, though the title is also used of other Thessalian dynasts (v. 63. 3 n.; Thuc. i. 111), but rather *ταγοί* of Thessaly (a title first clearly used of Jason of Pherae, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1; cf. ix. 1; Pind. *Pyth.* x. 70), and kings or dynasts of Larissa on the Peneius. Even in their own district their power seems to have been disputed by the democratic faction. Thorax (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* x. 64) with his brothers invites Xerxes to invade Greece (ix. 1), is the first to join him (vii. 172; Paus. vii. 10. 2), and actively supports the Persian (ix. 1. 58), whereas the people of Thessaly begged the Greeks to defend their land (vii. 172). The Aleuadae no doubt hoped with Persian aid to establish themselves as kings of Thessaly; though foiled in this, they escaped complete subjection to Sparta by bribing Leotyichides (vi. 72; Paus. iii. 7. 9). They had probably been allied with the Pisistratidae when that family ruled Athens (v. 63. 94).

*προσορέγεσθαι* (Stein), like *προτείνεσθαι* (v. 24. 4; vii. 161. 1), *προίσχεσθαι* (i. 141. 1), to “offer, promise,” is middle rather than passive = *προσκεῖσθαι* (Liddell & Scott; Abicht), “to be urgent with.”

[3] *χρησιμολόγος* applies both to the seers (*μάντις*) and prophets (*χρησιμωδός*), like Musaeus, Bacis (viii. 96. 2), Amphilytus (i. 62. 4), “qui . . . concitatione quadam animi aut soluto liberoque motu futura praesentiunt, . . . ut Bacis Boeotius, ut Epimenides Cres, ut Sibylla Erythraea” (Cic. *Div.* i. 18. 34), and to the learned and skilled interpreters of ancient sayings and oracles (chap. 142. 3), whose advice in times of crisis had great weight (Thuc. ii. 8). Of the latter class was Onomacritus who collected and arranged a number of oracles currently ascribed to the mythical seer Musaeus, which with the similar collection ascribed to Orpheus were the chief specimens of this apocryphal literature. To him may be ascribed the Pisistratid collection of oracles (v. 90. 2; cf. introd. § 24 (3)) and skill in their interpretation (v. 93. 2). He is said to have been commissioned by Pisistratus along with three colleagues to collect and arrange the scattered lays of Homer (Cramer, *Anec.* i. 6); if so, he must by now (485 B.C.) have been quite an old man. He had a bad reputation as a forger (§ 3) and interpolator (Schol. Harl. *Od.* xi. 604); indeed, some writers treat the work of Musaeus as wholly or mainly a forgery (Clem. Alex. 397, Potter; Paus. i. 22. 7), while others regard it as a compilation from old materials (Plut. *Mor.* 407b).

In the Pisistratid family Hipparchus appears to have been specially the patron of poets, e.g., Anacreon and Simonides (Plato, *Hipparch.* 228f.).

**Λάσος:** a lyric and dithyrambic poet said to have been the teacher of Pindar and inventor of the cyclic chorus, and to have written a treatise on music.

The **Νέαι** (*νησοί*), which lay off the east coast of Lemnos, were raised from the sea by volcanic eruptions (Pliny ii. § 202, Steph. Byz.), Mount Mosychlos, on the east coast of Lemnos, being active in ancient times. The prophecy was fulfilled, for that part of Lemnos is now submerged, while one of these small islands, Chryse (still

existent in 72 B.C.; cf. Appian *Mith.* 77), had disappeared even when Pausanias (viii. 33. 4) wrote. The “sacred” volcanic isle which appeared (ca. 197 B.C.) between Thera and Planasia, was also the subject of an oracle (Plut. *Mor.* 399).

**ἀφανιζοίατο**: present, because that tense is usual in oracles; cf. chaps. 140, 220.

[4] **σφάλμα φέρον** seems to mean here (cf. viii. 137. 3) “portending” misfortune, while in ix. 9. 2 it means “bringing evil on.”

**τήν τε ἔλασιν ἐξηγεόμενος**: rather “expounding the course of the expedition” according to the oracle (cf. ἐξηγητής, i. 78. 2) than advising or explaining, as in iii. 4. 3; vi. 135. 2.

## vii. 7

*Suppression of the Egyptian revolt.* From Egyptian sources we learn that a native king Chabbasch reigned more than one year, the death of an Apis occurring in his second year, and that some measures were taken to protect the mouths of the Nile against the Persian fleet (Macan).

**δευτέρῳ . . . ἔτει**: i.e., in 484 B.C., probably in the spring.

**δουλοτέρην**. Darius had treated the Egyptians very well, building and repairing temples, re-establishing the decayed college of scribes at Sais (inscription of Uzahor, cf. iii. 16 n., Meyer, iii, § 101), completing the canal from the Nile to the Red Sea (ii. 158 nn.), and in general paying respect to the priesthood (ii. 110) and customs of Egypt. Henceforward little or no regard was paid to Egyptian prejudices; in Egypt as in Babylon the Persian king ceases to figure as a national king (i. 183 n.).

**Ἀχαμηνεῖ**: cf. chap. 236. He was full brother of Xerxes (vii. 97), and fell at Papremis 459 B.C. (iii. 12. 4).

**Ἰνάρωσ**: for his revolt cf. iii. 15. 3.

## vii. 8–11

*Persian Council. Speeches of Xerxes, Mardonius, and Artabanus.*

### vii. 8

**ἐπικλητον**, “specially summoned,” like the Athenian ἐκκλησίαι σύγκλητοι. Elsewhere it is used of the counsellors (= σύμβουλος) summoned to advise the king or general (viii. 101. 1; ix. 42. 2); cf. the Aetolian Apokletoi or select council (Liv. xxxv. 34; Polyb. xx. 1 and 10). Those summoned would include the seven councillors or princes (Ezra vii. 14, 15; Esther i. 14; cf. iii. 14. 5 n.), together with the principal officials, satraps, and generals (cf. chaps. 8. *d*, 19. 2, 26. 2). The scene on the famous Darius vase at Naples (found at Canosa 1851) is an ideal representation of such a council, leading to strife between Asia and Hellas. In the upper row are figures of gods, Asia misled by Apate, Hellas defended by Pallas and Zeus, Artemis and Apollo. Below, the subjects of the Persian bring tribute, or express their obedience by kneeling before the king’s treasurer. In the middle row

Darius sits on a throne; behind him stands a young Persian guard, before him an older man in travelling garb standing on a plinth of gold (Ael. *V.H.* xii. 62) earnestly warns the king. Five councillors sit or stand round, two in Persian, three in Greek attire. There is no reason to identify this scene with the council described by H.; the king has the name Darius inscribed by him, the warning councillor has nothing to identify him with Artabanus, and half the councillors are in Greek dress. Cf. Baumeister, p. 408.

[a. 1] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* § 41) quotes this speech of Xerxes as a proof that Ἡροδότου λέξιν τῆς τ' αὐστηρᾶς ἀρμονίας καὶ τῆς ἡδείας ἀρμονίας μέσσην εἶναι καὶ τὰ κράτιστα εἰληφέναι παρ' ἑκατέρως.

**κατηγήσομαι**, "the first to institute." Cf. ii. 49. 1, 56. 3. For the thought cf. Thuc. v. 105. 2.

**θεός . . . ἄγει**. Since the phrase is fatalistic, and as a rule implies impending ruin, it is in the mouth of Xerxes ominous. Cf. Xen. *An.* vi. 3. 18; Soph. *O.C.* 997; and 252 οὐ γὰρ ἴδοις ἄν ἀθρῶν βροτῶν, / ὅστις ἄν, εἰ θεός / ἄγοι, ἐκφυγεῖν δύναίτο.

[a. 2] An ambitious longing to rival his father's exploits is described by Atossa (Aesch. *Pers.* 753f.) as one of the motives which misled Xerxes.

**προσγινόμενον**. The present tense without ἄν marks the absolute confidence of Xerxes. That which is contingent on success is represented as already won. For H.'s exaggerated opinion of the size of Europe cf. iv. 42 n.

[b. 2] **οἶ**: referring to a town; cf. *CIG* 71 b ἐν τῆσι πόλισιν οἶ ἄν χρῶνται, Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 318; so τούτων, i. 16.

[b. 3] **ἄμα Ἀρισταγόρη**. Aristagoras had not himself accompanied the expedition (v. 99. 2) but was its author.

[c. 1] **Διὸς αἰθέρι**. The heaven, where Zeus abode, is formed like a hemisphere, overhanging the flat disk of earth (cf. iv. 36; v. 92 a); hence the boundaries of earth and heaven meet (cf. i. 131. 2). The suggestion is that the Persian king is god on earth as Zeus in heaven (cf. 56. 2).

[c. 2] **σφεας**: of lands, as chap. 108. 2 of towns, 195 of ships, and like μιν (cf. v. 114. 1; vi. 82. 1), often of things.

[c. 3] **δούλιον ζυγόν**: cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 50 ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι, and chap. 5. 2 n.

[d] **δῶρα τὰ τιμώτατα**. Cf. iii. 83. 1 n.

**ἐν ἡμετέρου**: strangely used for ἐν ἡμετέρῳ or ἐν ἡμῶν. Cf. i. 35. 4.

## vii. 9

**Ἴωνας**. For the use of Ionians for all Greeks, dramatically appropriate in the mouth of an Oriental (Ar. *Ach.* 104) cf. i. 142 n.

[2] Mardonius exaggerates grossly. Only small sections of the Indians (iii. 98, 101) and of the African Aethiopians (iii. 97) with the Amyrgian Sacae (cf. 64. 2; iii. 93. 3) and the Eastern Ethiopians (iii. 94, vii. 70) were subjects of the Persian empire.

[a] Reliance on mere masses of men and abundance of gold is characteristically Persian. Cf. chaps. 48, 103; Aesch. *Pers.* 235, 237 ὤδέ τις πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ; / . . . / καὶ τί πρὸς τούτοισιν ἄλλο; πλοῦτος ἐξαρκῆς δόμοις;

For Mardonius' expedition cf. vi. 43f., and especially vi. 45 n.

[b] H. seems to be putting his own ideas into the mouth of Mardonius (cf. chaps. 10. e, 46, etc.). Polybius (xiii. 3) says that the ancients fought on the principles here described from a desire for honourable and decisive battle. Grundy (*Thuc.*, chap. ix) finds the explanation in the geographical character of Greece, and in the necessity of fighting in the plain to defend its corn-crop.

[b. 2] So Pericles says of the Spartans (*Thuc.* i. 140) βούλονται δὲ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις τὰ ἐγκλήματα διαλύεσθαι. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 515.

[c] The attributes ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας and ἀπάσας both belong in sense to πλῆθος and νέας, but to avoid repetition and to preserve the balance of words are attached each to one only. Cf. Hom. *Od.* i. 5 ἀρνύμενος ἦν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων. ἀπὸ πείρης. Cf. Theoc. xv. 62 πείρα θην πάντα τελεῖται, and Theogn. 571.

#### vii. 10

ἐπιλεήνας, "smooth over, make plausible"; cf. λεαίνειν, used metaphorically (viii. 142. 4) as well as more literally (i. 200; iv. 122. 1).

Ἀρτάβανος: cf. iv. 83. 1 n.

[a] παρατρίψωμεν: rub on the touch-stone, on which pure gold left a dark stain. For the common simile cf. Theogn. 449, 1105, and especially 417 ἐς βάσανον δ' ἐλθὼν παρατρίβομαι ὥστε μολίβδῳ / χρυσός. Cf. also Pind. *Pyth.* x. 67, and Bacchyl. frag. (Bergk 22, Kenyon 51).

[b. 2] οὐκ ὦν . . . ἐχώρησε, "suppose success did not attend them on both elements"; i.e., as shown by the succeeding clause, they fail on land. This repeats from a different point of view the suggestion already made συνήνεκε ἦτοι κτλ.

[c. 1] οἰκηίη, "my own mother-wit"; cf. iii. 81. 2. The sentence should go on ἀλλὰ τῷ παθέει οἶον κτλ.

[c. 2] διέργαστο: passive = διέφθαρτο, "it would have been all over with." Cf. chaps. 224. 1; i. 213, etc.

[e] ὄρᾱς. The asyndeton is usual in this expression; cf. chap. 50. 3; Xen. *Mem.* iii. 4. 3, etc. For the thought cf. Eur. frag. 964 τῶν ἄγαν γὰρ ἄπτεται θεός, τὰ μικρὰ δ' εἰς τύχην ἀφεις ἐᾶ, Soph. *Aj.* 758 τὰ γὰρ περισσὰ κἀνόνητα σώματα / πίπτειν βαρείαις πρὸς θεῶν δυσπραξίαις.

**φαντάζεσθαι**: properly show oneself (iv. 124. 2; vii. 15. 2); here *se ostentare*, “make a show of oneself.” Cf. φαντασία in Polybius.

**κνίζειν**: of jealousy, as of other painful emotions, e.g., repentance (chap. 12. 1) and desire (vi. 62. 1).

**κολούειν**. This phrase (cf. Hes. *Op.* 6; Archil. frag. 56; Ar. *Lys.* 772) expresses the common Greek view (here ascribed to the Persian, Artabanus, cf. chap. 46, and in iii. 40 to the Egyptian Amasis) of the envy of the gods; cf. i. 32. 1 n., introd. § 36.

**φόβον**, “panic.” Instances iv. 203. 3, vii. 43. 2; Thuc. vii. 80.

**βροντήν**. Instances viii. 12 and 13, 37. 3.

**δι ὧν ἐφθάρησαν**. This tmesis with ὧν is usual in H. with the “gnomic” Aorist; cf. also i. 194. 4.

[f] **ἐπειχθῆναι** is transitive and governs πᾶν προήγμα: the whole phrase is the subject of τίκτει.

[g] **διαβολή**: cf. Isoc. *Antid.* 18 ἔστι μέγιστον κακὸν διαβολή· τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο ταύτης κακουργότερον; and Lucian, *Demon.* 4. Apelles’ picture of calumny there described gave rise to that by Botticelli. Lying was a grave offence in Persia (i. 138 n.; Vendid. iv. 54–5; B.I. i. 10, iv. 5, 6, 13, 14).

[h. 3] **ἀνάξεις**, “lead by sea,” starting from the Asiatic coast; so i. 94. 7; *Il.* ix. 338.

**διαφορεύμενον** (so Eur. *Bacch.* 739) = ἔλκεσθαι (i. 140. 1), διασπᾶσθαι (iii. 13. 2).

The Greeks would leave the fallen foe unburied (ix. 83) to the fate threatened in Homer (*Il.* ii. 391; xv. 348). H. makes Artabanus speak like a Greek (cf. 10. e, 46), and quite forgets that the fate, here treated as a great misfortune, was the form of burial prescribed for the Magi (i. 140 n.), and apparently for all true believers in the Avesta (Vendid. vi. 44f.).

**σέ γε**: Homeric anaphora; cf. ii. 173. 4. The return from the third to the second person adds emphasis to the conclusion of the speech.

## vii. 11

**μηδένα** depends on the negation implied in ῥύσεται; cf. i. 86. 2, v. 101. 1, ix. 12. 1; Goodwin, § 807f.

[2] For the genealogy cf. app. iv, § 3.

[3] **ὑπὸ Ἑλλησι**. The idea of a Greek conquest of Asia could not have occurred to Xerxes, or even to a Greek in 481 B.C.; it was the result of the victories of Cimon.

**τὸ μέσον**, “there is no middle course left in this quarrel.”

[4] **τὸ δεινόν**: refers ironically to 10. a 2, b 2.

**Φρύξ**: so 8. c 1; Soph. *Aj.* 1292. More correctly, as son of Tantalus, Λυδός (Pind. *Ol.* i. 24, ix. 9); cf. Strabo 665 οἱ ποιηταὶ δὲ μάλιστα οἱ τραγικοὶ συγγέοντες τὰ ἔθνη

τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς Φρύγας προσαγορεύουσιν. Here it is appropriate as a common name for slaves.

**πατέρων.** The Persians regarded all Asia as their own (i. 4. 4; ix. 116. 3), but the claim here made may be founded on a mythical descent (chap. 61. 2, 3) from Perseus and Andromeda (chap. 150. 2), daughter of Cepheus, brother of Ninus, who extended the sway of Assyria over Phrygia and Lydia (i. 7). The Persian king might claim to be the legitimate successor of the Assyrian.

#### **vii. 12–18**

*The dreams of Xerxes and Artabanus finally determine the king to make war.*

#### **vii. 12**

**νυκτί.** To the Greek as to us night brings counsel; so Menander ἐν νυκτί βουλή τοῖς σοφοῖσι γίγνεται, Plut. *Them.* 26 νυκτί φωνήν, νυκτί βουλήν, νυκτί την νίκην δίδου.

**κου** expresses doubt (iii. 40. 1), and throws the responsibility for the story on the Persians.

[2] The dream is modeled on that sent to Agamemnon (*Il.* ii. 66). In imposing human form (cf. v. 56. 1) the sprite, by the will of God (cf. 15. 3), misleads and deceives the dreamer. So on the vase described (chap. 8 n.), Ἀπάτη, with lighted torches in her hands, incites Asia to make war on Hellas.

**οὔτε . . . πάρα** = πάρεστι, “neque adest qui tibi indulgeat.” Cf. Soph. *Ant.* 261 οὐδ’ ὁ κωλύσων παρῆν.

#### **vii. 13**

[2] **ἡ νεότης ἐπέζεσε:** a metaphor from water boiling over; cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 468; Eur. *Hec.* 583. Xerxes must have been at least thirty-five, since he was probably born soon after the accession of Darius in 521 (cf. chap. 3. 2), and in 479 he had a grown-up son and daughter-in-law (ix. 108).

#### **vii. 14**

**μέγας καὶ πολλός.** Perhaps parodied by Aristophanes (*Av.* 488) of the Περσικὸς ὄρνις with suggestion of the “great king”: οὕτω δ’ ἰσχυρὸν τε καὶ μέγας ἦν τότε καὶ πολλός. For other parodies cf. i. 4 n.

#### **vii. 15**

[3] The king wore a special upright tiara and saffron-coloured shoes. His mantle and trousers were purple, his robe too was purple, and on it were embroidered in white hawks or falcons, the sacred birds of Ormuzd. The robe was girt in by a golden girdle (cf. viii. 120), from which hung his sword, adorned with precious stones.

## vii. 16

**θρόνον.** It was a capital offence to sit on the king's throne (Curt. viii. 4; Val. Max. v. 1); hence Artabanus might suspect a trap and hesitate. The Persian throne is a high-backed chair, like the Assyrian, but simpler.

[a] **ὀμιλία:** cf. Menander in 1 Corinth. xv. 33 φθείρουσιν ἡθη χρῆσθ' ὀμιλίαι κακαί, and especially Aesch. *Pers.* 753 ταῦτα τοῖς κακοῖς ὀμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται / θούριος Ξέροξης.

**φύσι τῆ ἐωυτῆς χρᾶσθαι:** paraphrased by Polyb. xi. 29 ἡ μὲν ἰδία φύσις ἐστὶν ἀβλαβῆς καὶ στάσιμος. So Livy xxviii. 27 "sicut natura maris per se immobilis est." This simile, called by Livy (xxxviii. 10) a *vulgata similitudo* for the passion of the mob, is first found in Solon, frag. 12 ἐξ ἀνέμων δὲ θάλασσα ταράσσεται ἢν δέ τις αὐτὴν / μὴ κινῆ, πάντων ἐστὶ δικαιοσύνη.

[b. 2] This early explanation of dreams is an attempt to get rid of the supernatural character attributed to them in primitive times. It remains the best explanation, however insufficient. Cf. Attius in Cic. *Div.* i, § 45 "rex, quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident, Quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt minus mirum est."

[c. 2] **εἰ . . . ποιήσεται** depends on μαθητέον ἔσται. Artabanus tests in this way his own explanation (b 2) of the dream as a natural phenomenon, while εἰ οὕτω δεδόκηται (3) means, if Xerxes has irrevocably determined on the change of clothes.

## vii. 18

Putting out the eyes has always been a common punishment in the East. So Nebuchadnezzar put out the eyes of Zedekiah (Jer. xxxix. 7, lii. 11), and men whose eyes had been put out for their crimes were a common sight in the highways within the government of Cyrus the younger (Xen. *An.* i. 9. 13).

## vii. 19–25

*Greatness of the expedition. Further preparations, especially the canal through Mount Athos and magazines.*

## vii. 19

**μάγοι ἔκριναν:** cf. i. 107. 1, 120. 1; Cic. *Div.* i, chap. 23. The interpretation of dreams and of other signs and wonders (cf. chap. 37. 2) was a special function of the Magi. For parallels in Egypt and Babylon cf. Gen. chap. xli, and Daniel chap. ii and iv. For the vision cf. i. 108.

The crown of olives is suspiciously Greek. It would most readily occur to the mind of an Athenian, who had observed the sudden change in the fortunes of Xerxes after the taking of the Acropolis and the destruction of the olive sacred to Athena (viii. 55; cf. v. 82). The change indicated by the fading of the crown, the Magi prudently ignored.

## vii. 20

The chronology here implied for the ten years (cf. Thuc. i. 18) between Marathon and Salamis would seem to be the following:

490 B.C. (autumn). Marathon.

490 B.C. (winter)—487 B.C. (spring). Orders given for another expedition, followed by three years (ἐπὶ τρία ἔτεα, vii. 1. 2), but apparently not full years (cf. below), of preparations.

487 B.C. (τετάρτῳ ἔτει, vii. 1. 3). Revolt of Egypt.

486 B.C. (autumn τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει). Death of Darius; cf. vii. 4 n.

485 B.C. Xerxes reduces Egypt (δευτέρῳ ἔτει μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὸν Δαρείου, vii. 7).

484 B.C. (spring)—480 B.C. (spring). Four *full* years of preparation (τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρη, vii. 20. 1).

480 B.C. (spring). In the spring of the fifth year the expedition proper begins with the march from Sardis (vii. 37. 1 ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι παρεσκευασμένος ὁ στρατὸς ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων ὄρματο). The march of the king from Susa by Critalla belongs to the preparations for the expedition.

[2] **στόλων . . . μέγιστος**. Thucydides grudgingly agrees (i. 23). This comparison of Xerxes' expedition with others (chaps. 20. 2–21. 1) reads like a later addition suggested by χειρὶ μεγάλης πλήθους. It interrupts the account of the preparations.

**τὸν Δαρείου**: cf. bk. iv, especially chaps. 83–98, 118–42.

**τὸν Σκυθικόν**: cf. i. 103f.; iv. 1. 11, 12.

**κατὰ τὰ λεγόμενα**: especially the "Catalogue," *Il.* ii. 484f.; cf. Thuc. i. 10.

**τὸν Μυσῶν**. H., our oldest authority, holds that this movement included both Teucrians and Mysians, and that they passed from Asia to Europe by the Bosphorus, and conquered Thracians as far as the Peneius and the Adriatic. His grounds appear to be (cf. Stein):

(1) The Paeonians regarded Teucrians from Troy as their ancestors (cf. v. 13. 2).

(2) Paeonian and kindred races were settled in scattered groups from the Propontis to the Illyrian mountains, e.g., in North Thessaly, in the Pelagonian (i.e., Paeonian) Tripolis; cf. the local legends of Dyrrhachium and the Cestrini on the Adriatic (Appian *B. Civ.* ii. 39; Paus. ii. 23. 6).

(3) The Bithynians claimed to be Thracians driven from their homes on the Strymon by Teucrians (vii. 75) and Mysians.

(4) A number of similar names are found on both sides the Hellespont (Strabo 590), e.g., in Thrace a river Arisbus, in Lesbos and the Troad towns called Arisba, at Troy a Scaean gate, in Thrace a Scaean fort and river.

(5) In Homer Priam's allies extend from Western Asia Minor to the Axios.

(6) The musical skill and orgiastic rites of Phrygia are attributed to the earliest Thracians. Strabo, in fact (470–1), completely identifies the two civilizations.

But, as Macan points out, all of these (except (1), which is itself disputable) are consistent with a “Mysian” migration from Thrace to Asia, while (2) and (3) distinctly favour the idea that the earlier habitat of the tribes in question was European. We may therefore prefer the later view (Strabo 295, 566), which represented the Mysians as immigrants from Thrace or Moesia. This is supported by H.’s statement (vii. 75) that this Teucro-Mysian movement drove the Bithynians from the Strymon to Asia, and by the earliest use of the word Mysian in Homer (*Il.* xiii. 5), where the race is placed in Thrace or Moesia. (In later passages (*Il.* ii. 858; x. 430) their habitat is doubtful, though presumably in Asia.) The tradition that the crossing was by the Bosphorus is confirmed by the statement of Strabo (566) that it was named of old the Mysian Bosphorus, and by the fact that this would be the natural crossing-place from Moesia to maritime Mysia near Cius (E. Meyer, *Troas*). Again, the Teucrians seem to have had no connection with the Mysians before they met in the Troad, but are best derived from Cyprus (Meyer, i, § 491 n.).

Finally, H. is led to date the migration before the Trojan war by the presence of Mysians in Homeric Thrace and their absence from the Troad. The rival theory naturally dated the movement into Mysia later, as Mysians and Teucrians are not found in the Troad in Homer. For a fuller discussion cf. Macan, ad loc.

Ἰόνιον πόντον: the Adriatic (vi. 127. 2; ix. 92. 2).

τὸ πρὸς μεσαμβρίας: southwards, adverbial accus.; cf. iv. 99. 1.

#### vii. 21

[2] ἄμα στρατευόμενοι. They had to furnish transports for horse, and also serve themselves. This also applies to those nations who furnished other kinds of ships or supplies; in the muster-roll (chap. 89f.) no tribe is missing.

μακρὰς νέας: i.e., triremes and penteconters (36. 1), which were better fitted than round-built merchant-ships to withstand the currents in the straits.

#### vii. 22

τοῦτο μὲν: taken up again with its antithesis, chap. 25. 1; cf. iv. 76. 1, with 78. 1.

προσπταισάντων. For the facts cf. vi. 44f.

ἐνθεῦτεν . . . ὀρμώμενοι: cf. v. 94. 2. At Elaeus, close to the southern point of the Thracian Chersonese, the fleet was left commanding the Hellespont; thence were brought materials for the work and supplies for the men landed on Athos (cf. chap. 23. 4).

ὑπὸ μαστίγων. The use of the whip was repulsive to the free Greek. It is, however, well attested for the Assyrians (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 110–13), the Persians (chaps. 56. 1, 223. 2; cf. 103. 4 and especially Xen. *An.* iii. 4, § 25), and the modern Turks.

[2] **κατῆκον**: reaching right down to the sea; so of a cape, chap. 33, but of the vale of Tempe 130. 1; cf. Thuc. iv. 109 ὁ Ἄθως αὐτῆς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος.

**Τορώνης**: cf. chap. 122.

[3] **Σάνη**: cf. Thuc. iv. 109 Σάνην μὲν Ἀνδρῶν ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα ἐς τὸ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην. Thucydides knows only this Sane on the Acte, which (with the five other small towns mentioned below, and Thuc. iv. 109; Strabo 330, frag. 33) belonged later to the Athenian confederacy, and is named on the Tribute-lists without any qualifying epithet; but H. (chap. 123) and Strabo (330, frag. 27) also mention a Sane on the western coast of Pallene.

## vii. 23

H. distinctly affirms both the completion (chap. 37) and the use of the canal (chap. 122); cf. Thuc. iv. 109. The ridicule cast on the assertion in antiquity (Juv. x. 174; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* 20) is entirely undeserved, and the doubts whether it was ever completed (Stein, Wecklein) are unwarranted. Demetrius of Scepsis, indeed (Strabo 331, frag. 35), declared that after passing through ten stades of earth the canal must have been stopped by a bank of rock a stade broad. At present there are said to be "about 200 yards in the middle where the ground bears no appearance of ever having been touched . . . But it is probable that the central part was afterwards filled up to allow a more ready passage into and out of the peninsula" (Wolfe, ap. Mayor, Juvenal, x. 174). "Captain Spratt (*RGS*, 1847) found distinct traces of the ancient cutting almost across the whole isthmus, only failing where the canal approached the sea, and somewhat indistinctly marked in the alluvial plain north of the hills (cf. also Leake, *N.G.* iii. 145; Hauvette, p. 291). The canal forms a line of ponds from two to eight feet deep and from sixty to ninety broad. It was cut through beds of tertiary sands and marls, being probably where it was deepest not more than sixty feet below the natural surface of the ground, which at its highest point rises only fifty-one feet above the sea-level" (Rawlinson). The work was not great but easy, hence Stein's comparison with the Corinth canal (cf. app. xvi, § 4), where there is a mile of rock and the land rises 255 feet above the sea, is misleading.

The distance across, 2,500 yards, agrees nearly with the "twelve stades" of H., but its breadth may have been less than he implies (chap. 24). Demetrius gives 100 feet, which agrees better with the modern remains (cf. above). With the making of the canal may be connected the hoard of 300 Darics found in the neighbourhood before 1840 (Borell, *Num. Chron.* vi. 153).

[*Additional note* (1928). A. Struck (*Chalkidike*, 67–70), while agreeing that the shortest distance across is about 2,500 yards, points out that the canal does not take that line and curves a little, so that along its course the distance is nearly 2,700 yards. He says that, while the existing remains do not prove that the canal was finished, it would not have been difficult to complete it, and the traces might easily disappear.]

ἐπὶ βάρθρων: rather steps or stages in the side of the canal than ladders. The ascription to the expert Phoenicians (cf. vi. 47) alone of the only possible way of making the canal shows that H. is here repeating a popular story (Hauvette, p. 291; Macan, ii. 147).

[3] κάτω τε δή. Parataxis as in chap. 12. 1.

τοῖσι ἄλλοισι: brachylogy for τοῖσι τῶν ἄλλων ἔργοισι.

#### vii. 24

For the canal of Darius cf. ii. 158. 1 n. Xerxes may no doubt have wished to rival his father (chap. 8 a), but that his motive was pride is avowedly a suggestion of H. Indeed, the importance attached to the canal seems due to the historian. Aeschylus never mentions it, though he refers repeatedly to the Hellespont Bridge (*Pers.* 69f., 130, 723, 745). Only later did the turning of land into sea as well as sea into land by Xerxes become a rhetorical commonplace (Juv. x. 173; Mayor, ad loc.). But in the opinion of Leake (loc. cit., quoted in full by Grote, Abridgement, p. 170) Xerxes was perfectly justified in cutting this canal as well from the security which it afforded his fleet (cf. chap. 22. 1) as from the facility of the work and the advantages of the ground, which seems made expressly to tempt such an undertaking. The canal (if renewed) would be useful for the navigation of the Aegean, since there are between the Hellespont and Salonica no harbours protected against the Southwest wind (Scirocco), while if the canal were available, ships might shelter from it in the bay of Acanthus, and from the North wind in the Singitic gulf (Anderson, *Papers of Univ. Coll.*, Sheffield, 1897, p. 221).

For such transportation cf. the famous Δίορκος at Corinth, traces of which still remain (Thuc. iii. 15, viii. 7 and 8; Polyb. iv. 19, v. 101), and the similar transport at Leucas (Thuc. iii. 81, iv. 8) and Tarentum (Polyb. viii. 36). But the operation would have taken time and might have been difficult for so vast a fleet.

Στρομόνα: cf. chap. 114.

#### vii. 25

ὄπλα: cables (chap. 36. 1, 3; ix. 115, 121).

βύβλινα: cf. ii. 92. 5 n.

λευκολίνου: parallel to βύβλινα (cf. chap. 34); the adjective λευκολίνης is first used 349 B.C. (*CIG* 155. 11). λευκολίνου, not white flax, which would be too weak, but λευκέα (imported by Hiero II from Spain for the ropes of his state-galley Athenaeus, 206), i.e., *Spartogras*, *stipa tenacissima*, which the Phoenicians may have learned to use in Spain long before the time of Xerxes (Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, E.T., p. 134).

καταβάλλειν: loosely connected with παρεσκευάζετο; cf. iv. 64. 3; viii. 107. 1 ad fin. The sense is then resumed in καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευε, to bring in the additional circumstances in the dependent clause ἀναπυθόμενος δέ, etc. (cf. iii. 9. 4; v. 21. 2).

καταβάλλειν cannot depend on ἐπιτάξας, as others beside the Phoenicians and Egyptians transported supplies (§ 2).

[2] **Λευκὴ Ἀκτὴ**: a headland on the Propontis (Pseudo-Scylax *Periplus* 68; Lysias *Alc.* § 27. 142, with Harpocration (s.v.)), near the Thracian Chersonese. H. first mentions the chief magazine, which would serve for the first march or two from Abydos, then the others in order from east to west.

**Τυρόδιζα**: said to be (Steph. Byz.) “a city of Thrace, after Serrhium” in the tribute-list of 425 B.C. (Hicks, 64). Now Serrhium is near Doriscus (Livy xxxi. 16) and Cape Serrhium (chap. 59. 2) = Cape Makri, but Tyrodiza belongs to the Hellespontine not the Thracian district, and such a situation is more in accordance with its dependence on Perinthus, hence Stein seems right in identifying it with **Τειρόστασις**, placed by Pseudo-Scylax (68), just after Leuce Acte, and in interpreting the common Thracian termination διζα as equivalent to στασις. At Doriscus (chap. 58), Eion (chap. 113), and Therma (121) the army halted.

**ἐπὶ Στρομόνι**: added to distinguish this Eion (cf. viii. 118. 1; Thuc. i. 98, iv. 50) from **Ἡιών ἢ ἐπὶ Θράκης Μενδαίων ἀποικία** (Thuc. iv. 7), apparently in Chalcidice on the Thermaic gulf.

## **vii. 26–32**

*The march from Critalla to Sardis. The riches of Pythius the Lydian.*

### **vii. 26**

**ἄπας**. Clearly the contingents from Western Asia Minor would not join the king till he reached Sardis or Abydos, but H. insists on the muster at Critalla.

Critalla, otherwise unknown, must have been at some great meeting-place of roads in Eastern Asia Minor. Macan (ii. 128f.) identifies it with Tyana, believing that Xerxes kept south of the Halys and the desert, along the route followed by the Roman road from Tyana to Iconium, and thence to Tyriaeum and Celaenae. But this route, whether in this form, or in that described by Strabo (663), seems to be no earlier than the fourth century. As Xerxes crossed the Halys (§ 3), Critalla should be somewhere on the Royal road (cf. v. 52), perhaps at Caesarea Mazaca, and Xerxes must have followed the circuitous route of that road by Pteria, Ancyra, and Pessinus. He must then have turned south into the Maeander valley to avoid the rough and difficult route by Satala and the Hermus valley.

[*Additional note* (1928). Calder (*CR* xxxix (1925), p. 9) would place Critalla near Sebasteia (Sivas) and make Xerxes follow the route of Cyrus across the Halys and over the plateau to Sardis, but Ramsay now holds (*JHS* xl (1920), pp. 89f.) that Herodotus knew nothing of Xerxes' route from Critalla to Celaenae, and inserted the Halys merely as the boundary between Phrygia and Cappadocia. He believes that Xerxes must have come through the Cilician gates, and places Critalla near Cybistra. He holds that the necessary and unavoidable line of march for a large army thence to Celaenae is the southern or Pisidian route along the southern edge

of Lycaonia by Laranda, and so past the lakes Trogitis, Karalis, and Limnae to Celaenae.]

[3] **Κελαινάς**: an important town in the plain at the junction of the Marsyas and the Maeander. To the northeast was its acropolis on an outlying spur of the range Djebel-Sultan. Xerxes, on his return from Greece, is said to have built him a palace by the source of the Marsyas and a fortress on the acropolis above, while the younger Cyrus had a palace at the source of the Maeander and a large park round it (Xen. *An.* i. 2. 7, 8). Apameia was built by Antiochus I (ca. 275 B.C.) above the old town on the banks of the Marsyas. (For a full description see Ramsay, *C.B.*, 396–483.) Its most striking feature is the group of springs that form the headwater of the Maeander. A coin of Apameia, struck under Gordian, shows the local goddess surrounded by four river-gods entitled Μαί(ανδρος), Μαρ(σύας), Θέρ(μα), Ὀρ(γάς). Of these the Therma must be the modern Ilidja, the only hot-spring of the place, while the Orgas may be the modern Norgas Chai; the Maeander is probably the Sheik Arab Su, rising in or near a lake behind a protruding ridge of Mount Djebel-Sultan, thence rushing down a ravine into the plain, but afterwards flowing gently round the spur of the protruding ridge and through the plain till it is joined by the Marsyas in the lower city of Celaenae. The Marsyas, called by H. Καταρρηκτης, was a rapid stream 25 feet broad, rising in a cave beneath the acropolis, and flowing through the city; cf. Xen. *An.* i. 2.7; Strabo 577–8. Clearly this is the Dineir Water, described by Hamilton (i. 499): “At the base of a rocky cliff a considerable stream of water gushes out with great rapidity . . . It appeared as if it had formerly risen in the centre of a great cavern and that the surrounding rocks had fallen in from the cliffs above.” This entirely agrees with the descriptions of undoubted eyewitnesses, Xenophon and Strabo, who state that it rose from beneath the Acropolis hill. Possibly the Agora was just below, but more probably H. is in error. For a full discussion of the streams, with many references, cf. Ramsay, *C.B.*, 397–412, 451–7.

Xenophon (loc. cit.) says he saw the skin of Marsyas in the cave where the stream rose. Perhaps the local river-god, Masnes or Masses (Müller, *FHG* iv. 629), whose stream made music and whose symbol was a water-skin, was confused with the spirit of flute-music. At any rate the mythical contest of Apollo and Marsyas typifies the struggle between the wilder Phrygian flute-music and the soberer music of the Greek lyre. Hence Marsyas is connected with other local heroes, “inventors” of the flute and Phrygian mode, Hyagnis and Olympus, and also with the worship of the Mother of the Gods, and of Dionysus.

**Σιληνοῦ**. Marsyas is also called a Satyr, but this is a distinction without a difference, according to Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, 388).

#### vii. 27

**ὑποκατήμενος**, “awaited”; usually of lying in wait for (viii. 40. 2).

**Πύθιος**: probably a son of the unfortunate son of Croesus (i. 34), who had inherited the colossal wealth of the Mermnad kings, since in the days of Cyrus it

was not customary to confiscate the goods of conquered monarchs, and the Mermnadae had apparently taken no part in any revolt against Darius. The name Pythius might be due to Croesus' relation with Delphi (cf. v. 94 n., and the sons of Cimon Lacedaemonius, Eleius, and Thessalus). Plutarch (*Mor.* 263b), in his moralizing tale, makes him governor of a city and an owner of gold mines.

[2] **πλατανίστω . . . ἀμπέλω**: both were believed to be the works of Theodorus the Samian (Phot. *Bibl.* 612 ff.; Himer. *Ecl.* xxxi. 8), and were renowned less for size than for the workmanship and precious stones, e.g., the bunches of grapes on the vine (Athenaeus xii. 514f.). The date of the artist (cf. i. 51. 3; iii. 41. 1) shows that they must have been made for Alyattes and inherited by Pythius. After their transference to the treasury at Susa they became wonders of the world, though Antiochus the Arcadian, anxious to depreciate the resources of Persia, declared τὴν ὑμνουμένην χρυσοῦν πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 38). Their fame continued even in the middle ages, long after they had been melted down by Antigonus, 316 B.C. (Diodorus, xix. 48).

#### vii. 28

[2] **Δαρκεῖων**. On the gold "Daric" cf. iii. 89. 2 n.

#### vii. 30

**Ἄναυα**. The bitter salt lake Adji. Tuz. Göl, near Tchardak (cf. Ramsay, *C.B.*, 218, 230–1). Hamilton, i. 503: "Owing to the great evaporation constantly going on the salt crystallizes on the surface and is scraped off with large wooden spades."

**Colossae**, three miles NNW. from the modern Chonas (Χῶναι), lies on the banks of the Lycus on rising ground that overhangs the river at the point where it enters a deep and picturesque gorge. It remained in 401 B.C. a populous city, prosperous and great (Xen. *An.* i. 2. 6), but decayed after the foundation of Laodicea (probably 260 B.C.), and was in Strabo's time a small town (πόλισμα) (Strabo 576). H.'s account of the underground course of the Lycus is improbable compared with Strabo's, who says (578): "It flows for the greater part of its course underground, and thereafter appears to view and joins other rivers." This is the modern native account, according to which the source of the Lycus is in the lake of Anaua (just as that of the Maeander is in that of Aurocrene; cf. above). It issues from its underground course near Dere-Keui from beneath a chasm, where the sound of a subterranean river can be distinctly heard (Hamilton, i. 507). There is no probability that the Lycus ever flowed at Colossae through an underground channel five stadia long, or that arches were formed over it as over some smaller streams by petrification; but the stream does pass through a deep and narrow cleft of about that length, and in places goes underground for a few yards. H. has erroneously combined these facts; cf. G. Weber, *MAI* (1891), xv. 196f.; and for a more far-fetched explanation Ramsay, *C.B.*, 209–11.

[2] **Κύδραρον**: identified by Radet (Lydie, p. 324f.) with the Caraura of Strabo (578), on the boundary of Phrygia and *Caria*, but the name is interchangeable with

Hydrela (Livy xxxvii. 56), the variation of ρ and λ being common. If so, it lay north of the Lycus, and southeast of the Maeander near Hierapolis (Steph. Byz.). A position in the valley of the Lycus, just before it joins the Maeander, suits H.'s narrative (Ramsay, *C.B.*, 85, 172–5).

#### vii. 31

**Καλλάτηβον.** Clearly in the Cogamus valley, probably near Ine Göl, since the tamarisk-tree, which gave the inhabitants their staple industry, is very abundant in the neighbourhood, but does not grow in the mountain passes to the southeast (Hamilton, ii. 374f.). Radet's restoration of the name in an inscription found at Baharlar is shown to be most improbable (Anderson, *JHS* xviii. 87–9).

The "honey" was made by thickening the tamarisk syrup with wheat-flour; cf. i. 193. 4; iv. 194. For the Persians' pride in the cultivation of trees cf. chap. 5. 3 n. Pliny (xvi, § 240) saw a similar tree near Apamea-Celaenae, and Hamilton (i. 517) "the half-ruined trunk of one of the most gigantic he had ever seen" near Laodiceia ad Lycum. So a Lycian tree was honoured by the legate Licinius Mucianus for its girth and shade (Plin. xii, § 9). The Chinar or oriental plane is honoured in Persia (Yule, *Marco Polo*, i. 135).

**ἀθανάτω.** When the appointed guardian died, a successor was ready to take his place (Abicht), so there was always a guardian. "Le roi est mort, vive le roi." It was for the same reason that the 10,000 were called "Immortals" (chap. 83. 1), but it does not seem likely that one of them was detailed for this duty (Rawlinson).

With this account of Xerxes' march from Celaenae to Sardis should be compared the Anabasis of Cyrus in the opposite direction (Xen. *An.* i. 2. 6–9) and the distances there given (Macan, ii. 130).

#### vii. 32

Sparta and Athens were excluded for the reasons given in chap. 133. For the earlier mission cf. vi. 48.

33–7 *The bridges over the Hellespont.*

#### vii. 33

**οἱ δέ.** The Phoenicians and Egyptians entrusted with the work (chaps. 25. 1, 34. 1).

**ἄκτῆ:** a wooded hilly promontory on the European side between the bays of Sestos (Zemenik) and Coila (Kilia). Madytus (Maito) is a small town some miles further south (Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 3). Abydos lay at Cape Nagara, where there are ruins, but of its harbour no trace remains, and much of its great plain (chap. 45) has disappeared, washed away by the strong currents (34 n.).

**χρόνω:** i.e., in 478 B.C.; cf. ix. 116f. for details.

#### vii. 34

**τὴν μὲν λευκολίνου** (sc., γεφύραν from ἐγεφύρουν). The author can speak of one bridge as made of "White-flax" (25. 1) and the other of byblus, because the

cables are the foundation of the whole bridge, and the bridge is, as it were, suspended on them (ἐντεταμέναι, viii. 117. 1; ix. 114. 1).

**ἐπτὰ στάδιοι.** This is the distance given by almost all ancient authors (iv. 85. 4; Plin. *H.N.* iv, § 75), so that the strait was known as ἑπταστάδιον (Strabo 125, 591); Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 8. 5) says not more than eight. The measurement can never have been correct except for the very narrowest part, which now measures over 2,000 yards, i.e., over ten stades. The difference may be explained by the washing away of the coasts by the strong currents which strike the European shore near Sestos and then rebound on the Asiatic at Abydos (cf. chap. 36 n.). H., from the way he gives the measurement here, seems to have held that both bridges were placed on each occasion at the narrowest part of the strait, but his view would seem to neglect the following considerations:

- (1) That the different number of ships used for the two bridges (chap. 36. 1) implies a difference of site or of angle.
- (2) That the current would be strongest in the narrowest part.
- (3) That not the cape itself, but the little valleys on either side would be the most convenient landing-places for the host.

[*Additional note (1928).* Leaf (*Troy*, 368–9, 402; Strabo on the Troad, 122), denying the possibility of erosion on any large scale, holds that Herodotus, having rightly stated (iv. 85) that the Hellespont is only seven stades in width at its narrowest point, i.e., between Chanak and Kilid Bahr, here (vii. 34) fell into the natural error of supposing that the bridge was at the narrowest point.]

### vii. 35

**ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι** = μαστιγῶσαι, hence with double accusative. For ἐφικέσθαι cf. Plato *Hp. Mai.* 292a ἂν τύχη βακτηρίαν ἔχων . . . εὖ μάλα μου ἐφικέσθαι πειράσεται: cf. also Soph. *O.T.* 809.

Clearly to H. the implication was that the Hellespont was a slave to be scourged and chained; cf. Juv. x. 183, Mayor ad loc. The scourging, has, however, been interpreted (Spiegel, *Eranisch. Alter.* ii. 191) as a religious ceremony, or an attempt by magical rites to compel the Hellespont to submit. Again, the chains have been supposed to be an over-literal interpretation of Aeschylus' figurative description of the bridges (*Pers.* 746) ὅστις Ἑλλάσποντον ἰρόν, δοῦλον ὡς, δεσμώμασιν / ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον, ῥόον θεοῦ, / καὶ πόρον μετερρῦθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις / περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῶ στρατῶ (Thirlwall, Stein, etc.). But H., who found the supposed branding suspicious, considered the other punishments (again alleged, chap. 54. 3; viii. 109. 3) a natural trait in Xerxes, in consonance with other rewards and punishments bestowed or inflicted by Persians on irrational or inanimate things iii. 16; vii. 54, 88). Religious and legal survivals show us how common the idea once was. Thus at Athens animals which had killed a human being, as well as inanimate instruments of death, were tried for murder (*Ath. Pol.* 57, ad fin.; Dem. *Aristoc.* 76. 645), and this

old-world practice is approved by Plato (*Leg.* 873–4). So Pausanias has recorded the punishment of two statues for accidental homicide (v. 27. 10; vi. 11. 6). The same point is illustrated by the ritual of the Bouphonia, Paus. i. 24. 4 (Frazer ad loc.), i. 28. 11; the guilt of slaying the ox is cast on the inanimate axe or knife. In the Zendavesta (*Vendid.* xiii. 5. 31) a dog (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 24), in the Jewish law an ox (*Exodus* xxi. 28), might be punished for murder. Animals were frequently tried in courts on the continent of Europe from A.D. 1120 to 1740. Finally, “an Old English law only repealed in the reign of Victoria ordained that a beast that killed a man, a cartwheel that ran over him, or a tree that fell on him and killed him, was deodand, given to God, i.e., forfeited and sold for the benefit of the poor” (Tylor, *P.C.* i. 286; Frazer, *P.*, ii. 371. 2).

**ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα:** of a variant or additional story not credited by the author; cf. iv. 77. 2 n.

**στυγέας.** Runaway slaves were branded on the forehead as a punishment; cf. *Ar. Av.* 760 *δραπέτης ἐστιγμένος*, and Diphilus, *ap. Athen.* 225; and for Roman parallels *Juv.* xiv. 24 with Mayor’s note. The branding of the Thebans (chap. 233. 2 n.) is probably a malicious tale.

[2] **θύει:** as to other water and rivers (i. 131. 2, 138. 2; cf. vii. 113. 2). The contempt for salt water, compared with the fertilizing water of springs and rivers, seems a genuinely Iranian view.

**ποταμῶ.** The narrow land-locked Hellespont, with a stream running some three knots an hour, presents to a person sailing in it the appearance of a river: hence to Homer it is *ἀγάρροος*, and (for a river) *πλατύς* and *ἀπείρων*.

## vii. 36

This account of the bridges is full of unsolved difficulties. It is impossible to describe mechanism intelligibly without diagrams, as is shown by the obscurities in Caesar’s account of his bridge over the Rhine (*B. Gall.* iv. 17). Further, since the bridges had long since perished, H. had to rely on hearsay, supplemented perhaps by inspection of the remains of the cables at Athens (§ 3; cf. ix. 121). He adds to the difficulties of the description by attempting to give us the actual process of construction in four stages:

- (1) “The putting of the bridge together.” It is significant that of this, the really important operation, he gives no account (§ 1).
- (2) The securing of the bridge by anchors (§ 2).
- (3) The stretching cables across to form the support of the roadway (§ 3).
- (4) The making of the roadway (§§ 4, 5).

Cf. further Macan, ii, app. ii, p. 142f.

**τοῖσι . . . τιμή:** a periphrasis for executioners; cf. chaps. 39. 3, 238. 2; iii. 29. 2.

**ἄλλοι ἀρχιτέκτονες.** The bridge-builder is said to have been Harpalus (Diels, *Laterculi Alexandrini*, p. 8, *Abh. Berlin. Akad.* 1904).

**συνθέντες** (cf. § 2): not fastening the ships together as in a pontoon, but “so placing them, that, while each of them was held in position by its own anchors, they lay in a line under the cables, near enough together to support them, and far enough apart to keep clear of each other in a high sea.” Arrian (*Anab.* v. 7) describes the operation as carried out by the Romans, contrasting their method with that described by H. The varying number of vessels used in the two bridges is due to the varying breadth of the straits (cf. 34 n.). H. does not mean that one bridge was built of triremes and the other of penteconters, but that both triremes and penteconters were used in both bridges, the triremes being used where the current flowed strongest, while differences in height above the water could be met by differences in loading.

**ὑπὸ μὲν τήν** (sc., γέφυραν). H. regards the cables with the roadway as the true bridge.

**τὴν ἐτέρην:** the bridge towards the Aegean as distinct from that nearer the Euxine.

**ἐπικαρσίας** (cf. i. 180. 3; iv. 101. 3 n.), “at an angle,” and properly at a right angle (Liddell & Scott).

The passage is taken in two completely different ways:

(1) The whole of it is referred to both bridges (Grote, v. 362f.; Rawlinson, Macan). “The boats, which are parallel to the stream of the Hellespont (κατὰ ῥόον), are at a right angle to the Pontus.” The Hellespont in general is of course not at a right angle to the Euxine, or to the Propontis, if the Pontus includes that (cf. chap. 95 n.), though the portion between Abydos and Madytus (but not that between Abydos and Sestos) is. But H., who is often loose in his orientation, may well have believed the Hellespont to be at right angles to the Pontus. (Schweig., thinking the Pontus too remote, conjectured πόρου.) On this interpretation H. states rather loosely an obvious fact.

(2) Stein (cf. also Grundy, p. 215; Hauvette, p. 295) takes ἐπικαρσίας as referring to the upper (NE.) bridge, and κατὰ ῥόον to the lower (SW.) one. He takes ἐπικαρσίας to mean “athwart the current,” and believes that H. has misunderstood or misreported his informants. He thinks the passage refers to the peculiarity of the local currents reported by Strabo (591). The current is not parallel to the banks, but a little south of Sestos, near the tower of Hero, runs right across the strait to Abydos (cf. Polyb. xvi. 29), so that if you want to cross from Sestos to Abydos you row down to the tower of Hero and then are carried across by the current; if from Abydos to Sestos, you row a mile along the Asiatic shore before crossing, so as to avoid meeting the current full. The landing-place near Sestos was called Ἀπόβαθρα, and here, by the Ἀκτὴ Σεστίας καθ’ ἣν τὸ Ξέροξου ζεῦγμα, was the end of the northeast bridge (Strabo 331, frag. 55). Hence the ships

of the northeast bridge would have been “oblique” to the direction of the straits, because their prows were turned to face the strong local cross-current, while those of the southwest bridge would be strictly parallel to the banks of the Hellespont.

The objections to this interpretation are (a) the inferior meaning given to ἐπικαρσίας and the extreme difficulty of separating it from κατὰ ῥόον; (b) the improbability that H., who ignores the current, should thus indirectly and obscurely allude to its action.

ἀνακωχεύη (sc., ἡ γέφυρα): so that the bridge (i.e., here the moored ships) might give the strained cables support (abstract for concrete; cf. § 4 and ix. 118. 1). Bähr, however, thinks the cables are those of the anchors mentioned in the next line, and that the current (ὁ ῥόος) was to “keep these taut.”

[2] τῆς δὲ ἐτέρης: short for τὰς δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης. Clearly each row of ships must have had anchors on both sides to keep it in place. H. is either stating this imperfectly or altogether omits these ordinary anchors in his anxiety to draw attention to those of special size and strength on the side of exposure. The northeast bridge would feel the gales from the Euxine, the southwest one those from the Aegean.

ἐσπέρης. The Hellespont just below Abydos runs north and south, but the opening to the Aegean is nearly due west, so H. here lays stress on this aspect, but rightly mentions the south as well as the west wind.

διέκπλοον . . . ὑπόφασιν, “an opening or passage through,” clearly in both bridges available for small craft, which could ship their masts and pass under the cables.

τριχοῦ: three openings are unlikely, though two might be useful. Hence the emendation τριηρέων (with or without διχοῦ) seems necessary.

[3] ὄνοισι. They made and kept the cables taut “by wooden capstans” on either shore. If H. means that the cables were all in one piece, he is of course wrong, as the weight would be too great; doubtless each was made in eight or ten pieces; the length of modern cables is 720 feet.

οὐκέτι, “not again,” the failure of the first bridge being ascribed to the weakness of the cables.

κατὰ λόγον, “proportionately” (i. 134. 2). The four byblos ropes were absolutely heavier than the two esparto-grass.

τάλαντον: probably the talent of commerce weighing 138/100 of the Attic coinage standard, i.e., according to Hultsch (*Metrol.*<sup>2</sup> 135) 36.15 Kilo, roughly 80 lb., or, according to Gardner, 37.7 Kilo, nearly 84 lb. For the cubit cf. i. 178. 3 n.

[5] κόσμῳ (cf. ii. 52. 1). “They arranged the planks evenly so as to form a flat surface and then fastened them together above by cross-beams” (cf. ii. 96. 2).

ῥλην: probably brushwood, though Stein (on the ground of κόσμῳ θέντες) construes “timber.”

## vii. 37–43

*The march from Sardis to Abydos. The petition of Pythius and its punishment. The order of the march.*

### vii. 37

**κατεσκεύαστο.** Xerxes' delay of a month at Abydos (viii. 51. 1) is most naturally explained by the supposition that the *second* bridge was not finished.

**χυτοί** = χώματα (iii. 60. 3), "moles." The neglect of these breakwaters would account for the silting up of the canal at its two ends.

**ἄμα τῷ ἔαρι.** Early in April, 480 B.C. Xerxes took three months to march from the Hellespont to Athens (viii. 54. 1). He probably reached Athens about the middle of September, and must have taken ten days at least to march from Thermopylae to Athens (about 100 miles), which agrees with the fact that the fighting at Thermopylae took place just after the Olympian festival (Aug. 17–20), that is in the last ten days of August. From Therma to Thermopylae (about 175 miles) Xerxes had marched rapidly in fourteen (or perhaps sixteen) days (vii. 183, 196). If we add the delay at Thermopylae (6–8 days), it follows that Xerxes left Therma at the beginning of August. He had halted there for a good many days (vii. 131), and at Abydos (viii. 51 and above) a month. A month is not too long to allow for the march from Sardis to Abydos (250 miles), nor a month and a half from Sestos to Therma (over 300 miles). This calculation agrees with H.'s three months from Sestos to Athens (viii. 51), and adding forty-five days for his return (viii. 115), with the seven months of the king's absence (Nep. *Them.* 5).

[2] According to the calculations of Zech and Hofmann (cf. Busolt, ii. 662, 715) five eclipses took place in the years (481–478): (1) Total, April 18, 481, visible on the Indian Ocean (and at Susa). (2) Total, April 8, 480, visible from New Zealand to South America. (3) Partial, October, 480, visible in Corinth and at Sardis; this eclipse is mentioned by H., ix. 10. 3. (4) Partial, Feb. 27, 479, visible in Siberia and the Polar Seas. (5) Annular, Feb. 16, 478, visible in Sardis. Since this is the only one visible in Sardis in spring it has usually been held that it was erroneously predated in local tradition to connect it with the expedition, superstition naturally converting such phenomena into omens (cf. i. 74 and vi. 98). The chronology cannot be altered to suit the eclipse of 478, since its accuracy is guaranteed by the eclipse in the autumn of 480 (cf. ix. 10. 3), and by the fact that the expedition of Xerxes took place in an Olympic year (vii. 206. 2; viii. 26. 2, 72). Meyer (iii, § 205 n.) follows Judeich (*Hist. Zeit.* xlii, 148) in the probable suggestion that the error consists in the transference of the eclipse seen at Susa in 481 to Sardis in 480. If so the connection with Pythius would be due to a false combination by H., but the error would be trifling compared with that of pre-dating the eclipse of 478.

[3] **ὁ θεός** = ἥλιος. προδέκτωρ, coined from προδείκνυμι, "one who foreshows." The declaration that the sun is the prophet of the Greeks might be justified to a Greek by the identification with Apollo, the god of oracles at Delphi, Branchidae, etc., but it cannot be a Persian view, since Mithra, the god of light, identified at

least in the popular religion with the sun, is next in honour to Ormuzd (cf. chap. 54. 2). Cf. i. 131. n.

**vii. 38**

[3] If Pythius was the grandson of Croesus (chap. 27. 1), he would probably be between seventy and eighty in 480 B.C.

**vii. 39**

[3] For a parallel case of punishment by Darius cf. iv. 84. Gobineau (*Hist. des Perses*, ii. 195) remarks that it was a Persian custom to make those one wished to preserve from harm pass between two parts of a sacrificed animal (cf. Gen. xv. 10, 17; Jer. xxxiv. 18, 19); the more valuable the victim the greater the efficacy of the charm. Thus the slaughter of the son of Pythius might be a propitiatory sacrifice for the army. But the whole story has the look of a legend.

**vii. 40**

**ἀναμίξις.** The tribal levies marched one close upon another, not in well-marked orderly divisions (οὐ διακεκριμένοι). For διακεκριμένοι after στρατός cf. viii. 28. 1. n.

[2] The guards preceding the king kept their spear-heads lowered as a sign of respect; cf. iii. 128. 4.

**ἵρσι:** sacred to Mithra.

**Νησαῖοι** or **Νισαῖοι.** The Nesaeon breed of horses (iii. 106. 2; ix. 20. 5) was famous throughout antiquity, but the position of the plain is not quite clear. Arrian (*Anab.* vii. 13, cf. Strabo 525; Diodorus, xvii. 110) clearly identified it with the great pastures (λειμών ἰππόβοτος, Strabo) on the road from Ispahan and Behistun to Hamadan (Egbatana), where in ancient, as in modern times, great herds of thoroughbreds were kept. This, as H. says, is in Media, and might be the Median district Nisâya mentioned by Darius in the Behistun inscription (i. 13. 10). The region Nisâya in the Vendidad (i, §§ 8–26) is much further east, lying in the neighbourhood of Merv, i.e., Margiana; it might then be Nisaea, capital of Parthyene (Pliny vi. 113; cf. Isidore of Charax, 254, Miller), placed by Strabo (509, 511) near Hyrcania on the river Ochus.

[4] **Διός:** i.e., Ormuzd (i. 131 n.). Xenophon, in a description of the train of Cyrus (*Cyr.* viii. 3. 9f.), adds a chariot of the Sun (Mithra) and another sacred to the element of Fire. These may be the customs of a century later.

**παρεβέβηκεε,** “stood by his side” (cf. i. 181. 3). Of the charioteer here and *Il.* xi. 522 Ἐκτορι παραβεβαώς, but usually of the combatant (παραβάτης), e.g., *Il.* xi. 104.

**vii. 41**

**ὄκως . . . αἰρέοι,** “when the fancy took him” (cf. i. 132. 3 n.; iv. 127. 3).

**ἄρμα:** a light chariot used by the Persian (e.g., Darius at Issus and Arbela; Arr. ii. 11; iii. 15) as by the Assyrian kings for war and the chase, as well as on occasions of state.

**ἀρμάμαξαν:** a covered wagon used mainly by women (chap. 83. 2; cf. Xen. *An.* i. 2. 16). Aeschylus, *Pers.* 1000 says Xerxes used σκηναῖς τροχηλάτοις. The practice is ridiculed by Aristophanes, *Ach.* 70 ἐσκηνημένοι ἐφ' ἀρμαμαξῶν μαλθακῶς κατακειμένοι.

**κατὰ νόμον:** i.e., upwards, as opposed to the troops mentioned chaps. 40. 2, 41. 2.

**μύριοι:** the so-called "Immortals" (chap. 83).

[2] **μῆλα** (sc., χρυσέα): so Athen. xii, p. 514b ἐπὶ τῶν στυράκων μῆλα χρυσᾶ ἔχοντες. These troops were called μηλοφόροι, and seem to be represented on sculptures at Persepolis.

#### vii. 42

The phrases **ἐπὶ τε Κάϊκον . . . ἀπὸ δὲ Κάϊκου**, and the mention of Cane, imply that Xerxes took the longer but easier road down the Hermus, and along the coast by Cyme, Myrina, and Elaea, not that over the hills by Lake Gygaea to Thyatira and Germe, and then down the Caicus valley to Atarneus. Cane is the modern Karadagh, the cape opposite Mytilene, forming one extremity of the bay of Adramyttium, Lectum (ix. 114) being the other. For Atarneus cf. i. 160; vi. 28, 29.

**Θήβης πεδίου.** The beautiful and fertile plain, reaching from the head of the gulf of Adramyttium to Antandrus, is named after the Homeric Θήβη ὑποπλακίη (*Il.* vi. 396; xxii. 479), the birthplace of Andromache, of which city Strabo (612) saw ruins at the foot of Mount Ida. The chief town of the plain was Adramyttium, where the ejected Delians settled in the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. v. 1; viii. 108). For Adramyttium, Thebe, and Atarneus cf. Leaf, *Strabo*, 318–29, and for Antandrus, *ibid.* pp. 263–5.

**Ἄντανδρον:** cf. v. 26.

**Πελασγίδα:** because Pelasgians once dwelt there (Conon 41; Mela i. 18); cf. Myres, *JHS* xxvii. 194. Alcaeus (Strabo 606) wrote πρῶτα μὲν Ἄντανδρος Λελέγων πόλις, and Aristotle (Steph. Byz. s.v.) said of Antandrus Ἰδωνίδα διὰ τὸ Θράκας Ἰδωνοὺς ὄντας οἰκῆσαι ἢ Κιμμέριδα Κιμμερίων ἐνοικοῦντων ἑκατον ἔτη.

[2] **τὴν Ἰδὴν δὲ λαβὼν, ἐς ἀριστερῆν.** With this stopping the meaning is that from Antandrus Xerxes turned inland, and after he had reached or occupied Ida, marched to the left, presumably down the valley of the Scamander to Troy. Xenophon, who marched along this route in the opposite direction from Ophryneum near Rhoeteum, past Troy to Antandrus, also speaks of going over Mount Ida (*An.* vii. 8. 7, 8).

[Additional note (1928). Leaf (*Strabo*, 264) says Xerxes must have gone by a path up the spur which forms the eastern boundary of Antandrus to a col 4,560 ft. high

over the eastern shoulder of Mt. Ida, and must have passed through the artificial cuttings through two rock barriers known as the Portai.]

**πρώτα.** The second event is the panic (chap. 43. 2).

#### **vii. 43**

The bed of the Scamander (Mendere) is some 200 feet wide, but in the dry season the stream becomes a slender brook only three feet deep (RGS xii. 34).

**τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον.** The Homeric Πέργαμος ἄκρη, the acropolis of New Ilium, the modern Hissarlik, excavated by Schliemann and Dörpfeld.

[2] **ἐκείνων ἕκαστα,** “all the particulars of the events there” (cf. v. 13. 3).

**τῇ Ἰλιάδι:** the πολιοῦχος of Ilium to whom the Trojan women vainly prayed (*Il.* vi. 269, 297f.). The worship continued at New Ilium (*Xen. Hell.* i. 1. 4; Timaeus, frag. 66, *FHG* i. 207; *Plut. Mor.* 557d), where Alexander the Great sacrificed to the goddess (*Arr. Anab.* i. 11. 7).

**χοὰς . . . τοῖσι ἥρωσι.** The Magi were little likely to pour libations to the dead heroes who fell before Troy. We must therefore suppose either that this sacrifice to Athena and the heroes was intended to conciliate the Asiatic Greeks (Hauvette, p. 303; cf. viii. 54, 133; ix. 42), or that H. has misunderstood some Iranian rites (cf. chap. 113. 2; Duncker, vii. 202, v. 175).

**Γέργιθας:** the name of the tribe whose chief town (called Γέργις, Γέργιθα, Γέργιθος) lay on the east side of the Μαρκαῖον ὄρος (*Steph. Byz.*), possibly at Balydagh (*Meyer*, i, § 491 n.; cf. *Klio* ix. 10), not far from Lampsacus. In Xenophon's day still a πόλις ἐχυρά (*Hell.* iii. 1. 15), it had ceased to exist in the time of Strabo though the name was still preserved in the neighbourhood. The tribe may once have inhabited the coast as far as Miletus, since the name was preserved also on the river Caicus and near Cyme (*Strabo* 589, 616), and the subject population in Miletus was so called (*Athen.* 524a). For the Teucri from whom they were believed to be sprung (v. 122. 2) cf. chap. 20. 2 n.

#### **vii. 44–56**

*Review at Abydos. Dialogue of Xerxes and Artabanus. The Crossing of the Bridge.*

#### **vii. 44**

**κολωνοῦ.** The spot indicated by H. is the hill Maltepe. It is the highest point of cape Nagara, which projects further into the Hellespont than the other promontories, and is admirably fitted to give a view of the Hellespont and its coasts.

**προεξέδρη** might be (cf. *Pollux*, ix. 46) like ἐξέδρη, a Loggia for rest in a cool spot with a good view, but is here probably an elevated platform (so προεδρία, iv. 88. 1) on which the king's throne might be placed (cf. *Layard, Nineveh and Babylon*, 150). So *Strabo* 625 ὑπέρεκειται τῶν Σάρδεων ὁ Τμῶλος εὐδαιμον ὄρος ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρείᾳ σκοπήν ἔχον, ἐξέδραν λευκοῦ λίθου, Περσῶν ἔργον.

**vii. 45**

**πάντα . . . Ἑλλάσποντον:** i.e., the whole outside the bridges (chap. 36), between Abydos and the Aegean.

**vii. 46**

[3] For the mournful pessimistic tone cf. i. 31. 3 n., v. 4 n.; Bacchyl. v. 160; Aesch. frag. 301 ὡς οὐ δικάίως θάνατον ἔχθουσιν βροτοί, / ὅσπερ μεγίστον ῥῦμα τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν.

[4] **γλυκὺν . . . αἰῶνα.** God himself, in the enjoyment of eternal happiness, gives man but a brief spell of pure pleasure, to make the succeeding pain more bitter (cf. i. 32 ad fin., Plut. *Mor.* 1107a). For the jealousy of God cf. introd. § 36. Artabanus here, as elsewhere (iv. 83), plays the part of the chorus in tragedy, warning and dissuading the king in vain. But the views expressed are not in accordance with the Persian faith in the Zend-avesta (Darmesteter, introd. lvi. f.): the true believer must not resign himself to fate with gentle pessimism, but fight on the side of Ormuzd in the battle with Ahriman.

**vii. 49**

[2] **οὔτε.** There is no answering οὔτε, but the corresponding idea is given after an interruption in a different form καὶ δὴ . . . ἐρέων (§ 3, ad fin.).

[3] **ὑποδέξιος** = ὑποδοχεύς (Suidas), *capax*, able to hold; cf. ὑπόδεξις = ὑποδοχή, Hippoc. 25. 18, and ὑποδεξιή, *Il.* ix. 73. The apprehension is justified, vii. 188; viii. 12.

[4] **τὸ πρόσω αἰεὶ κλεπτόμενος:** either passive, “drawn on blindly,” or middle, “stealing on further and further.” As the army advanced further from its base, the difficulties of supply would increase; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 792 αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει . . . / κτείνουσα λιμῶ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.

[5] **βουλευόμενος μὲν ἀρρωδέοι.** Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 9. 2; Isoc. *Demon.* § 34; Sall. *Cat.* 1 ad fin.

**vii. 50**

[3] **ἀναρριπτέοντες:** a metaphor from dice-playing; cf. Thuc. iv. 85, 95; v. 103.

**καταιρέεσθαι,** “achieved, attained”; cf. vi. 29. 2, 3, ix. 35. 1; Thuc. i. 121. 4 καθαιρετὸν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μελέτη.

[4] Xerxes here answers Artabanus’ prediction of famine (49. 5), and also his lesson drawn from the failure of Darius in Scythia (10. a 2).

**ῶρην.** For this accusative of time cf. ii. 2. 2. ad fin.; Hippoc. *Aer.* 83 ὄμβροι δὲ αὐτοθὶ γίνονται πᾶσαν ῶρην.

**vii. 51**

**Ἴωνίην.** Here rather an ethnographic than a geographical term. Athens claimed to be the mother-city of the Ionian race (§ 2, v. 97. 2; cf. i. 147 n.).

[3] The fears of Artabanus, and the hopes of Themistocles (viii. 22), were not justified till Mycale (ix. 103f.).

**vii. 52**

**τῶν:** i.e., the Ionians. The sign (γνῶμα) is explained in the clause after ὅτι. The fidelity of the Ionian tyrants in the Scythian expedition was founded on self-interest (iv. 137), and was but a poor proof of the loyalty of their people when opposed to brother Hellenes.

**vii. 53**

[2] **λελόγγασι.** The idea that the gods of a country or city were its owners (γαίηοχοι, πολιοῦχοι) as well as its protectors is common in Greek literature (cf. viii. 55); Plato, *Criti.* 109, *Tmi.* 23d Ἀθηνᾶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν ἔλαχεν, Thuc. ii. 74 θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε. But though Ormuzd, etc., are “gods of the Persians” (cf. an inscription of Darius at Persepolis), Zoroastrianism is essentially not a national, but a personal and therefore a universal religion (Meyer, iii, § 79; cf. i<sup>1</sup>, § 449).

**vii. 54**

**τὸν ἥλιον.** They waited for the rising of the sun because the appearance of the heavenly light was an auspicious moment for any great undertaking, e.g., for the choice of a king from among the seven (iii. 84. 3). The same observances are again ascribed to the Persians (viii. 99. 1), but the ceremonies are suspiciously Hellenic; cf. *Ar. Vesp* 860 ἀλλ’ ὡς τάχιστα πῦρ τις ἐξενεγκάτω / καὶ μυρρίνας καὶ τὸν λιβανωτὸν ἔνδοθεν / ὅπως ἂν εὐξώμεσθα πρῶτα τοῖς θεοῖς.

The offerings of the Zend-avesta are holy meat (myazda), placed on the draona or consecrated cakes, holy water (zaothra, the Vedic hotra), prepared with certain rites, and the Haoma (below).

[2] **σπένδων.** Since libations of wine were not customary in Persia (i. 132. 1) this libation must have been of the holy water zaothra, or more probably of the intoxicating juice of the golden Haoma (Darmesteter, op. cit., p. xix). The drinking of this by the faithful was deemed acceptable to the gods. Though Mithra, the god of the heavenly light, is not invoked along with Ormuzd by any king before Artaxerxes II Mnemon (404–359 B.C.)—in an inscription where he is mentioned along with the goddess Anahita, with whom H. confuses him (i. 131)—yet since Mitra appears in the Veda, and Mithra in the older formulae of the Zend-avesta, we may accept the statement that Xerxes sacrificed to him.

For the infinitive καταστρεψάσθαι after παύσει cf. v. 67. 1. After οὐ πρότερον ἢ H. always uses the subjunctive without ἂν (Goodwin, § 653), as he usually does with οὐ πρὶν ἢ, following Homeric usage. Here the negative is implied only.

**ἀκινάκην:** as seen on sculptures at Persepolis and elsewhere, a short straight poniard about a foot long, used for thrusting rather than cutting. It was worn in a sheath hanging from a girdle, at the right side; cf. chap. 61. 1.

The somewhat similar offerings of Alexander on crossing the Hellespont (Arr. i. 11. 6) and on starting from the mouth of the Indus (Arr. vi. 19. 5) were to propitiate Poseidon (Macan).

**vii. 55**

[2] For the order of march, etc., cf. chap. 40f.

οἱ μύριοι: both the foot and the horse (chap. 41. 2), unless H. has altogether forgotten this myriad of horse.

[3] ἤδη δὲ ἤκουσα gives a variant tradition discredited by the author; cf. iv. 77. 1 n.

**vii. 56**

ὕπὸ μαστίγων: cf. 22. 1 n.

[2] The naïve exclamation, with which the oracle's words in chap. 220. 4 may be compared, was used by Gorgias in an oration with an attempt at pathos Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς, Longinus *De Subl.* 3. 2.

πάντας: for similar exaggerations cf. chap. 157. 1; Aesch. *Pers.* 718 Ξέρξης κενώσας πᾶσαν ἠπείρου πλάκα. Cf. *ibid.* 12.

**vii. 57–60**

*From the Hellespont to Doriscus. The numbering of the host.*

**vii. 57**

ἀγαυρότατα (γαῦρος with intensive α cf. ἀσπερχές) suits the omen of the mare, γαυριάω being used of prancing chargers, Xen. *Eq.* x. 16.

περὶ ἔωντοῦ τρέχων: proverbial of the hare running for its life; Zenobius iv. 85 λαγῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχει. Similar phrases viii. 74. 1, 102. 3, 140. a 4; ix. 37. 2.

**vii. 58**

ἔξω . . . πλέων: with accusative; cf. v. 103. 2 n.

[2] πρὸς ἑσπέρην: westward to the Aegean, and then northward to Cape Sarpedon (now Cape Gremia or Paxi), the northern end of the gulf Melas (now Saros).

τὸν Ἑλλης Τάφον. The accepted tradition was that Helle fell into the Hellespont, but according to Hellanicus (frag. 88, *FHG* i. 57) she died at Pactya, near which her tomb must have been.

Ἄγορη: at the northern end of the Chersonese (Dem. *De Halon.* § 40, p. 93), between Pactya on the Hellespont and Cardia on the gulf Melas (Pseudo-Scylax 67; vi. 36, 41).

[3] Αἶνον: cf. iv. 90. 2. Strabo 331, frag. 51 πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ Ἑβρου διστόμου ὄντος πόλις Αἶνος ἐν τῷ Μέλανι κόλπῳ κεῖται, κτίσμα Μυτιληναίων καὶ

Κυμαίων. The Lake Stentoris must have been near Aenus and the mouth of the Hebrus, where there are still two considerable marshy lakes.

#### **vii. 59**

**πεδίων.** The plain watered and encircled by the Maritza (Hebrus) is still rich pasture land.

**ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐστρατεύετο.** The date given is general, the time of the Scythic expedition. Since Darius in his advance marched from the Bosphorus (iv. 89. 3) to the head of the Danube delta far to the east, the occupation of Doriscus is probably connected with his return to Sestos (iv. 143) and the ensuing conquest of Thrace by Megabazus (v. 2). The post may have been lost during the Ionic revolt (v. 98).

**[2] Σέρορειον.** The cape (now Cape Makri) and mountain had the same name (Plin. *H.N.* iv, § 43; Appian *B. Civ.* iv. 101f.), infamous through the murder of Orpheus by the Ciconian women. The Ciconians dwelt here in the days of the Trojan war (*Il.* ii. 846; *Od.* ix. 39f.); pushed a little to the west in the time of Xerxes (chaps. 108, 110), they subsequently disappear.

**[3] ἀνέψυχον:** dried and refitted (*Xen. Hell.* i. 5. 10). Many of the ships had come far, so that their timbers would be foul; they were now prepared for the actual campaign.

#### **vii. 60**

The enormous numbers, and the naïve and cumbrous method of counting, make this story as it stands incredible. Indeed the numbering and organization of the whole army cannot have been deferred so long, though such contingents as first joined Xerxes in Europe may have been mustered at Doriscus.

#### **vii. 61–99**

*List of the tribal contingents composing the army and fleet of Xerxes.*

#### **vii. 61**

This full list of the tribal contingents composing the army of Xerxes with their commanders, and the description of their equipment, not only gives us a graphic picture of that immense host, but also much new and interesting information about the inhabitants of the Persian Empire. Taken in conjunction with the list of Satrapies (iii. 90f.) and the description of the Royal Road (v. 52f.) it is our best authority for the ethnography of the Ancient East. The number of the peoples enumerated (including the name omitted in chap. 76 and the Sagartians, chap. 85) is sixty-one, and besides the obvious division into infantry (61–83) from forty-six nations, cavalry (84–8) from eight nations, and sailors (89–99) from twelve nations, a geographical arrangement is discernible. First, after the Medes and Persians, come the Eastern tribes from the Tigris to the Indus (62–8), secondly the Southern (69–71), thirdly the tribes of Asia Minor (72–9), and lastly the maritime peoples of the Levant (89–95).

Following Macan (ii. 167–76) we may distinguish seventeen or eighteen types of armour in the army and navy of Xerxes to be grouped in six classes.

(1) (*a*) The Medo-Persian (chaps. 61, 62; cf. chap. 80). Besides the bow and dagger this includes a short spear, and for defence a wicker shield (γέρορον) and in some cases a cuirass.

(2) The Iranians rely on the bow and for hand to hand work on the dagger; they have no defensive armour. The varieties are (*b*) the Bactrians (chaps. 64. 1 and 66), with short spears; (*c*) the Pactyans (chaps. 67, 68; cf. chap. 85); (*d*) the Scythians, with axes (chap. 64. 2); and (*e*) the Sagartians, with lassos (chap. 85).

(3) The Anatolians, whose most distinctive weapons are the small round targe and for offence the javelin, though most of them have also spear, dagger, or bow. The chief varieties are (*f*) the Paphlagonian (chaps. 72, 73); (*g*) the Thracio-Bithynian (chap. 75); (*h*) the Moscho-Colchian (chaps. 78, 79); (*i*) the Cilician (chap. 91; cf. 77); and (*j*) the Lycian (chap. 92).

(4) (*k*) The Assyrians (chap. 63), and (*l*) Egyptians (chap. 89), who have metal helmets, large shields, and quilted cuirasses, and for offence spears, daggers, and pikes or clubs. With these may perhaps be classed (*m*) the Phoenicians (chap. 89), though the character of their armour is eclectic.

(5) (*n*) The Greeks (chaps. 93–5) have metal helmets, greaves, and cuirasses, shields, swords, and spears. To this type the Lydians (chap. 74), Pamphylians (chap. 91), Cypriotes (chap. 90), and Carians (chap. 93) conform.

(6) The outer barbarians, ill-armed for the most part with bows. Varieties are (*o*) the Indians (chap. 65; cf. chap. 70); (*p*) the African Ethiopians (chap. 69); (*q*) the Libyans (chap. 71); and (*r*) the Arabians (chap. 69) riding on camels (chap. 87).

In details and arrangement this list differs from that of the Satrapies (iii. 90f.), but is not inconsistent with it. While it is impossible to say from what source H. derived these lists (introd., § 21), in both cases the ultimate authority must be official Persian documents such as the king's scribes prepared (chap. 100). The authority H. followed gave the names of the tribes and their commanders, and a description of their equipment, but no numbers (chap. 60). As Meyer (*F.* ii. 231, 232) suggests, it probably also supplied information as to the march from Celaenae to Therma (chaps. 26–131), as may be seen by a comparison of the account to this point with the vague and imperfect reports of the advance through Thessaly (vii. 196, 197), and of the retreat of Xerxes (viii. 113–20, 126–9) and of Artabazus (ix. 89). H. himself added notes (often erroneous) on the origin and early history of the peoples enumerated (cf. chaps. 61. 2, 3, 62. 1, 74. 1, 75. 2), as he does in the case of the Greeks (viii. 43f., 72, 73). He supplied numbers from conjecture (vii. 184f.) or tradition (vii. 89); he inserted conversations of Xerxes with Artabanus and Demaratus, intended to explain the character and purpose of the great invasion; but there is no reason to suppose that he used any literary source except the *Persae* of Aeschylus, or drew much from the list of the host of Darius engraved at

Byzantium (iv. 87), or the picture of it dedicated by Mandrocles in the Heraeum at Samos (iv. 88).

[1] **ὁ τιάρα** (Att. ἡ τιάρα; i. 132. 1): a Persian word meaning a soft felt or cotton hat projecting at the top a little in front, as seen in the Persian sculptures at Persepolis.

**ἀπαγέας**: opposed to πεπηγώς (chaps. 64. 2, 70. 2), unstiffened, soft. τιάρα ἐπτυγμένη καὶ προβάλλουσα εἰς τὸ μέτωπον, Schol. Ar. Av. 487. Only the king wore it stiff (Xen. An. ii. 5. 23; Arr. Anab. iii. 25. 3).

**κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους**, “sleeved tunics of many colours” can hardly be the same as cuirasses, nor can the words λεπίδος . . . ἰχθυοειδέος well refer to mere ornaments on a tunic. Hence it seems necessary to distinguish the tunic and the corselet as is done elsewhere (ix. 22. 2 ἐντὸς θώρηκα εἶχε χρύσειον λεπιδωτόν, κατύπερθε δὲ τοῦ θώρηκος κιθῶνα φοινίκεον ἐνεδεδύκεε: cf. i. 135; viii. 113. 2; and Strabo 734 θώραξ δ’ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς φολιδωτός . . . χιτῶν δὲ χειριδωτός: Xen. Cyr. vii. 1. 2 ὀπλισμένοι δὲ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κῦρον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Κύρω ὄπλοις, χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς, θώραξι χαλκοῖς: cf. vi. 4. 1 and An. i. 5. 8, 8. 6). We must then insert some words, e.g., καὶ θώρηκας. Such corselets of scale armour are represented on Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, and at Nimrud Layard found a great quantity of scales which might well be sewed on a felt or quilted linen jerkin. Not all the Persians would have such a costly panoply (cf. viii. 113. 2), but H. describes the most characteristic armour. The sleeved tunics are well shown on sculptures from Persepolis (Perrot et Chipiez, *Persia*, fig. 192, p. 402, E.T.), and the many colours on the archer frieze from Susa now in the Louvre (op. cit. pl. xii, p. 500).

**λεπίδος**, “made with iron scales like the scales of a fish.”

**ἀναξυρίδας**: cf. i. 71. 2 n.

**γέρορα**: cf. ix. 61. 3. Probably oval shields with holes at the side (as in the Boeotian), for some of the Persepolis guards carry shields of the kind.

[Additional note (1928). Pausanias (x. 19. 4) says the shields dedicated at Delphi from the spoils of the Gauls under Brennus resembled the Persian. Now on a colonnade built by Eumenes II at Pergamum there are several representations of Galatian shields oval in shape (Baumeister, figs. 1432–5), so those at Delphi were presumably oval. If so the Gerra may well be such shields as are carried by some Persepolis guards (Perrot, *Persia* (E.T.), p. 423, fig. 203).

**Φαρετρῶνες**. A warrior was equipped with a bow and thirty arrows (Vendidad xiv. 9 A). Large quivers worn on the back are prominent in the sculptures of warriors at Susa, Behistun, and Persepolis. A combined bow and arrow case worn at the side in one Persepolis relief (Perrot, op. cit. p. 402, fig. 192) may explain ὑπὸ, “worn low down.” Cf. A. V. W. Jackson on Ancient Persian armour in *Classical Studies in Honour of H. Drisler*, 95–125.]

The spears represented on the monuments at Susa and Persepolis seem to be seven feet long, and the bows rather less than four feet; but the expressions “long” and “short” are relative to the corresponding Greek weapons.

ἐγχειρίδια: cf. chap. 54. 2 n.

[2] No historical conclusions can be drawn from this confused jumble of myths and names. The Cephenees are a mythical people identified with the Eastern Ethiopians (Apollod. ii. 4. 3). Possibly H. means them to be Assyrians (vi. 54), and then by a further confusion connects the Assyrians with their successors in the lordship of Asia (cf. chap. 11. 4), the Medes and Persians. But the explanation of the whole matter is the likeness of the names Περσεύς and Πέρσης, which led the Greeks to make the eponymous Πέρσης son of Perseus (vii. 150. 2; cf. i. 125. 3; vii. 220. 4), and then, since Perses is related to Cepheus, to identify the Persians and the Cephenees. This genealogy is inconsistent with that given in i. 7, since Belus is grandfather (in-law) to Perseus, and Perseus great-grandfather to Heracles, and yet (in i. 7) Belus is grandson of Heracles. Cf. also vi. 54 n.

Ἀρταῖοι (a proper name; cf. 22. 2, 66. 2): derived from *arta*, high, noble, good. Cf. Artaxerxes (vi. 98. 3 n.), Artabanus, etc. Perhaps it is connected with Ἄριοι (E. Meyer in *PW*, ii. 1303). Hellenicus invented from it a region of Persia, Ἀρταία (Steph. Byz.).

[3] αὐτοῦ. In the kingdom of Cepheus, which, however, is placed by the earlier mythographers on the coast of Palestine, or at Nineveh or Babylon, and by the later in African Ethiopia, and never, except here, in Persia.

## vii. 62

τὴν αὐτήν (sc., στολήν): as in chaps. 72, 84. For this dress cf. i. 135 n.

Τιγράνης fell at the head of the Persian army at Mycale (ix. 96, 102).

Ἄριοι. To be distinguished from the Ἄριοι or Ἀρειοί of chap. 66. 1 n. (cf. iii. 93. 3 n.). The word used here in Aesch. *Cho.* 423 = Persian *ariya*, Zend *airya*, Sansk. *ârya* = the worthy, noble (cf. E. Meyer, i. 572 n.), and would apply to all Iranian races who thus distinguished themselves from the unclean barbarians (Zend *anairya*). So Darius calls himself on his tomb at Nak-shi-Rustam “an Achaemenid, a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian of Arian race.” In Vend. i. 3. 6, Airyana-Vaego, the first land created is the garden of Eden and paradise of the Iranian religion.

Μηδείης. This legend, which arises from yet wilder etymological guesswork than that of Perses, seems to be old; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 1000 ἢ γε δμηθεῖσ' ὑπ' Ἰήσωνι ποιμένι λαῶν / Μηδεῖον τέκε παῖδα, and the use of Μηδεῖοι for Μηδοί in Pind. *Pyth.* i. 78. For its developed form cf. Paus. ii. 3. 8; Apollod. i. 9. 28.

The authority of the Medes can hardly vouch for more than the existence of the name Ἄριοι; but H. clearly believed that the Oriental nations claimed, or at least accepted, these mythical connections with Greece, so the Persians (i. 1 n.; vii. 61,

150; vi. 54), the Egyptians (ii. 91, 98. 2, 113f.), etc. Yet only Hellenized interpreters can have done so.

[2] **Κίσσιοι**: cf. iii. 91. 4 n.

**ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πύλων**: idiomatic for ἀντὶ τοῦ εἶναι πλοφόροι. Cf. Arist. *Poet.* 4 ἀντὶ τῶν ἰάμβων κωμωδοποιοὶ ἐγένοντο.

**μιτρηφόροι**. The mitra seems to have been a kind of turban, covering the head from the forehead to the nape of the neck and the chin, under which it passed, as seen on a Persian in the Pompeian mosaic of Issus. Rawlinson, however, thinks it may have been a mere fillet, as seen on Assyrian bas-reliefs and on the frieze from Susa.

**Ὀτάνεω**. Stein distinguishes Otanes, father of Amestris (chaps. 40, 61, 82), not only from the son of Sisamnes (v. 25, etc.), but also from the conspirator of bk. iii (cf. vi. 43). The latter would no doubt have been old for a command, as he must have been about eighty in 480 B.C., since he had a marriageable daughter in 522 B.C. (iii. 68). But probably Stein is wrong. The Otanes here must have been a person of great importance, since he was the king's father-in-law, and he may have been only nominally general of the Persians, like the colonels of English regiments. His sons, too, have high commands, and one of them, Anaphes or Onophas, has the same name as the son of the conspirator (cf. iii. 68 n.). Macan suggests that the fact that H. seems only to know of one Otanes in bk. vii, as contrasted with the full knowledge in bks. iii and v, points to the earlier composition of bk. vii.

**Ὑρκάνιοι**: cf. iii. 92. 2 n.

## vii. 63

**Ἀσσύριοι**. For the extent, etc., of Assyria cf. i. 178. 1 n.

Crested helmets of round or conical shape may be seen on Assyrian bas-reliefs, but those found have been of iron, not of bronze.

**πεπλεγμένα**: probably made of leather thongs, cf. 85. 1; and for similar helmets 72. 1, 79, 89. 3. No such thing appears on the monuments.

**τετυλωμένα**: clubs studded with broad iron nails; cf. chap. 69. 1 ῥόπαλα τυλωτά, Strabo 776 τοῖς ῥοπάλοις καὶ τύλους προστιθέασι σιδηροῦς, Diod. iii. 33 ῥόπαλον τύλους ἔχον περισιδήρους. No such clubs appear on Assyrian monuments, though maces are represented.

**λινέους**: cf. iii. 47. The monuments make much of Assyrian archers, but H. does not mention the bow among the national weapons.

**Σύριοι**: cf. i. 6. 1 n. **Ἀσσύριοι**: Semit. *Ashûr*, Pers. *Athurâ*.

The last sentence is clearly an interpolated marginal note of later date. Its want of connection, the strange use of *μεταξύ* for *μετά*, and the inconsistency in the use of *Χαλδαῖοι* (cf. i. 181. 5 n.) betray this.

**vii. 64****Βάκτροιοι:** cf. iii. 92. 2 n.[2] **κυρβασίη** = **τιάρα**. Compare v. 49. 3 ad fin. with vii. 61 ad init. and Ar. *Av.* 487.

**ἐς ὄξυ ἀπηγμένας**, “rising to a point” (ii. 28. 2). **ὀρθὰς . . . πεπηγυίας**, “stiff, upright” (chap. 70. 2, ad fin.). The apparent inconsistency of this with the statement that the great king alone wore the upright tiara (chap. 61. 1 n.) is removed by the facts that the Sacae are not Persians, and that they naturally wore the high-peaked felt or sheep-skin caps of their country, as does the Sacan captive in the sculptures at Behistun. For Scythian dress cf. Minns, *Greeks and Scythians*, 54f., and for arms, pp. 66f.

**ἀξίνας** in apposition to **σαγάρις** explaining the foreign word (cf. iii. 12. 4).

**Ἀμυργίους** with **Σκύθας**. The name is preserved by Hellanicus ap. Steph. Byz. *Ἀμύργιον πεδῖον Σακῶν*, while Amorges is king of the Sacae in the time of Cyrus (Ctesias *Persica* § 3) or of Darius (Polyaenus vii. 12). Apparently (Meyer, i, § 578 n.) H. confuses *three* tribes distinguished by Darius in the inscription on his tomb at Nak-shi-Rustam, i.e., the Sakâ, Haumavarkâ, and the Saka tigrakhauda probably = Scyths with pointed caps (cf. iii. 93. 3). They are of course distinct from the Scyths of Europe, though, like them, nomads of the steppes. The Indians, like the Persians, called them *Çacâ*.

**vii. 65****Ἰνδοί:** cf. iii. 94. 2 n.**ἀπὸ ξύλων:** i.e., cotton; cf. iii. 47. 2, 106. 3 n.**καλαμίνους:** for the bamboo cf. iii. 98. 1 n.**vii. 66****Ἄριοι:** cf. iii. 93. 3 and vii. 62. 1 n.

[2] For these peoples cf. iii. 91. 4 n. and 93. 3 n., and on Artabazus, viii. 126 n.

**vii. 67****Κάσπιοι:** cf. chap. 86. 2; probably those of iii. 93. 3 (cf. n.), not of iii. 92. 2.**μισύρνας:** cloaks of hide (iv. 109. 2).

**Σαράγγαι** (iii. 93. 2 n.) . . . **ἐνέπρεπον**. Their dyed robes made them conspicuous among their hide-clad companions.

**Πάκτυες:** cf. iii. 93. 1 n.**vii. 68**

For these three tribes cf. iii. 92. 1 n. and 93. 2 n.

**vii. 69****Ἀράβιοι:** cf. iii. 88. 1 n.

**ζειράς** (cf. 75. 1): apparently a Semitic word, means a long flowing mantle held in by a girdle (ὑπεζωσμένοι), like the burnous of the modern Arab.

**παλίντονα**. In the ordinary Greek bow, as in the modern, stringing merely increased the natural curve; but there was also another form (παλίντονα), which when strung was bent back wards against the natural curve. This must have given it tremendous power. The bow of Odysseus, which is called both παλίντονα (*Od.* xxi. 11, 59) and καμπύλα (xxi. 359), was (xxi. 395) apparently made, like that of Pandarus, of two goat's-horns joined together by a straight stock in the centre (*Il.* iv. 105 seq.). Similar is the description of Σκυθικὰ . . . παλίντονα . . . βέλη (*Aesch. Cho.* 160) given by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 8. 37).

**πρὸς δεξιά**: at the right side, an unusual position.

**φοίνικος σπάθης**: a long strip of split palm-wood probably hardened in the fire (*Strabo* 822), not the stem of the palm-leaf (*Rawlinson, Liddell & Scott*).

The length of the bow would make it unnecessary to bend it much, so small arrows would be appropriate.

**τυλωτά**: cf. 63 n. Wooden clubs made of acacia or ebony are still used by Ethiopians. These clubs and garments of skins loosely girt on (ἐναμμένοι) characterize Ethiopians in Egyptian paintings, Cf. woodcuts in *Rawlinson* on iii. 97.

[2] τῶν . . . ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου: the Nubian tribes just above Egypt. Cf. ii. 29. 4f.; iii. 97. 2f.; and iii. 17 1 n. Arsames is said to be governor of Memphis by *Aeschylus* (*Pers.* 37).

#### vii. 70

For the division of Ethiopians cf. iii. 17. 1 n. For the Asiatic Ethiopians cf. iii. 94. 2 n.

[2] ὀρθὰ πεπηγότα: cf. chap. 64. 2 n.

**προβλήματα**: cf. iv. 175. 1 ad fin.

#### vii. 71

**Λίβυες** (cf. iii. 13. 3) . . . **σκυτίνην**, "made of goatskins"; cf. iv. 189.

#### vii. 72

**πεπλεγμένα**: cf. chap. 63. 1 n. and *Xen. An.* v. 4. 13 κράνη σκύτινα οἷάπερ τὰ Παφλαγονικά. These Eastern Λίβυες are puzzling. Lycophron called Cytaea (modern Kutais) in Colchis a Ligurian city, which leads many modern writers to identify them with *Strabo's* Λήγαι (p. 503), the modern Lesghians in the Eastern Caucasus (cf. the *Sigynnae*, v. 9 n.). But the tribes here connected with them belong to the middle and lower Halys, and this people might have disappeared from the Halys basin after the Gallic immigration (278 B.C.), as apparently do the Western *Matieni* (i. 72. 2 n.).

**Μαριανδυνοί:** cf. iii. 90. 2 n.

**Σύριοι:** cf. i. 6. 1 n., 72. 1; Cappadocians.

**vii. 73**

For this immigration cf. i. 7. 3 n.; app. i, § 8. The Macedonians, however, rather succeeded than dwelt with (σύνουκοι) Phrygians in Europe.

**Φρυγῶν ἄποικοι.** So Eudoxus ap. Steph. Byz. Ἀρμένιοι δὲ τὸ μὲν γένος ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ τῆ φωνῆ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι. This statement, long discredited, is more acceptable now that the primitive home of the Aryans is held by many to be the steppes of Southern Russia, not the Asiatic plateau. In any case the relationship seems certain. So Gen. x. 3, Togarmah (Armenia) is brother of Ashkenaz (Phrygia; cf. the Phrygian hero Ascanius, and the lake and district Ascania). The name Armenia (Armina) appears first in the inscriptions of Darius; cf. i. 15 n.

**vii. 74**

For the Maeonians cf. i. 7. 3 n. and app. i, § 3.

[2] **ἄποικοι.** In i. 171. 6 κασίγνητοι and ἀδελφεοί. For the “Mysian” invasion cf. vii. 20 n.

**Ὀλύμπου.** The Mysian Olympus is just southwest of the Propontis.

**vii. 75**

**Θρήκες:** not exactly defined till 2 ad fin. as οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ; cf. chap. 69. 1 and 2.

**χειράς:** cf. 69. 1.

**πέδιλα νεβρῶν,** “deer-skin buskins”; cf. iii. 9. 1.

**πέλτας.** Apparently the first time this light shield, afterwards so famous, appears in history.

The European Thracians wore a similar costume suited to the rigour of the climate; Xen. An. vii. 4. 4 οἱ Θραῖκες τὰς ἀλωπεκᾶς ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσί, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ χειρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ χλαμύδας.

[2] This Thracian invasion of Bithynia may be regarded as a later continuation of the Phrygian immigrations; cf. v. 13. 2; vii. 20. 2 n. and 73.

**vii. 76**

Obviously a name is lost at the beginning of this chapter. The older editors for the most part follow Wessling in supplying Χάλυβες from the spurious list in i. 28, but clearly a tribe in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cabalees and Milyae is required to complete the command of Badres. The hardest warriors of that region were the Πισίδαι, whose name may have been left out by the scribe from its likeness to ἀσπίδας. As, however, H. never mentions these unruly mountaineers, who probably never as a people acknowledged Persian sovereignty (cf. iii. 90. 1 n.), it may be better to take from iii. 90 the name of one of the smaller tribes there

mentioned, either the Λασόνιοι (whose name seems to have been wrongly put into the text in chap. 77. 1), or the Ὑτέννες, or both (Stein).

[*Additional note (1928)*. In vii. 76 Toynbee (*CR* (1910) xxiv. 236–8) would put in Σιγύνναι (cf. v. 9 n.). He argues that their arms, the oxhide shields, wolf-hunting javelins (reading λυκοεργέας), horned bronze helmets, and coloured puttees are northern, not Anatolian, as is the worship of a *god* of war. So in iii. 90 he would read Ὑγεννέων with the better manuscripts and regard Ὑγένναι as a variant of Σιγύνναι.]

**προβόλους:** like προβόλαιον (chap. 148. 3) a variant of προβόλιον, a hunting-spear.

**λυκιοεργέας:** an emendation in Athenaeus 486e, for λυκοεργέας, “wolf-destroying.” The sense “made in Lycia” is supported by pseudo-Dem. *Timoth.* 31 φιάλας λυκιουργεῖς, Ar. *Pax* 143 κάνθαρος Ναξιουργῆς and κλίνη Μιλησιουργῆς (*Critias* 28); cf. τόξα . . . Λύκια (chap. 77 ad fin.).

The oracle of Ares is probably an indication of a northern origin; cf. v. 7; iv. 59, 62.

#### **vii. 77**

**Καβηλέες:** cf. iii. 90. 1 n. Perhaps Λασόνιοι has been erroneously transferred to this passage from 76; cf. n. ad loc.

**Κίλιξι:** cf. chap. 91.

**Μιλύαι:** cf. i. 173. 2 n.; iii. 90. 1.

ἐνεπεπορπέατο, “had their cloaks fastened by brooches.” The retention of the plaid and fibula is the characteristic noted, appropriate to highlanders.

τόξα . . . Λύκια: cf. chap. 92 and 76 n.

#### **vii. 78**

For these tribes, independent in Xenophon’s time (*An.* vii. 8. 25), and for the Mares (chap. 79) cf. iii. 94 n. Xenophon also (*An.* v. 4. 12, 13; cf. the *Macrones*, iv. 8. 3) gives the Mosynoeci lances 9 feet long, and adds steel battle-axes, leather helmets, and large wicker shields (γέρορα).

**Ἀρταῦκτης:** cf. ix. 116f.

#### **vii. 79**

**πλεκτά:** cf. chap. 63 n.

**Κόλχοι** (on Darius’ inscriptions Karka) were a semi-independent tribe (iii. 97. 4).

Apparently a trade-route led from Persia through Media by Ecbatana and Lake Urmia to the upper Araxes and the Saspeirians, and thence over the mountains to Colchis and the Euxine (i. 104; iv. 37).

**Ἀλαρόδιοι:** cf. iii. 94. 1 n.

**Μασίστιος:** cf. ix. 20f.

## vii. 80

**νήσων δέ:** resume νησιωτικά (= ἐκ νήσων); cf. ix. 73. 1.

**ἀνασπάστους:** cf. iii. 93. 2 n.

**δευτέρῳ ἔτει τούτων:** the next year after this (vi. 46. 1), i.e., 479 B.C. For the facts cf. viii. 130. 2; ix. 102. 4 ad fin.

## vii. 81

**τέλος** is a regiment, i.e., an organized body of troops of a particular kind (i. 103. 1), horse (chap. 87; ix. 20, 22. 1, 23. 1) or foot (chap. 211. 3). It is much the same as τάξις (cf. chap. 212. 2 with 211. 3; ix. 42. 1), and is contrasted with the ἔθνος or tribal contingent; cf. ix. 33. 1.

## vii. 82

In all probability the words Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω should come after ἀνεψιοί, as otherwise we must suppose that Otanes (cf. chap. 40) was a brother of Darius, or married his sister, of which we hear nothing elsewhere. Further, the relationship of Mardonius to Xerxes noticed above (chap. 5. 1) would here be strangely omitted. ἀδελφεῶν would seem to include brother and sister, since Tritamaechmes was son of Darius' brother, and Mardonius of his sister.

**Μασίστης:** cf. ix. 107, 113.

**Μεγάβυζος:** cf. iii. 160.

**Γέργις.** The name of this otherwise unknown man comes in strangely here and in chap. 121 among members of the families of the king and of the Seven (iii. 84).

## vii. 83

The whole army (excluding the guard) is divided into six corps, or perhaps into three divisions each commanded by a pair of generals; cf. chap. 121.

[2] Golden ornaments were common among the Persians; cf. ix. 80; Xen. *An.* i. 2. 27, 5. 8, 8. 29, etc.

## vii. 84

**Ἴππεύει δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα.** The natural meaning of this is that all the nations already named were accustomed to fighting on horseback, though only those enumerated below furnished horse for this particular expedition (cf. 87. 1). Stein, however, thinks it impossible that all of them can have been horsemen, and would therefore make ταῦτα equivalent to τὰδε, "the following" (cf. i. 125. 1 n.). He believes H. to promise a complete account of all the horsemen of the Empire and then at once to correct himself by restricting the list to those who actually furnished cavalry on this occasion. For a similar naïve correction cf. v. 99. 2; and for πλήν, vii. 32.

**ποιήματα:** cf. iv. 5. 3; prob. helmets of beaten bronze and iron (ἐξεληλαμένα) and curious in shape (cf. chap. 63) instead of the τιᾶραι (chap. 61. 1).

## vii. 85

**Σαγάρτιοι:** cf. iii. 93. 2 n.

**καὶ φωνῆ.** If these words are not a note later thrust into the text, something like γένει τε must have fallen out before them (van Herwerden), or χρεώμενον Περσικῆ after them (Stein).

**μεταξύ:** half Persian (chap. 61), half Pactyan (chap. 68). For μεταξύ cf. ii. 42. 4.

[2] For the use of the lasso by Sarmatians cf. Paus. i. 21. 8 σειραῖς περιβαλόντες τῶν πολεμίων ὅποσους καὶ τύχοιεν, τοὺς ἵππους ἀποστρέψαντες ἀνατρέπουσι τοὺς ἐνσηθέντας ταῖς σειραῖς. It is ascribed to the Persians by the *Shahnamh*, to the Parthians by Suidas, and is represented on Assyrian monuments (Macan). It was also practised by the Huns and Alans, as it still is by cowboys and Indians in America.

## vii. 86

**ὄνοι ἄγριοι.** Wild asses are represented on bas-reliefs in Assyria and at Persepolis. They are still found in desert plains from northwest India and Baluchistan to Persia, Syria, and Arabia. The wild ass is, however, like the zebra, difficult to tame (cf. Job xxxix. 5).

**ἄρματα.** These war-chariots are never heard of in the actual fighting. Cf., however, for African war-chariots, iv. 193, and war-chariots in general v. 113 n.

**καὶ Κάσπιοι ὁμοίως:** read καὶ Σάκαι (Munro, *JHS* xxii, p. 297), for (1) otherwise the Sacae who specially distinguished themselves as cavalry at Plataea (ix. 71. 1) would be omitted from the list of horsemen; (2) the Sacan infantry is brigaded with the Bactrians (vii. 64). ΚΑΙ ΣΑΚΑΙ might easily be corrupted into ΚΑΣΠΙΟΙ through reduplication of καί and the proximity of Κάσπιοι in § 2, where it may stand if emended in § 1. The emendations attempted in § 2 are all unsatisfactory, Laird's Κασπίοισι grammatically, Stein's Πάκτυες palaeographically, while Κάσπειροι (from Steph. Byz. Κάσπειρος πόλις Πάρθων προσεχῆς τῇ Ἰνδικῇ probably = Caspatyrus, iii. 102. 1) and Κάσιοι, a tribe from Cashmere (Ptol. vi. 15), are inadmissible, since the horse are said to be armed like the foot, so the tribe must have been already mentioned among the infantry (cf. chap. 67).

[2] The speed of the best camels does not exceed ten miles an hour, but H. is consistent if wrong; cf. iii. 102. 3. Camels are mentioned chaps. 83, 125; ix. 81.

## vii. 87

For the effect of camels on horses cf. i. 80.

## vii. 89

So Aesch. *Pers.* 341 Ξέρξη δὲ καὶ γὰρ οἶδα χιλιάς μὲν ἦν / ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέροκοποι τάχει / ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ', and cf. app. xix, § 1.

**Σύροισι.** The Philistines on the coast south of Mount Carmel; cf. iii. 5. 1 n.

For the linen corselets cf. ii. 182; iii. 47.

[2] οὔτοι δέ. This does not distinguish these Phoenicians from others, but merely introduces the author's own ethnographical and historical additions to the official list of contingents; cf. esp. chaps. 91 ad init. et fin., 93. 1, 95 ad fin., and in the Greek list, viii. 45, 46. 2.

For the Phoenician migration cf. i. 1. n.

[3] The Egyptians, perhaps in consequence of their recent revolt (chap. 1), were not employed as land-troops till after Salamis; cf. ix. 32. 2. They are most effective (viii. 17) as marines, perhaps on account of their heavy armour, "boarding-pikes and pole-axes."

χηλευτά = πλεκτά (chap. 79. 1), "plaited."

ἀσπίδας. The Egyptians in the earliest times carried gigantic shields; in the time of the Theban empire moderate sized bucklers rounded at the top were substituted, but a concave shape or a large rim of metal is rare. Shield and lance are to Plato (*Tim.* 24b) their national weapons.

δόρατα ναύμαχα: boarding-spears are represented in the sea-fight of Rameses III (monument at Medīnet Habu).

τύχους: a pole-axe, with a single head and a shaft 2 to 2½ feet long, was often borne by officers.

θωρηκοφόροι: probably wearing quilted cuirasses; scale armour is, however, represented in the tomb of Rameses III at Thebes.

μαχαίρας . . . μεγάλας: large trowel-shaped daggers are borne by the troops of Rameses II.

## vii. 90

οἱ βασιλέες: cf. v. 110 n.

κιθῶνας. de Pauw's conjecture κίταρις is probable. The κίταρις, a kind of felt hat (cf. Pollux, x. 163 and esp. vii. 58), is contrasted with the μίτρα of the kings.

The population of Cyprus contained Anatolian, Greek, and Phoenician elements; cf. v. 104 n.

Σαλαμῖνος. Salamis is a Mycenaean centre and afterwards took the lead among the Greek settlements in Cyprus. The supposed connection with the island of Salamis may be an inference from an accidental similarity of name. The Aeacid Teucer was said to have fled from home with some Trojan captives and settled in Salamis. Honours were paid to Teucer as their heroic ancestor by the Gergithes of the Troad (chap. 43. 2 n.), and the existence at Salamis of a class called Γέργινοι, who claimed to be Gergithes (*Athen.* 255, 256) was held to prove the connection.

Ἀθηνέων: because Salamis, like its Aeacid heroes, was treated as Attic.

**Ἀρκαδίας.** Agapenor, king of Tegea, was held to be the founder of Paphos (chap. 195 n.). The Cypriote dialect resembles the Arcadian, i.e., the oldest Peloponnesian (cf. v. 113 n.).

**Κύθνου.** Fugitive Dryopes were believed to have emigrated from Cythnus, a small island among the Cyclades, to Cyprus; cf. viii. 46. 4; Diod. iv. 37.

**Αἰθιοπίης.** For conquests of Cyprus by Egypt cf. ii. 182 n. The statement here, however, seems to rest on a legendary genealogy connecting Cinyras, the founder of the temple at Paphos, with the Asiatic Aethiopia, i.e., Assyria. Cyprus submitted to Sargon of Assyria, 709 B.C., and paid tribute to Esar-haddon and Assur-bani-pal (cf. v. 104 n.).

## vii. 91

**ἀγχοτάτω . . . πεποιημένα** = ὠμοιωμένα: hence with dative, whereas elsewhere in H. ἀγχοῦ, etc., are followed by the genitive.

**Ὑπαχαιοί:** probably a native name assimilated by the Greek settlers to the familiar Ἄχαιοι. The Greek colonies in Cilicia seem somewhat later than those in Pamphylia and Cyprus; Tarsus was ascribed to Argives led by Triptolemus, Mallus to Amphilochochus and Mopsus (Strabo 673, 676); Soli was Rhodian.

Cilix, son of Agenor, brother of Europa, Phoenix, and Cadmus, seems merely the mythical representation of Phoenician colonization in Cilicia. Cf. iv. 147. 4 (Thera) and vi. 47. 1 (Thasos). Cilicia Pedias was naturally connected with Syria, and was conquered by Sargon of Assyria; but the extent to which the Phoenicians settled in the land is very doubtful, though some names and cults would seem to show their influence.

Strabo, 668, seems to have had a fuller text of H. before him. φησὶ δ' Ἡρόδοτος τοὺς Παμφύλους τῶν μετὰ Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ Κάλχαντος εἶναι λαῶν μιγάδων τινῶν ἐκ Τροίας συνακολουθησάντων· τοὺς μὲν δὴ πολλοὺς ἐνθάδε καταμεῖναι, τινὰς δὲ σκεδασθῆναι πολλαχοῦ τῆς γῆς. For Amphilochochus cf. above and iii. 91. 1 n. In accordance with this legend most of the Greek settlements in Pamphylia were believed to be Argive, though Side was colonized from Cyme. The Greek settlers there forgot their own tongue and spoke a barbarous dialect (Arr. *Anab.* i. 26). Cut off from Hellenism, they were gradually assimilated by the neighbouring Pisidian and barbaric tribes. So the legends on the (later) coins of Aspendus, Perga and Side are Pamphylian not Greek (Head, *H.N.* 700).

## vii. 92

**πίλους** κτλ. The feathered cap is characteristic of the peoples of the sea (among them the Lycians) who invaded Egypt in the days of Meneptah and Rameses III; cf. app. x, § 8; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, 362f.

**δρέπανα:** the Carian weapon; cf. chap. 93; v. 112. 2.

For the Lycians and their origin cf. i. 173 n.

**vii. 93**

**κατά περ Ἑλληνες:** cf. i. 171. 4 n.

**ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν λόγων:** i.e., i. 171. 2. For the meaning of the phrase cf. v. 36. 4 n.; introd., p. 51.

**vii. 94**

**Ἀχαιῖν.** For this tradition cf. i. 145 n.

Why Danaus, who settled in Argos, is here mentioned in connection with Xuthus and the Ionians is obscure, especially as he would appear to be two generations later in date (cf. i. 98. 2 n.). For the legend of Xuthus cf. Paus. vii. 1. Xuthus, son of Hellen, driven from Thessaly by his brothers Aeolus and Dorus, fled to Athens, and there married Creusa, daughter of the king Erechtheus, and by her had two sons, Ion and Achaeus. After the death of Erechtheus Xuthus fled to Aegialus and died there; Achaeus regained the throne of Thessaly, while Ion married Helice, daughter of Selinus, king of Aegialus, and at his death succeeded to the throne.

**Πελασγοὶ Αἰγιαλέες:** as later Ἴωνες Αἰγιαλέες (Paus. vii. 1); for Αἰγιαλέες cf. v. 68. 2 n. For Pelasgi here and in chap. 95 cf. app. xv.

**vii. 95**

**νησιῶται,** usually in H. a wide term, may here signify specially the Cyclades, the νησιωτικὸς φόρος of the Athenian Empire. The small number of the contingent must be explained by the fact that these recently conquered Greeks (cf. vi. 31, 49, 99) were far from loyal to Persia. Indeed some fought on the Greek side (cf. viii. 46, 66). Diodorus (xi. 3) puts the islanders' contingent at fifty ships.

**Πελασγικόν.** H. apparently forgets that many of the Aegean islands, e.g., Thera (iv. 147), Melos (viii. 48), were Doric. The islands close to Asia Minor are probably to be included in the Ionian, Dorian, and Aeolic, contingents.

**ὑστερον:** while still in the Peloponnese.

**κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον,** "on the same grounds as." The criteria that they came from Athens and celebrated the Apaturia (i. 147) applied to these islanders as much as the Ionians of the Dodecapolis, whose claims to be the only true Ionians H. vigorously disputes (i. 143f.).

On the origin of the Aeolians cf. Apollod. i. 7. 3 Αἰολος δὲ βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν τόπων, τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Αἰολεῖς προσηγόρευσε. The Aeolians are Pelasgic because Thessaly was reputed an ancient home of the Pelasgi; cf. Pelasgiotis, Pelasgic Argos, etc. Strabo (220) cautiously says τοὺς δὲ Πελασγούς, ὅτι μὲν ἀρχαῖον τι φῦλον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπιπολάσαν καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κατὰ Θετταλίαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἅπαντες σχεδόν τι.

**[2] Ἑλλησπόντιοι:** in the wide sense (cf. iv. 38. 2 n.; v. 1. 1); apparently ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου (below) includes only the same regions, viz., Bosphorus, Propontis, and Hellespont. The Ionic (Milesian) colonies were Abydos, Lampsacus, Paesus, Priapus, Cyzicus, Artace, Proconnesus, Perinthus; the Doric (Megarian) Selymbria,

Byzantium, Chalcedon. The Aeolic (Sestos, cf. ix. 115 ad fin., and Madytus) are not mentioned probably because they are included in the Aeolians (§ 1).

#### vii. 96

**ἐπεβάτευον**: besides the ἐπιχώριοι ἐπιβάται (cf. 184 n.). The sentence reads like a later insertion as it breaks the connection; cf. τούτων and τούτοισι.

**ἐξέρογομαι**: naturally "I am precluded from," negative, as apparently in ix. 111. 1, "prevented from refusing by the custom," has here positive force, "I am constrained by" (cf. chap. 139), and is equivalent to ἐξαναγκάζομαι (ii. 3. 2, cf. chap. 99. 1).

**ἐς ἱστορίας λόγον**, "for the purpose of my history." Here only in H. does ἱστορίη bear the meaning history which later became common. To avoid this Macan would translate, "I am not compelled by the necessity of my argument to give any account of my inquiries on that head."

[2] **ἐπάξιοι**, "worthy of mention"; cf. 224. 1; ii. 79. 1 n. So the στρατηγοί of the whole army and the ἄρχοντες of the tribal contingents are distinguished in chap. 82.

#### vii. 97

On the four admirals and their squadrons cf. app. xix, § 2.

For Aspathines cf. iii. 70. 1 n. Probably this Prexaspes is grandson of the executioner of Smerdis, who revealed the deceit of the Magi (iii. 74, 75).

**Μεγαβάτεω**: cf. v. 32. **Ἀχαιμένης**: cf. iii. 124 and chap. 236.

**Ἀριαβίγνης** fell at Salamis (viii. 89). He is son of the daughter of Gobryas mentioned chap. 3. 2.

The numbers of transports and light vessels seem out of place here.

#### vii. 98

For the Persian custom of ruling by vassal-kings of the old royal race cf. iii. 15. 2 n. These kings (cf. viii. 11, 67) appear elsewhere at the head of their contingents; under Conon at Cnidus, 394 B.C. (cf. Diodorus, xiv. 79), and in the Aegean, 332 B.C., under Pharnabazus and Autophradates (cf. Arr. *Anab.* ii. 13).

**Τετράμνηστος**: a Phoenician name Hellenized on the analogy of Ἀρίμνηστος (ix. 64. 2, 72. 2), Πολύμνηστος (iv. 150. 2).

**Ματτήν** = Mattan = a gift, Hebrew and Phoenician (2 Kings xi. 18).

**Σιρώμου** = Hiram, LXX. Χειράμ, probably a shortened form of Ahiram = brother of the exalted one. Hiram III was a member of the ancient royal family of Tyre which had been taken captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He succeeded his brother Merbâl on the throne of his fathers 551 B.C., and reigned as a vassal first of Babylon and then of Persia till 532 B.C.

**Μέρβαλος** = Merbâl, Latin *Maharbal*, "gift of Baal." Aradus (cf. Strabo 753, 754) lay on an island like Tyre and Sidon, next to which it ranked at this time.

**Συέννεσις**: cf. i. 74. 3 n. According to Aeschylus, *Pers.* 326–8, he fell with the greatest glory at Salamis.

**Κυβερνίσκος**. E. Meyer (iii, § 95 n.) reads Κύβερνις Κοσσίκα. The name Κύβερνις appearing on a later inscription (Hicks<sup>1</sup> 161) and ΚΥΒ on early coins (Six), while Κοσσίκας = Lyc. Cheziga.

**Γόργος**: king of Salamis (viii. 11), who remained true to Persia when Cyprus revolted (v. 104, 115).

**Ίστιαιός**: no doubt restored to the lordship of Termera (cf. v. 37) after the Ionian revolt.

**Δαμασίθυμος**: lord of the city Calynda (i. 172. 2; viii. 87. 2). For its site cf. *JHS* xv. 97.

Two more leaders are mentioned in chap. 195, one Cypriot, the other Carian.

## vii. 99

**στρατευσαμένης**. That Artemisia took part in the expedition was the more remarkable as she had a son of an age to serve (νεηνίης) and might have stayed at home to safeguard her throne. On the dynasty cf. introd. §§ 1, 3.

[2] **Νίσυρος**: a small volcanic island just south of Cos.

**Καλυδνίων**. The island Κάλυδνα or Κάλυμνα (the latter form is the commoner, e.g., in Inscriptions, perhaps to distinguish it from the town Κάλυνδα; cf. i. 172. 2; viii. 87. 2) is north of Cos, between Cos and Leros.

[3] **γνώμας ἀρίστας**: cf. viii. 68f., 101f.

**ἀποφαίνω**, "I declare" (cf. ii. 16. 1). As a Halicarnassian himself H. speaks confidently.

The ascription of the foundation of Halicarnassus to Troezen seems to rest on the family tradition of the Ἀνθεάδαι, who held by right of birth the priesthood at the Posidonion (*CIG* 2655) and claimed descent from Anthes, son of Poseidon. Strabo (656) attributes the foundation to Anthes (οἰκίσται δ' αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀνθης μετὰ Τροιζηνίων); Pausanias (ii. 30. 9) to his descendants.

Halicarnassus certainly honoured Troezen as its mother-city (Paus. ii. 32. 6), but the connection does not prove Dorism, both cities being half Ionic.

A bond of connection between Epidaurus and Cos may be found in their devotion to the worship of Asclepius, under the charge of the Asclepiads, among them Hippocrates (Plato, *Phdr.* 270c, *Prt.* 311b). Apparently before the Dorian immigration Cos had already been colonized from Thessaly (*Il.* ii. 676f.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 61). Calymna and Nisyros were later occupied from Cos (Diod. v. 54).

## vii. 100–108

*Xerxes talks with Demaratus. The feats of Boges and Mascames.*

The conversations with Demaratus illustrate the confidence of Xerxes (chaps. 101, 209) and contrast the servile subjects of the “great king” with the Greeks, whose watchwords, “freedom under the law” and “loyalty to death” (chap. 104. 4, 5), anticipate Thermopylae.

### vii. 100

**ἀπέγραφον οἱ γραμματισταί:** cf. viii. 90. 4. That such lists existed is certain (cf. appendix), but in supposing they were first made at Doriscus, H. sacrifices truth to picturesqueness.

[2] **νέα Σιδωνίην:** cf. chap. 128. 2. The Sidonian ships and crews were the best in the fleet (chaps. 44 ad fin., 96. 1, 99. 3). Sidon at this time outstripped Tyre in trade (Meyer, iii, § 85); her king took precedence of the Tyrian in the council of war (viii. 67).

[3] **ἐντός:** i.e., inside the line of ships between them and the shore.

### vii. 101

[2] **μὴ ἐόντες** = εἰ μὴ εἴησαν. Modifying the exaggerated statement of his irresistible power.

**ἄρθομοι**, “united, leagued together”; cf. vi. 83. 2; ix. 9. 2, 37. 4; Hom. *Od.* xvi. 427.

### vii. 102

**μὴ** is used with *ἀλώσεται* because the relative has the force of a consecutive clause; cf. iv. 166. 1.

**σύντροφος:** specially of congenital diseases; cf. Hippoc. 307. 18 νοῦσος ἐκ παιδίου σύντροφος ἔνδημος, and Thuc. ii. 50. For σοφία cf. Eur. frag. 641 πενία δὲ σοφίαν ἔλαχε διὰ τὸ σύγγενες, Theoc. xxi. 1 Ἄ πενία, Διόφαντε, μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει / αὐτὰ τῷ μόχθοιο διδάσκαλος.

### vii. 103

**τὸ πολιτικόν:** the whole citizen body (Liddell & Scott) rather than the “constitution of the state” (Stein).

**κατὰ νόμους.** Xerxes, with a knowledge of improbable exactitude, alludes to the Spartan kings’ double portion at feasts (vi. 57. 1 and 3); double service might therefore be expected of them.

[3] Xerxes pictures a battle as a number of isolated combats in which each Spartan will be surrounded by a thousand Persians. But five million Persians is a great exaggeration on the author’s own reckoning (chap. 185), unless the camp followers be included (chap. 186). For the Spartans’ numbers cf. chap. 234. 2 n.

### vii. 104

**τὰ κατήκοντα:** how it is with the Spartans; cf. i. 97. 2.

[2] τὰ νῦν τάδε ἔστοργῶς ἐκείνους, as the text stands, must be sarcastic; “how I now chance to love them,” ἐκείνους being governed by ἔστοργῶς (cf. ix. 113. 2) and τὰ νῦν τάδε adverbial. Stein, however, conjectures that a participle, e.g., ἀποστυγέων has fallen out after ἐκείνους, and construes “how well pleased I am with my present condition (cf. στέργειν μάλιστα below). For τὰ νῦν τάδε cf. Ar. *Pax* 858 τὰ νῦν τάδε πράττει, Eur. *Heracl.* 641 εὐτυχεῖς τὰ νῦν τάδε, *I.A.* 537.

τιμήν, “my rank and honours.” For the γέρεα cf. vi. 56f., and for the deposition vi. 61–70.

[5] οὐδὲν πλῆθος: object after φεύγειν; cf. Tyrtaeus, frag. xi μηδ’ ἀνδρῶν πληθὺν δειμαίνετε μηδὲ φοβεῖσθε.

#### vii. 105

Δορίσκῳ τούτῳ. The preposition is justified because Doriscus, though not mentioned since chap. 59, is the scene of the review and of the conversation with Demaratus (cf. i. 120. 1; vi. 42. 1).

#### vii. 106

ἄνδρα τοιόνδε . . . γενόμενον. These words give not a reason for Xerxes’ action, but a later reflection of the author “Mascames, left in charge by Xerxes, so bore himself that,” τοιόνδε being explained by the relative clause; cf. i. 202. 2.

πάντων: i.e., in Thrace and on the Hellespont as stated in § 2.

Μασκαμείοισι: a patronymic rare in Prose, but cf. Plato, *Grg.* 482a ὁ Κλεινίειος οὗτος.

Ἑλλησπόντου depends on πανταχῇ (cf. chap. 126) = in all the strong places such as Sestos (chap. 33).

ἔξαιρέθησαν, “were driven out”; e.g., from Sestos (ix. 118) 478 B.C. spring, Byzantium (Thuc. i. 94. 128) 478 B.C. autumn, Eion (chap. 107) 476–475 winter, and later, apparently after the battle of Eurymedon, from the Thracian Chersonese (Plut. *Cim.* 14; *CIA* i. 432). The many attempts to drive out Mascames show the length of these operations. The whole passage indicates that Mascames died in possession of Doriscus, but that it was later lost to Persia. As there is no sign that it ever fell into the hands of Athens, Köhler (*Hermes*, xxiv. 89) conjectures that the Thracians took it. The fact that Artaxerxes sent the gifts to the descendants of Mascames shows that Mascames must have died after his accession (465 B.C.).

[2] οἱ . . . πέμπεται. H. writes loosely in speaking as if the gifts were still sent to Mascames; really the gifts, originally sent to him, were continued to his descendants.

#### vii. 107

Ἡρόνος: on the Strymon (chap. 25 ad fin.). The taking of Eion was the first achievement of the allied fleet under Athenian leadership (Diod. xi. 60; Thuc. i. 98). The siege began apparently in the summer of 476, and lasted to the spring of

475. Plut. *Cim.* 7 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς μάχη τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκησε καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ Στρυμόνα Θρᾶκας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἐφοῖτα σῖτος, ἀναστάτους ποιῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν παραφυλάττων ἄπασαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους κατέστησεν, ὥστε Βούτην (*sic*) τὸν βασιλέως στρατηγὸν ἀπογνόντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐνεῖκαι καὶ συνδιαφθεῖραι μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἑαυτόν. (For self-devotion by fire cf. i. 86 n.) This account is supported by the inscriptions on Hermae quoted by Plutarch and Aeschines *In Ctes.* 183. On the other hand, the division of the river, the stratagem ascribed to Cimon (Paus. viii. 8. 9), is probably a later invention, explaining the inscription (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *A. and A.*, i. 156 n.; Meyer, *F.* ii. 61).

[2] The region was rich in precious metals; cf. v. 17; vi. 46; vii. 112; ix. 75.

### vii. 108–26

*The advance of the army and fleet from Doriscus to Therma. Anecdotes of the feeding of the host.*

### vii. 108

**καὶ πρότερον:** cf. v. 1f.; vi. 44f.

**μέχρι Θεσσαλίας . . . δασμοφόρος.** The country, including Macedon (cf. vi. 44. 1), was subject and tributary, though under native princes.

**Μεγαβάζου:** cf. iv. 143. 1.

[2] **τὰ Σαμοθρηκία τείχεα:** forts securing for Samothrace a strip of coastland opposite the island; cf. chap. 59. 2; similarly Thasos (chap. 109. 2 n.; vi. 46. 2 n.; vi. 33. 1); and in Asia, Chios (i. 160) and Lesbos (v. 94; Thuc. iii. 50, iv. 52).

**Μεσαμβρίη:** perhaps at Tekieh, to be distinguished from the town on the Euxine (iv. 93. 1; vi. 33. 2).

**Λίσος.** The only river of any size passes through Dede-Agatch (Doriscus?), but there is a smaller stream near Cape Makri (Serreion), which may be the Lisus.

[3] **Γαλλαϊκή.** Γαλαῖοι are mentioned in Thrace on the Athenian tribute lists (Hicks, 48, 64).

**Βριαντική:** Livy xxxviii. 41 “Priaticus campus”; Plin. *H.N.* iv. 41 “Priantae.”

**καὶ αὐτή:** as well as Doriscus (chap. 59. 3) and Maroneia (chap. 109. 1).

**Κικόνων.** The “just title” of the Cicones (cf. chap. 59. 3 n.) is no doubt the earliest mention of Ismarus in Homer, *Od.* ix. 39.

### vii. 109

**Μαρώνια:** colonized by Chians (Scymnus, l. 676), famous for its wine (Hom. *Od.* ix. 197; Plin. xiv. 53f.), now Maronia.

**Ἴσμαρίδα:** named after the Ciconian town Ismarus (*Od.* ix. 40). There is now no lake between Stryme and Maroneia. Ismaris is placed by Kiepert in the marshes west of Maroneia.

**Βιστονίδα,** named after the Bistones (*Scymnus* chap. l. 674), is really a lagoon (Buru Gyul) connected with the sea.

**Τραῦος:** perhaps better Τραῦσος as the inhabitants are Τραῦσοι (v. 4), the Yardymly Dereh.

**Κόμψατος:** *Ael. N.A.* xv. 25 Κοσσίνιτος; in the Antonine Itinerary, Cosintus; it now reaches the sea a little west of the Buru Gyul.

**Ἄβδηρα:** cf. i. 168 n.; usually placed, after Ptolemy, ten miles east of the Nestus, though Pseudo-Scylax (*Peripl.* 68) and Strabo (331, frag. 46) imply a site just east of the river, as apparently does H. (chap. 126). There are now no ruins near the mouth of the river Nestus (Kara Su).

**Θασίων** (cf. chap. 118) must be read for the meaningless ἰών, otherwise τὰς is superfluous; cf. Pseudo-Scylax 68 Οἰσύμη καὶ ἄλλα ἐμπόρια Θασίων.

[2] **τὰς ἠπειρώτιδας:** not inland cities, as they are παραθαλασσίας (§ 2), but cities on the mainland in opposition to the islands, Thasos and Samothrace (cf. i. 151, of the cities of Aeolis).

**Πίστυρος.** The name is connected with Βίστονες; cf. 108. 3 n. for the change of β to π. The form Κυστήριοι appears on a quota list, *CIA* i. 243. The place may be marked by a salt-lake ten miles from the Nestus.

## vii. 110

For Xerxes' route cf. chap. 121 n.

The tribes are enumerated roughly from east to west.

**Παῖτοι:** near the mouth of the Hebrus; cf. *Arr. Anab.* i. 11. 4.

**Κίκονες:** near Mount Ismarus; cf. 59. 3, 108. 3 n.

**Σαπαῖοι** (cf. Appian, *B. Civ.* iv. 105): east of Philippi (Daton) and opposite Thasos.

**Δερσαῖοι** (cf. Thuc. ii. 101): apparently an inland tribe north of the Sapaei.

**Ἰδωνοί:** reaching to the Strymon (v. 11. 2 n.; vii. 114. 1; ix. 75). They had once dwelt between the Axios and the Strymon in Mygdonia, but had been driven thence by the Macedonian kings (Thuc. ii. 99).

**Σάτραι:** in the hill country behind the Edonians between the Nestus and the Strymon.

## vii. 111

**μοῦνοι Θρηίκων** is too strong, even though Darius nominally made the country subject (iv. 93), and the Odrysian princes dominated most of the tribes (Thuc. ii. 95–7). The Odrysae at least were free and powerful; cf. iv. 80.

[2] **Διονύσου**: cf. v. 7 n.

**τό**, “the well-known”; cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1267 ὁ Θρηξι μάντις εἶπε Διόνυσος τάδε. The empire of Augustus over the world was foreshown by a portent here, as had been that of Alexander (Suet. *Aug.* 94).

**Βησσοί**, or Βεσσοί, were, according to Strabo (318), a race of mountain robbers, stretching from Mount Rhodope to the Illyrian frontier. Livy (xxxix. 53) and Pliny (*H.N.* iv. 40) also regard them as a distinct race. They retained the custody of the oracle till it was transferred to the Odrysae by Crassus in 29 B.C. (Dio Cass. li. 25). Possibly (Macan) the name of the religious order (Bessi) superseded the tribal name, Satrae.

**οἱ προφητεύοντες**: that is the class from whom the προφήτης came. The προφήτης is the interpreter of the meaning of the god; if the oracle be given by dreams or signs, he explains their significance; if by speech, he puts together as an ordered whole the cries which the πρόμαντις lets fall in her state of ecstasy. He stands between the god and the people (cf. Pind. frag. 118 μαντεύεο Μοῖσα προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ), and is the president and manager of the temple. Cf. viii. 36 ad fin., 37, and for πρόμαντις ad init. vi. 66. 2; vii. 141. 2; i. 47 n. H. seems to use the two words indifferently in viii. 135. 2 and 3.

These priests living in retirement in caves seem to have received almost divine honours in Thrace, and to have had great political influence (Eur. *Rhes.* 970; Strabo 297; Dio Cass. liv. 34; cf. iv. 96).

**οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον**. The priestess gives answers just as at Delphi; there is nothing more extraordinary about it. Apparently there were exaggerated notions current in Greece about this oracle of Dionysus. H., jealous for the honour of Delphi (cf. i. 48), declares it is just an ordinary oracle, using the same means as Delphi, not dreams, omens or the lot.

## vii. 112

For Xerxes' route cf. chap. 121 n.

The Pierians, like the Edones (chap. 110) and the Bottiaei, were driven from their homes in Macedonia, just north of Mount Olympus (cf. chap. 131), by the Temenid kings (Thuc. ii. 99 οἱ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ὤκησαν Φάγητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία κτλ.). The name Pieria clung to their old home.

**Φάγης**: the first place east of the Strymon's mouth (Pseudo-Scylax 68; Strabo 331, frag. 33), perhaps Orfana.

**τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος**: reaches the river Strymon, lying between its tributary the Angites and the sea; cf. v. 16. 1.

**Ὀδόμαντοι**: cf. v. 16. 1 n.

## vii. 113

**Δόβηρας:** west of the Sapaean pass, on the left bank of the Angites, between Philippi and Amphipolis, to be distinguished from the larger Paeonian tribe in the land. Doberus, between the upper Axios and the Strymon (Thuc. ii. 98).

**Παιόπλαι:** cf. v. 15. 3 n.

H.'s orientation is, as often, loose. He seems to conceive the Strymon as flowing from west to east, and the Angites as flowing into it from the north, but really the Strymon here flows from northwest to southeast and the Angites joins it from the northeast. H., by making the Angites flow into the Strymon not into a lake, implies that Lake Cercinitis did not then exist, or was of small importance; similarly Thucydides (ii. 98) ignores it, and only speaks of τὸ λιμνῶδες τοῦ Στρυμόνος (v. 7). It is first clearly mentioned by Arrian (i. 11. 3), and has apparently increased in size greatly since ancient times (Kiepert, Map XVI, p. 4).

**[2] καλλιρέεσθαι:** to offer sacrifice in order to learn the will of the gods (vi. 82. 2; vii. 167. 1); the active καλλιρέειν (impersonal in H.) is used of the sacrifice itself = χρῆσθαι γίνεσθαι, vi. 76. 2; vii. 134. 2; ix. 19. 2, 38. 2, 96. 1.

The offering of a horse is genuinely Persian (i. 133. 1; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37; Xen. *An.* iv. 5. 35), and water, especially running water, was sacred (i. 131. 2, 138. 2 n.); but Strabo (732) says that when the Persians come to a stream or spring, they dig a pit, and there sacrifice their victim, taking care that the pure water near them is not stained with the blood, since that would be pollution. It would seem then that if H. is right, the Magi were following not Persian but local custom (cf. vi. 97. 2; vii. 43. 2; viii. 133; ix. 37. 1). The Strymon received divine honours from Greeks; cf. *CIG* 2008 (from Amphipolis) τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον ἴρον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος and ἄγνος Στρυμόνων (Aesch. *Supp.* 254; *Pers.* 497). For the worship of rivers cf. vi. 76; viii. 138. 1, and especially of the river Scamander cf. Hom. *Il.* xxi. 132 ζῶους δ' ἐν δίνησι καθίετε μώνυχας ἵππους.

## vii. 114

**φαρμακεύσαντες:** of the secret rites, spells, or incantations which accompanied the sacrifice (i. 132. 3), which made the Greeks use the word μάγος for "wizard" (Soph. *O.T.* 387); cf. app. viii, § 5.

**Ἐννέα ὁδοῖσι:** twenty-five stades up stream from Eion, where the Athenians built Amphipolis in 437 B.C. For the bridge cf. chap. 24.

**[2] Περισκόν.** Human sacrifice is certainly not Zoroastrian, nor does it seem to have been common in Persia, though there are the instances of Cambyses (iii. 35. 5), Parysatis (Ctesias *Persica* 55. 77), and another of Amestris (Ctesias *Persica* 41. 74). For human sacrifice among the tribes north of Thrace cf. iv. 62, 73, 93.

**πυνθάνομαι.** This note is clearly a later addition. It is usually dated very late, since Ctesias (*Persica* 43. 75) puts the death of Amestris in extreme old age shortly before that of Artaxerxes (425 B.C.). This, however, proves nothing. Amestris (cf. ix. 112), as daughter of Otanes and chief wife of Xerxes, was probably born some

years before 500 B.C.; hence she would be for an Eastern woman old any time after 440 B.C. The story may have come from Zopyrus (*JHS* xxvii. 37f.).

τῶ . . . θεῶ: cf. ii. 122. 1. Ahriman, the opponent of Ormuzd, resembles Hades as being author of death, and dwelling in hell beneath with his legions.

#### vii. 115

Ἄργιλον. Like Stagirus and Acanthus an Andrian colony (Thuc. iv. 84, 88, 103).

Βισαλτίη. The Bisaltae, though conquered by Macedon (Thuc. ii. 99), preserved their nationality for centuries (Livy xlv. 29, 30). They were famed for bravery; cf. viii. 116.

[2] Συλέος πεδίου. Apparently the valley through which the waters of Lake Bolbe reach the sea (Thuc. iv. 103); probably Xerxes marched up this valley and then by Lerigova, not along the coast (cf. W. F. Anderson in *Papers of the University College, Sheffield*, 1897). Syleus was a son of Poseidon (cf. Ποσιδηίον), slain by Heracles for mishandling strangers (Apollod. ii. 6. 3).

Στάγιρον has been placed at Nisvoro (Bowen) and at Stavros (Leake), but the identifications are quite uncertain (Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 226).

Ἄκανθος: Hierissos; a most important station, as in the expedition of Mardonius (vi. 44. 2). It has an excellent harbour, giving shelter in all weathers, an advantage not found elsewhere on this coast (Anderson, *op. cit.* p. 221).

ὁμοίως . . . κατέλεξα: shortened for ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκάστου ἠγάγετο τῶν . . . κατέλεξα: the reference is to chap. 110.

[3] This *vetus via regia* was still in use 185 B.C. (Livy xxxix. 27). No doubt the well-made Persian road (cf. v. 52) was a precious possession to the inhabitants.

#### vii. 116

ξεινίην . . . προεῖτε: not here “imperavit hospitia” (cf. chaps. 119. 1, 120. 2), but declared them his sworn friends, as is shown by the context and by chap. 29. 2; viii. 120.

ἐσθῆτι Μηδικῆ: cf. iii. 84. 1.

τὸ ὄρυγμα ἀκούων. Either (1) ἀκούων must be excised (Krüger) or emended (Hude), or (2) something must be inserted, e.g., (Gomperz *Stud. Her.* ii. 65) σπεύδοντας before ἀκούων. The Acanthians naturally took part in digging the canal (chap. 22).

#### vii. 117

Artachaees was eight feet high, the ideal height being but four cubits (Ar. *Ran.*, 1014; cf. i. 60. 4). Respect for mere size is an oriental characteristic (chap. 187. 2; 1 Sam. ix. 2); thus the Mamelukes wondered at Napoleon's shortness. Though the identification of the tumulus (Spratt, *RGS* xvii. 149) is very doubtful, there is no reason to suspect the real existence of Artachaees. H. is not embodying a mythical

figure (Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, ii. 175), nor borrowing from Alcaeus (Diels, *Hermes*, xxii. 425).

[2] ὡς ἦρωι: cf. v. 47. 2 n. ἐπονομάζοντες: iv. 35. 3.

#### vii. 118

ὅκου γε, "seeing that," causal; cf. i. 68. 2.

ἐν τῇ ἡπίρω: cf. chaps. 109. 2, 108. 2.

ἀραιημένος: chosen to provide the banquet. In performing this "Liturgy" he was probably expected to assist the State out of his own pocket. For the wealth of Thasos cf. vi. 46 n.

τετρακόσια. Athenaeus (iv. 146 C), quoting Ctesias (frag. 11, p. 227) and Deinon (frag. 19, *FHG* ii. 93), gives the same estimate for the cost of the king's supper, and puts the number of his guests at fifteen thousand. Heraclides of Cyme (frag. 2, *FHG* ii. 96; ap. Athen. iv. 145b) says this seems very magnificent, but is really economical, since this maintenance is really part of the pay of the king's guards and retinue. For eating of the king's meat cf. Daniel i. 5, 8, 13f., and of his salt Ezra iv. 24; Meyer iii, § 54.

#### vii. 119

These details as to "Purveyance" in the Persian empire are very significant. Cf. the frequent complaints of this method of exaction in mediaeval England.

#### vii. 120

[2] παρέχειν . . . ἄν: imperfect = παρεῖχεν ἄν. "Otherwise the Abderites would have had to choose."

#### vii. 121

Θέρμη. Perhaps a Greek colony, yet always, save for a few months (Thuc. i. 61; ii. 29), a Macedonian town. It became of great importance when Cassander founded there (in 305 B.C.) Thessalonica (Strabo 330, frag. 24), a city as great in Roman times (Liv. xlv. 30; Acts chap. xvii) as it still is as Saloniki. Kiepert (Map XVI, p. 3) would, however, place Therma six miles southeast of Thessalonica.

ταύτη, "because the way by this town was he learned the shortest"; cf. iv. 86. 3; v. 17. 2.

[2] The division of the army of Xerxes into three columns (cf. chap. 131) and the account here given, imply a march by three routes, at least from Doriscus to Acanthus, and in all probability to Therma (chap. 124 n.). But it is not easy to find in the actual narrative more than two separate routes. In chap. 110 it seems clear that the centre under Xerxes went a little inland by the route later famous as the Via Egnatia, while the left column followed the coast. H., however, does not realize that the left column, unless it was ferried across Lake Bistonis, must have returned to the Via Egnatia at the head of the lagoon, and in any case must have done so at Neapolis. After Neapolis the left column clearly marched south of

Mount Pangaeum, while another must have followed, as did the Via Egnatia, the valley of the Angites, north of Mount Pangaeum. The third column presents a difficulty. W. F. Anderson, *Papers of the University College of Sheffield* (1897), ingeniously accounts for its disappearance by suggesting (p. 250) that it had already marched from Doriscus right up the Hebrus, and that it only rejoined Xerxes at Therma by the valley of the Axios (chap. 124 n.). Macan, arguing that no third route is indicated by H. between Doriscus and Acanthus, suggests that the third division was on board the fleet. Thus Xerxes might march along the coast (chap. 113) and yet be with the centre column (chap. 121). On the other hand, the confusion of routes in chap. 124 makes it more probable that a part of the army marched far inland by the Upper Strymon and Echeidorus. Clearly H. is right in his view that the Persian army marched by more than one route, but he has not succeeded in keeping the different columns and routes distinct. For the generals in command of the columns cf. chap. 82.

#### **vii. 122**

**διέχουσαν**, “reaching through to”; cf. iv. 48. 2. On the canal and its completion cf. chap. 23 n.

**Ἄσσα**: at the head of the gulf; on the Attic tribute lists Ἄσσηρα (Hicks, 33, 48).

**Σίγγος**: the only important town mentioned gave its name to the gulf (Thuc. v. 18; Plin. iv. 37).

**ἀπιέμενος . . . παραμείβετο**: apparently the main fleet after rounding Cape Ampelus, near Torone, sailed straight across (123. 1) the Gulf of Torone, leaving the cities on its right (cf. chaps. 42. 1, 109. 1); but it may well have sent a detachment to pick up their contingents. H.’s statement, though loose, is quite intelligible.

**Τορώνη** lay near the mouth of the gulf and had an excellent harbour (Livy xlv. 30), while Sermylia (now Hormylia) was near the inmost recess. This Galepsus, unless H. has blundered, must have been between the two, and cannot be the better known Thasian colony near the Strymon, for which cf. Thuc. iv. 107; v. 6; and Strabo 331, frag. 33.

**Μηκύβεργα** (Molivo) was taken by the Olynthians (Thuc. v. 39) and became their port (Strabo 331, frag. 29). For Olynthus cf. viii. 127 n.

#### **vii. 123**

**συντάμνων** (sc., τὴν ὁδόν) (cf. v. 41. 2), “taking the shortest way”; cf. τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ, i. 185. 7.

**Καναστραῖον ἄκρον**: Cape Paliuri, the promontory in which Pallene ends; Pseudo-Scylax 67; cf. Thuc. iv. 110; Livy xxxi. 45.

**τό**: referring loosely to ἄκρον; cf. iv. 23. 3; v. 92 a.

**Ποτιδαίης . . . Θεράμβω.** On the east side of Pallene, on the Gulf of Torone; only Potidaea on the Isthmus also had a harbour on the Thermaic gulf, and was of importance (Thuc. i. 56f.). Aphytis is Phormio's base against Potidaea (Thuc. i. 64).

**Θεράμβω.** On Attic tribute lists Θράμβαιοι is often coupled with Scione (cf. CIA i. 227, 229, 237).

**Σκιώνης . . . Σάνης:** cf. Strabo 330, frag. 27; on the west side of the peninsula. Scione, a colony from Pellene in Achaia (Thuc. iv. 120), and Mende, an Eretrian colony just east of Cape Posideum (Thuc. iv. 123, 129), both suffered greatly in the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. iv. 130f.; v. 32). On Sane cf. chap. 22. 3.

**καλεομένην:** i.e., in epic it was taken as the site of the battle between the gods and the giants, Φλέγρα being connected with φλέγειν, as were the Campi Phlegraei in Campania (Polyb. iii. 91. 7), and for the same reason, the volcanic character of the country.

[2] **Αἴνεια** is the only town of any importance (Livy xlv. 10. 32).

**Κροσσαίη:** elsewhere Κροῦσις (Thuc. ii. 79; Strabo 330, frag. 21; Steph. Byz.).

[3] **Μυγδονίην:** east of the Lower Axios as far as Lake Bolbe (Thuc. i. 58; ii. 99).

**Σίνδον:** prob. at the mouth of the Echeidorus.

**Χαλέστην:** elsewhere Χαλάστρα, at the mouth of the Axios (Strabo 330, frag. 21).

**Βοττιαίς,** or Βοττία, a land called after its earlier inhabitants, driven by the Macedonians into Chalcidice (viii. 127. 1; Thuc. ii. 99); it lay between the lower courses of the Axios and the Haliacmon (chap. 127. 1). The small wedge-shaped plain coming down to the sea was divided between Ichnae and Pella. The latter, under Philip capital of Macedon, lay 120 stades from the sea (Strabo 330, frag. 22).

## vii. 124

**τὴν μεσόγαιαν τὰ μνῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ,** "taking the short way across the land." This curious phrase, repeated in ix. 89. 4, is perhaps colloquial. Both τὰ μνῶν μέσην ὁδὸν and μέσην γῆν would mean to take the shortest way; hence phrases like τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ (i. 185. 7; iv. 136. 2) are natural, as again is vii. 121. 3 ἤτε . . . τὴν μεσόγαιαν. Here we seem to have a confusion of the two expressions; cf. iv. 12. 3 ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες.

**Παιονικῆς.** The Siriopaeones (v. 15 n.) lived just above Lake Cercinitis on the Strymon and other Paeonians near the source of that river. Crestonia or Grestonia (Thuc. ii. 99, 100) is the hilly country round the source of the Cheidorus, or Echeidorus (now Galliko), and the upper valley of that river. This, of course, is far from the shortest route from Acanthus to Therma. H. probably distorted the whole lie of the country, exaggerating the size of Chalcidice and shortening the inland distances by a misconception as to the direction of the rivers (chap. 113 n.). He also confused the route of the three columns. In fact only a detachment can have gone with Xerxes to Acanthus which is off the line: one column doubtless marched

along the road by Apollonia and Lake Bolbe (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 494 for the return), another probably went inland by the Upper Strymon and the sources of the Echeidorus, and so down the Axios (chap. 121 n.).

#### vii. 126

**βόες ἄγριοι:** since their horns are described as immense, these would seem to be the *uri* of Caesar (*B. Gall.* vi. 28), the aurochs. Though these long-horned oxen were found chiefly in Western Europe, they are represented as caught in nets on the Vaphio cups. Again, Trajan dedicated to Jupiter Casius the horn of an *urus* which formed part of the booty won from the Getae (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 332). The Bonasus of Aristotle (*Hist. An.* ix. 45, 630a), the bison of Seneca (Phaedrus 69; Plin. *H.N.* viii. 38, 40; Paus. x. 13), etc., had comparatively short horns, and a long shaggy mane of hair on its neck and breast; it was found in Paeonia as well as Western Europe (cf. Keller, *Thiere des klassischen Altertums*, pp. 53–65).

**φοιτέοντα:** coming as articles of commerce, iii. 115. 1; vii. 23. 4. For H.'s interest in trade cf. introd., § 15.

**τοῖσι λέουσι.** The view that lions existed at that time in Europe has been ridiculed by Colonel Mure (*Lit. of Greece*, iv. 402), but H.'s statement is precise, and is repeated by Aristotle, a native of the district (*Hist. An.* vi. 31, 519a), and by Pliny (*H.N.* viii. 45; cf. also Paus. vi. 5. 4, 5), while Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xxi. 269c) says that by his time (A.D. 120) lions had disappeared from Europe. Fossils of lions are found in Europe, but they are of prehistoric date.

**δὲ Ἀβδήρων:** for the site of Abdera cf. chap. 109. 1 n., but H. may mean only the territory of Abdera; cf. i. 15 ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε: so Paus. vi. 5. 4 Νέστου ποταμοῦ τοῦ ῥέοντος διὰ τῆς Ἀβδηριῶν.

**τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ:** adverbial, "eastwards" (iv. 99. 1; vii. 20 ad fin.).

**ἔμπροσθε.** To speak of the east as the front of Europe would only be natural to an Asiatic, but H. might use the expression (1) from early associations, or (2) because he is following an Asiatic source. The expression does not prove that he was actually writing in Asia.

#### vii. 127

**Λυδίας** (also Λουδίας and Λοιδίας) is the Karasmak or Mavronero flowing from Almoia through lake Borborus.

**Ἀλιάκμων** is the Vistritza, rising in Orestis. At present the Lydias joins the Axios (Vardhar) near its mouth. From the time of Scylax (550 B.C.) to that of Ptolemy (A.D. 140) all three streams seem to have had distinct mouths (Pseudo-Scylax *Periplus* 67; Strabo 330, frag. 20; Ptol. iii. 12f.). In alluvial plains and marshes (as e.g., Babylonia) such changes in the courses of rivers are frequent.

**οἱ οὐρίζουσι:** i.e., after their union; further up the Lydias was the boundary.

**Μακεδονίδα:** the supposed original home of the Macedonians, to be distinguished from the wider term Μακεδονίη (v. 17. 2, etc.). It includes only the

original principality of the Temenid house (cf. viii. 138. 2), i.e., the plain between the Haliacmon and the Axios with the spurs of Mount Bermius; its capital is Edessa or Aegae. With Pieria and Bottiaea it is called (chap. 173. 1) ἡ κάτω Μακεδονίη in contrast with ἡ ἄνω Μακεδονίη (chaps. 128. 1, 173. 4), yet apparently this upper country was the home of the true Macedonians (cf. Thuc. ii. 99).

#### **vii. 128–30**

*The king's visit to Tempe.*

#### **vii. 128**

With Xerxes' desire to see the vale of Tempe we may compare Darius' visit to the Cyanean rocks (iv. 85). His march would not bring him into the neighbourhood of Tempe (cf. below). There are three roads from lower Macedonia into Thessaly. (1) East of Mount Olympus along the coast to the mouth of the Peneius, and up that river to Gonnus through the pass of Tempe; (2) through the depression between western Olympus and the Pierian hills, called the pass of Petra, leading to the sources of the river Europus or Titaresius, and down that river through Perrhaebia; (3) making a much longer circuit round the mountains up the valley of the Haliacmon, and then turning southeast through a deep cleft in the Cambunian Mountains (the pass of Volustana or Servia) to the upper valley of the Titaresius. There is also a difficult mountain path over southern Olympus from Heracleum to Lake Ascuris near Lapathus, descending thence to Gonnus, the key of Tempe; cf. Livy xxxiii. 10; xxxvi. 10; xlii. 54. 67. H. would appear to have imagined there was only one pass besides Tempe (cf. 173. 4), but if so his account is confused. The repeated emphasis on παρὰ Γόννον πόλιν (128. 1, 173. 4), and the great labour involved in cutting a road (chap. 131), point to the mountain path (cf. Livy xlv. 3 "ardua et aspera et confragosa via fuit"; cf. *ibid.* 5), but it is hard to see how a route so difficult and easily blocked could be described as ἀσφαλέστατον (cf. below), or could possibly have been used by the whole Persian army (chaps. 151. 1, 173. 4). Again, the expressions ἐς Περραιβούς, διὰ Περραιβῶν (131. 1, 173. 4), though possible of the mountain path, are more appropriate of the two other passes, since after crossing the passes of Volustana and Petra a force coming from Macedonia to Oloosson (Elassona) has still to traverse the lower passes of Perrhaebia, i.e., the region between Mount Pindus and the Peneius, south of Tripolis, to which in 480 B.C. the Perrhaebi were confined. Again, the phrases οἱ Μακεδόνες οἱ κατύπερθε οἰκημένοι, ἡ ἄνω Μακεδονίη (cf. 127 n., 173. 4) apply properly to the mountain regions of Orestis, Lyncestis and Elimia. The Persians would not reach even the nearest of these districts Elimia unless they went round by the pass of Volustana (cf. Livy xlii. 53 "(Perseus) postero die in Elimeam ad Haliacmona fluvium processit. Deinde saltu angusto superatis montibus, quos Cambunios vocant, descendit ad Azorum Pythium et Dolichen: Tripolim vocant incolentes"). Further, if Xerxes intended to march by the mountain path which led to Gonnus close to Tempe, why did he make a special excursion to it from

Therma? On the whole it would seem almost certain that Xerxes must have used the easier passes of Volustana and Petra for his main force, though a detachment may have gone by the mountain path. The mountain path as the shortest circuit would naturally be used in turning the position of a force holding Tempe (cf. chap. 173), as the Anopaea path was at Thermopylae, and would therefore be the best known. Its fame may have obscured the existence of the more distant passes.

**ἀσφαλέστατον**, “the safest way.” The way along the marshy strip of coastland and through the narrow cleft of Tempe could be easily held by an enemy (Livy xliv. 6), and presented many difficulties for a large army even if undefended (cf. chap. 173). Even if the mountain path were also used, the exit from it and from Tempe might be closed by holding Gonnus (Livy xxxvi. 10; xlii. 54, 67).

#### **vii. 129**

[2] **πέντε . . . δοκίμων**, “the five most important.” H. omits the Titaresius or Europus, the most important tributary of the Peneius on its left side, either from forgetfulness or because it belongs to Perrhaebia (chap. 128 n.), and inserts the obscure Onochonus (196) between the Apidanus and Enipeus, which certainly belong together (chap. 196 n.). The Pamisus is the modern Phanari, or Piliuri, flowing from Southern Pindus, the Peneius, the main river, is the Salambria. Probably H. knew well the lower course of the river through Tempe, but not the upper courses of the tributary streams.

H. wishes to emphasize the fact that all these streams pour their waters through one narrow outlet (the vale of Tempe) into the sea, and at first speaks as if they still retained their separate names till they reached Tempe; he then (§ 3) corrects this by pointing out that they lose their individual names when they join the main stream of Peneius.

[3] **Βοιβήϊδα**: the modern lake of Karla, on the western boundary of Magnesia, in a deep depression closed on three sides by hills; it is fed chiefly by overflow from the Peneius. When that river is much swollen, its waters find their way by a channel below Larissa into Lake Nessonis (now Karatjair), and thence by the river Asmak to the lake of Karla.

[4] **οἰκότα**: the view is consistent and reasonable (cf. iii. 111. 1; vii. 167. 1), but H. leaves the intervention of the Deity an open question, he does not himself adopt the opinion of the pious believers in Poseidon (cf. introd. §§ 26, 32).

**τὴν γῆν σείειν**. Hence the Homeric titles ἐνοσιχθῶν, ἐννοσίγαιος, etc., and in Thessaly πετραῖος (Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 138).

Philostratus (Imag. ii. 17) finds the best proof that the cleft was made by an earthquake in the zigzag shape of the cliffs. The ups and downs on either side the valley correspond closely to each other, and the rocks are of the same kind and appearance. Modern geologists would agree with H., except that they might substitute a series of volcanic movements for a single earthquake. H. is at his best in such questions of geology and physical geography (cf. ii. 10–12).

### vii. 130

[2] **ταῦτα**. Lest it should be thought that the conformation of their land was the only reason for the Thessalians' submission, καὶ τᾶλλα (e.g., my might) is added, and then ταῦτα ἄρα is resumed and explained by ὅτι χώρην ἄρα. For ἄρα cf. chap. 35. 2).

**πρὸ πολλοῦ**: as a matter of fact the Thessalians had only finally "come to a better mind" at the very last moment, when deserted by the other Greeks (chaps. 172, 174), but Xerxes believed that they had been the first to invite his intervention (§ 3).

**ἐπεῖναι**: *immittere*; cf. chap. 176. 4. The whole anecdote gives a striking picture of the geography of Thessaly, with its flat central plain walled in by mountains.

### vii. 131–7

*Return of the Heralds. List of the Greeks who Medized. Story of Sperchias and Bulis.*

### vii. 131

**Πιερίην**. The small strip of coastland between the mouths of the Haliacmon and Peneius, with the well-wooded hill country on the right bank of the Haliacmon below the Cambunian Mountains, and the northern and eastern slopes of Mount Olympus, was called Pieria after its early inhabitants (Πίερες, cf. chap. 112), though later included in lower Macedonia (chap. 127. 1). Hence the Pierian hills are here called ὄρος Μακεδονικόν. Its chief towns were Methone, Pydna, and Dium.

**ἔκειρε**: compare the road made by Sitalces (Thuc. ii. 98).

**τριτημορίς**: for the triple division cf. chap. 121.

### vii. 132

**Θεσσαλοί**: in the narrow sense, the tribe that, migrating from Thesprotia (chap. 176. 4), seized the valley of the Peneius, and compelled the peoples round about to acknowledge its suzerainty, so that the whole country within the limits given in chap. 129 was called Thessaly.

**Δόλοπες**: an ancient people living in the mountain region on both sides of Mount Pindus, from the upper Achelous (Thuc. ii. 102) to Lake Xynias. They are known as early as Homer (*Il.* ix. 484), and remained distinct till the Roman conquest (Liv. xxxviii. 3f.; xli. 22). Southeast of them, at the north of Mount Oeta in the upper valley of the Spercheius (chap. 198. 2), were the Ἐνυῆνες (so also *Il.* ii. 749) or Aenianes (Thuc. etc.), while the Malians (Μηλιέες, cf. chap. 198. 1) lived round the mouth of the Spercheius, at the western end of the Maliac Gulf, reaching as far as Thermopylae. On the coast, to the east of Thermopylae, were the Locrians (Epicnemidian and Opuntian), while in Pthiotis round Mount Othrys to the north dwelt the Ἀχαιοί (chaps. 173. 1, 196f.), the old Hellenic stock who followed Achilles, surnamed Φθιώται to distinguish them from the Achaeans of Peloponnese. All these tribes belonged to the Pylaic Amphictyony (chap. 213. 2).

[2] ἔταμον ὄρκιον: Homeric, probably from the cutting up of the victim; cf. iv. 201. 2, and in middle iv. 70. This famous oath, said by Diodorus (xi. 3) to have been taken by the σύνεδροι assembled at the Isthmus, must either have been general in its terms, and have been directed against οἱ μηδίζοντες without naming them individually, or must be placed after the battle of Thermopylae. Thebes was not openly on the Persian side till that time (chap. 205), and the Opuntian Locrians seem to have resisted stoutly till after Artemisium (chap. 203. 1; viii. 1. 2; ix. 31. 5); even the Thessalians did not Medize till Tempe was evacuated (chap. 172). Yet the indicative ὅσοι ἔδοσαν (not ὅσοι ἄν δῶσι) would seem to refer to a definite list of states, such as that given just above. Abicht would therefore identify this oath with that said to have been sworn before the battle of Plataea (Polyb. ix. 39) and given by Diodorus (xi. 29) and Lycurgus (*Leoc.* 81). But this oath before Plataea seems to be a later invention. (1) It is not mentioned by H. (2) It is attributed by Diodorus (xi. 29) to the Greeks assembled at the Isthmus, whereas the Athenians did not join the army till it reached Eleusis. (3) Theopompus (frag. 167, *FHG* i. 306) declared it to be an Athenian invention, an assertion supported by the fact that its formula seems borrowed from the ephebic oath at Athens. (4) The clause forbidding the restoration of temples destroyed by the barbarians is most improbable. It seems better therefore to hold that the oath of the confederates, whose reality is supported by the proverbial phrase τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους (*Xen. Hell.* vi. 3. 20, 5. 35), was taken just before the invasion as H. and Diodorus (xi. 3. 2) state. H. may have committed a slight anachronism in giving at this point a definite list of Medizing states, and not a general formula, or possibly the Thebans and Locrians were added later to the list of the “proscribed” made just before the invasion.

If we could believe Diodorus (xi. 3), the hill-tribes—i.e., the Aenianes, Dolopes, Malians, Perrhaebians, Magnetes—Medized while the Greek force was still at Tempe (and so caused its withdrawal), whereas the Achaeans, Opuntian Locrians, Thessalians (proper, cf. § 1), and Boeotians only Medized when the Greeks withdrew. But the silence of H. shows that this was unknown to him.

δεκατεῦσαι cannot mean merely to exact a tithe from (Abicht, Bähr), as even if a tenth of the population was dedicated to the god, as Strabo relates of the Mysians (572) and of the Chalcidian colonists of Rhegium (257), as well as of their property, the penalty would be far milder than was usual in such cases. No doubt the original meaning of a δεκατεύειν is to “tithe” exact a tenth of goods, revenue, or produce (*Xen. An.* v. 3. 9f.), and the most usual occasion for exacting such a tithe was the dedication to god of a tenth of the booty won in war (cf. v. 77. 4; viii. 27. 5; ix. 81. 1). Here, however, the meaning is surely the total destruction of the cities, involving the sale of the population into slavery and the confiscation of all goods and lands: from the proceeds a tenth would be dedicated to the god. This was the doom of traitors at Athens (cf. the Hermokopids, Hicks, 72; the generals condemned after Arginusae, *Xen. Hell.* i. 7. 10, 20); this is the procedure of Camillus at Veii (*Livy* v. 21, 23, 25), and is implied in the tale of the capture of

Sardis (i. 89). This seems a better way of accounting for the total confiscation implied than merely to take δεκατεῦσαι in the vague sense = “dedicate” (Stein). And that total destruction was vowed against the traitors can hardly be doubted; in the case of Thebes it became proverbial; cf. Polyb. ix. 39. 5; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 20, 5. 35 νῦν ἐλπὶς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. This is also supported by the proposal to evict the Medizers and take their lands for the Ionians (ix. 106). Doubtless it was not carried out as most of them could shelter themselves under the proviso μὴ ἀναγκασθέντες, and the Aleuadae saved themselves by bribery (cf. vi. 72).

### vii. 133

**πρότερον:** cf. vi. 48.

**τὸ βάραθρον:** Bekker, *Anecd.* 219 Ἀθήνησι ἦν ὄρυγμά τι ἐν Κεριοδῶν δήμῳ τῆς Οἰνίδος φυλῆς εἰς ὃ τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καταγνωσθέντας ἐνέβαλλον.

[2] **ἀνεθέλητον** = ἄχαρι: cf. chap. 88. 1. Later tradition supplied this omission in H.; cf. Paus. iii. 12. 7 ἐν Ἀθήναις δὲ ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἐς ἐνὸς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς κατέσκηψε (τὸ μήνιμα), Μιλτιάδου τοῦ Κίμωνος. ἐγγέγονει δὲ καὶ τῶν κηρύκων τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὁ Μιλτιάδης ἀποθανεῖν αἴτιος ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων. But this, as well as the tradition (Plut. *Them.* chap. 6) that Themistocles was responsible for the death of the interpreter Arthmius of Zeleia (cf. ix. 3. 1 n.), are clearly later embellishments of the story, due to the desire to connect famous men with a famous (or infamous) act.

H. perhaps thought that Athens was destroyed as a punishment for the burning of Cybebe’s temple at Sardis (v. 102).

### vii. 134

That it was the wrath of Talthybius which showed itself in the unfavourable omens may have been guessed from his function as protector of heralds, or declared by an oracle. For Talthybius cf. Hom. *Il.* i. 320, and for the adoption in Dorian Sparta of traditional glories from the Epics v. 67 n.

**ἰρόν:** an ἠρώων such as Talthybius also had in Achaean Aegae (Paus. iii. 12. 7; vii. 24. 1). The Achaean clan of the Talthybiadae must have been admitted into the Spartan community like the Cadmeian Aegidae (iv. 149. 1). For these hereditary state-heralds and other similar positions cf. vi. 60 n.

[2] **ταῦτα:** the murder of the heralds.

**καλλιερῆσαι:** cf. chap. 113. 2 n.

**άλιης:** any public assembly (v. 29. 2 n.); here the Spartan Apella.

[3] **ἀπέπεμψαν.** The departure of Sperchias and Bulis from Sparta seems to have been celebrated in song; cf. Theoc. xv. 98 (of a singer) ἄτις καὶ Σπέρχιν τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίστευσε.

**vii. 135**

For Hydarnes cf. vi. 133. 1 n., and for his office v. 25. 1 n.

[2] ἕκαστος . . . ὑμέων: not ἐκάτερος, because ὑμέων, like ὑμεῖς above, refers not only to the envoys but to all Spartiates present.

[3] Cf. Democritus in Stobaeus xliii. 42 ἡ ἐν δημοκρατίῃ πενή τῆς παρὰ τοῖς δυνάστησι καλεομένης εὐδαιμονίης τοσοῦτο ἐστι αἰρετωτέρη ὀκόσον ἐλευθερίῃ δουλείης.

**vii. 136**

For this prostration cf. i. 134 n.

ὠθεόμενοι ἐπὶ κεφαλῆν: cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 116 “pronus . . . / volvitur in caput;” Plato *Resp.* 553b ἐπὶ κεφαλῆν ὠθεῖ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου; H. iii. 35. 5, 75. 3.

[2] μεγαλοφροσύνης. For other instances of magnanimity cf. chaps. 27f., 146f.

**vii. 137**

[2] That the vengeance should fall on ambassadors was natural enough since the offence had been committed against ambassadors, but that it should fall on the sons of the very men who had taken the guilt of the community on themselves, but had not been allowed to expiate it, was a striking fulfillment of the law that the children must suffer for the sins of the fathers (Ezekiel, chap. xviii; St. John ix. 2, 3), and that the divine Nemesis, which had apparently slept, must in the end manifest itself against the guilty race; cf. vi. 86 and introd. § 36.

ὄς εἶλε. The feat was the more remarkable as Aneristus had only a merchantman. Halieis was a small port on the southern point of the Argolic Acte, in the territory of Hermione, opposite the island now called Spetzia. Its capture must have occurred after the destruction of Tiryns by Argos (after 468 B.C., cf. vi. 83. 2), as τοὺς ἐκ Τίρυνθος would naturally refer to refugees from the fallen city, and in 468 an Olympic victor is still styled Τίρύνθιος (*Oxyr. Pap.* ii, 89 and 93 n.), and before the second year of the Peloponnesian war, when Halieis was allied with Sparta (Thuc. ii. 56) and Aneristus was seized and put to death (below). Presumably it would fall in the years when Athens and Argos were allied against Sparta, 461–50 B.C.

[3] For the facts cf. Thuc. ii. 67. He adds three other victims—a Spartan Stratodemus, a Tegean Timagoras, and an Argive Pollis—whom H. omits, lest they should spoil the moral of the story of retribution, already weakened by the inclusion of Aristeus the Corinthian (for whom cf. Thuc. i. 60f. and introd. § 30 c). Thucydides further ascribes the treacherous arrest of the envoys, not to Nymphodorus and Sitalces (for whom cf. iv. 80 n.), but to his son Sadocus. Nevertheless the intervention of Nymphodorus is quite probable, since he as Athenian Proxenus induced his brother-in-law Sitalces to make alliance with Athens, and obtained Athenian citizenship for Sadocus (Thuc. ii. 29), and in any case Sadocus must have gained his father’s consent.

It would seem probable that this striking example of the doctrine of Nemesis drew H.'s attention in 430 B.C. to the fate of the Persian heralds, and led him to insert the story in the part of his history which he was then revising, and not in its proper place (vi. 49). Though there are suspicious points in it (e.g., that the barathron and the well would supply earth and water, Wecklein, *Sitz. der Bayer. Akad.* 1876, p. 230) there seems no sufficient reason for rejecting the whole story (as Macan, *Herodotus* iv-vi, vol. ii, 98-100), or even for denying that Athens emulated Sparta's violation of the sanctity of heralds (Wecklein, loc. cit.; Duncker, vii. 108; Busolt, ii. 571). It does not seem incredible (*pace* Macan) that even after the rejection by Athens of Persian demands for earth and water (v. 73) and for the restoration of Hippias (v. 96), and even after the burning of Sardis (498 B.C.) and the anger caused by it (v. 102, 105), Darius should have in 492 B.C. given Athens a last chance of repentance, when he was sending heralds round Greece (vi. 48), even though the mission of Mardonius (vi. 44f.) and the levying of a fleet (vi. 48) show that he expected war. It is difficult to see when or why this story of the maltreatment of heralds should have been invented, and there is nothing incredible in it, especially if (Hauvette, p. 231) they were Greek interpreters, who might be regarded by an angry people as traitors. The Spartans at least, as Macan admits, had something on their conscience, or we should hardly have had this story of the wrath of Talthybius.

**Βισάνθη:** a Samian colony (later Παιδεστόν, now Rodosto) on the Propontis, here included in the Hellespont (cf. iv. 38 n.).

#### vii. 138-44

*The services of Athens to Greece. The Delphic oracle and the "wooden walls." Themistocles and the building of the fleet.*

#### vii. 139

**ἐξέρογομαι:** cf. chap. 96. 1 n.

This apologia was probably written soon after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. The charges prompted by fear and envy of Athens, and the pleas she urged in her own defence, are admirably summarized in the speeches of the Corinthian and the Athenian before the Spartan assembly in 432 B.C. (Thuc. i. 68-78). H. is conscious that his opinion will be unpopular in Hellas; cf. viii. 144.

[3] **τειχέων κιθῶνες:** poetical, perhaps taken from a verse of an oracle, but cf. i. 181. 1, vii. 223. 1, and Demades, ap. Athen. iii. 99d τὸ δὲ τείχος ἐσθῆτα τῆς πόλεως; and of a house Xen. *Symp.* iv. 38 πάνυ μὲν ἀλεεινοὶ χιτῶνες οἱ τοῖχοί μοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πάνυ δὲ παχεῖαι ἐφεστρίδες οἱ ὄροφοι. For the facts cf. viii. 40. 71f.; ix. 7f. H. is surely right in maintaining that no permanent defence of Peloponnese was possible if the command of the sea was lost; cf. ix. 9; Thuc. i. 73 ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ξυνναυμαχῆς ἢ, ὅπερ ἔσχε μὴ κατὰ πόλεις αὐτὸν ἐπιπλέοντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον πορθεῖν, ἀδυνάτων ἂν ὄντων πρὸς ναῦς πολλὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐπιβοηθεῖν.

[4] ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω: rather "in either case" (Abicht, Krüger) than "both by land and sea" (Stein).

[5] ἐπεγείραντες: Busolt (ii. 654) wrongly infers from this that Athens must have summoned the congress; her initiative, if a fact, must have been informal. Sparta is throughout the leader (Macan, ii. 219).

μετά γε θεός. The salvation of Greece is to the pious historian primarily the work of Heaven (cf. viii. 109).

#### vii. 140

H., though in this part of his work rather regardless of chronological order (Hauvette, p. 323), clearly places these gloomy oracles before the expedition to Tempe (chaps. 172–4), in the spring of 480 B.C., and apparently even before the first meeting of envoys from the patriotic Greek states at the Isthmus (chap. 145. 1) in the autumn of 481. But both the tone and the substance of the oracles point to a date when the hope of holding Thessaly has been abandoned, when Delphi has despaired of the Greek cause, and when Attica is menaced by immediate invasion, i.e., between the abandonment of Tempe and the resolution to hold Thermopylae (Hauvette, p. 327; Munro, *JHS* xxii. 306). After the loss of Thermopylae (*pace* Macan, ii. 232) Athens would have no time for a *double* consultation of the oracle. The authenticity of the first oracle is proved by the fact that no one would later have invented gloomy predictions and advice falsified by the event, as well as by the adaptation in Aesch. *Pers.* 83f.

τὸ ἱερόν: not the temple itself, but the whole precinct (vi. 19. 3) with its varied contents. Here the inquirers, after lustration with water from the Castalian spring and coronation with laurel, prayed and sacrificed, and unless they possessed the right of προμαντηίη (i. 54. 2 n.) waited for the turn assigned them by lot. They then were taken into the sanctuary (ἄδυτον, μέγαρον), in which was a golden statue of the god, and in the dark background the tripod on which the Pythia sat (cf. i. 47. 2 n.).

[2] The plural κάθησθε as well as the dual ἴτον (§ 3) refers to the *two* θεοπρόποι, whereas the singular φεῦγε applies to the people they represent. The style and words as in other oracles are derived from the old Epic, e.g., λιπὼν φεῦγ', Hesiod, frag. 144 οἶκον ἀποπρολιπὼν φεῦγ' Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο, but here λιπὼν goes with δώματα. For ἔσχατα γαίης cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 732. The god counsels a general migration, perhaps to South Italy (cf. viii. 62. 2), such as Bias had recommended to the Ionians (i. 170 n.; cf. i. 164–8).

τροχοειδέος. The old wall was nearly circular like a wheel, and even after the extension of the city by Themistocles the term κύκλος is still applied to the wall (i. 98. 5).

ἄκρα κάρηνα: cf. *Il.* ii. 117 πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα.

μένει ἔμπεδον: cf. *Il.* xvii. 434; v. 527.

**πόδες νέατοι:** imitating *Il.* ii. 824 πόδα νεάτων Ἰδης = “the feet beneath.”

**μέσσης** agrees with πόλιος, as below μιν = τὴν πόλιν.

**ἄζηλα** = ἄδηλα. As the form is strange, and elsewhere unknown, Lobeck and others correct to αἰδηλα, but the oracle-maker may have coined a form on the analogy of ἀρίζηλος. Hesiod, *Op.* 6 ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει.

Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 83f. (of Xerxes) πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτας Σύριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων, / ἐπάγει δουρικλύτοις ἄνδρασι τοξοδάμνον Ἄρη “Syrian” = Assyrian (cf. chap. 63) here stands for Asiatic in general, the Assyrians having been, like the Persians, masters of Asia. Very probably the Persian chariot (chaps. 40, 41) was modeled on the Assyrian.

[3] **οἶ:** perhaps the temples (cf. l. 15); in Delphi the roof of a temple, in Sybaris the pavement ran with blood (Heraclides, *FHG* ii. 199), so too an altar of Neptune sweated (Livy xxviii. 11). Or it may be the gods themselves, i.e., their statues, which often ran with sweat or blood. Cf. Ap. Rhod. iv. 1285 ἢ ὅταν αὐτόματα ξόανα ῥέη ἰδρώοντα / αἵματι, with the scholiast; Diod. xvii. 10; Livy xxii. 1; xxiii. 31; xxvii. 4; Verg. *Georg.* i. 480; Milton, *Ode on the Nativity*, “The chill marble seems to sweat.”

**δείματι παλλόμενοι:** so *Hymn. Hom. Dem.* 293.

**ὀρόφοισι:** dative for genitive, “down from.” Cf. *Il.* xx. 282 κάδ δ' ἄχος οἱ χύτο μυρίον ὀφθαλμοῖσι.

**ἐπικίδνατε** = “spread your mind on evils,” i.e., steep your souls in woes (Stein, Abicht, Macan), seems the meaning rather than “bear a brave heart amidst your evils” (Liddell & Scott, Bähr, etc.). The tone of the oracle is throughout despairing.

## vii. 141

**προβάλλουσι**, “in utter despair.” The idea comes from the action of throwing themselves on the ground in despair; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 54 “Qui doloris speciem ferre non possunt abiciunt se atque ita adflicti et exanimati iacent.”

[2] For the threat of self-starvation cf. Eur. *I.T.* 972, and sitting *dharna* (Maine, *Early Institutions*, 40), Macan.

[3] For the intercession of Pallas cf. Hom. *Il.* viii. 30f., and for the identification of Fate with the will of Zeus i. 91 n.

**πελάσσας:** masculine because the god speaks through the Pythia. For the phrase “make as of steel” cf. Hesiod, *Op.* 431 γόμφοισι πελάσσας, Aesch. *P.V.* 155 δέσμοις ἀλύτοις / . . . πελάσσας, Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 227, *Ol.* i. 78.

**Κέκροπος οὔρος:** not the Acropolis (cf. chap. 142), though it is called Κεροπία πέτρα (Eur. *Ion* 936) and Cecrops (viii. 44. 1) was buried in the Erechtheum, presumably in the Cecropeum, but the “border of Attica,” of which the hollow of Cithaeron is roughly the Western boundary (cf. ix. 39; v. 74. 2). The Pythia quite naturally names the boundary towards Delphi.

**Τριτογενεῖ:** cf. iv. 180. 5 n.

[4] **Δημήτηρ:** like Ceres = corn. “When the corn is scattered or gathered,” i.e., in seed-time or harvest; but there may be also an allusion to Eleusinian ritual; cf. viii. 65 Macan. The last two lines have been generally regarded (e.g., by Busolt, Meyer, and even by Hauvette) as an *ex post facto* addition to the oracle, but in their favour it may be urged (1) they follow naturally the promise ἔτι τοί ποτε κἀντίος ἔσση, (2) they admit of a double interpretation (cf. i. 53. 3), (3) the time is vague; only the place is definite. Delphi must have known that the Peloponnesians wished to defend the Isthmus, and that Salamis would be a natural port for the fleet (cf. Munro, *JHS* xxii. 306).

#### **vii. 142**

**διζημένων τὸ μαντήιον**, “seeking for the meaning of the oracle”; cf. i. 71. 1 ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ, and iv. 133. 1 τὰ δῶρα εἵκαζον, viii. 51. 2 δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον: cf. also iii. 22. 2.

**συνεστηκυῖαι**, “opposed” as combatants; cf. i. 208. 1; iv. 132. 2.

**ὄηχῶ:** probably “palisade”; cf. the gloss φραγμός. Pausanias (ii. 32. 10) says the Troezenians gave the name to the wild olive; the name of the tree might be transferred to a fence made of it; cf. “oak” in Oxford. Others (Liddell & Scott) take it as “thorn-hedge,” the ancient equivalent of modern wire-entanglements.

[2] **ἔσφαλλε**, “perplexed”; the same idea reappears with a different metaphor in συνεχέοντο, *confundebantur*. The soothsayers interpreted the last two verses of a naval defeat at Salamis; how then could salvation be found in the fleet, how could that be the wooden wall which was to escape destruction?

**χρησμολόγοι:** cf. chap. 6. 3 n. It was the official interpreters who clung to the letter of the oracle; cf. chap. 143. 3.

#### **vii. 143**

As Munro (*CR* vi. 333) has pointed out, there seem to have been two distinct systems of chronology for the life of Themistocles, differing by ten years. The confusion may have been caused by the fact that the two Persian invasions were just ten years apart, and the two Athenian expeditions to Cyprus and Egypt were also ten years apart. The fixed points in both are that Themistocles died at the age of sixty-five, and that he was archon *suo anno*, i.e., at the age of thirty. The better chronology runs as follows:

523 B.C. Themistocles born. He belonged to the old Attic family of the Lycomidae, but his mother was a Thracian or Carian (Plut. *Them.* 1).

493 B.C. Themistocles archon eponymous (Dion. Hal. vi. 34) begins the building of Piraeus (Thuc. i. 93; Paus. i. 1. 2).

490 B.C. Fought in command of his tribe at Marathon (Plut. *Arist.* 5).

483 B.C. Carried through the decree for the building of a great navy (chap. 144; *Ath. Pol.* 22); his chief rival Aristides (cf. viii. 79; *Ath. Pol.* 22) ostracized.

471 B.C. Ostracism of Themistocles (Diodorus, xi. 55; Cic. *Amic.* xii. 42; Meyer, iii, § 286 n.).

467 B.C. Flight from Argos, since he goes up to Susa when Artaxerxes has just become king (νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα, Thuc. i. 137), i.e., in 465 B.C. Later writers say Themistocles was introduced to Xerxes by Artabanus (Plut. *Them.* 27; Diod. xi. 56, following Ephorus). This mistake is best explained if Themistocles reached Asia while Xerxes was still alive, and Susa after his death, while Artabanus was still in power.

459–458 B.C. Death of Themistocles (Thuc. i. 138). The early tradition that he poisoned himself (Ar. *Eq.* 83. 4; Thuc. i. 138), because he could not fulfill his promise of subduing Hellas, points to some such crisis as the Athenian expedition to Cyprus and Egypt. On the other hand, Plutarch (*Them.* 31; *Cim.* 18) connects the death of Themistocles with Cimon's expedition in 449, and since he gives his age at sixty-five, presumably placed his archonship in 483–482, a date modified by Busolt (ii. 642 n.) to 482–481, and the *Ath. Pol.* (chap. 25) represents him as still at Athens in 462 B.C., and presumably placed his ostracism in 462–461. But this date for Themistocles' ostracism has been proved impossible (Walker, *CR* vi. 95f.), and that for his death is most unlikely.

The only difficulty in the chronology preferred, apart from νεωστὶ παριῶν (below), is the long separation between the fortification of Piraeus (493) and the building of the fleet (483). But we must remember that little may have been done at Piraeus for a time, since between 493–483 Athens had much to engage her energy and resources. Indeed, though Hippias had made a beginning at Munychia (*Ath. Pol.* 19), Phalerum was still the port of Athens in 490 B.C.; cf. vi. 116. In any case it is clear that a better port and dock than that open roadstead was a necessary preliminary to the creation of a great navy.

**νεωστὶ παριῶν:** the participle is an imperfect, “who had but lately come to the front”; cf. Dem. *Phil.* 3, 24 παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν. The word νεωστί has been used as an argument for bringing down the archonship of Themistocles to 482 B.C, but the expression cannot be pressed in H. (cf. vii. 148. 2), or, if it were it might refer to the recent triumph of his naval policy and the ostracism of Aristides.

**εἶχε . . . εἰρημένον:** according to Stein = εἶρητο; cf. iii. 48. 1 ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον. The expression seems to mean “that if the verse had been spoken of and really applied to,” unless with Krüger we bracket εἰρημένον.

**μιν:** neuter, referring to τὸ ἔπος (Stein); cf. vi. 82. 1.

[3] **ἀλλά** (sc., ἐκέλευον, chap. 104. 5). The official interpreters tried to harmonize the two oracles by supposing that the second also recommended flight (e.g., to

Siris, cf. viii. 62), only particularizing the ships as the means of flight and promising eventual safety. Very possibly this was the meaning primarily intended by the Delphic priesthood (Hauvette, p. 326), but the oracle could also be interpreted in Themistocles' sense, and was thus safe in either case.

#### vii. 144

ἐτέρη . . . γνώμη ἔμπροσθε ταύτης. Dated in *Ath. Pol.* chap. 22 to 483–482 B.C. Though this date may be connected with the later chronology for Themistocles' life (cf. above), it is confirmed by other notices in H. The creation of the navy is clearly later than the expedition to Paros (490–489 B.C.), for which Miltiades has but seventy ships (vi. 132), even if that number be accepted; it is also later than and due to the war with Aegina (probably 488–486 B.C.), in which the Athenians had but fifty ships of their own (cf. vi. 89 n.).

ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, "in the treasury"; cf. ix. 87. 2.

Laurium (on which see Ardaillon, *Les Mines du Laurion*) is the name given by the ancients to the whole hilly and metalliferous region ending in Cape Sunium, and bounded on the north by a line from Thoricus to Anaphlystus (cf. iv. 99 n.). The mines produced silver and lead in abundance. They had been worked from time immemorial (Xen. *Vect.* iv, § 2), and from them Pisistratus (i. 64 n.) drew great wealth, as did Nicias and Hipponicus later (Xen. *Vect.* iv, § 14). They were still important in the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. vi. 91 ad fin.), but were less productive, though by no means exhausted, in the time of Xenophon (*Vect.* iv. 35. 25f.; *Mem.* iii. 6. 12). They had been long abandoned in the days of Pausanias (i. 1. 1). Since 1860 much ore has been extracted from the stones and slag formerly thrown aside, an operation already attempted in the days of Strabo (399). The workings, in which only slaves were employed, consisted of shafts and galleries, whose roof was supported by columns (Ardaillon, op. cit. 25f.). The mines were the property of the State, but were leased to individuals (usually for three years, *Ath. Pol.* 47), a net sum being paid down (often a talent), and also one twenty-fourth of the produce annually.

ὄρχηδόν: in a row, *viritim*; cf. εἰλαδόν, i. 172. 1; ἠβηδόν, i. 172. 2; vi. 21. 1.

δέκα = *denas*. If the citizens be reckoned at 30,000 (v. 97. 2 n.) this would amount to fifty talents, but that sum would only suffice to build a fleet of fifty ships (cf. below).

τῆς διαιρέσιος . . . παυσαμένους. H. leaves it uncertain whether this distribution was exceptional or regular. Plutarch (*Them.* 4) speaks of a regular, and Cornelius Nepos (*Them.* 2) of an annual, distribution; this was the custom at Siphnos (iii. 57. 2), and perhaps at Thasos (vi. 46. 3). The Atthis, which is followed by *Ath. Pol.* 22 and Polyaeus, i. 30, spoke, probably rightly, of an exceptional surplus amounting to one hundred talents, due to the discovery of a fresh mine at Maroneia, a village in the district of Laurium. This sum was handed over to one hundred rich citizens, that each of them might build a trireme.

**διηκοσίας.** This is H.'s figure for the full strength of the Athenian navy (viii. 1 and 14, 44 and 46, 61; cf. Justin, ii. 12), and should not therefore be struck out. He apparently forgot that the navy already amounted to at least fifty ships (vi. 89 n., 132). The later writers, quoted above, while increasing the sum spent to one hundred talents (*Ath. Pol.* 22; Polyaeus i. 30), all reduce the number of *new* ships to one hundred. Macan (ii. 214), combining the different versions, suggests an annual increase of fifty ships for two or three years.

**τὸν πρὸς Αἰγινήτας λέγων.** Thucydides (i. 14) also gives this war as one of the motives for the creation of the navy, though he evidently thinks the expected Persian invasion more important. Probably Themistocles really looked forward to naval supremacy and empire in the Aegean (τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς συγκατασκεύασε, Thuc. i. 93), but wisely preferred in his speeches to the Athenians (Plut. *Them.* 4) to insist on the need of the moment, rather than on less pressing dangers or more distant hopes. H.'s next words probably mean that it was the Aeginetan war which induced the Athenians to listen to Themistocles, while Thucydides (i. 14) insists more directly on Themistocles' foresight.

[2] ἔδεε (cf. viii. 6. 2). These ships were intended to form a reserve to take the place of those lost or damaged. Thus, in spite of losses at Artemisium (viii. 16, 18), the Athenian fleet is still reckoned as two hundred strong at Salamis. But was there time to build more ships? The figures can be explained otherwise (cf. app. xix, § 1).

#### vii. 145–47

*Congress of patriotic states. Dispatch of spies to Sardis.*

#### vii. 145

**ἐς τῶντό.** Though Pausanias speaks of a meeting at the Hellenium in Sparta (iii. 12. 6), this meeting of delegates in the autumn of 481 B.C. was probably held at the Isthmus, where in the spring of 480, both the council and the forces were gathered together (cf. chaps. 172. 1, 173. 4, 175. 1). Plutarch (*Them.* 6) makes Themistocles the author of this wise resolution, supported by Chileus (cf. ix. 9). The statement is not improbable, but may well be a mere guess.

**ἐγκεκροημένοι:** cf. v. 124. 1 ἐγκερασάμενος πρήγματα μεγάλα, vii. 151 φιλίην συνεκεράσαντο, and iv. 152. 5.

[2] **μετὰ δέ:** probably in the autumn of 481 B.C., since Xerxes is in Sardis still when the spies reach him (chap. 146). Macan (ii. 219) points out that the congress was summoned (as H. realizes) for the purpose of creating a new Pan-Hellenic Unity, and complete cooperation among the loyal members of the race.

**οὐδαμῶν . . . τῶν οὐ** = πύντων, on the analogy of οὐδεις ὅστις οὐ (iii. 72. 3; v. 97. 2), οὐδαμῶν Ἑλληνικῶν being assimilated to the case of the relative.

**vii. 146**

The treatment of the spies, whether dictated by policy or by magnanimity, reveals the nobler side in Xerxes' character. Cf. the similar story of Scipio and the spies of Hannibal before Zama (Polyb, xv. 5; Livy xxx. 29).

**vii. 147**

ἰδίην implies that freedom is peculiar to the Greeks, other nations being already subject, or prepared to be so (chap. 8 c).

[2] ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. From the Tauric Chersonese and the south coast of Scythia the Greeks (and especially Athens) imported corn largely (cf. iv. 17, and for later times Dem. *Lept.* chap. 31f.; Xen. *Mem.* iii. 6. 13). This made the Hellespont and its trade so important (cf. Grundy, *Thuc.*, 71–9, 159–61). Aegina, a small and populous island with a barren soil, must always have imported corn, but even as early as 480 B.C. Attica would have been a more natural destination for Pontic corn ships, though complete control of the route was only won by Athens after the formation of the Delian league (Grundy, *op. cit.*, pp. 76, 77).

**vii. 148–52**

*Negotiations with Argos.*

**vii. 148**

συνωμόται . . . ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῃ, “the confederates bound together by oath against the Persian”; for the phrase cf. chap. 235. 4, and for the facts chaps. 132. 2, 145. 1.

[2] νεωστί: probably about the year 494 B.C.; cf. vi. 76. 1 n., and app. xvii, § 3.

τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα. The Argives were evidently anxious to absolve themselves of the charge of Medism. Hence they allege that they were only led to consult the oracle at all by the deplorable straits to which they had been reduced through their defeat by Cleomenes. They then were expressly warned to remain neutral, but nevertheless were willing to join the alliance, if Sparta would grant a peace for thirty years, and recognize their claim to an equal share in the leadership. There is no sufficient reason for doubting the genuineness of the oracle, which was in H.'s opinion given about 482 B.C. (ἀντίκα κατ' ἀρχάς, cf. chap. 220. 3), but may really date back to the earlier Persian invasion, and sending of heralds in 491–490 B.C. (vi. 49), for had it been an Argive fiction it would have been disowned at Delphi after the defeat of Xerxes. The attitude of the Delphic priesthood, whether from fear or treachery, was before the war one of hostility to the league of patriots. Again, the negotiations with Sparta are a very pretty piece of diplomacy. Argos knew that Sparta would not concede equality, and could therefore safely use the demand to cover her Medism and justify her neutrality. H. does not explicitly reject the special pleading of Argos because he is influenced by Athenian tenderness for a city which later became a useful ally (cf. *introd.*, § 30 e).

[3] εἶσω . . . ἔχων, “with spear drawn in,” i.e., remain at home on the defensive.

**προβόλαιον**: rare form = προβολή, πρόβολος (chap. 76. 1), as an adjective δούρατι δὲ προβολαίῳ, Theoc. xxiv. 125.

**κεφαλὴν πεφύλαξο**, “guard thy head”; perhaps the remnant of the ruling class, the σῶμα being the mass of the population of semi-servile origin; cf. vi. 83. 1.

[4] **κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον**. In the days of the Trojan war Agamemnon had a widely extended suzerainty, and Argos claimed to succeed to the hegemony held by the Mycenaean king. Further, when the three sons of the Heraclid Aristomachus cast lots for the lands of the Peloponnese, Argos fell to the eldest son Temenus. For similar claims founded on legendary history cf. v. 43, 94, and above all the dispute between Athens and Tegea, ix. 26f. Pheidon (cf. vi. 127. 3 n.) had revived the ancient claim of Argos to hegemony. The hope of reasserting it still lived at Argos in the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. v. 27, 28), and made the Argives constantly ready to ally themselves with the enemies of Sparta, e.g., Athens in 461 and 420 B.C. (Thuc. i. 102, v. 44–7).

#### vii. 149

**τὴν βουλήν**. This council which decides the foreign policy of Argos cannot well be the later democratic βουλή (cf. Thuc. v. 47), but must be some smaller, more aristocratic body, perhaps the mysterious “eighty” mentioned by Thucydides (loc. cit.).

**ἀνδρωθέωσι**: the plea is specious if the defeat occurred within fifteen years (494 B.C.), hardly intelligible if it be placed thirty-five years before (before 515 B.C.).

**ἐπιλέγεσθαι** depends on λέγουσι: it is followed by μή because it implies fear lest; cf. iii. 65. 3.

[2] **τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων τοὺς**. The Spartans come forward from among the other envoys, because the demands of the Argives affect Sparta most.

**ἀνοίσειν ἐς τοὺς πλεῦνας** = ἐξενεῖται ἐς τὸν δῆμον, ix. 5. 1; cf. v. 79. 1.

**τοὺς πλεῦνας** (cf. Thuc. viii. 73, 89) = τοὺς πολλούς, τὸ πλῆθος (iii. 81. 1, 80. 6). The ultimate decision lay with the Apella (called ἀλή, chap. 134. 2). Cf. app. xvii, § 2.

According to Pausanias (ii. 19. 2) the Argive kings in the second generation from Temenus lost all real power (Pheidon’s reassertion of royal power later being regarded as a Tyranny), and ten generations later, Meltas, the last Heraclid, was deposed. Plutarch (*Mor.* 340c) says that Aegon was made king after the fall of the Heracleids. Presumably the monarch only retained the old royal right to priesthood and other formal honours, perhaps presidency of the Boule.

Since the law said to have been passed in the days of Cleomenes I (cf. v. 75), that only one king should go with the army, was observed in practice, the Spartan reply is a mere evasion. H. would seem to have forgotten his earlier statement.

## vii. 150

ἔστι . . . λεγόμενος, “is current”; cf. ii. 48. 3; iv. 179. 1; vii. 167. 1; viii. 118. 1.

That there was some truth in this story is proved not only by the reception of the Argive embassy at Susa (chap. 151), but also by the message to Mardonius (ix. 12), which distinctly implies that Argive cooperation had been promised. Indeed, the vain excuses put forward by the Argives cannot cloak their Medism; cf. viii. 73. 3 εἰ δὲ ἐλευθέρως ἔξεστι εἰπεῖν, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατημένοι ἐμήδιζον. Cf. introd. § 30 *e*.

[2] ὑμέτεροι ἀπόγονοι. This mythical connection between the Argive Perseus and the Persians is no doubt a Greek fiction. It has appeared already in various forms; cf. vi. 54 n.; vii. 11. 4 n., 61. 3 n.

[3] προῆγμα ποιήσασθαι, “to make much of, value highly”; cf. vi. 63. 2, and for προῆγμα i. 79. 1.

οὐδέν goes both with ἐπαγγελλομένους and μεταίτειν; cf. v. 39. 1. Because they valued the king’s offer the Argives at first neither offered anything (i.e., alliance to the confederate Greeks) nor made any demand (i.e., for a share in the leadership), but only afterwards made what they knew to be an inadmissible demand.

## vii. 151

συμπεσεῖν, “to agree with, confirm”; cf. vi. 18 ad fin.

λόγον: the story is an historic fact (cf. i. 21. 1), hence γενόμενον.

Μεμνονίοισι: cf. ii. 106. 5 n.

ἑτέρου προήγατος εἵνεκα. There is no reason to doubt that Callias went to Susa to negotiate for a peace about 448 B.C. (Aristodemus, xiii. 2; *FHG* v, p. 16; Diodorus, xii. 4; Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* 273; Paus. i. 8. 2; Plut. *Cim.* 13). Nor is there any question that after the death of Cimon peace in fact existed between Athens and Persia, as is shown by the regular trade with Phoenicia (Thuc. ii. 69; viii. 35) and with other parts of the Persian Empire (pseudo-Xen. *Ath. Pol.* ii. 7 ἢ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ ἐν Λυδία), and by the fact that H., a subject of the Athenian empire, travelled freely in the East. Indeed, the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war have hopes of help from the Persian king (Thuc. ii. 7), and repeatedly send envoys to him (*Ar. Ach.* 61f.; Thuc. iv. 50).

The question whether a formal peace was concluded is more doubtful. The earliest distinct mention of it is by Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, §§ 117–20, ca. 380 B.C., who repeats the terms in the *Areopagiticus*, § 80 (355 B.C.) and the *Panathenaicus*, § 59 (340 B.C.). It is mentioned also in the *Menexenus* (242a) and twice by Demosthenes (*De Rhod.* 29 and *De Fals. Leg.* 273), as well as by Lycurgus (*Leoc.* 73). Its omission by Thucydides in his brief account of the period has been deemed by many fatal to its reality. But it should be noticed that the indignant rejection in 411 B.C. by the Athenians (who were prepared to give up Ionia) of the demand that the Persian should be allowed to sail where he would along his own coasts (Thuc. viii. 56), proves the existence of some convention excluding the Persian fleet from the

Aegean. Further, it appears almost certain that a treaty was made with Darius II soon after his accession (ca. 423 B.C.), since not only does Andocides state that Epilycus, his own first cousin, made peace and eternal alliance with the king (Andoc. *De Pace* 29), but on a contemporary inscription, Heraclides of Clazomenae is thanked for his help in securing the success of the embassy to the king (CIA (vol. iv.) ii. 5c). It would be extraordinary that Thucydides should omit all mention of this, unless it was a mere renewal on the accession of another king of an older convention. It may therefore be argued that Thucydides indirectly confirms the fact of an understanding with Persia about 448 B.C. The fact which led Theopompus (frag. 168, *FHG* i, p. 306) to question the existence of a peace, viz., that the inscription recording it was in Ionic letters, indicates at most that the record was not contemporary (though some Attic inscriptions even before 403 B.C. were written in Ionic letters (Hicks 36, 50, 73)); in any case it was accepted as genuine by Craterus, who gave a copy in his collection of Inscriptions.

For the terms we are unfortunately dependent on the fourth-century orators and late historians who are undoubtedly guilty of gross exaggerations. The limits fixed for ships of war, the Cyanean rocks (Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* 273; Aristodem. xiii. 2; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 73; Diod. xii. 4. 5) and Phaselis (Isoc. *Paneg.* 118; *Areopag.* 80; *Panath.* 59; Diod. loc. cit.; Lycurg. loc. cit., supported by the fact that Phaselis was a member of the Delian league), are probably correct, though Demosthenes (loc. cit.) and Plutarch (*Cim.* 13) substitute for Phaselis the more conspicuous landmark of the Chelidonian isles. On the other hand, the stipulation that the king's armies should not come nearer the coast than one day's march for cavalry (Plut. *Dem.* loc. cit.) or three days for infantry (Diod. loc. cit.) "if ever made" must often have been broken, and Isocrates' limit, the Halys, is a gross and foolish exaggeration.

Finally, the notion that the peace secured autonomy for all Greek cities (Lycurg. loc. cit.; Diod. xii. 4, 5. 26. 2) is clearly a later invention designed to heighten the contrast with the peace of Antalcidas. It is contradicted by the abandonment of Cyprus to the Persian, and by contemporary evidence that the great king never formally relinquished his claims even to Ionia (H. vi. 42 n.; Thuc. viii. 5). This is the reason why H. makes no mention of the peace here, covering it over with the vague phrase ἐτέρου προήγατος εἴνεκα. In the fifth century it was discreditable to Athens to relinquish Cyprus and Egypt, to give up the crusade against Persia and turn her arms against other Hellenes (Thuc. iii. 9. 4), and to obtain from the great king only a grudging recognition of undeniable facts, but in the fourth century this same convention could be elevated by contrast with the base betrayal of Greece by Sparta at the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.) into a triumphant assertion of Greek liberties and Greek empire.

On the peace of Callias cf. further E. Meyer, *F.* ii. 71–82; Busolt, iii. 346–58.

ἐμμένει (sc., ἡ φιλία): cf. i. 74. 4; Thuc. ii. 2. The question gains point if it be remembered that Argos had been since 462 B.C. in alliance with Athens, the enemy of Persia (Thuc. i. 102). About 450, however (Thuc. v. 14, 28, 40), Argos made a

thirty years' peace with Sparta, and apparently aimed at returning to her old position of neutrality.

### vii. 152

[2] For the form of this γνώμη cf. iii. 38. 1. The attempt to excuse the Argives by the suggestion that others, perhaps the Thebans, were yet more guilty is not convincing. While H. anxiously disclaims all responsibility for the stories which implied most clearly the guilt of the Argives, he seems to condemn them in his heart; cf. viii. 73. 3; introd. § 30 c.

Since οικήια κακά should mean misfortunes (i. 153. 1; iii. 14. 10; vi. 21. 2), whereas αἰσχρά implies misdeeds, Macan suggests that H. has confused two ideas. Peoples constantly believe that their own troubles are worse than their neighbours' and as often that their neighbours' vices are worse than their own; more careful study might in each case convince them of error; but the two cases are distinct, though H.'s doctrine that wretchedness is the natural result of sin may account for his confusion between them. Stein would identify κακά with αἰσχρά.

[3] For this principle of Herodotean criticism cf. ii. 123. 1; iv. 195. 2; introd. § 28 (4). Disbelief is implied of the story that the Argives originally invited Persian intervention.

### vii. 153–67

*Negotiations with Gelo of Syracuse. His origin and rise to power (153–6); his interview with the Greek envoys (157–62); the mission of Cadmus (163–4); and the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily (165–7).*

### vii. 153

**οικήτωρ ὁ ἐν Γέλῃ**, "he who became a settler at Gela," in apposition to πρόγονος. This ancestor of Gelo was probably named Deinomenes, who is said to have joined Antiphemus in founding the colony (Etym. M. Γέλα, Schol. ap. Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 27), since the name is borne by Gelo's father (chap. 145. 2) and by his nephew, the son of Hiero (Pind. *Pyth.* i. 58, 79).

**Τῆλος**: half-way between Cnidus and Rhodes, now Dilos or Episkopi. **Τριοπίω**: cf. i. 144. 1 n.

**κτιζομένης Γέλης**. Cf. Thuc. vi. 4 Γέλαν δὲ Ἀντίφημος ἐκ Ρόδου καὶ Ἐντιμος ἐκ Κρήτης ἐποίκουσ ἀγαγόντες κοινῇ ἔκτισαν, ἔτει πέμπτῳ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῷ μετὰ Συρακουσῶν οἴκισιν (i.e., 690 B.C.). καὶ τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Γέλα ποταμοῦ τοῦνομα ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ χωρίον οὗ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ πρῶτον ἐτειχίσθη Λίνδιοι καλεῖται, and for a commentary on it, Freeman, *Sicily*, i. 400f.

[2] **τῶν χθονίων θεῶν**: Demeter and Persephone (cf. vi. 134. 1). In their worship at Eleusis the Hierophant conducted the ceremonies and showed the sacred objects to the initiated (cf. ii. 171 n.).

[3] **ἢ αὐτὸς ἐκτίσατο**: or possessed himself of the sacred symbols without help from others, i.e., by direct inspiration or by his own inventive powers, cf. ii. 49. 2.

According to the scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* ii. 27, Deinomenes (cf. above) brought the rites from the Carian Triopium.

It would seem that the position of Hierophant must of necessity belong to the holder of the ἱερά and his descendants; probably what had been a mere family worship was raised to the rank of a mystery recognized by the state, the priesthood remaining hereditary in the family of Telines (cf. iii. 142. 4; iv. 161. 3), as at Eleusis it was confined to the Eumolpidae. The priestly office was held by Gelo and Hiero (Pind. *Ol.* vi. 95 with schol.), the former building from the spoils of his victory over Carthage two temples in one precinct to the goddesses in Syracuse (Diod. xi. 26; xiv. 63). There was a great oath by the goddess described by Plutarch, *Dion* chap. 56; cf. Diod. xix. 5.

[4] **καὶ τοῦτο**. The second cause for wonder is that a man of so weak a character should have accomplished so great a deed (cf. viii. 37. 2); the first, apparently that any one should have produced a great political result by the mere display of sacred emblems; cf. H.'s remarks on the restoration of Pisistratus by sacred means (i. 60).

**πρός** goes with τῶν οἰκητόρων. The Greek settlers in Sicily are meant. Not only this story of the rise of Gelo (chaps. 153–6) but those of Cadmus (chap. 163f.) and of the battle of Himera (165–7) are clearly drawn from local Siceliot sources, probably while H. was at Thurii. The traditions followed are not favourable to the great house of Deinomenes, and need not be Syracusan. They are of the greatest importance, since our only full and connected version of Sicilian history is the late and stupid compilation of Diodorus, who apparently made most use of the fantastic and arbitrary Timaeus.

#### vii. 154

Cleandrus deprived the oligarchs restored by Telines of power and made himself tyrant with the help of the people, ca. 505 B.C. (Arist. *Pol.* v. 12, 1316a 35f.).

**Παντάρης**. To him would seem to belong a dedicatory inscription found at Olympia, IGA 512 a Παντάρης μ' ἀνέθηκε Μενεκράτιος Διὸς ἄθλον Ἄρματι νικῆσας πέδου ἐκ κλει]τοῦ Γελοαίου.

**Γέλων**: son of Deinomenes (chap. 145. 2), the eldest of four brothers, Gelo, Hiero, Polyzelus, Thrasybulus (Simon. frag. 142), tyrant of Gela 491, of Syracuse 485–478 B.C., was succeeded by his brother Hiero first at Gela and then at Syracuse.

**Αἰνησιδήμου τοῦ Παταΐκου**. Clearly he is singled out for mention because he was a prominent man connected with Gelo. He may therefore probably be identified with the father of Thero, afterwards tyrant of Acragas and ally of Gelo (chap. 165). Some words, perhaps Θηρώωνος δὲ πατρός, have fallen out of the text. The genealogy of Thero, however, given by the scholiasts on Pind. *Ol.* ii. 16 and 82, does not contain the name of Pataecus, calling Aenesidemus son of Emmenides. It would seem from Arist. *Rhet.* i. 12 that Aenesidemus too dreamed of tyranny at Gela but was forestalled by Gelo; he may well be the tyrant of Leontini (Paus. v. 22.

7), established by Hippocrates. The family of the Emmenidae traced their origin back to Theras (cf. iv. 147 n.). One of Thero's ancestors came from Lindus in Rhodes to Gela, and thence to Acragas, where Telemachus, his grandfather, overthrew the tyrant Phalaris in Olympiad 57.

[2] **Callipolis**, a Naxian settlement, not far from its mother-city, perished before Strabo wrote (273).

**Naxos**, said to have been the earliest Greek colony in Sicily, founded 735 B.C. by Thucles from Chalcis in Euboea (Thuc. vi. 3). Possibly Naxians joined in the colony and gave it its name (Hellanicus, frag. 50, *FHG* i. 51; cf. Freeman, *S.* i. 570). It lay on a headland a little south of Tauromenium (Taormina), and was razed to the ground by Dionysius. A stream of lava has overspread the site.

**Ζαγκλαίους**: cf. vi. 23 n.

**Λεοντίους**: founded from Naxos, ca. 729 B.C. (Thuc. vi. 4). Two hills or acropoleis rise from the famous plain; these are still covered with ruins. For a description cf. Polyb. vii. 6.

**πρός**, "besides"; adverbial. Cf. v. 20. 4; vii. 166. 1.

[3] **Corinthians**, under Archias, had founded Syracuse, 734 B.C. (?). Corcyra joined Corinth once again to save Syracuse by the dispatch of Timoleon (Plut. *Tim.* 3). On this occasion Hippocrates had occupied the Olympieium (Diod. x. frag. 28; cf. Freeman, *S.* ii, pp. 117f.).

**Ἑλώρω**: also Helorus (now Tellaro), with a town of the same name near its mouth, is a river whose deep valley (Pind. *Nem.* ix. 40 βαθυκρήμνοισι δ' ἀμφ' ἄκταις Ἑλώρου) was spanned by a bridge over which passed the Helorine coast road from Syracuse (Thuc. vi. 70; vii. 80).

**Καμάρινα**: near the mouth of the Hipparis on the south coast between Gela and Cape Pachynus. The lake has become a marsh and the city on the hill lies desolate. For its history cf. chap. 156, and Thuc. vi. 5 καὶ Καμάρινα τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων ᾠκίσθη, ἔτεσιν ἐγγύτατα πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μετὰ Συρακουσῶν κτίσιν (i.e., 599 B.C.): οἰκισταὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο αὐτῆς Δάσκων καὶ Μενέκωλος. ἀναστάτων δὲ Καμαριναίων γενομένων πολέμῳ ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων δι' ἀπόστασιν (ca. 550 B.C.), χρόνῳ Ἰπποκράτης ὕστερον Γέλας τύραννος λύτρα ἀνδρῶν Συρακοσίων αἰχμαλώτων λαβῶν τὴν γῆν τὴν Καμαριναίων, αὐτὸς οἰκιστὴς γενόμενος κατώκισε Καμαρίναν. καὶ αὖθις ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἀνάστατος γενομένη τὸ τρίτον κατώκισθη ὑπὸ Γελῶων. Cf. also Philistus, frags. 8 and 17, *FHG* i. 186, 187. In the Peloponnesian war it played a hesitating part; cf. Thuc. vi. 75, 88; vii. 33. Its history is a typical example of the jealousy of great cities against their neighbours; cf. Thebes and Plataea, and in mediaeval times Milan and Pavia.

**vii. 155**

**ἑpta ἔτα**: for seven years, 498–491 B.C.

There were in Sicily three towns called Hybla all originally Sichel. The first was superseded by the Greek colony Megara (Strabo 268), on the coast ten miles north of Syracuse; the Sichel town stood on a little height north of the hill of Megara. Thucydides calls the town Megara (vi. 49, 94), and H. its citizens Megarians (chap. 156. 2); both record its destruction by Gelo in 483 B.C. (chap. 156; Th. vi. 4). The second, called by Thucydides (vi. 62) Γελεᾶτις, was in his time still a Sichel town (vi. 94); it is called by Pausanias (v. 23. 4) Γερεᾶτις, and by Steph. Byz. s.v. and Cicero (*Div.* i. 20, 39) apparently Γαλεῶτις. It lay in the territory of Catana (Paus. loc. cit.), between Catana and Centuripa (Thuc. vi. 94), and may be placed at Paterno, where an inscription has been found, "Veneri victrici Hyblensi." The third, called Ἡραία, on the road between Gela and Syracuse (*Itin. Anton.*, 89), may be placed at or near Ragusa; almost certainly it is the place here meant. Cf. further Holm, *G.S.* i. 363, 365; Freeman, *S.* i, pp. 512f.

**Σικελούς:** cf. chap. 170. 1.

**[2] γαμόροι.** The name, Doric in form, clearly comes from local Sicilian sources. Like the γεωμόροι of Samos (Thuc. viii. 21), they were a land-holding aristocracy. Probably the earliest settlers secured for themselves exclusive possession of the full rights of citizenship, and especially of holding land (ἔγκτησις γῆς). Their holdings were cultivated by serfs (δοῦλοι), probably the relics of the old native population reduced to a position of villeinage.

The Κυλλύριοι or Καλλικύριοι, who drove out their masters the Γαμόροι (Timaeus, frag. 56; *FHG* i. 204), were compared by Aristotle in his Syracusan constitution to the Helots, the Penestae in Thessaly, and the Clarotae in Crete (*FHG* i. 170). The γαμόροι formed a high court of justice like the comitia at Rome (Diod. viii. 11). The fall of the γαμόροι is connected by Aristotle (*Pol.* v. 4. 1, 1303b 20) and Plutarch (*Mor.* 825c) with a private feud. It probably took place but a few years before Gelo mastered Syracuse, perhaps only after the defeat of the Syracusans on the Helorus (chap. 154). Clearly the excluded Demos, the town population mainly of Greek origin, joined with native serfs against their masters (cf. Dion. Hal. vi. 62; Arist. *Pol.* v. 3, 5, 1302b 32; and in general Freeman, *S.* ii. pp. 11–15, 436–9).

**Κασμένης,** or Casmene, founded from Syracuse in 645 B.C. (Thuc. vi. 5); it is to be placed probably at Spaccaforno (Freeman, *S.* ii. 25, 26).

**ἔσχε.** Gelo reigned seven years (Arist. *Pol.* v. 12, 1315b 36); probably 485–478 B.C. He is still called Geloan on his offering for victory at Olympia in 488–487 B.C. (Paus. vi. 9. 4). Hence Pausanias' statement that he became lord of Syracuse in 491 B.C. is a confusion between the beginning of his rule at Syracuse and his first attainment of tyranny at Gela (cf. Busolt, ii. 779 n. 3).

## **vii. 156**

**ἦσαν οἱ πάντα,** "was everything to him"; cf. iii. 157. 4 and less exactly i. 122. 3. Syracuse was the centre and capital of his dominion which extended over eastern Sicily, and since to the Greek mind city and state were inseparable, he increased

the city at the expense of other communities (§§ 2, 3). The creation of this greater Syracuse, henceforward the chief city in Sicily, probably saved the island from Punic domination.

[2] τὸ ἄστυ: the town as opposed to the citadel, v. 64. 2; viii. 51. 2; i. 14. 4.

Μεγαρέας: cf. chap. 155. 1 n.

παχέας: a popular term for the well-to-do oligarchs; cf. v. 30. 1, 77. 2; vi. 91. 1.

The harsh treatment of the Demos is probably to be explained by the fact that it was in part at least of non-Hellenic origin, but the military Sicilian tyrants are throughout less favourable to the people than the tyrants of Greece proper (cf. app. xvi, § 1).

ἐπ' ἐξαγωγῇ: sold to slave-traders "for export abroad"; cf. v. 6. 1.

[3] Εὐβοέας: cf. Strabo 449 ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Εὐβοία Χαλχιδέων τῶν ἐκεῖ (i.e., in Leontini) κτίσμα, ἣν Γέλων ἐξανέστησε καὶ ἐγένετο φρούριον Συρακουσίων. The site is unknown.

διακρίνας: distinguishing as at Megara between the nobles and the commons.

συνοίκημα: unpleasant to live with; so Aesch. *Supp.* 267 (of dragons) δυσμενῆ ξυνοικίαν. These wholesale deportations are characteristic of Sicilian history; cf. Hiero's transference of the men of Naxos and Catana to Leontini, his foundation of Aetna, and the later case of Leontini (Thuc. v. 4).

## vii. 157

That there were negotiations with Gelo is almost certain, but the account here given is clearly unhistorical, whether we trace its origin to some Syracusan satirist (Freeman, *S.* ii. 515f.) or to some funeral oration in the Ceramicus with its customary laudations of Athens. Cf. ix. 26f., and Meyer, *F.* ii. 219f. Nor are matters mended by transferring the scene to Corinth and rationalizing H.'s account, as seems to have been done by Timaeus (Polyb. xii. 26 b; frag. 87; *FHG* i. 213). The essential points, the debate about hegemony and the self-laudations of both sides, remain the same.

παᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα: the whole of Hellas including the colonies. There is some exaggeration here as in πάντα just above.

[2] ἦκεις μεγάλης. Most editors read μέγᾳλως, while others insert εὖ, as an adverb is wanted in these phrases; cf. ὁμοίως ἦκειν, i. 149. 2, and εὖ ἦκειν, i. 30. 4, etc.

ἄρχοντί γε Σικελίης: cf. chap. 163. 1. Gelo's alliance with Thero (chap. 166) served to extend his influence in the west of Sicily. The title is given to Dionysius by the Athenians in official degrees, 393–368 B.C.; cf. Hicks 91, 108, 112.

**vii. 158**

**πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο**, “attacked them vehemently”; so Thuc. iv. 22 (of Cleon); Dem. *De Cor.* 199; Theoc. xxii. 90. For **πολλός** cf. i. 98. 1.

[2] **νεῖκος**. (1) Many writers (e.g., Abbott, ii. 446) follow Holm (*G.S.* i. 416) in identifying this strife with the great campaign which culminated at the Himera, placing that battle in 481 B.C.; but this is absolutely opposed to the clear meaning of H. (Freeman, ii. 478). Again, the synchronism between the Persian and Carthaginian invasions seems well established (cf. 166 n.); H. makes the Himera coincide with Salamis (chap. 166), and is followed, though more cautiously, by Aristotle (*Poet.* 23); Diodorus (xi. 24) places it on the last day of the fighting at Thermopylae. Further, there is a high probability that there was some concerted arrangement between the Persian and the Carthaginian (Ephorus frag. 111; *FHG* i. 264; Diod. xi. 1; chap. 166 n.).

(2) Others (e.g., Meltzer, *Karthager*, i. 495; cf. Busolt, ii. 790 n.) see in this earlier war a mis-dating of the great invasion by some writer anxious to deprive Gelo of all excuse for refusing his aid to the mother-country, but if so, H. is strangely careless.

(3) Freeman (ii. 479), feeling it difficult to find room for the war after Gelo became tyrant (i.e., after 491 B.C.), holds that he refers to some fighting in which he took part as a subordinate of Cleandrus or Hippocrates, but this is surely an impossible interpretation of Gelo's words. Most probably, Gelo and Thero attempted to conquer the Carthaginian strongholds in Western Sicily, Motye, Soloeis, and Panormus, with their Elymian ally Segesta, ca. 483 B.C., and so provoked the great Carthaginian expedition of 480 B.C. (chap. 165f.). It is true that Diodorus (xi. 1) assigns *three years* to the Carthaginian preparations, but these are probably only an inference from Xerxes' three years of preparation (vii. 1).

**Δωριέος**. The story of Dorieus (v. 42–6) contains no reference to this effort of Gelo, and seems to be drawn from an independent source.

**τὰ ἐμπόρια**: probably the ports of Western Sicily held by the Carthaginians (cf. above), but Gelo may well have had wider schemes of opening the trade of the further West, and especially Spain (i. 163; iv. 152), to Hellenic commerce and colonization, breaking the Phoenician and Punic monopoly. He may have thought of a great pan-Hellenic alliance to meet the Semite in the West, and then the Persian in Eastern Greece.

[4] **διηκοσίας** κτλ. The numbers are suspiciously uniform, though not perhaps incredibly large. Similar numbers appear in Polyb. xii. 26 b, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 146; from Ephorus (frag. 111), or Timaeus (frag. 87; see above). At the battle of Himera Diodorus (xi. 21) makes Gelo command 50,000 foot and over 5,000 horse.

**ἵπποδρομούς ψιλούς**: probably light infantry who fought interspersed among the cavalry like the Boeotian ἄμιπποι (Thuc. v. 57; Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 24). Caesar adopted at Pharsalia (*B. Civ.* iii. 84) this device, which he found in Gaul (*B. Gall.* vii. 18, 36, 80), and which seems to have been a regular practice among the

Germans (*B. Gall.* i. 48, vii. 65, viii. 13; Tac. *Germ.* chap. 6). The large proportion of light-armed troops and cavalry shows the higher level of military science in the West. The Sicilian tyrants, making large use of mercenaries, can put in the field a well-equipped force of all arms, not the mere hoplite-phalanx and ill-armed light troops mustered to meet Xerxes.

### vii. 159

Borrowed from *Il.* vii. 125 ἢ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρον ἱππηλάτα Πηλεΐς. In Homer Agamemnon is of course king of Mycenae, though brother of Menelaus of Sparta. But just as Aeschylus transferred the scene of his play from destroyed Mycenae to Argos (*Aesch. Ag.* 24, 503, 810), while Euripides wavers between the two, Stesichorus and the Lyric poets, under Dorian influence, made Agamemnon live and die at Amyclae or Sparta (*Schol. Eur. Or.* 46; *Pind. Nem.* viii. 13; *Pyth.* xi. 32). The grave of Agamemnon was shown at Amyclae (*Paus.* iii. 19. 6) as well as at Mycenae (*Paus.* ii. 16. 6); there were cults of Agamemnon in Laconia, especially of Zeus Agamemnon at Sparta. For the parallel transference of Orestes cf. i. 67 n. Sparta as head of "Pelops' isle" naturally claimed the race of Pelops for her own.

### vii. 160

**ἀπεστραμμένους:** *aversos*, hostile; cf. *προσάντης*, § 2.

[2] The comparison is with the Spartans only, and is justified if the numbers in chap. 158 be accepted.

### vii. 161

**Ὡ βασιλεῦ.** To H., speaking in his own person, Gelo is τύραννος (156. 3, 163. 1), though Scythes is βασιλεύς (vi. 23. 3 n.), but the Sicilian tyrants like Polycrates (*iii.* 42. 2) would be flattered by being addressed as "king" (cf. *Pind. Pyth.* i. 60, *iii.* 70; *Ol.* i. 23). The "salutation of Gelo as king" (*Diod.* xi. 26, 38) was in any case after the battle of Himera, and may well have been, in spite of Diodorus' statement, informal. Probably the official position held by Gelo, as by Dionysius, was that of στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ (*Diod.* xiii. 94; *Polyaenus* i. 27. 1). This is confirmed by the fact that Bacchylides (v. 2) addresses Hiero as στραταγέ; cf. Bury, *CR* xiii. 98; Freeman, *S.* ii, note 1; Jebb, *Bacchyl.*, 465.

[2] For the alleged claim of Athens to naval hegemony cf. viii. 2 n.

[3] **πάραλον**, unparalleled in the sense of ναυτικόν, is perhaps poetic, as the sentence can be scanned as an iambic.

**μετανάσται**, "land-loupers"; cf. *Il.* ix. 648; xvi. 59.

It was a frequent ground for self-laudation among the Athenians that they, unlike most other Greeks, had always inhabited the same country and could claim to be autochthonous. It forms a regular topic in funeral orations (cf. 157 n.), e.g., that of Pericles (*Thuc.* ii. 36); cf. Plato *Menex.* 237b; *Lys. Epitaph.* § 17; pseudo-Dem. *Epitaph.* § 4; Hyperides *Epitaph.* col. 5, and in other panegyrics; cf. Eur. *Erechth.* frag. 362, and especially Isoc. *Paneg.* § 24 οὕτω καλῶς καὶ γνησίως γεγόναμεν

ὥστ' ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφυμεν, ταύτην ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, αὐτόχθονες ὄντες . . . καίτοι χρῆ τοὺς . . . περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δικαίως ἀμβισβητοῦντας . . . τοιαύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι. The belief is accepted in substance by Thucydides (i. 2) and by H. (i. 56 n.), though the latter considers the Arcadians and Cynurians also autochthonous (viii. 73).

**Ὅμηρος:** cf. *Il.* ii. 552 Μενεσθεύς. / τῷ δ' οὐ πῶ τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένητ' ἀνῆρ / κοσμησάι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

**ὄνειδος,** "we cannot be reproached for saying this." Gelo had treated the Greek claims as insulting (160. 1).

### vii. 162

**οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτε,** "you could not be too soon in," i.e., the sooner the better, a polite but emphatic exhortation; cf. Ar. *Plut.* 874 and 1133 ἀποτρέχων οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις, Eur. *Alc.* 662, *Tro.* 456. (Cf. Goodwin, § 894.)

The simile is twice ascribed by Aristotle to Pericles in a funeral oration (cf. *Plut. Per.* 8, 28), probably that over those who fell in the Samian war 440 B.C. (Meyer, *F.* ii, pp. 221, 222); cf. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 10 and i. 7, 1365b 31 οἷον Περικλῆς τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λέγων τὴν νεότητα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνηρῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰ ἐξαίρεθείη. That H. took the figure from Pericles is rendered probable by the other resemblances to funeral orations in this passage (cf. 157. 1 n.; 161. 3 n.). Even if the simile be older H. may well have been reminded of it by the striking application of it in Pericles' oration. Here it is far less appropriate, as seems to have been felt by the reader who appended the clumsy explanation which has since been interpolated in the text. Gelo might, however, compare the youthful vigour of the colony, Sicily, to the spring, and the effete mother-country to the later duller months of the year.

### vii. 163

**Σικελίης τύραννος.** Here and elsewhere (chap. 157. 2) Gelo is regarded as suzerain of all (Greek) Sicily.

[2] **Scythes** is probably the lord of Zancle, driven out by Hippocrates, who had found asylum with Darius and died at his court at an advanced age (vi. 24). The friendly relations of Scythes with the Persian court would make his son a most suitable envoy. The special information and favourable verdict of H. on both father and son may be explained by the close connection between Cos and Halicarnassus.

**ἐς Δελφούς.** Delphi was at the time for submission to Persia as seems proved by the oracles (chaps. 140, 148, 169). Grundy (pp. 247–56) suggests that Gelo had no sufficient motive for buying off Persia, and sent the treasure to Delphi (if it was sent) for security; the baser motive was subsequently attributed to him by patriotic Greeks who hated tyranny. But is it incredible that Gelo should try to purchase Persian neutrality by a nominal submission?

vii. 164

**παρὰ Σαμίων:** the reading of the better MSS. must be adopted, for if *μετά* be read Cadmus is made to take a part in the treachery of the Samians through which Scythes (presumably his own father) lost his city and for a time his liberty (cf. vi. 23, 24 n.). But with the reading *παρά* an intelligible reconstruction is possible. Scythes, leaving the lordship of Cos, bestowed on him by Darius, to his son Cadmus, went to Sicily and made himself ruler of Zancle, becoming apparently (ca. 495 B.C.) a vassal of Hippocrates. In 494 B.C. Samians (and some Milesians) came on his invitation to colonize Kale Acte (vi. 22, 24; Thuc. vi. 4), but on the suggestion of Anaxilas of Rhegium treacherously seized Zancle. Hippocrates, who came as suzerain to aid Zancle, ended by selling it to the Samians. Then Anaxilas, still hoping to make himself supreme in Zancle, stirred up Cadmus to take the city from the Samians (for *ἔσχε* cf. v. 46. 2; vi. 23. 2, 36. 1, etc.). Cadmus came from Cos with a number of followers (among whom we are told by Suidas (s.v.) was Epicharmus as a baby in arms), and with the aid of Anaxilas recovered Zancle (ca. 490 B.C.). He must, however, have been a mere subordinate of the tyrant of Rhegium, since in all other accounts Anaxilas alone is mentioned (Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 34; Diod. xi. 48, 66); cf. especially Thuc. vi. 4 *τοὺς δὲ Σαμίους Ἀναξίλας Ῥηγίων τυράννος οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ξυμμείκτων ἀνθρώπων οἰκίσας Μεσσηνίην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος ἀντωνόμασεν.* The supremacy of Anaxilas over Zancle-Messana is fully confirmed by its coinage. Further, it would seem that Cadmus must have been driven from Messene by Anaxilas before 481, otherwise he could hardly have been the trusted envoy of Gelo, the chief foe of the Rhegine tyrant.

**τὴν . . . μεταβαλοῦσαν.** The change of name apparently took place when Anaxilas first put the Samians in possession of Zancle (494–493 B.C.), not as Thucydides implies when he ejected them. This seems proved by the fact that coins on the Euboic-Attic standard, with a lion's head Samian in style on one side, and a calf's head on the other, are inscribed with the word *Μεσσηνίων* (Holm, G. S. iii, p. 574; further, Hill, *H.G.C.*, 29–35, and C. H. Dodd in *JHS* xxviii. 56–76). These, which resemble closely the contemporary coins of Rhegium (Head, *H.N.*, 108), must belong to the time when Anaxilas was on friendly terms with the Samians, while those with a running hare and the inscription *Μεσσηνίων* on one side and a mule-chariot on the other were introduced by Anaxilas from Rhegium later (Holm, G.S. iii. 576). These types, according to Aristotle (Pollux v. 75), commemorated a victory at Olympia, and the introduction of the hare into Sicily (Hill, *op. cit.* p. 33).

Macan prefers the reading *μετὰ Σαμίων*. He thus makes Cadmus cooperate with the Samians in depriving his own father of the lordship of Zancle. He suggests that there may have been a deep laid plot between the father, the son, and Hippocrates, Scythes being anxious to return to the Persian court and his imprisonment at Inyx (vi. 23) a pretence. Hippocrates certainly behaved strangely in making a bargain with the treacherous Samians at the expense of Zancle (vi. 23),

but there is not sufficient evidence of the alleged plot. Subsequently on this supposition Cadmus was driven out along with the Samians by Anaxilas, and then found refuge with Gelo.

#### vii. 165

τῶν ἐν Σικελίῃ οἰκημένων: i.e., the Greeks; cf. 153. 4. The story was doubtless told H. in Sicily.

Thero became tyrant 488, died 472 B.C. On his descent cf. 154. 1 n. His daughter Demarete married Gelo, and he himself the daughter or sister of Polyzelus, Gelo's brother (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* ii). Agrigentum (Girgenti) was founded from Gela ca. 582 B.C. (Thuc. vi. 4). For descriptions of the site cf. Polyb. ix. 27, and Freeman, *S.* ii. 224–31, and for the temples id. ii. 79–81 and 402–7.

The Carthaginian army here, as elsewhere, is composed mainly of mercenaries (Polyb. i. 67). The Phoenicians are native Carthaginians, the Libyans their African subjects. Spaniards and Ligurians recur frequently in the Punic armies (Diod. xiii. 44, xvi. 73; Polyb. i. 17, 67, etc.). Diodorus mistakenly adds (xi. 1) Italian mercenaries, troops not employed by Carthage before 409 B.C. (Diod. xiii. 44, etc.), and Celts who are first really used in 343 B.C. (Diod. xvi. 73).

Ἑλισύκων: reckoned by Hecataeus (frag. 20; *FHG* i. 2; Steph. Byz. s.v.) a Ligurian tribe, a view confirmed by his statement that Massilia was Ligurian, inhabited the coast from the Pyrenees to the mouth of the Rhone, until they were destroyed by the Celtic incursion (third century B.C.). Narbo was their capital (Avienus, *Ora Marit.* 586). The Ligurians (cf. v. 9. 3) had once also stretched from the mouth of the Rhone to that of Arno (Pseudo-Scylax 41; Polyb. ii. 16. 2; Nissen, *Ital.*, i. 470. 1).

The number, 300,000, though repeated by Diodorus (xi. 20) following Timaeus (?), may be only an effort of Siceliot patriotic imagination unwilling that Hamilcar should have less troops than Mardonius (H. ix. 32), as the 3,000 transport-ships equal in number those of Xerxes (vii. 97, 104), though 200 triremes are likely enough (cf. Meltzer, *Karthager*, i. 193).

τὸν Ἄννωνος. According to Trogus Pompeius (Justin xix. 1) Hamilcar was the son of Mago.

βασιλέα: i.e., suffete. Aristotle distinguishes "the kings" from the generals (*Pol.* ii. 11), but the offices seem to have been held together in great emergencies (Diod. xiii. 43; xiv. 54). He compares the suffetes to the Spartan kings, save that the office was not hereditary, but elective (cf. κατ' ἀνδραγαθίην, chap. 166). Nepos distinctly declares (*Hann.* 7) there were two suffetes elected annually, and this is confirmed by their comparison with the consuls (Livy xxx. 7) and the parallel case of Gades (Livy xxviii. 37). For full details cf. Meltzer, *op. cit.* ii. 64–72, 482–7.

#### vii. 166

Both H. and Aristotle speak as if the coincidence was accidental; cf. *Poet.* 23 ὥσπερ γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἢ τ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ἐγένετο ναυμαχία καὶ ἢ ἐν

Σικελία Καρχηδονίων μάχη, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ συντείνουσαι τέλος, but Diodorus, who (xi. 24) dates the battle of Himera to the same day as Thermopylae, asserts there was an alliance between Persia and Carthage (xi. 1; Timaeus?). ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης . . . διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς Καρχηδονίους περὶ κοινοπραγίας, καὶ συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας στρατεύειν, Καρχηδονίους δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις μεγάλας παρασκευάσυσθαι δυνάμεις, καὶ καταπολεμῆσαι τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντας. This is supported by Ephorus (frag. 111 ap. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 146; *FHG* i. 264). Ἐκ δὲ Περσῶν καὶ Φοινίκων πρέσβεις πρὸς Καρχηδονίους (παραγενέσθαι) προστάσσοντας ὡς πλεῖστον δέοι στόλον· εἰς Σικελίαν δὲ βαδίζειν καὶ καταστρεψαμένους τοὺς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φρονοῦντας πλεῖν ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον. Though neither of these two versions of the alliance can be traced back beyond the fourth century, their divergence in language is rather in their favour as suggesting an independent origin. Nor is the language of Ephorus unsuitable. The great king would very probably treat the colonists of his Phoenician subjects as though he were their sovereign, and the Carthaginians might not care to dispute the form so long as they secured the real advantages of an alliance. We cannot safely argue from the silence of H. and Aristotle that they were ignorant of any cooperation, much less that it did not exist in fact. The enemies of the Greeks would naturally plan a simultaneous attack, and in concerting their plans the Phoenicians would be useful intermediaries. The alliance may then be accepted (with Meltzer, Freeman, Busolt, E. Meyer, and Grundy) as against the doubts of Duncker, Beloch, Hauvette, and Macan.

ἐν τῇ Σικελίῃ. H. is equally vague in 167. 1. The battle was near Himera (Pind. *Pyth.* i. 79).

### vii. 167

According to Diodorus (xi. 20f.), Hamilcar, after losing through a storm his cavalry and chariots on his voyage, landed at Panormus. Thence he marched to Himera and, after a victory, besieged the town, which was defended by Thero. Gelo coming to its aid with 50,000 foot and 5,000 horse, surprised and captured many Carthaginian stragglers. Then hearing that Hamilcar expected a force of cavalry from Selinus, he sent his own horsemen to impersonate them. These troops slew Hamilcar at the beginning of the action, while he was sacrificing, threw the Carthaginian army in the sea-camp into confusion and set fire to the fleet. Meanwhile Gelo fell on the main Punic army near the land-camp, and after a stubborn fight slaughtered the enemy to the number of 150,000. This account (given in detail by Grundy, pp. 422–5) is irreconcilable with H. as to the time and manner of Hamilcar's death (cf. Freeman, ii. 186–99, 518–22), and shows clear signs of rhetorical exaggerations in the number of the slain and in the account of Gelo's stratagem, which is compared with that of Themistocles. On the other hand, the two camps and the burning of the fleet (cf. Polyaeus i. 27) look like genuine local tradition. Probably Timaeus overlaid such a tradition with his own rhetoric.

The account is regarded as untrustworthy by Meltzer, E. Meyer, Beloch, and Busolt, though accepted by Curtius, Duncker, Holm, and Grundy.

**οἰκότι χρεωμένων** (sc., λόγῳ): cf. iii. 111. 1 λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι.

**σώματα ὅλα**. The practice of burning the whole body of the victim was originally common to the Phoenicians and Jews (Porph. *Abst.* iv. 15; Lev. vi. 23); later the Carthaginians, like the Greeks, burnt only certain parts (cf. Meltzer, *op. cit.* ii. 147–9), but the older ritual might naturally be followed on so great an occasion.

[2] For the Oriental self-immolation of the Punic version cf. i. 86 n.

**οἱ θύουσι**. Hero-worship seems to have been as unknown to the Phoenicians as it was to the Egyptians (ii. 50. 3); nor even if Hamilcar's self-sacrifice was regarded as heroic could it account for a cult in all colonies. Hence Movers and Meltzer suggest that H. has confused Hamilcar = Abd-Melqart, servant of Melcarth, with the Phoenician god Melcarth, whose worship is closely connected with such passing through the fire. Compare Moloch, and the story of Dido.

**μνήματα**: probably pillars like that in the temple of Melcarth at Tyre (ii. 44. 2).

#### **vii. 168–71**

*Fruitless embassies to Corcyra and Crete (with excursus on Minos in Sicily).*

#### **vii. 168**

[3] **δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην**: so in 433 B.C. The Corcyrean orator at Athens says ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλεῖστον (Thuc. i. 33; cf. i. 14). They had 120 ships in 435 B.C. (Thuc. i. 25).

[4] The Etesian winds (cf. ii. 20), which are said to blow very hard off Cape Malea from the northeast (cf. vii. 188; viii. 12), lasted for about forty days in August and September. The battle of Salamis took place about Sept. 25.

It is remarkable that the Corcyreans are not taunted by the Corinthians (in Thuc. i. 37–43) with this instance of selfishness and double-dealing. But the dislike and suspicion felt by the rest of Greece for the western island is patent. The Corcyrean envoys themselves admit that their traditional policy of splendid isolation has proved a failure. Thuc. i. 32 περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρῴᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη. Munro (*JHS* xxii. 323) charitably suggests that the Corcyreans may never have promised to do more than protect the southern Peloponnese from attack, if the Persian admirals detached a squadron for the purpose; then their subsequent neutrality caused their absence from the line of battle to be misinterpreted. But it seems more likely that Corcyra did aim at avoiding compromising alliances, and was loath to send her navy to resist the Persian, when she might so soon need it for her own defence against the Carthaginian.

## vii. 169

**κοινῆ**. The island was divided between a number of city-states.

**ἄμεινον . . . γίνεται**: the regular form of inquiry; cf. i. 187. 2, iv. 15. 3, etc.; Thuc. i. 118 ad fin.

[2] “Fools, do ye find ought to complain of in the woes brought on you by Minos in his wrath for the help ye gave Menelaus?” The god by an ironical question (for μέμφομαι ironically used cf. viii. 106. 3 ad fin.) reminds them how they had suffered in the past for similar conduct. The words τιμωρημάτων Μίνως ἔπεμψε μηνίων δακρύματα seem to have been taken as they stand from the oracular response (cf. iv. 163. 3; v. 79. 1 n.; vii. 178. 2). Stein and Busolt (ii. 658 n. 6) suspect it of being a later forgery, like the response to the Cnidians (i. 174. 5), mainly because it is in iambic metre. H. clearly believed it genuine, and probably for that reason does not blame the Cretans for refusing help. Doubtless the lying Cretans would have had no scruple in inventing later an oracle to exculpate their conduct; but that here given is of the same tenor as the better attested response to Argos (chap. 148), and may well be in substance genuine.

## vii. 170

**Σικανίην**. While Beloch (i. 178) and Nissen (i. 548) maintain, after Niebuhr, that Sican and Sicel are mere variants of one name and one race, Freeman (i. 472f.), who has converted Holm (*CR* v. 423), strongly argues that Thucydides (vi. 2) and Philistus (ap. Diodor. v. 6; frag. 3, *FHG* i. 185) are right in saying that the Sicans are Iberians, though they claimed to be autochthonous (Thuc. loc. cit.; Timaeus; frag. 2, *FHG* i. 193). It seems clear that the Sicels were later immigrants from Italy who drove the Sicans to the west of Sicily, and were in turn pressed by the Greeks into the centre and north of the island.

Minos found Daedalus in Camicus, the city he had built for Cocalus the Sican king. He was hospitably received by Cocalus, but enticed into a warm bath and there slain by the king or his daughters. Of Sophocles' play the Καμίκιοι but two small fragments remain. For later versions cf. Diod. iv. 79; Strabo 279.

**Πολίχνη**: a small place near Cydonia in Western Crete on the north coast; cf. Thuc. ii. 85.

**Πραῖσος**: high on the central plateau near the east end of Crete. Two “Eteocretan” inscriptions have been found there in recent excavations (*JHS* xxi. 340). That these two cities took no part in the expedition is no historical tradition, though it may have been derived, like the notice of the newer colonists, from Praesus (cf. 171. 1), but merely an inference from the fact that their inhabitants belonged to the pre-Hellenic “Minoan” race (Hom. *Od.* xix. 176; Strabo 475, 478), and therefore presumably had not been affected by the migration preceding or following the death of Minos. The words στόλω μεγάλω imply a large migration which left Crete empty (cf. 171. 1); this hypothesis explained the disappearance of the

“Minoan” people, and the existence as early as Homer of Achaeans, Pelasgians, and Dorians in Crete. For other Minoan traditions cf. i. 171–3; iii. 122 nn.

**Καμικός** (Strabo 273, 279) may perhaps be placed at Caltabelotta (cf. Freeman, i. 503), if that stronghold on the hill be within the territory of Acragas (Diod. iv. 78).

Later writers (Paus. vii. 4. 6; Steph. Byz.) inaccurately substitute Ἴνυξ or Ἴνυκον (cf. vi. 23. 4 n.). Freeman (i. 113, 502) believes that this whole legend grew up in Acragas, the existence of Minoa (cf. v. 46. 2 n.) suggesting the presence of Minos (but cf. iii. 122. 2 n.). Thero is said to have sent back to Crete the supposed remains of Minos (Diod. iv. 79).

[2] **Ἵρρίην**. Probably the Uria of Strabo (282) (modern Oria), on a ridge between Tarentum and Brundisium, still containing in his day the palace of an early king, not Veretum, close to the heel of Italy, cape Leuca; cf. Nissen, *Ital.*, ii. 875, 884. Iapygia (cf. iv. 99) is the promontory south of Tarentum and Brundisium, the Messapii being the tribe nearest Tarentum (Nissen, *op. cit.* i. 539–40).

Other accounts make these Cretans found Brundisium (Strabo 279, 282) and even cross the Adriatic and Illyria, to settle on the Thermaic gulf as Bottiaeans (chap. 123. 3).

[3] This disaster is dated by Diodorus (xi. 52) to the year 473 B.C. It was to some extent balanced by a Tarentine victory over Messapians and Peucetians (Paus. x. 13. 10). Probably Micythus made alliance with Tarentum in the hope of opposing a barrier to the growing power of Syracuse.

**φόνος Ἑλληνικὸς μέγιστος**. The phrase makes it certain that H. did not live to see the destruction of the Athenians in Sicily which Thucydides (vii. 85) describes in similar terms; *πλεῖστος γὰρ δὴ φόνος οὗτος καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐλάσσων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο*.

**τῶν ἀστῶν**: partitive genitive with οἱ; “so many of the citizens,” as vi. 58. 2 ad fin.; ix. 94. 1; i. 67. 5.

[4] **οἰκέτης . . . ἐπίτροπος**: translated by Pausanias (v. 26. 4) *δοῦλος καὶ ταμίας τῶν Ἀναξίλα χρημάτων* (cf. vi. 137. 3; viii. 75. 1) and by Justin “*servus spectatae fidei*,” but though this might be the meaning of the word, *οἰκέτης* is certainly in the plural used for the whole *familia*, free-born as well as slave (viii. 4. 2, 44. 1, 106. 2, 142. 4), and is distinguished from *δοῦλος* by Plato in the *Laws*, etc. It is unlikely that a slave (or even a freedman) should add his father’s name on his offerings at Olympia (see below) and call Rhegium and Messana his fatherland (Paus. *loc. cit.*). Probably he was a low-born dependant of Anaxilas (cf. Maeandrius, iii. 142). For *ἐπίτροπος* cf. the case of Aristagoras at Miletus (v. 30. 2), and again Maeandrius (iii. 142. 1) *ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν*, and Theras. iv. 147. 2. Micythus was clearly regent of Rhegium and Messana for the young sons of Anaxilas.

**ἐκπεσῶν**. Paus. *loc. cit.* *ἀπιῶν οἴχοιτο*. According to Diodorus (xi. 66), after Micythus had been regent nine years (476–467), his wards, instigated by Hiero,

demanded an account of his stewardship. Through this, his honesty was so strikingly proved that they begged him to keep on the administration, but Micythus, preferring to retire, lived in honour at Tegea till his death. This is a little inconsistent with H.'s ἐκπεσών.

The offerings of Micythus at Olympia seen by Pausanias (v. 26) were in three groups, comprising in all fifteen figures (besides some removed by Nero) by Argive sculptors, Glaucus and Dionysius. Fragments of pedestals have been found bearing inscriptions restored by Roehl, *IGA* 532, 533, and better by Kaibel (*Hermes*, xxviii. 60), showing that the offerings were made for the recovery of his son from sickness.

[Μίκυθος ὁ Χοίρου Ῥηγῖν]ος κ[αὶ Μεσσή]νιος φοικέων ἐν Τεγέῃ

[τάγάλατα τάδε θεοῖς ἀ]νέθ[ηκε πᾶσι]ν καὶ θεαῖς πάσαις·

[παιδὸς δὲ νόσον φθινάδα νοσέοντος κ]αὶ χρημάτων ὅσσα φοι πλεῖστα ἐγέν[ετο δυνατὸν]

[ιητροῖς δαπανηθέντων, ἐς Ὀλυμπίην] ἐλθὼν ἔπειτα εὐξάμεν-

[ος, ὡς φοι ὁ παῖς ἐσώθη ἀνέθηκεν]

#### vii. 171

**τρίτη γενεῆ.** In Homer (*Il.* xiii. 451f.; *Od.* xix. 178f.), Idomeneus, the leader of the Cretans before Troy, is the son of Deucalion the son of Minos. For his exploits cf. *Il.* xiii. 330–539.

[2] **λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμόν.** This alliterative jingle is found in Hesiod, *Op.* 243 λιμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν: cf. Thuc. ii. 54. For such visitations cf. iii. 65. 7 n.

**τρίτους:** this third population must be the Dorians.

#### vii. 172–74

*Failure to hold the pass of Tempe hands over Thessaly to the Persian.*

#### vii. 172

**ὑπὸ ἀναγκαίης,** “under compulsion at first”; afterwards (174) ἐμηδίσαν προθύμως, but they showed by their summons to the loyal Greeks that they did not approve of the intrigues of the Aleuadae. For these cf. chaps. 6, 130, and for H.'s attitude towards the Thessalians introd., § 30 e.

**πρόβουλοι** (cf. vii. 145 n.). Presumably these Probouloi settled the general plan of campaign, which was determined by political as well as by military considerations. They are distinct from the separate councils of admirals (at Salamis) and of generals (at Plataea), which are merely advisory to the Spartan commanders-in-chief (cf. Macan on chap. 145).

[3] **οὐδαμὰ γὰρ ἀδυνασίης:** for the γνώμη cf. viii. 111.

## vii. 173

Ἀχαιίης (sc., τῆς Φθιώτιδος); cf. 132. 1 n. and 196–8.

[2] ἐστρατήγεε. The command in war was a royal prerogative (vi. 56 n.; Arist. *Pol.* vi. 14. 2f., 1285a), but on distant or less important expeditions, it was at times given to private Spartans, e.g., Anchimolius (v. 63) and Brasidas in Thrace.

Possibly the number of Spartans sent to Tempe was not great, for Sparta was unwilling to send large forces so far from home (ix. 8–10). For Εὐαίνετος Diodorus (xi. 2) reads Σύνετος, surely by a clerical error (*JHS* xxii. 305 n.). The polemarchs were, next to the king, the highest Spartan officers (Thuc. v. 66), commanding the λόχοι at Mantinea in 418 B.C. (Thuc. v. 71), and later the μόραι (Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 46). Plutarch (*De Mal.* 31; *Mor.* 864) adds 500 Thebans under Mnamias.

[3] For Alexander cf. v. 17–22 nn.; viii. 136–40; ix. 44, 45.

[4] ἄλλην: on the passes leading into Thessaly cf. chap. 128. 1 n. Had there been only the mountain path over southern Olympus the Greeks could very well have held it as they did Anopaea (chap. 217), but Xerxes might and probably did use the more distant passes of Petra and Volustana. Cf. app. xx, § 4.

## vii. 174

ἐν Ἀβύδῳ. Xerxes would seem to have been at Abydos during May (chap. 37. 1 n.).

χρησιμώτατοι. The Thessalians were useful as guides (viii. 31f.) and fought at Plataea (ix. 31f.).

## vii. 175–78

*The position of the Greeks at Thermopylae and Artemisium described.*

## vii. 175

στεινοτέρη. In two places Thermopylae is ἀμαξιτὸς μούνη (176. 2). The average breadth of Tempe between Mount Ossa and the Peneius is about 150 feet, but in many places the river leaves so little room that the modern road has been cut through the rocky slopes of Mount Ossa. The way must have been very rough though not impassable in 480 B.C. Herodotus clearly means to insist on three points of advantage at Thermopylae: (1) there was only one pass (cf. 173. 4), and that was both (2) narrower than Tempe, and (3) nearer home.

[2] γῆς τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος depends on Ἀρτεμισίον. The north of Euboea is the territory of Histiaea (viii. 23. 2). The name Histiaeotis was also given (cf. i. 56. 3 n.) to the land of the Perrhaebi in N. Thessaly (chap. 128. 1 n.).

ταῦτα: i.e., Thermopylae and Artemisium. The fleet at Artemisium guarded not only the Euripus (chap. 183. 1; viii. 15. 2), but “the only landing-places which give practicable access to the interior of the country north of Marathon” (*JHS* xxii. 304). Munro (*JHS* xxii. 312) further brings out admirably not only that “Thermopylae could not have been held without Artemisium, for it would have been at once turned by the enemies” fleet, but also that Artemisium was useless without

Thermopylae, for the Persians would never have attacked the Greek fleet but simply sailed past it outside Euboea, if the land road to the Isthmus had been open. All they wanted was to get their army and fleet to the Peloponnese at the same time." Cf. also app. xx, §§ 1, 3, and 5.

**vii. 176**

**τοὔτο μὲν**, "firstly," answered by ἡ δὲ αὖ (2); cf. iii. 106. 2.

**τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον**. The construction is loose, Ἀρτεμίσιον being put forward as the main subject of the following description. It was a beach looking northwards towards Olizon. The name no doubt comes from the temple of Artemis Proseoa (cf. below, Plut. *Them.* 8).

**[2] Τρηχίς** is used by H. for the city elsewhere (chaps. 199, 201, and probably 203. 2), but here for the country Trachinia (chaps. 199, 201; viii. 31), as also in viii. 21. 1, 66. 1; and Thuc. iv. 78, v. 12, 51.

**τῆς ἄλλης**. By an idiomatic compression the "narrowest part" is included in the rest of the country with which it is really contrasted. Cf. Tac. *Agr.* 34 "ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi" and Milton's "fairest of her daughters Eve." Though there is a verbal contradiction in saying "the pass through Trachis where narrowest is fifty feet broad, yet this is not the narrowest point but before and behind where it is only some six feet," the meaning is pretty clear. Herodotus is first describing the best known and most defensible part of the pass, "the Middle Gate," near the Phocian wall (below), and the little hill where the last stand was made (chap. 225), which was about fifty feet wide; and then inconsistently adds further statements as to the western and eastern gates, in front of and behind the pass proper, where there was in his day but just room for the road.

(Macan's suggestion that H. meant by ἡ διὰ Τρηχίνου ἔσοδος the entirely different pass up the gorge of the Asopus into Doris (cf. viii. 31 n.; vii. 199 n.) is impossible.)

H. here gives us in broad outline a general description, reserving details for chaps. 198–200, chapters which should be studied in connection with this. But the main points are here. The pass between mountain and sea has at either end an extremely narrow gate; the western gate, however, near Anthela, could be easily turned by crossing a projecting spur of the mountain, the eastern near Alpeni (chap. 216) is clearly behind the Greek position. In the three miles between them lay a double amphitheatre contracting about halfway at the Middle Gate; this is the true Thermopylae where are the hot springs and the Phocian wall (cf. 241 n.). For a full description cf. Grundy, p. 284f.

**[3]** Clear and good as is this description in general, the direction of the coast is wrongly given. H. evidently thought that the road through the pass ran from north to south, since he here describes various features on either side as lying east or west of it, and later (chaps. 199, 200. 1, 201 ad fin.) speaks of points on the road as lying north or south of each other. In reality the coast and road bend to the east near Trachis. But the error is natural if, as appears likely from the route-map given

(chaps. 198–200), and from the expression “before” and “behind” Thermopylae (§ 2), H. visited Thermopylae while on a journey from the north to Greece, since the road from Lamia runs due north and south across the plain, and the bend in the ancient road may have been more gradual than that in the modern. Macan is surely wrong in doubting whether H. had been at Thermopylae (cf. Grundy, *QR*, vol. ccii, p. 136).

The head of the Maliac gulf has now receded about four miles, and the pass itself is now separated from the sea by a tract of marshy ground a mile or more in width formed of the alluvial deposits brought down by the rivers and encircled by the precipitous sides of Mount Oeta and Callidromus (cf. chap. 198; Strabo 428). Even now, however, between the Asopus and the Middle Gate of Thermopylae the ground to the left of the road is impassable marsh. For H.’s sea and marsh cf. Livy xxxvi. 18 “loca usque ad mare invia palustri limo et voraginibus.”

**θερμὰ λουτρά.** The hot springs, which are copious and over 120° F. in temperature, rise on the side of Callidromus, a great cliff mounting almost sheer to a height of 3,000 ft. and on the edge of a great fan-shaped mass of stream débris. The stream, which is of a bright clear green (cf. Paus. iv. 35. 9), first enters the baths and then turns two mills (cf. Grundy, p. 286).

**Χύτροι:** two “cauldrons” or baths devoted in ancient times one to male and the other to female bathers; cf. Paus. iv. 35. 9 γλαυκότατον μὲν οἶδα ὕδωρ θεασάμενος τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις οὔτε που πᾶν ἀλλ’ ὅσον κάτεισιν ἐς τὴν κολυμβήθραν ἦντινα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Χύτρος γυναικείους.

Warm springs were usually Ἡράκλεια λουτρά (*Ar. Nub.* 1051), being created by Athene or Hephaestus, according to different myths, to refresh the weary hero. So Peisander, ap. Schol. *Ar. Nub.* 1050 τῷ δ’ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη ποιεῖ θερμὰ λουτρά παρὰ ὄηγμαῖνι θαλάσσης.

The whole district was the scene of many incidents in the life of Heracles and of his death (cf. chaps. 193. 2, 198. 2, 216; and Soph. *Trach.*).

For the wall cf. chaps. 208, 223, 225.

The existing remains of wall foundations on the neck by which the first mound is attached to the mountain side are believed by Grundy (pp. 288, 289) to be relics of a wall identical, at least in site, with the one which the Phocians built. It lies a little east of the Middle Gate and of the springs. It seems clear that the Phocians used the springs to channel (§ 4) the road in front, i.e., west of the wall, and so to hinder the Thessalian cavalry.

[4] At this period Phocis no longer extended to the pass; the Malians who dwelt west of it were dependents of Thessaly, and east of the pass the Locrians dwelt (cf. 216. 1). But in old days the Phocians may have reached the Spercheius, as the names Anticyra and Trachis occur both in this region and in Phocis proper. Later the Phocians were driven out by Malians and Locrians, losing even their northern coasts except round Daphnus.

Cf. Thuc. i. 12 Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἐξηκοστῶ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν.

**Αἰολίδα:** cf. 95. 1 n., 132. 1 n.

### **vii. 177**

**Πιερίη:** cf. chap. 131 n.

**Ἴσθμοῦ.** The contingents sent by the various Greek states to the allied army and fleet, as well as their representatives at the council of war, seem to have assembled at the Isthmus; chap. 173. 4; viii. 71. 2; vii. 145 n.

### **vii. 178**

**διαταχθέντες,** “to their two posts,” i.e., Artemisium and Thermopylae.

The oracle is said to have been (Clem. Alex. *Stromateis*, 753, Potter) ὦ Δελφοὶ λίσσεσθ' ἀνέμους καὶ λώιον ἔσται. For a similar oracle cf. chap. 189, and for their fulfillment chap. 188f.; viii. 12f.

[2] The words ἐξαγγείλαντες χάριν ἀθάνατον κατέθεντο, making a hexameter, are probably a reminiscence of some poetical narrative of this event, or of a dedicatory inscription on a thank-offering at Delphi to the winds. For similar reminiscences cf. chap. 169. 2 n.; Verrall, *CR* xvii. 98f.

**Θυϊή:** daughter of Cephisus (or according to Delphic legend of Castalius; cf. Paus. x. 6. 4) and mother by Apollo of Delphus. She was believed to have been the first to sacrifice to Dionysus, hence the Attic and Delphic women who served that god with orgiastic rites were called Θυϊαί or Θυϊάδες (distinguished by Rapp from the purely mythological Maenads); cf. Paus. x. 6. 4. The name means “stormy” (cf. θύελλα); hence she is naturally connected at Delphi with the winds.

### **vii. 179–95**

*First naval operations. Advance of the Persian fleet to Sepias (179–83). Estimate of the Persian forces (184–7). The three days' storm (188–91). The Greek fleet returns from Chalcis (183) to Artemisium, the Persian moves to Aphetæ (192–3). The Greeks take a squadron of fifteen ships under Sandoces (194–5).*

### **vii. 179**

**παρέβαλε:** intransitive, “crossed over”; cf. Thuc. iii. 32 ad fin. H. writes as if the whole fleet had taken the course followed, in fact, by the vanguard (chap. 183) of ten ships. One of these vessels is declared to have been Sidonian (viii. 92), and they were the best sailors (vii. 96. 1).

**ἐνθα:** not close to the island but further north, on the line between Therma and Sciathos, opposite the mouth of the Peneius (chap. 182), unless indeed (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 308; cf. Blakesley) the Phoenician squadron kept well outside Sciathos at first, and then approaching the channel between it and Magnesia from the south, drove the Greek look-out ships northwards.

## vii. 180

**διαδέξιον**: best taken as a strong form of δεξιόν (ἀίσιον), *laetissimum omen captantes* (Blakesley). They may have gone on the maxim “Who spills the foremost foeman’s life, that party triumphs in the strife” (Scott), cf. Tacitus, *Germ.* 10; but the act is more probably simply a sacrifice of the first-fruits of victory such as Procopius ascribes to the Scandinavian Thulitae (*Goth.* ii. 15) τῶν ἰρείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὄνπερ ἂν δοριάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρώτον. For human sacrifices among the Phoenicians cf. chap. 167, and among the Persians chap. 114. 2 n.

**τάχα δ’ ἂν**, “perhaps he may have had his name to thank in part for his fate.” For the construction cf. ix. 71. 4. For the importance of the name as an omen vi. 50; ix. 91; and among the Romans, e.g., in a *delectus, lustratio*, or other ceremony, Cic. *Div.* i. 45, 102f.; Tac. *Hist.* iv. 53.

## vii. 181

[2] **σινδόνος βυσσίνης**: cf. ii. 86. 6. These appliances for the treatment of wounds appear remarkable to Greeks, whose own surgery was crude.

## vii. 183

For fire signals cf. ix. 3. 1 n.

**ἡμεροσκόπους**: look-out men stationed on heights to observe the enemy’s movements, which was of course only possible by day (cf. chaps. 192. 1, 219. 1).

[2] **ἔρμα**: a sunken reef; cf. Thuc. vii. 25 and Anacreon (frag. 39, ap. Hesych.) ἀσήμων ὑπὲρ ἐρμάτων φορεῦμαι. The Murmex or “ant-reef” is now called λίθαρι or Leftari, “the stone.” The forethought of the Phoenicians in setting up a stone pillar on the reef as a danger-signal, is worth noting as a proof of careful reconnaissance. Clearly it was one of the duties of this squadron to make the way safe (cf. καθαρόν) for the main body.

[3] **Scyros**, an island about twenty-three miles off the east coast of Euboea, was then inhabited by the semi-barbarous piratical Dolopes, later driven out by Cimon.

**Cape Sepias** is generally and rightly identified with the modern Cape St. George opposite Sciathos. Mr. Wace prefers Cape Pori, but his reasons are not convincing (*JHS* xxvi. 143–8). If Cape Sepias be Pori, then Casthanaea, which lay north of it, under Mount Pelion (Strabo 443), must be Keramidhi (Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, ii. 104); but if it be Cape St. George, Casthanaea may more probably be placed at Zagora or Khorefto (Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 211).

The voyage would seem to be 90–100 miles direct across the sea, or, if we allow for coasting, perhaps 120 miles (*CR* xxiii. 186). Such a distance would not be beyond the powers of a single ship on a long summer’s day, e.g., 15–16 hours. We are told that a trireme could be *rowed* from Byzantium to Heraclea (150 miles) in a long day (? 18 or 24 hours; Xen. *An.* vi. 4. 2), and the second Athenian trireme sent to

Mitylene must by extraordinary exertions have accomplished the voyage of 210 miles in something like 24 hours (Thuc. iii. 49). Further, a merchant ship (*ναῦς στρογγύλη*) could, with an absolutely favourable wind, do some 150–160 miles in 24 hours, e.g., from Abdera to the mouth of the Ister (nearly 600 miles) in four days and nights, i.e., a little more than 6 miles an hour (iv. 86; Thuc. ii. 97). So, again, the voyage round Sicily (510 miles) takes not much less than 8 days (Thuc. vi. 1), while that from Thasos to Amphipolis, or rather Eion (50 miles), is reckoned at half a day's sail (Thuc. iv. 104). These instances seem to prove that a single merchantman could do 6 miles an hour and a warship something more, say 8 miles an hour. But single-ship voyages are no evidence for fleets, since the pace of a fleet is that of its slowest member. Now (Xen. *Hell.* i. 1. 13) Alcibiades took a whole autumn night and up to ἄριστον next morning (i.e., 16–18 hours) to sail with 86 ships from Parium to Proconnesus (not 35 miles), while Agathocles (Diod. xx. 5) took 6 days and nights from Syracuse to Cape Hermaeum (circa 300 miles). Similarly, the voyages of Caesar's fleet from Lilybaeum to Ruspina (*B. Afr.* 34) and from Utica to Caralis (chap. 98) work out at 2 miles an hour or less, while those of Scipio (Livy xxix. 27) and of Caesar (*B. Afr.* 2) from Lilybaeum to Africa, though regarded as quick and good voyages, work out under 3 miles an hour. The Athenian fleet in Sicily sailed 36 miles from Catana to Syracuse during the night (7–8 hours; Thuc. vi. 65), and Philip V's fleet of swift Illyrian lembi when panic-stricken fled (Polyb. v. 110) from the mouth of the Achelous to Cephallenia (circa 180 miles) in about 36 hours; these fleets in a great hurry do something like 5 miles an hour. It is true that Aemilius Paulus states (Livy xliv. 41) that he sailed from Brundisium to Corcyra in 9 Roman (i.e., 11½ English) hours, and that if Corcyra be the town this would mean 10 miles an hour, and if the nearest point of the island 8 miles an hour; but this isolated and doubtful record time does not justify us in ascribing so high a rate of speed to the unwieldy Persian armada. Cf. Grundy and Tarn, *CR* xxiii. 107f. and 184f.

#### **vii. 184**

For a discussion of the numbers of Xerxes' army and fleet cf. app. xix, § 2f. Here we may remark that the moment chosen by H. for his enumeration is appropriate. The great host had now gathered to itself contingents from Europe, and had not yet suffered loss either in storm or battle. The separation of the description of the forces (chaps. 61–99) from the estimate of their number indicates that H. found no numbers in the official Persian lists (cf. chaps. 60. 1, 61. 1 n.). For the number of the triremes he relied on tradition (chap. 89), as also for that of the Asiatic land forces (chap. 60), but the enormously exaggerated numbers of the forces from Europe rest on mere conjecture (185. 1 and 2); the over-estimate of the crews of the smaller vessels (184. 3) is a rough guess from the supposed number of such vessels, and the addition to the armed force of an equal number of attendants (chap. 186) is a purely gratuitous assumption. H. is clearly dominated by the popular belief (chap. 228. 1) that Xerxes led three million warriors against Greece. He makes no allowance for losses through sickness or desertion on the march.

After **πληθος ἦν** (sc., τοῦ στρατοῦ, ix. 96. 2) the numbers would naturally be given in the nominative, but the words τὸν μὲν . . . ὄμιλον, etc., which repeat the idea, are put in the accusative as though dependent on the verb of the parenthetic clause ὡς . . . εὐρίσκω. For similar usages cf. i. 65. 4; 134. 1.

**τὸν μὲν**, answered by τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ (§ 4), gives the division into land and sea forces. The latter are then subdivided into native contingents (§ 1) and Persian marines (§ 2).

**ἀρχαῖον** (cf. iv. 99. 2): the original native crew in contrast to the added Persian Epibatae.

**διηκοσίους**: 200 was the regular complement of a Greek trireme (viii. 17; Xen. *Hell.* i. 5. 3–7).

[2] **ἐπιχωρίων ἐπιβατέων**. The most conspicuous instance is furnished by the Egyptians (ix. 32), but in most cases there would be native leaders and their bodyguards aboard (chap. 98). They are not separately reckoned since they are included in the crew of 200. Since the primitive method of fighting at sea was by boarding (cf. ix. 98. 2; viii. 90. 2; and especially Thuc. i. 49), every trireme carried a large number of marines, each Chian ship at Lade 40 (vi. 15. 1), each trireme here 30 Persians, Medes, or Sacae (the best troops in the army, cf. viii. 113. 2), besides the native levies, though, if we may believe Plutarch (*Them.* 14), the Athenians at Salamis had only 14 hoplites and 4 archers on each ship. Later sea captains aimed at sinking the enemy by ramming, after disordering them by the **διέκπλους** (vi. 12 n.). Accordingly the Athenians in the Peloponnesian war reduced the number of Epibatae on each ship to 10 (Thuc. ii. 92 compared with ii. 102; iii. 91 with iii. 95; iv. 76 with iv. 101).

[3] **ποιήσας**, “putting them at” (cf. § 4, and chap. 186. 2).

**ὅ τι πλέον** = *plus minus*, i.e., on the average.

**πρότερον**: cf. 97 ad fin. The three thousand vessels there mentioned included, besides penteconters, thirty-oared galleys, light boats, and horse transports; now though a crew of eighty may be a reasonable assumption for a penteconter, counting in officers, sailors, and marines, it is far too large a number for the smaller galleys and boats.

[5] **ἐμπλέειν** and **ἐνεῖναι** are used of the crew, especially of the rowers in the hold of the ship; **ἐπιπλέειν** and **ἐπεῖναι** of the marines on deck; cf. viii. 119.

## vii. 185

**ἐκ τῶν νήσων**: i.e., Thasos and Samothrace. The number of men rests (1) on the assumption that all the ships were triremes; (2) on the conjectural and exaggerated number of ships (120).

[2] **Παίονες**: cf. chap. 113; viii. 115; v. 1. 2 n.

**Ἔορδοί** once dwelt in the region Eordaea (Livy xxxi. 39, 40; xlii. 53) above Pella, west of Mount Bermius, near the sources of the Lydias, and Lake Begorrites

(Ostrovo). Those who survived the Macedonian conquest were settled near Physca (Thuc. ii. 99) in Mygdonia, between the Axios and the Strymon.

**Βοττιαῖοι** (cf. 123. 3 n.), in Western Chalcidice round Olynthus; cf. viii. 127.

**Χαλχιδικὸν γένος**: cf. viii. 127 n. **Βρύγοι**: cf. vi. 45. 1 n.

**Πίερες**: apparently a remnant who remained in the older Pieria, since the Pierians east of Strymon are included among the inhabitants of the Thracian coast (below); cf. Thuc. ii. 99; chap. 112 n.

**Περραιβοί**: cf. chap. 128. 1 n. **Ἐνιῆνες**: cf. 132. 1 n., and for the rest 132f.

**ὄσοι . . . νέμονται**: according to chaps. 110, 115. 2, these should come under the naval forces.

## vii. 186

**ἀκάτοισι**: “boats or cutters” could hardly be used as corn-ships, more properly (chap. 191. 1) they are styled *ὀλκάδες*.

In a Greek army (cf. ix. 29. 2) each hoplite was accompanied by an attendant (*ὑπηρέτης*, chap. 229. 1), who carried his baggage, provisions, and shield (hence *ὑπασπίστης*, Xen. *An.* iv. 2. 20; *Hell.* iv. 5. 14, 8. 39), and each horseman by a groom to look after his horse. Thus the addition of an equal number of non-effectives was the rule for a Greek force. Nor need we doubt that the Persian king and grandees brought with them large trains of servants. But to suppose that all the barbarous tribesmen enumerated in Xerxes’ host brought each an attendant is absurd. The doubling of the sailors is based on the assumption that the crews of the transport ships were as numerous as those of the triremes.

**Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου**. The patronymic is added here not to distinguish this Xerxes from others of the same name, but to emphasize the dignity of the master of the great host just enumerated; cf. iii. 66. 2, 88. 1; vi. 137. 1; vii. 1. 1; ix. 41. 1, 64. 1; and Thuc. ii. 19, 34, 47, 71, etc.

## vii. 187

Similarly the Athenians took with them to Sicily *σιτοποιοὺς ἐκ τῶν μυλώνων . . . ἠναγκασμένους ἐμμίς θους* (Thuc. vi. 22; cf. Thuc. ii. 78).

**κυνῶν Ἰνδικῶν**: cf. i. 192. 4. n.

[2] **χοίνικα πυρῶν**: a minimum allowance for a man, as is shown by the words *καὶ μηδὲν πλέον*: cf. Hom. *Od.* xix. 27 *οὐ γὰρ ἀεργὸν ἀνέξομαι ὅς κεν ἐμῆς γε / χοίνικος ἄπτηται*. It is the allowance given to the Helots on Sphacteria, though the Spartans have twice as much (Thuc. iv. 16); cf. vi. 57. 3 n.

H., who has been wonderfully accurate in his calculations hitherto, here makes a blunder in dividing. A choenix a day given to each of 5,283,220 men amounts (at 48 choenices to the medimnus) not to 110,340 medimni but to 110,067.083. He divided the 528 myriads correctly, getting the result 1,100, but in dividing the 3,220

by 48 he put his penultimate remainder 340 in place of the true quotient 671.083, as may be seen by doing the sum.

	110067.083
48 (	5283220.0
	5280000.0
	3220.0
	2880.0
	340.0
	336.0

For other errors of calculation cf. i. 30 n.

### vii. 188

Tarn (*JHS* xxviii. 212–15) regards the whole account of the storm as a blend of two irreconcilable stories. In one, the Persian fleet is rightly regarded as strung out along the little beaches of Magnesia, and the loss fell chiefly on the supply-ships driven ashore at many places from Meliboea to Cape Sepias (188. 3, 191. 1); in the other, a poetical invention, Homer is closely imitated. The whole fleet comes to a harbour too small for it, and is drawn up, *more Homeric* πρόκροσσαι, and defended with a bulwark (ἔρκος) of wreckage (188. 1, 191. 1). Further, the losses are greatly exaggerated. Even if we reject this hazardous analysis, we must recognize the patent imitation of Homer, and the evident exaggeration in the account of the storm and of the losses caused by it.

πρὸς γῆ and ἐπ' ἀγκυρέων are opposed, the innermost row of ships was moored to the land, the outer rows swung at anchor.

**πρόκροσσαι:** probably “with beaks turned seawards.” κρόσση = κόρση head (cf. κόρως, κόρσυμβος) is used apparently for battlements (Hom. *Il.* xii. 258, 444; and cf. *H.* ii. 125. 1). Thus in *iv.* 152. 4 the griffin-heads encircling the bronze bowl in the Heraeum stood out in relief. Here the ships are in eight rows, and the high prows turned seawards stand out like battlements; cf. *Il.* xiv. 33f. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' εὐρύς περ ἔων ἐδυνήσατο πάσας / αἰγιαλὸς νῆας χαδέειν, στείνοντο δὲ λαοί / τῶ ῥα προκρόσσας ἔρυσαν, καὶ πλήσαν ἀπάσης / ἠiónος στόμα μακρόν, ὅσον συνεέργαθον ἄκραι, which, as Eustathius observes, is completed and interpreted by this passage. The Achaean ships were drawn up in parallel rows on the beach, row behind row landwards, just as the Persian ships here lay at anchor in eight rows off the shore. Aristarchus takes κρόσσαι as “ladders,” and explains that the ships in the *Iliad* were drawn up on the shelving beach one above the other, like the audience in a theatre, but the explanation is inapplicable here. Schweighäuser, however, would construe “in quincuncem dispositae.”

[2] ἀπηλιώτης: east. Καυκίης (northeast) would be more exact (cf. Plin. *H.N.* ii. 121 “Caecian aliqui vocant Hellespontiam”). The icy cold northeaster blowing from the steppes of Russia over the Euxine is meant. The Athenians living further south call it Boreas (north wind); cf. vi. 44. 2; vii. 189.

[3] Cf. Strabo 443 εἰς Ἴπνους τόπον τραχὺν τῶν περὶ τὸ Πήλιον . . . τραχὺς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ παράπλους πᾶς ὁ τοῦ Πηλίου ὅσον σταδίων ὀγδοήκοντα: τοσοῦτος δ'

ἔστι καὶ τοιοῦτος ὁ τῆς Ὀσσης. μεταξύ δὲ κόλπος σταδίων πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων ἐν ᾧ ἡ Μελίβοια. Iprni is directly under Pelion, Meliboea, a considerable city (Hom. *Il.* ii. 717) in a shallow bay (Strabo) at the foot of Ossa (Livy xlv. 13). It is proved by inscriptions to be Thanatu, where there is a long stretch of beach (*JHS* xxviii. 210).

#### vii. 189

**ἄλλου**: besides the two already given (chaps. 140, 141).

**γαμβρόν**: here in its original meaning a relation by marriage, κηδεστής, *affinis*. Erechtheus, father of Oreithyia, was ancestor as well as king of the Athenians. The legend was that Boreas seized her, as Hades did Persephone, while she strayed in the fields picking flowers, and carried her off to his home in wintry Thrace, where she bore him two sons, Zetes and Calais, the Argonauts. For the rationalization of the myth cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, and Ruskin, *Queen of the Air*.

[2] Oreithyia evidently became a wind-goddess as Persephone became chthonic. The ordinary derivation from ὄρος and θυίειν (cf. chap. 178. 2 n.) = *montivaga* is improbable. Miss Harrison (*Athens*, lxxiv-ix) declares her originally a Nereid (as in Hom. *Il.* xviii. 48-9), daughter of the old sea-king Poseidon-Erechtheus. Boreas courting the sea-nymph is the wind sporting among the waves. Later both she and her father become Attic. The popularity of the myth just before and after the Persian war is shown by its appearance on nine archaic vases (*PW* iii. 727) and by its frequency on red-figure vases.

**περὶ Ἄθων**: cf. vi. 44. 2, 3.

[3] οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. This touch of scepticism is noteworthy (cf. ἡ ἄλλως . . . ἐκόπασε, chap. 191. 2). H. is only sure of the Athenian belief.

**Ἰλισσόν**. A field by the Ilissus was the scene of the rape of Oreithyia, though others said the Areopagus. Plato (*Phdr.* 229b) speaks of an altar to Boreas near Callirhoe; cf. Paus. i. 19. 6; Strabo 294; Harrison, *op. cit.* 224-6.

#### vii. 190

**νέας** (sc., μακράς) = triremes; cf. viii. 1. 2.

**καὶ τοῦτον**: for no man must hope for uninterrupted good fortune; cf. i. 30 n.

**ἄχαρις συμφορῇ λυπεῦσα παιδοφόνος**. Since Dionysius of Halicarnassus (iii. 21), in obvious imitation of this phrase, speaks of the victorious Horatius who slew his sister (Livy i. 25, 26) as falling εἰς ἄχαριν συμφορὰν ἀδελφόκτονον, we may suppose that the phrase (for which cf. i. 41. 1) refers darkly to the involuntary murder of his son (so Plut. *De Mal.* 30, *Mor.* 864c).

#### vii. 191

**ἐπὶν ἀριθμός**: cf. 170. 3. Stein points out that the consecutive clause ὥστε κτλ. must refer, not only to the words σιταγωγῶν . . . ἀριθμός, but also to the loss of war-ships and crews specified in chap. 190. 1. It looks as if the story of Ameinocles,

noted in the margin by the author (or some early reader), had later been thrust into the text.

[2] For such sacrifices to appease the winds cf. ii. 119. 2, 3; Verg. *Aen.* ii. 116f.; Xen. *An.* iv. 5. 3; Aesch. *Ag.* 1417 ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλάτην ἐμοὶ / ὠδῖν', ἐπωδὸν Θρηκίων ἀημάτων and Paus. ii. 12. 1 (ἐν Τιτάνη) βωμός ἐστιν ἀνέμων, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὁ ἱερεὺς μιᾷ νυκτὶ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος θύει. δρᾶ δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα ἀπόρρητα ἐς βόθρους τέσσαρας, ἡμερούμενος τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ ἄγριον, καὶ δὴ καὶ Μηδείας ὡς λέγουσιν ἐπωδὰς ἐπάδει. Frazer (ad loc.) distinguishes absolutely between these attempts to appease the wind by sacrifice and prayer, and attempts to subdue it by force or by magic (*P.* ii. 34. 2 n. and *G.B.*, i. 220f.); but surely there are in many of these cases, and especially here, clear traces of magic. If γόησι be retained it must mean "by wizards," while βοῆσι means presumably *sacro ululatu*, and καταεἰδόντες (followed by the dative ἀνέμῳ) would seem equivalent to ἐπαεῖδω, "to sing a spell to." Again, the Magi as early as H. have begun to acquire in western eyes the character of sorcerers (cf. *φαρμακεύσαντες*, chap. 114. 1 and app. viii, § 3). How deep-rooted this belief became may be seen from the use of the word and its derivatives, magic, etc., in Greek, Latin, and modern languages. Once more the words αὐτὸς ἐθέλων rather suggest as an alternative the compelling force of magic.

**τετάρτη ἡμέρη.** It was proverbial that even a winter storm in that region never lasted three days; cf. Arist. *Pr.* xxvi. 9, 941a 20 οὐ ποτε νυκτερινὸς βορέας τρίτον ἴκετο φέγγος.

**Thetis** was unwilling to marry a mortal, but Peleus, taught by Chiron, held her fast, while, like Proteus, she took all manner of strange forms, among them that of a cuttle-fish (*σηπία* whence ἀκτὴ Σηπιάς), until she resumed her proper shape and yielded, finding it was the will of Zeus.

#### vii. 192

The clause Ποσειδέωνος . . . νομίζοντες reads like a marginal note, thrust later into the text. The name "Saviour" is given to many Olympian deities (e.g., Apollo), but most often to Zeus.

#### vii. 193

**ἄκρη.** The southwest corner of Magnesia, Cape Aeantium (Plin. *H.N.* iv. 32), Τισαίη ἄκρη, Ap. Rhod. i. 568.

[2] **Aphetae** is generally placed just inside the Gulf of Pagasae near Cape Aeantium and opposite Cape Posidium, but Munro (*JHS* xxii. 310) and Wace (*JHS* xxvi. 145) would put it outside near Olizon. Pagasae was near the inmost recess of the gulf.

The commoner tradition was that Heracles was left behind in Mysia on the Propontis, seeking for his darling Hylas, who had been carried off by the Naiads.

**ἀφήσειν.** The name Aphetæ probably gave rise to the legend that the Argonauts put off from there. But since tradition was strong that the expedition started from Pagasæ, a reason (ὕδρευσάμενοι) must be found for putting in at Aphetæ. H. regards the putting out into the high sea as the true ἄφεις, not the voyage down the Pagasæan gulf; Hellanicus (Steph. Byz.) naïvely assumed a double ἄφεις, Strabo (436) loosely calls Aphetæ near Pagasæ.

#### **vii. 194**

**ὁ ἀπὸ Κύμης.** Stein argues from the title ὑπαρχος that Cyme must have been in 480 B.C. the capital of the Ionic satrapy, which included Aeolis (iii. 90. 1), but there is no clear evidence for a satrap of Ionia, independent of the satrap of Sardis (v. 25 n.). The title ὑπαρχος, though it often represents satrap (iii. 70, 120, 126; iv. 166; ix. 113), is also used for the commandant of an island (v. 27), a city, or fortress (vii. 105, 106, and perhaps vii. 33, 78; ix. 116), and for an under-governor (Thuc. viii. 16; e.g., of Aeolis, Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 10) cf. Meyer, iii, § 29 n. Further, Cyme, at the time of the Ionic revolt, was ruled by a Greek tyrant, Aristagoras (v. 37), who commanded its fleet in the Scythian expedition (iv. 138). Probably, therefore, Sandoces was only governor of the town Cyme or of the district Aeolis.

[2] For a similar anecdote of Cambyses cf. v. 25.

ἐς οἶκον: cf. v. 31. 4 n., and for the Persian law cf. i. 137.

#### **vii. 195**

**Alabanda** is on the Carian Marsyas (v. 118. 1 n.) south of the Maeander. There are considerable ruins of it at Arab-Hissar, identified by coins found there.

**Πάφου.** Old Paphos and the temple of Aphrodite stood a little way from the sea at the modern Kuklia. For its history and antiquities cf. *JHS* ix. 175f., and for the temple i. 105 n.; *JHS* ix. 193f.

ἰσθμόν: cf. 145. 1 n.

#### **vii. 196–8**

*Xerxes in Thessaly and at Halus.*

#### **vii. 196**

**Θεσσαλίας:** in the narrower sense defined chap. 132. 1 n.

**καὶ δὴ** (= ἤδη, iv. 102. 1) **τριταῖος** cannot mean on the third day after he entered Thessaly (Abicht; cf. vi. 120), nor does the sense “three days before” (Schweighäuser, Stein) seem satisfactory. It surely means “on the third day after the arrival of the fleet in Thessaly,” i.e., at the Sepiad shore; cf. *Diary* in app. xx.

**Thessaly** was famous for its horses (cf. v. 63), an emblem often used on the coins of its cities; cf. Schol. to *Il.* ii. 761 ἵππον Θεσσαλικὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν τε γυναιῖκα. Theoc. xviii. 30 ἄρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος.

Ἐνόχωνος (vii. 129. 2 n.). Ἡπιδανός (129. 2), like the Enipeus, rises in Mount Othrys. They join together in the Thessalian plain and then fall into the Peneius. The united stream, now the river of Pharsala, was called by the ancients sometimes Enipeus, sometimes Apidanus. H. names the western branch, now Sophaditiko, Apidanus, and the eastern, now Phersaliti, Enipeus. Further, since he limits the Apidanus to Achaia, he must have called the united stream the Enipeus. Thucydides (iv. 78) calls the western stream the Enipeus, as does Strabo 432.

#### vii. 197

Ἄλος or Ἄλος, an ancient city (of the Myrmidons, Hom. *Il.* ii. 682) to the northeast of Mount Othrys, on the river Amphysus near the Pagasaeon gulf (cf. 173. 1), was said to have been founded by Athamas (Strabo 433). Xerxes no doubt led his detachment from Larissa by Pherae to Phthiotian Thebes. If he marched thence along the coast to Lamia, he must have passed Halus, if he turned inland by Itonus, he would go within 60 stades of it (Strabo, loc. cit.).

ἐπιχώριον λόγον, “a local legend.” The story of Athamas, a tradition of pre-Hellenic Minyan origin, is associated with both the homes of the race, Orchomenus in Boeotia and the shores of the Pagasaeon gulf (Iolcus). In Boeotia, 2½ miles from Coronea, stood the shrine and statue of Zeus Laphystius, where legend said Phrixus had been saved by a ram from being sacrificed (Paus. ix. 34). Mount Laphystius stood over against Orchomenus, and on the opposite (eastern) side of Lake Copais there was, near Acraephia (viii. 135. 1 n.), a πεδῖον Ἀθαμάντιον (Paus. ix. 24. 3), while Mount Ptoon was named after Ptoos son of Athamas (Paus. ix. 23. 6). Near Halus, too, there was a πεδῖον . . . Ἀθαμάντιον (Ap. Rhod. ii. 514 and schol.).

Λαφυστίου, “the devourer,” from λαφύσσειν: cf. Ἄρτεμις Λαφρία, Paus. iv. 31. 7; vii. 18. 12. Human sacrifices were regarded by the Greeks as impious and only practised by barbarians (cf. iv. 103); so pseudo-Plato, *Minos* 315b–d ἡμῖν μὲν οὐ νόμος ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπους θύειν ἀλλ’ ἀνόσιον, Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ θύουσιν ὡς ὄσιον καὶ νόμιμον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα ἔνιοι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν υἱεῖς τῷ Κρόνῳ. Plato, however, admits as exceptions “the sons of Athamas” and the worshippers of Zeus Lycaeus in Arcadia; cf. Paus. viii. 38. 7. At Orchomenus in Boeotia the priest of Dionysus Laphystius every year at the festival of the Agrionia pursued the young women of Minyan descent, known as Oleae, with a drawn sword, and within Plutarch’s memory had slain one (Plut. *Mor.* 299f; *Quaest. Graec.* 38). Again in Chios and Tenedos in early times a man was torn in pieces as a sacrifice to Dionysus Omestes (Porph. *Abst.* ii. 55), and for Attica cf. § 3 n. Human sacrifices were frequent among the Carthaginians (cf. chap. 167 n.; Plato, loc. cit.). The burning of their children in honour of Baal and Moloch was common among the Canaanites (Deut. xii. 31; xviii. 9, 10), and the Israelites frequently relapsed into the abominable practice (2 Kings xvii. 17; Jer. vii. 31; xix. 5; xxxii. 35). The kings themselves, Manasseh and Ahaz, made their children pass through the fire in the valley of Hinnom (2 Chron. xxviii. 3; xxxiii. 6), while the king of Moab when hard

pressed “took his eldest son and offered him for a burnt-offering (2 Kings iii. 27). Frazer (*G.B.*, part iii (the dying God), chap. 6), argues from this and from Micah vi. 6, 7; Ezek. xx. 26, 31, as well as from the consecration of the firstborn among the Israelites (Exod. xiii. 1, 12; xxxiv. 19) and the feast of the Passover, that the Semitic custom was to sacrifice the firstborn as here, but that the custom was mitigated by the permission to redeem the child (Numb. xviii. 15; iii. 44f.), or by the vicarious sacrifice of a lamb (cf. also Gen. xxii. 1–13). In the legend here the ram that saved Phrixus points to the substitution of a ram for the human victim. So at Salamis in Cyprus an ox took the place of a man, and at Syrian Laodicea a deer that of a maiden (Porphyry, *Abst.* ii. 54–6). At Potniae goats were substituted for boys (Paus. ix. 8. 2), and in a sacrifice to Munychian Artemis for a girl. But the man rescued must henceforth be treated as under God’s ban and flee from his home; cf. the Italic *ver sacrum*, Festus, 158, and especially 379. The legend here is an explanation of the ancient ceremony, and an attempt to find a reason for an abhorrent worship in the wickedness of men (cf. below).

**Φοῖξω.** Apparently his sister Helle was unknown in the earliest form of the myth. Again in the later writers it is Ino, the wicked step-mother, who by getting the seed-corn roasted secretly caused a famine in the land; she then bribed the messenger sent to inquire of the Delphic oracle to say that the children of Nephele, the first wife of Athamas, must be sacrificed; but they were saved by the ram with the golden fleece who bore Phrixus to Colchis (Apollod. i. 9. 1).

**ἄεθλους.** The word implies there was some feat to be performed (cf. i. 126. 2; iv. 10. 2), but H. writes obscurely here and elsewhere in the chapter, perhaps from sacred reserve. Possibly undetected entrance into the Prytaneion established the claimant’s right to the enjoyment of the consecrated land (τέμενος, § 4).

[2] **λήιτον** (town hall) = δημόσιον, from λέως, λαός; so λειτουργία, *munus publicum*.

**ἦν δὲ ἐσέλθη:** more exactly ἦν δὲ ἐσερχόμενος ἀλίσκηται (cf. below). H. seems only to give us an account of the penalty involved in failure. The representative of the old Minyan house, if taken in the act of entering the town hall, was shut up there till the feast of the god came round, when he was led to the altar; but apparently he was as a rule allowed to escape and a ram sacrificed in his stead. Henceforth, however, he must live in exile under the ban of the god, and if he returned, the ceremony was repeated, and in times of calamity the human sacrifice really offered (cf. above § 1 n.).

**ὥς τ’** (sc., ἔλεγον, as with μετέπειτα δ’ ὥς, § 1). The natural order would be ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις (ἔλεγον) ὥς.

If the text be sound ἐξηγέοντο takes up the ἔλεγον already understood in the previous sentences, while the resumption of the singular instead of the plural fixes attention on the single victim in each particular case.

[3] In Hesiod's *Eoae*, Phrixus married Iophassa, daughter of Aetes, with whom he took refuge, and had four sons, Argos, Phrontis, Melas, Cytisorus (Schol. Ap. Rhod. ii. 1122).

**καθαρόν:** an expiatory offering or scapegoat, as at Athens (Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1136) at the festival of the Thargelia two men worthy of death were offered as φαρμακοί, i.e., to make atonement for the people. The ceremony was annual, though perhaps the victims were only put to death in time of plague or famine. Athamas in this local legend is himself about to be offered, and so Sophocles in his *Ἀθάμας στεφανήφορος* represented him as led to the altar, a victim to the vengeance of Nephele, but saved by Heracles (Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 257). But in the local myth it would seem that he was to suffer not for his wrongful treatment of Phrixus (a motive apparently borrowed by Sophocles from the Epic poets), but for a famine or plague due to the wrath of Zeus with the whole house, since he is saved by the son of Phrixus, Cytisorus, who thus brings down the wrath of heaven on himself and his posterity. This return of Cytisorus is an expedient necessary in this form of the myth to make Athamas, who had lost all his children, the ancestor of the race. In the ordinary form of the legend, Athamas after the escape of Phrixus goes mad, shoots one son Learchus, and forces Ino to throw herself and her other son Melicertes into the sea. Then he wanders over the earth till he finds a home in Thessaly in the Athamantian plain.

**Ἀχαιῶν:** the men of the Thessalian Achaia; in the days of the myth the Minyae.

**Αἴης** (cf. i. 2. 2; vii. 193. 2). The land of Aetes whose city was Κύτα or Κύτεια (hence Cytisorus).

[4] **τὸ ἄλσος:** the sacred precinct of the shrine mentioned above (§ 1).

## vii. 198–201

*Topography of Thermopylae.*

## vii. 198

**ἄμπωτις:** cf. ii. 11. 2, of the Red Sea. In the Mediterranean generally there is little or no tide, but in the narrowest part of the Euripus "at Chalkis, it causes so strong a current that the Greek steamers have at times to wait several hours before they can get through the narrow passage. At the head of the Malian gulf, where the shore is very low and flat, the phenomenon is peculiarly remarkable" (Grundy, p. 277). For the topography in general cf. chap. 176. 3 n.

**Τρηχίνια πέτρα:** cliffs west of the Asopus ravine, forming the face of Mount Oeta near Trachis.

[2] **πρώτη . . . Ἀντικύρη.** Lamia is in Achaia. Anticyra (to be distinguished from the better known Phocian city on the gulf of Corinth) was apparently at the place where the road crossed the Spercheius, but not at the mouth, the muddy marshy shore being unfit for habitation.

ἐξ Ἐνιήνων: cf. 132. 1 n. H. here gives us a route-map from the point of view of a traveller from Achaia (cf. chap. 176 n.; Grundy, 280), but we cannot test its accuracy as the coast-line and the courses of the rivers have changed since his day. The Dyras must be identified (Leake, *Northern Greece*, ii. 25. 6) with the Gourgopotamo, and the Melas with the Mavra Neria (Black water). Now the two streams join in the middle of the plain and together fall into the Spercheius. In ancient times they were 2½ miles apart where the road, which must have made a wide detour to avoid the swamps at the head of the gulf, crossed them (Grundy, p. 281).

καιομένῳ. Heracles was burnt to death on a pyre on Mount Oeta; cf. chap. 176. 3 n.

### vii. 199

Τρηχίς. On Heraclea Trachis cf. Thuc. iii. 92; Livy xxxvi. 22–4; Strabo 428; Paus. x. 22; Leake, *N. Greece*, ii. 24–31. Apparently the lower town lay on the Thermopylae road (Grundy, p. 282), five stades from the Melas, west of the Asopus ravine. Thucydides (loc. cit.) makes it clear there was no real change of site, but apparently in Roman times (Strabo, Paus. loc. cit.) the name Heraclea was confined to the fortified hill (cf. Livy loc. cit.) and the ruins of the lower town, six stades away (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 313), were called Trachis.

We should expect a measure of length after εὐρύτατον, but if so the numeral is corrupt, as 22,000 plethra = 420 miles. Hence Leake, Stein, and others take it as a measure of the surface of the plain of Trachis (over 5,000 acres), in which the king pitched his camp (chap. 201).

πρὸς μεσαμβρίην: really east; cf. 176. 3 n. “The defile of the Asopus issues abruptly on to the Malian plain nearly four miles west of the Western Gate of Thermopylae. Its bottom is merely formed of the stony river bed, at first some fifty yards wide, but rapidly contracting, until a little farther up the chasm it is only twelve feet wide between absolutely sheer cliffs from 700 to 900 feet high. This winding rift in the mountains continues for some three and a half miles from the entrance and then suddenly broadens out into a wide upland valley” (Grundy, p. 261). The Asopus (or Karvunaria) still flows through the plain at the foot of the hills (τὴν ὑπώρθεαν) which bound it to the south, but now falls into the Spercheius, which has turned south through the alluvial deposit below Thermopylae.

### vii. 200

The **Phoenix** is “a little stream which issues from the rocks of the west gate, whose bed is of a ruddy-brown colour, owing no doubt to its being impregnated with oxide of iron” (Grundy, p. 284). It now joins the Spercheius rather more than half a mile below the point where that stream receives the Asopus. It is almost exactly fifteen stades from the Middle Gate and principal hot-springs at Thermopylae.

**δέδμηται.** The word implies an artificially constructed road, probably as now on a causeway (cf. ii. 124. 3 n.), contrasted with ὁδὸς τετμημένη (iv. 136. 2 n.).

[2] **Anthele** was placed by Leake on a great accumulation of débris brought down by the stream which issues from the great ravine about half a mile west of the hot springs. But this site is impossible, for it is traversed in every direction by ever-shifting branches of the torrent, so that anything built on it would soon be carried away, and it would be excessively malarious. It should be placed on the fairly level piece of land just inside the West Gate, under the old Turkish cavalry barracks. The temples and the seats of the Amphictyons may have been above the village on the projecting shelf of hill, where the barracks stand. (Grundy, p. 284.)

**Ἀμφικτύοσι:** cf. chap. 213. 2 n.

### vii. 201

ἐν τῇ διόδῳ: near Thermopylae proper (chap. 176. 2 n.), i.e., the Middle Gate, with their camp behind the restored Phocian wall (chap. 176. 3f. n., 208. 2). The fighting took place in defence of this Middle Gate (chap. 223), though on the last day the Greeks at first advanced into the broader part of the pass (chap. 223. 2), and finally fell back to the mound just behind the wall (chap. 225. 2).

**βορῆν.** The points here given as north and south should be east and west; cf. 176. 3 n.

### vii. 202–207

*The Greek army under Leonidas at Thermopylae.*

### vii. 202

H. enumerates only 3,100 Peloponnesians. Elsewhere (viii. 25. 1) he mentions Helots and seems to imply (vii. 229. 1) that each Spartan was attended by one Helot. But it is unlikely that the 4,000 Peloponnesians of the epigram (vii. 228. 1) are to be made up by adding Helots, whom neither the inscription nor the historian would be likely to include. Diodorus (xi. 4 = Ephorus) adds 1,000 Lacedaemonians, a number given also by Isocrates (*Paneg.* 90; *Archid.* 99), while Ctesias (*Persica* 25. 70) blunderingly assigns that number of Perioeci, along with 300 Spartans, to *Pausanias at Plataea*. On the whole the addition of 900 or 1,000 Perioeci seems probable (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 307).

There was no connection between Tegea and Mantinea, which, though lying near together on the upland plain of Tripolitza (i. 66. 2f.), were always opposed to each other. On Mantinea cf. Paus. viii. 8f. with Frazer, iv. 201f., and on Tegea (i. 66. 2 n.) Paus. viii. 45f. with Frazer, iv. 422f. On Arcadian Orchomenus (to be distinguished from the Boeotian, viii. 34, ix. 16) cf. Paus. viii. 13 with Frazer, iv. 224f.; on Phlius Paus. ii. 12, 13 with Frazer, ad loc.; on Mycenae vi. 83 n.

### vii. 203

ἐπικλητοὶ ἐγένοντο = were summoned (cf. ἐπεκαλέσαντο below); for the periphrasis cf. v. 63. 2.

**Ἵπούντιοι.** H. only distinguishes, in Greece, Locri Ozolae (viii. 52. 2) and Locri Opuntii (viii. 1. 2), including in the latter the so-called Epicnemidii who lived nearest the pass.

**πανστρατιῆ:** as immediately threatened (cf. Thuc. v. 57). Pausanias (x. 20. 2) absurdly estimates them at “not more than 6,000,” Diodorus (xi. 4) more sensibly at 1,000. On the attitude of the Locrians cf. chap. 132. 1 n.

**[2] ἐξ ἀρχῆς γινομένων:** *statim nascenti*. For the sentiment cf. i. 31. 3 n.; v. 4. 2 n.; vii. 46. 3 n.; Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 81; Soph. *Ant.* 610–25.

**Τρηχίνα:** cf. 199. 1 n. Munro (*JHS* xxii. 313) most ingeniously suggests that the Locrians (of whom we hear nothing after this muster at Trachis) remained there as a garrison. We are told (chap. 201) that Xerxes commands all north of Trachis. Again he argues that the defensible road up the gorge of the Asopus into Doris (199 n.; viii. 31; ix. 66. 89) must have been held to prevent Xerxes turning Leonidas' position at Thermopylae. He concludes that the citadel of Trachis was for this purpose held by the Locrians since, as Grundy (pp. 262–4 n.) has shown, the defence of Thermopylae on later occasions against Brennus in 279 B.C. (Paus. x. 20f.) in 224 B.C. (Polyb. ii. 52), in 208 B.C. (Polyb. x. 41, 42), and against the Romans in 191 B.C. (Livy xxxvi. 15. 23, 24), regularly included the occupation of Heraclea.

#### **vii. 204**

The full genealogy is given as a mark of the honour; so of Leotychides (viii. 131), Alexander of Macedon (viii. 139), and Pausanias (ix. 64), while that of Xerxes is introduced dramatically (chap. 11). For this ancient mark of honour cf. Homer, *Il.* x. 68 πατρώθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον, and H. vi. 14. 3 n. For the genealogy cf. Paus. iii. 1–3, who for Eurycratides substitutes a second Eurycrates (iii. 3. 5). Eusebius (*Chron.* vol. i, 221–5, ed. Schöne) extracts from Diodorus a dated list from Eurysthenes to Alcamenes, said to be due to Apollodorus.

**Λεωνίδης.** An Ionic form (cf. Ἀρχελέω, Ἡγησιλέω, Λεωβωτέω, for the Doric Λανιδάς; Λᾶς = λαός or λεώς).

#### **vii. 205**

For Anaxandridas' double marriage and two families cf. v. 40. 2, and in general v. 39–48.

**[2] τοὺς κατεστεῶτας:** not “of mature age” (Bähr, Grote, etc.) but assigned him by law; cf. i. 67. 5 n. The usual number was sent, but in this case the king selected men who had children, so that even if they perished, no family might become extinct. For other 300's cf. i. 82; ix. 64.

**λογισάμενος,** “whom I mentioned (chap. 202) when reckoning up the total” (cf. 187. 2).

**[3] μούνους.** The other allies were merely summoned (chap. 203); to Thebes Leonidas went in person and brought its contingent with him more or less under compulsion. On the Theban contingent cf. chaps. 222 n., 233 n.

ἄλλα φρονέοντες: with other thoughts (i.e., Medism) in their hearts; cf. chap. 168. 2; ix. 54. 1. ἄλλοφρονέοντες would mean they were mad (v. 85. 2).

**vii. 206**

ὑπερβαλλομένους, “delaying”; cf. iii. 76. 2 ad fin.

**Κάρνεια.** For this festival cf. vi. 106. 3 n.; viii. 72. This year it took place just before the Olympic festival, which at that time lasted four whole days, i.e., in 480 Aug. 16–19 or 17–20, ending with the full moon Aug. 19 or 20. Leonidas’ march was apparently just before the Carneia, and the fighting at Thermopylae near the end of August (Busolt, ii. 673–4).

**vii. 207**

H. here as elsewhere represents the Peloponnesians as selfishly indifferent to the fate of Greece north of the Isthmus. But he does not represent the panic, which may have been real enough among the men, as infecting the general. Still less does he, as in the case of the fleet, speak of actual retreat (vii. 183; cf. viii. 4. 9; app. xx, § 7).

**vii. 208–209**

*The Persians before Thermopylae. Xerxes and Demaratus.*

**vii. 208**

[3] Is this contemptuous disregard of the scout the counterpart of Xerxes’ dismissal of the Greek spies, chap. 146?

**vii. 209**

[3] For this adorning of the hair (chap. 208. 3) and other preparations for battle as for a festival cf. Xen. *Lac.* xi. 3, xiii. 8.

**vii. 210–12**

*The first two days’ fighting at Thermopylae.*

**vii. 210**

[2] πολλοὶ . . . ἄνδρες: cf. viii. 68. a 1. The remark seems inapposite of troops which fought on stubbornly all day through without success. Stein suggests it is a later addition by the author inserted in an inappropriate place. Gomperz (*Her. Stud.* ii. 85–6) would transfer it to the end of chap. 212, where it would be more suitable.

**vii. 211**

[2] βραχυτέροισι: cf. v. 49. 3 n.; vii. 61. 1 n. Diodorus (xi. 7) ascribes the success of the Greeks to the greater size of their shields, and H. elsewhere (ix. 62) brings out the superiority of their defensive armour.

[3] φεύγεσκον δῆθεν. The pretended flight of the Spartans drew the Persians on, and thus made their losses heavier than if they had been merely kept at bay.

## vii. 212

**θηεόμενον.** No doubt the king had a throne on the Trachinian heights as above Salamis (viii. 88, 90).

**ἀναδραμεῖν,** “leapt up” (chap. 15. 1), a sign of fear (Hom. *Il.* xx. 62) and of astonishment (iii. 155. 1).

[2] **κατὰ τάξις . . . ἔθνεα,** “by tribes and regiments”; cf. ix. 33. 1; and **κατὰ τέλεα,** chap. 211 ad fin., chap. 81 n.

**τὴν ἀτραπὸν:** mentioned chap. 175. 2, described chap. 216.

## vii. 213–25

*The third day at Thermopylae. Hydarnes' flank march led by the traitor Ephialtes (213–18). Retreat of most of the allies (219–20). Final combat (223–5).*

## vii. 213

**Μηλιεύς** from Trachis (cf. chap. 214. 2).

[2] **Πυλαγόρων.** The representatives of the various states or tribes which composed the Amphictyony were charged with the whole jurisdiction of the league. They, along with the Hieromnemes, who administered the Delphic temple, met twice a year, in spring and autumn, at Thermopylae and Delphi (Hyperides, *Epitaph.* 8; Aesch. *In Ctes.* § 126; Strabo 420). The Pylagorae seem to have been replaced after 280 B.C. by ἀγορατροί (*CIA* ii. 551). That Thermopylae was the original meeting-place is shown by the names Pylagorae, Pylaea, which are applied to the deputies' meetings at both places, and by the existence of a shrine there to the eponymous hero Amphictyon (chap. 200 ad fin.). It is also confirmed by the geographical position of the twelve “surrounding” (Ἀμφικτίονες = περικτίονες) tribes who belonged to the Amphictyony. To the incomplete list in Herodotus (vii. 132. 1 n.) we may add from Aeschines (*De Fals. Leg.* 116) Dorians, Ionians, Phocians (cf. Paus. x. 8. 2; Diod. xvi. 29; Busolt, i. 681f.). As the Amphictyons were primarily concerned with religion, the treachery of Ephialtes may have been regarded as an offence against the gods; it may, however, be the earliest instance of Amphictyonic intervention in politics, later so ruinous. A meeting may possibly have been held immediately after the battle of Plataea (Bukatios, August–Sept.) 479 B.C., but the spring meeting of 478 B.C. is probably the one meant. For a full account of the Amphictyonic Council cf. Busolt, *Griech. Staats.* ii. 1292–1310.

**κατη̅λθε:** returned home (v. 30. 4; cf. i. 60. 5), since Anticyra was a Malian city (chap. 198. 2 n.).

[3] The omission to fulfill this promise is the strongest argument for the view (Stein, Curtius, Kirchhoff) that H. intended to continue his work beyond 479 B.C. E. Meyer has, however, shown (*F.* i. 189f.; cf. ii. 217) that a continuation beyond the transference of hegemony is impossible, and even one so far as this unlikely, in spite of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *A. and A.* i. 26f.; Wachsmuth, *Einl.*, 513. The

omission is due not to any incompleteness but to forgetfulness; cf. introd. § 14; Hauvette, p. 56f.; Busolt, ii. 614.

#### vii. 214

If there was a traitor, the proclamation of the Amphictyons makes it probable Ephialtes was the man, and so later authors held (Paus. i. 4. 2; Diod. (Ephorus) xi. 8), but the path must have been known to Thessalians (cf. chap. 215) in Xerxes' train. Cf. Ctesias *Persica* 24. 70 Θώραξ δ' ὁ Θεσσαλὸς (cf. chap. 6. 2 n.) καὶ Τραχινίων οἱ δυνατοὶ Καλλιᾶδος τε καὶ Τιμαφέρνης παρήσαν στρατιὰν ἔχοντες. Καλέσας δὲ Ξέρξης τούτους τε καὶ τὸν Δημαράτον καὶ τὸν Ἥγιαν τὸν Ἐφέσιον ἔμαθεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἠττηθεῖεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὴ κυκλωθείησαν ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν δύο Τραχινίων διὰ δυσβάτου στρατὸς Περσικὸς διελήλυθε μυριάδες τέσσαρες καὶ κατὰ νότου γίνονται τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.

The argument seems to be; "one might further urge against this view that Onetes was no Malian and so would not know the path, but this objection would have no weight, since he might have learnt of it if he had often visited the district." For εἰδείη . . . ἄν cf. i. 70 ad fin.

#### vii. 215

περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς, "the lighting of the lamps." For Greek notes of time cf. iv. 181. 3 n.

ἀτραπόν. The track is rough and narrow, and often steep and rocky (Plut. *Cato* 13; Grundy, pp. 301–3).

οὐδὲν χρηστή = χρησίμη; cf. iii. 78. 2. Ameiosis for "pernicious," so long ago (cf. v. 88. 3 n.) had the path's capabilities for mischief been discovered by the Malians. Stein would, however, take οὐδὲν χρηστή with ἐσβολή, "the uselessness of the pass for defence."

#### vii. 216

ἄρχεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσωποῦ ποταμοῦ. For the Asopus and its ravine cf. chap. 199 n. It is generally assumed that Hydarnes began by ascending the Asopus ravine, and these words, though they should not be pressed (as by Grundy, p. 299), favour that assumption. If so, Trachis must have been previously captured by the Persians (cf. chap. 203. 2 n.). But Pausanias (x. 22. 8) gives a different account: ἀτραπὸς ἐστὶ διὰ τοῦ ὄρους τῆς Οἴτης, μία μὲν ἢ ὑπὲρ Τραχίνος ἀπότομός τε τὰ πλείω καὶ ὄρθιος δεινῶς, ἑτέρα δὲ ἢ διὰ τῆς Αἰνεάνων ὁδεῦσαι στρατῶ ῥάων, δι' ἧς καὶ Ὑδάρνης ποτὲ Μῆδος κατὰ νότου τοῖς περὶ Λεωνίδην ἐπέθετο Ἕλλησι. In the "steep and abrupt path starting above Trachis" Munro (*JHS* xxii. 313) recognizes the original of the modern high road. But the other was the path by which Hydarnes, and afterwards Brennus, turned Thermopylae (Paus. x. 22. 1 and 8). It was easier for an army and led through the territory of the Aenianes, i.e., round the western end of the Trachinian cliffs. Presumably it passed behind Trachis and connected with the Anopaea path in the valley of the Asopus above the gorge. The expression τὸν Ἀσωπὸν διαβάντες (chap. 217. 1) in Herodotus

distinctly supports Pausanias' view given above, which is adopted by Munro (loc. cit.). Munro explains his views on the path taken by Hydarnes and on the position and conduct of the Phocians in *CAH* iv. 293–7 with map.

**Ἀνόπαια**, “upwards”; cf. Hom. *Od.* i. 320. Later writers call the mountain Callidromus (Plin. *H.N.* iv. 28; Strabo 428; Livy xxxvi. 15) after one of its peaks (Livy xxxvi. 16). It is now named Saromata, while the path is said to be called Μουνοπάτι.

**Ἄλπηνὸν πόλιν**. More properly a village (κώμη, chap. 176. 5) by name Ἄλπηνοί (chaps. 176. 2, 229. 1). It is suitably identified by Grundy (p. 290) with the remains of a walled acropolis on a hill which stands out into the plain . . . about half a mile beyond the East Gate. If this were captured, the defenders of Thermopylae would be cut off from supplies (chap. 176. 5) and all hope of retreat.

**Μελαμπύγου . . . Κερκώπων**. The Cercopes were two thievish mischievous dwarfs who stole the arms of Heracles while he slept on the rock here named and attacked him with them. But Heracles seized them and hung them head downwards from a pole he carried on his shoulders. In that position they jeered at the hinder parts of the hero tanned with exposure, and recognized in him the μελάμπυγος against whom their mother had warned them. Heracles amused at their droll way of telling this tale released them. The story is very old, appearing in a poem ascribed to Homer by Suidas (ψεύστας, ἠπεροπῆας, ἀμήχανα τ' ἔργ' ἀνύσαντας, ἐξαπατητῆρας), on an early metope from Selinus, and on archaic vases; cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1298. Probably some curious rocks fixed the place of the legend. For Heracles cf. chap. 176. 3 n.

**τὸ στεινότατον**: cf. chap. 176. 2 n.

## vii. 217

**τὰ Οἰταίων . . . τὰ Τρηχινίων**. These geographical terms, as well as the phrase ἡ περίοδος τε καὶ ἀνάβασις (chap. 223. 1), are more natural if Hydarnes made the detour described by Pausanias (cf. chap. 216 n.). If he went right up the Asopus ravine, the heights held by the Oetaeans must be those above the left bank, and the Trachinian mountains must belong to the range of Mount Callidromus (Leake, *N. Greece*, ii. 55).

**ἀκρωτηρίῳ τοῦ ὄρους**. Grundy (p. 303) confidently places the Phocians “at an old φρούριον which evidently guarded the pass in former days . . . It is at the true summit of the pass . . . and accords with the little H. tells us of the scene, save that the trees hereabout are not oaks but firs.” “When the Persians reached that point . . . they would have traversed two-thirds of the whole distance” (p. 311 n.). He would thus explain H.'s statement (chap. 223. 1) that the descent is much shorter than the way round and the ascent (but cf. above). Munro (*JHS* xxii. 314), however, argues forcibly that this and similar expressions (ῥάχιν τοῦ ὄρους, chap. 216; τὸν κόρυμβον, chap. 218) cannot be pressed, since H., though he had doubtless travelled along the coast road, only refers vaguely to the Anopaea path. He thinks

the Phocians (ῥυόμενοι τὴν σφετέρην) must have defended Pausanias' "steep path" (chap. 216 n.) as well as the Anopaea. He would therefore post them near the intersection of these paths, not far from the monastery Panagia. He holds that this is confirmed by the large number of oaks (chap. 218) in the forest just above it (Grundy, p. 302).

#### **vii. 218**

The Phocian apology given by H. is but a lame one. At best they allowed themselves to be surprised and retired in confusion, leaving the way clear for Hydarnes. "At worst they bartered away the safety of Hellas and the lives of their allies for the security of Delphi and its treasures" (Munro). H., here perhaps inspired by Delphi, does his best for them; he parades their spirited reply to the Thessalians, and their resistance in the fastnesses of Parnassus (viii. 29f.), and vindicates their bravery even in the camp of Mardonius (ix. 17–18). Clearly all this is an answer to current charges of Medism and cowardice (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 314); cf., however, viii. 30 n.

#### **vii. 219**

**τὰ ἰσά** = *extis inspectis*; cf. chap. 221.

**ἐπὶ δέ**: probably temporal, "and afterwards"; cf. ix. 35. 2.

**οὔτοι**: i.e., Megistias and the deserters as opposed to the ἡμεροσκόποι, for whom cf. chap. 183. 1 n.

#### **vii. 220**

Loose as is the construction of the sentences in this chapter it seems impossible (with Stein) to make ἔχειν εὐπρεπέως (§ 1) depend on λέγεται, or καλῶς ἔχειν (§ 2) on τὴν γνώμην πλεῖστός εἰμι. We must rather (Abicht) supply some word like ἐνόμιζε from κηδόμενος (§ 1), and φάναί from κελεῦσαι (§ 2).

[2] **τὴν γνώμην πλεῖστός εἰμι**, "I am rather inclined to think." Cf. i. 120. 4; v. 126; Thuc. iii. 31 ad fin. τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς γνώμης εἶχεν. The idea is of a division in which the greater part of the mind inclines one way.

[3] **κατ' ἀρχάς**: cf. chap. 239. 1.

[4] **ὑμῖν δ'**. If there were several applicants the god gave his responses in a connected form, the δέ marking that he now comes to the Spartans in their turn; cf. i. 47. 3 n.

The synizesis ἄστν ἐρικυδές is intolerable. Read δῶμ' ἐρικυδές, ἄστν being a gloss, H. Richards, *CR* xix. 345.

**Περσεΐδησι**: cf. i. 125. 3 n.; vii. 61. 3 n.

**Λακεδαίμονος οὔρος**, "the land of (the hero) Lacedaemon"; cf. chap. 141. 3 n.

**τόν** is the Persian invader. **λεόντων** plays upon the name Leonidas.

**Ζηνός**: cf. chap. 56. 2.

**σχήσεσθαι:** cf. *Il.* xvii. 502 οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε / Ἐκτορα Πριαμίδην μένεος  
σχήσεσθαι οἴω, / πρὶν γ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος καλλίτροχε βήμεναι ἵππω.

**διὰ . . . δάσηται** (tmesis for διαδάσηται). The foe is portrayed as a devouring monster (chap. 140. 3). There may be an allusion to the mutilation of the corpse of Leonidas (chap. 238).

### vii. 221

For Acarnanians as seers cf. i. 62. 4 n.

**τὰνέκαθεν:** cf. v. 55 n. **Μελάμποδος:** cf. ii. 49; ix. 34.

Doubtless H. regarded the epitaph (chap. 228. 3) as good evidence of the constancy of Megistias, in face of his own prediction of disaster. The idea that he might have escaped is confirmed by the escape of his son. But the incident is slender evidence for the inference drawn by H., that all who retreated did so by the king's orders (cf. below).

It is clear that H. in these chapters aims at excusing the allies for deserting Leonidas by explaining that his death was fated by heaven and foretold by the oracle. This official explanation that Leonidas, like Decius Mus (*Livy* viii. 10; x. 28), devoted himself to save his country, was designed to make his defeat and death an omen of future victory. At the same time it was a convenient excuse for all concerned, for the Athenians who had urged pushing forward the line of defence to Artemisium and Thermopylae, for the Spartans who had sent but inadequate support to their heroic king, and for the Peloponnesian allies who had failed him in the hour of trial. But the oracle is plainly a *vaticinium post eventum*. It is inconsistent with the account of Leonidas' expedition previously given (chaps. 202–7; for even 205. 2, καὶ τοῖσι ἐτύγχανον παῖδες ἐόντες, if not a later adscript (cf. *JHS* xxii. 316 n.), only implies danger not self-immolation): it assigns no reason for the resolve of the Thespians to share his doom, and false or inadequate reasons for the Thebans' action, and even for that of Leonidas himself, since it was no disgrace for a Spartan commander to retreat when sound strategy demanded it (cf. Eurybiades, Pausanias), although perhaps his bodyguard were bound to remain with him to the last (cf. Munro, *JHS* xxii. 317). Diodorus (xi. 4) carries out consistently the view here indicated in the oracle, but this completion of a process begun in H. shows us that the explanation is an afterthought gradually perfected by later ages.

### vii. 222

Grundy (op. cit. 306–9, 315–17; improving on a suggestion made by Bury in the *Annual of the British School of Athens*, ii. 102) argues strongly that the 2,800 allies dismissed were really detached to meet Hydarnes on the Anopaea, but failed to perform this duty. His great point is that otherwise the conduct of the Thespians (and of the Thebans) is inexplicable; cf. app. xx, § 10, and for another suggestion Munro, *JHS* xxii. 317–19.

**Θηβαῖοι.** Diodorus (xi. 9) omits the Thebans, as does Pausanias (x. 20. 2), who adds the Mycenaeans.

**ἐν ὀμήρων λόγῳ.** Plutarch (*De Mal.* 31, *Mor.* 865) rightly attacks the view that the Thebans could have been detained as hostages, a course which would only have added to Leonidas' own danger. Further, Plutarch here makes an effective apology for his countrymen; he urges that they sent 500 men under Mnamias to Tempe and the contingent demanded by Leonidas to Thermopylae, treating Leonidas with special honour. And with reference to the tradition that Leontiades and the other Theban captives were branded by Xerxes, Plutarch remarks (1) that Anaxandrus and not Leontiades was in command, (2) that branding would be a proof not of Medism but of fidelity to the Greek cause, (3) that the story was unknown before H. On the whole, in spite of Grundy's doubts (pp. 294–6) and Hauvette's rather half-hearted defence of H. (*Herodote*, pp. 360–4), we must admit that H. has been misled by malignant Athenian gossip, and that Leontiades, like Adeimantus, has suffered for the sins of his son (vii. 233 n.; introd. § 30. 3, 4; *JHS* xxii. 317). E. Meyer (*F.* ii. 211) holds the Thebans remained in order to desert with more effect, but it may well be that the Medizing oligarchy at Thebes furnished as their contingent men of the opposite party (Diod. xi. 4 τῆς ἐτέρας μερίδος) loyal to the Greek cause. The existence of such a party at Thebes seems proved (in spite of H. ix. 87) by the Theban orator's speech against Plataea (Thuc. iii. 62). For the dispatch of political opponents to the front to get rid of them, we may compare the attempt of the Corcyrean democrats to enlist their opponents for naval service (Thuc. iii. 75), the sending of 300 oligarchic knights to Thibron by the restored Athenian democrats (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 4), and of oligarchs to Cambyses by Polycrates (H. iii. 44. 2 n.). Boeotian loyalists were doomed if Thermopylae was lost, and so would be likely to fight to the last. Cf. also M. Müller, *Geschichte Thebens*, 25–45.

## vii. 223

[2] **ἀνὰ τὰς προτέρας ἡμέρας** refers to both clauses taken together and is opposed to τότε. Previously the Greeks had held the Phocian wall (chap. 176. 3 n.), at the Middle Gate, as their base, and, whenever pressed, had drawn back into the Narrows just in front of it; now they boldly attacked in the open ground further in front of the Middle Gate by the modern baths.

The anacoluthic change of subject here and in § 3 (for τότε δὲ συμμίσγοντες is opposed to ἀνὰ . . . ἐμάχοντο (above) and must refer to the Greeks, to whom we again return abruptly, § 3 ad init.) has caused suspicions of a lacuna or dislocation in the text (Stein, Macan). Others would justify it as expressing the confused nature of the fighting and the excitement of the narrator.

**μάστιγας:** cf. chap. 22. 1 n.; Ctesias *Persica* § 23, p. 70; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 8. 5.

**θάλασσαν:** cf. chap. 176. 3 n. Two centuries later the water was still so deep that Athenian triremes could, though with difficulty, come close enough for the discharge of bolts and arrows at the attacking Gauls (Paus. x. 21. 4).

[3] **παραχρεώμενοι**, “recklessly”; iv. 159. 6; viii. 20. 1.

**ἀτέοντες**, “madly” = λυσσωντες (ix. 71. 3); cf. Hom. *Il.* xx. 332.

#### vii. 224

In the year 440 B.C. the remains of Leonidas were removed to Sparta, and on his tomb there a stele was set up inscribed with the names of the three hundred. There Pausanias (iii. 14. 1), and probably H., read their names. The stele may, however, be older than the hero's tomb (cf. Kirchhoff, *Entstehungszeit*, etc., 52f.). The passage illustrates H.'s interest in mighty deeds (i. 1), and shows that he had reserves of knowledge besides the facts inserted in his history.

[2] **Φραταγούνη**: translated by Ctesias and later authors to Ποδογούνη, *Vrad* being Persian for ῥόδον. Probably **Ἀβροκόμης** and **Ὑπεράνθης** are similar translations of Persian names.

#### vii. 225

Cf. the struggle over the body of Patroclus, *Il.* xvii. 274f.

**παρεγένοντο**: no doubt by the Eastern Gate, left undefended, in rear of the Spartans. They may also have been on the heights above the pass; cf. Livy xxxvi. 18 “ni Porcius ab iugo Callidromi . . . super eminentem castris collem apparuisset.”

[2] **ὁ κολωνός** is the mound or hillock just behind the Phocian wall. “The position was well designed for a last desperate stand. The rear was protected by a small but deep valley,” Grundy, p. 312 n.; cf. 289.

**λέων**: at once the symbol of royal power (v. 92. b 3) and a play on the name Leonidas. A lion was later set up over the Thebans who fell at Chaeronea (Paus. ix. 40. 10 with Frazer, v. 209–10, and v. 141). There Pausanias interprets it of their ill-fated valour.

**ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ**, “in honour of Leonidas”; cf. Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 274, 776; *Od.* xxiv. 91.

#### vii. 226–33

*Individual exploits. Epitaphs over the fallen. The coward Aristodemus. Surrender of the Thebans.*

#### vii. 226

H., who tells us of the heroic death of Leonidas with a simplicity which is the highest art, is rightly sparing in the record of exploits. For this wise reticence Plutarch (*De Mal.* 32; *Mor.* 866) reproaches him with lack of patriotism.

#### vii. 228

The epitaph might naturally be taken to mean that 4,000 Peloponnesians fell and were buried at Thermopylae, and so H. elsewhere (viii. 25. 2) assumes. It only says, however, that 4,000 Peloponnesians fought there, and this is true, if we add to the numbers he gives 1,000 Perioeci (chap. 202 n.). H. may have carelessly

included the 700 Thespians (cf. τοῖσι πᾶσι and viii. 25. 1); but they were not Peloponnesians and had a separate stele with an epigram by a Megarian, Philaidas, *Anth. Pal. App.* 94 Ἄνδρες τοί ποτ' ἔναϊον ὑπὸ κροτάφοις Ἐλικῶνος, λήματα τῶν ἀρχεῖ Θεσπιάς εὐρύχορος. So did the Oruntian Locrians, since Strabo (425) quotes as the inscription on one of the *five* stelae at Thermopylae, Τούσδε ποθεῖ φθιμένους ὑπὲρ Ἑλλάδος ἀντία Μήδων / Μητρόπολις Λοκρῶν εὐθυνόμων Ὀπόεις. For the 300 myriads cf. chaps. 185. 3, 186. 1 n.

[2] Quoted by later authors πειθόμενοι νομίμοις (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 42. 104), but ῥήμασι = ῥητραῖς is right.

[4] ἔξω ἦ (cf. ii. 3. 2) = πλὴν ἦ (ii. 111. 3).

ἐπιγράψας. Doubtless Simonides composed all three inscriptions, but he only had one inscribed at his own cost.

### vii. 229

κοινῶ λόγῳ = ὁμοφρονήσαντες (below; cf. i. 141. 4, 166. 1; v. 63. 3, 91. 3, etc.).

ὀφθαλμιῶντες. The reed-cutters in the marsh near Thermopylae now suffer from ophthalmia (Grundy, p. 313).

τὸν εἴλωτα. Each Spartan was attended by a Helot, who carried his baggage and his shield (hence ὑπασπιστής, Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5. 14, and 8. 39). They were also employed as light-armed troops (ix. 10. 1, 28. 2, 29), and for menial duties (vi. 80. 1; ix. 80. 1). There is no reason to suppose there was a large number at Thermopylae, though some fell there (viii. 25. 1). The 4,000 slain (viii. 25. 2) are better explained as a misunderstanding (cf. chaps. 202 n., 228. 1 n.), and light-armed Helots would be useless at Thermopylae owing to the nature of the ground, even if their fidelity were above suspicion.

ὄκως . . . ἦγαγε = "when he had led him"; cf. ix. 66. 2. Elsewhere it is iterative, as a rule with optative (i. 11. 1).

λιποψυχέοντα elsewhere (Thuc. iv. 12; Xen. *Hell.* v. 4. 58; Paus. iv. 10. 3) means "swooning," hence φιλοψυχέοντα, "showing a faint heart" (cf. below), is better (cf. vi. 29. 1 and Tyrtaeus, frag. x. 18 μηδὲ φιλοψυχεῖτ' ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενοι).

[2] ἀλγήσαντα, "if Aristodemus alone had been ill (cf. iv. 68. 2; ix. 22. 1) and had returned to Sparta," i.e., but for his comrade. The infinitive of the apodosis (προσθέσθαι) depends on the parenthetical δοκέειν (Krüg. δοκέει; cf. chap. 3. 4; ii. 56. 1); and is by a usage common in H. (cf. i. 24. 7) extended to the protasis.

προσθέσθαι, "vented their wrath"; cf. iv. 65. 2; but it applies rather to the penalty imposed. Cf. vii. 11. 1; Eur. *Hec.* 742 ἄλγος ἂν προσθειμέθα (αὐτῶ).

τῆς . . . αὐτῆς . . . προφάσιος, "he had only the same excuse as his comrade might have offered."

## vii. 231

**πάσχων . . . ποιάδε.** The denial to Aristodemus of the commonest form of neighbourly good will (“pati de igne ignem capere,” Cic. *Off.* i. 52) shows that his Atimia involved the loss of all rights, and the infliction of the many slights and penalties detailed with gusto by Xenophon (*Lac.* ix. 4–6) and Plutarch (*Ages.* chap. 30). The Spartans who surrendered at Sphacteria were much more lightly punished (Thuc. v. 34); those who lost the battle of Leuctra escaped scot-free (Plut. loc. cit.).

**τρέσας,** “a runaway or coward” (*Il.* xiv. 522; Tyrt. xi. 14 τρεσσάντων δ’ ἀνδρῶν πᾶσ’ ἀπόλωλ’ ἀρετή), became a regular technical term at Sparta for οἱ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καταδειλιάσαντες (Plut. loc. cit.).

**ἀνέλαβε,** “retrieved,” “made good.” Cf. v. 121 n.; Soph. *Phil.* 1248 τὴν ἀμαρτίαν αἰσχρὰν ἀμαρτῶν ἀναλαβεῖν περιάσομαι. For the facts cf. ix. 71.

## vii. 232

**ἐν πρώτοισι:** among the first of the Greeks: for the phrase cf. viii. 94. 4; ix. 86. 1, for the facts chap. 132. 1 n.

**[2] ἔστιξαν . . . βασιλήμια.** For branding cf. chap. 35. 1 n. It is clear that the Thebans here are branded in the forehead with the king’s mark as slaves (cf. δραπέτης ἐστιγμένος, Ar. *Av.* 760), the idea that they are, as it were, dedicated to a god (for which cf. ii. 113. 2) being here far-fetched. Cf. Galen vi. 17 ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματί μου βαστάζω, and Curt. v. 5 “Captivi Graeci . . . quos Persae . . . inustus barbarorum litterarum notis,” and for the placing of the arms or crest of the city on captives enslaved: Plut. *Per.* 26 οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἔστιζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαῦκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σάμειναν, Plut. *Nic.* 29 τούτους ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν στίζοντες ἵππον ἐς τὸ μέτωπον. We find the Samaena or galley-prow figuring on coins of Samos about the date of its capture by Athens (440 B.C.), and the free horses on a Syracusan coin, struck soon after the Athenian expedition to Sicily, while the owl is the regular arms or crest of Athens. It would seem, however, that the Athenians would brand with an owl, the Samians with the galley (so Aelian, *V.H.* ii. 9; Duris, frag. 59; *FHG* ii. 483).

Thucydides (ii. 2–6) gives us a fuller and more correct account of the Theban surprise of Plataea in the spring of 431 B.C. (March or April). He corrects H. on the following points. (1) The number of the Thebans was not 400, but rather more than 300, of whom 180 were taken captive and executed. (2) Eurymachus was not in command (though he planned the coup) but two Boeotarchs, Pythangelus and Diemporus. For the animus of this passage cf. introd. § 30.1, and chap. 222 n.

A later Leontiades betrayed the Cadmea to Phoebidas and was slain by the conspirators who freed Thebes, 379 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 25, 4. 7).

**vii. 234–39**

*After Thermopylae. Plans of campaign advised by Demaratus and Achaemenes. Treatment of the corpse of Leonidas. Secret message of Demaratus.*

**vii. 234**

[2] If Messenia and Cynuria are included in Laconia there are said to have been about a hundred Lacedaemonian cities; cf. Strabo 362 ἔξω γὰρ τῆς Σπάρτης αἰλοῖται πολίχνηναι τινές εἰσι περὶ τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἑκατόμπολιν φασιν αὐτὴν καλεῖσθαι. The names of some sixty are known.

**Λακεδαίμονι:** i.e., Laconia; cf. vi. 58. 2.

**ὀκτακισχιλίων.** This estimate (defended by Macan (ad loc.); cf. Grundy, *Thuc.*, 213f.) agrees with the tradition that Lycurgus assigned 9,000 lots to Spartiates (Plut. *Lyc.* 8); cf. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9, 1270a 36 καὶ φασιν εἶναι ποτε τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις καὶ μυθίους (ὀπλίτας). It also accords with H.'s statement (ix. 10. 1, 28. 2) that 5,000 Spartiates fought at Plataea. But in 371 B.C. there seem not to have been more than 1,500 (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1. 1, 4, 15, 17; *Ages.* ii. 24), and in Aristotle's time (cf. loc. cit.) not 1,000. Hence most modern writers, following Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, 131f.; cf. *Klio* vi. 58–73), regard H.'s numbers as exaggerated. In the Peloponnesian war at Mantinea, 418 B.C. (Thuc. v. 68), and at the battle of Corinth, 394 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 16), Spartiates and Perioeci together amounted to some 6,000. Isocrates puts the number of Spartiates in early times at only 2,000, and contrasts Sparta with μυρίαῖνδροι πόλεις (*Panath.* 255f.).

**ἄλλοι:** i.e., Perioeci, who contributed at least half the hoplite force of Sparta, e.g., 5,000 at Plataea (ix. 11. 3, 28. 2).

**vii. 235**

[2] The value of Cythera as a naval base of operations against Laconia is obvious, and Tolmides is said to have seized the island in 455 B.C. (Paus. i. 27. 5; Bus. iii. 325f.). Hence it is quite unnecessary to suppose that this passage was written after, or even shortly before, the Athenians occupied it in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 53); cf. further, introd. § 9. For Chilon cf. i. 59. 2 n.

[3] **οἰκηίου,** "a war of their own close to their own doors"; cf. v. 23. 2 n.; Thuc. i. 118.

**vii. 236**

[2] **τῶν:** some emendation, such as Bähr's, is necessary.

[3] The maxims of strategy put forward by Achaemenes are puerile; but his speech represents fairly enough the obvious reluctance of the Persian leaders to divide their forces; cf. app. xx, § 1.

**ἀκεῦνται:** contracted future = ἀκέσονται, "they shall not heal or make good"; cf. the warning given to King Agis before Mantinea (Thuc. v. 65).

**vii. 237**

[2] τῆ σιγῆ: often taken as “secretly”; it should, however, mean “shows his enmity by his silence (where he should warn and dissuade), and when his fellow citizen asks for advice does not give him of his best.”

ἐόντος ἐμοὶ ξείνου. The genitive is used, not the accusative in apposition, to show that a reason for the command is given; cf. iv. 97. 6.

**vii. 238**

With the treatment of the body of Leonidas (cf. ix. 78) we may compare that of the corpse of Amasis by Cambyses (iii. 16). Artaxerxes similarly maltreated that of his brother, the younger Cyrus (Xen. *An.* i. 10. 1; iii. 1. 17), and the Parthian general or Suren, that of M. Crassus (Plut. *Crass.* 32). Though the story is in marked contrast with the generous treatment of Pytheas (vii. 181; viii. 92), these parallels make it unlikely that it is a Greek invention as contended by Wecklein (*Ber. Bayer. Akad.* (1876), 285) and Duncker (vii. 258).

**vii. 239**

The whole chapter is with reason regarded as an interpolation by Krüger, followed by Abicht, Gomperz, Van Herwerden, and Macan. There is no proper transition to bk. viii, a fact which leads Stein to suspect an omission in the text. The formula introducing the digression is strange, but as Macan points out, this anecdote is not intended to be a resumption of the main thread of the story but to supply an omission, and the words mean “I will here return to a place in the story where before I was guilty of an omission.” The author is excusing himself for putting in the story here, where the only ground for its appearance is its connection with Demaratus, instead of in chap. 220, where it was required to explain how the Spartans had early information of the intended Persian invasion. Krüger also regards as suspicious the postponement of the actual story in favour of a disquisition on Demaratus’ motives and the author’s assertion that the motive was ill-will, and subsequent willingness to leave it an open question. Such hesitation, however, may be easily paralleled from the genuine work of H. (cf. ii. 123. 1; v. 45. 2). Krüger’s arguments from language are stronger. The asyndeton ἐπύθοντο is intolerable, τὸ ἐς Δελφοὺς χρηστήριον is hardly justified by (ii. 150) τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην; δελτίον δίπτυχον is queer Greek, as δίπτυχα in this sense is late, and elsewhere H. uses δέλτος (viii. 135); ἐπέτηξε and ἐκκνᾶν do not reappear till Aen. Tact. chap. 31, nor συμμαχεται (middle) till Xenophon, or ὁδοφύλαξ till Eustathius. It may be said that some of these strange words are quoted by Pollux (*Onom.* x. 58) from H., and that the story, though without names, goes back at least to (350 B.C.) Aeneas Tacticus (loc. cit.), but these stylistic peculiarities and late words surely betray a forger. The existence of an anonymous version of the story in Aeneas, and a variant in Trogus Pompeius (Justin, ii. 10. 12–17), in which “a sister of Leonidas” figures, and Demaratus’ motive is patriotic, really discredit the story, as suggesting that the narrative as here given is a gradual and relatively late fabrication (Macan). It is inferior to the similar stories of Harpagus (i. 123. 3, 4) and

Histiaeus (v. 35) on which it may have been modeled. Finally, the extremely unfavourable impression given of Demaratus seems un-Herodotean. It appears highly probable that some part of the text connecting books vii and viii was early lost, and into the gap this chapter was thrust by an interpolator. Even if it be a genuine fragment it is misplaced here.

## Book VIII

### viii. 1–23

*The story of Artemisium. The fleet and its leadership (1–3). Bribery of Themistocles 4, 5. First engagement (6–11). Storm, wreck of Persian squadron off Euboea (12, 13). Second and third days' fighting (14–17). Retreat of the Greek and advance of the Persian fleet (18–23).*

### viii. 1

Throughout there is a close parallel and connection between the accounts of the operations on sea and on land and of the forces at Thermopylae and Artemisium. First, we have the description of the double position (vii. 175–7) supplemented by a more detailed topography of Thermopylae (vii. 198–201), secondly the story of the movements of the fleets (vii. 179–95) and a brief account of the march of Xerxes' army (vii. 196–7), finally a narrative of the struggle at Thermopylae (vii. 202–33) and of the contemporary (viii. 15) sea-fights at Artemisium (viii. 1–23). Yet, as it stands, the opening of book viii is abrupt and not connected with the end of book vii. Probably the connection and implied contrast between the land and sea forces has been obscured by the later insertion of vii. 234–9 (Macan).

The summary of the Greek forces here given is parallel to that prefixed to the fighting at Thermopylae (vii. 202). Similar lists are given of the Greek fleets before Lade (vi. 8 n.) and before Salamis (viii. 43f.), and of the Greek army before Plataea (ix. 28). But whereas at Plataea H. follows the line of battle from right to left (as at Lade from east to west), and at Salamis adopts a geographical order (Peloponnese, northern Greece, islands, etc.), here he arranges the states according to the number of ships furnished (chap. 2. 1), thus incidentally justifying the claim of Athens to command at sea (chap. 3).

**νέας.** Triremes, line-of-battle ships, excluding not only transports (vii. 97) but even penteconters, which are not included in the total by H. (viii. 2. 1, 48), though Diodorus (xi. 12) carelessly speaks of 280 triremes.

For the Plataeans cf. vi. 108.

For the Athenian cleruchs in Chalcis cf. v. 77. 2 n.

[2] **Λακεδαιμόνιοι.** The whole nation including the Perioeci (chaps. 43; vii. 234. 2; ix. 70. 5). Spartiates, if they served at sea at all, would be Epibatae.

For Styra cf. vi. 107. 2, and for the Locri Opuntii vii. 203. 1 n.

**Ceos** is an island about twelve miles from Cape Sunium, over twelve miles long by eight broad.

### viii. 2

**εἰρηται δέ μοι καὶ ὡς τὸ πλῆθος.** Reiske's ὅσον, adopted by many editors, is bad, since there is more point in calling attention to the order in which the

contingents are arranged (chap. 1 n.) than to the obvious fact that the strength of each contingent has been given. Hence εἰρηται should be emended to εἰρέαται (vii. 81, 82) or regarded as a plural (cf. Bechtel, *Ion. Ins.* 18. 17 αἱ δίκαι ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰρηται): “They have been named according to the number of ships supplied by each.” Cf. for the parallel use of ὡς ἕκαστοι, viii. 21. 2, 67. 2; ix. 49. 3; cf. A. G. Laird, *CR* xviii. 97–8.

[2] The traditional position of Sparta made the Greeks (especially the Peloponnesians who formed the kernel of the league, though only furnishing 113 ships) willing to accept her leadership, when they would follow no other state. That Athens made some claim to naval leadership and withdrew in face of the opposition of the allies, is highly probable. Yet the assumption that it was natural that Athens should lead at sea and Sparta on land (vii. 157 n., 161 n.) belongs to the years after 478 B.C. The magnanimity of Athens in yielding up the command is lauded by Isocrates (*Paneg.* 72), Lycurgus (*Leoc.* 70), Aristides (*Panath.* i. 217, Dind.); it is ascribed to the wise advice of Themistocles (Plut. *Them.* 7). The claims of Athens were asserted later by her orators, especially in the funeral orations in the Ceramicus, of which we have echoes in vii. 161; ix. 27 (Meyer, *Forsch.* ii. 219f.). But at the time it must have been clear that to divide the command would be dangerous from a military point of view.

### viii. 3

κατ’ ἀρχάς: probably 481 B.C., autumn. For the embassy cf. vii. 157, and for Athenian recognition of Spartan hegemony vii. 161.

ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες. Verrall (*CR* xvii. 99) points out that H. has consciously or unconsciously reproduced two hexameters from a gnomic poet (cf. ix. 16. 5 n.) running ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες· εἰρήνης γὰρ ὅσω πόλεμος, τοσσῶδε κάκιον ἔμφυλος πολέμου στάσις ἐστὶν ὁμοφρονέοντος. Thus only can we account for the poetic style and vocabulary, e.g., ὀρθὰ νοεῦντες.

[2] μέχρι ὅσου, “so long as the Athenians stood in sore need of the Peloponnesians” they gave up all claim to leadership to secure their help. This implies that Athens was actuated in part by selfish motives.

τῆς ἐκείνου: i.e., the coastland of Asia subject to Persia.

ἡγεμονίην. For the change of hegemony cf. Thuc. i. 95; Diod. xi. 45f. The date is 478–477 (*Ath. Pol.* 23. 5), probably 477 B.C., early spring (Busolt, iii. 69). H. implies that he did not mean to carry his work so far (introd. p. 16).

### viii. 4

καί: either a reference back to the Greeks gathered at Thermopylae (vii. 202, 207) or = “actually” (i. 75. 6) present, as opposed to the reserves mustering at Pogon (chap. 42).

Ἀφέτας: cf. vii. 193. 2 n.

παρὰ δόξαν . . . ἢ ὥς . . . κατεδόκειον: i.e., they expected few had survived the storm; cf. vii. 192. 2. For the phrase cf. i. 79. 2.

The idea that the Greek fleet repeatedly meditated flight from Artemisium (vii. 183, 192; viii. 4, 9) is contradicted by their bravery in the actual fighting. No doubt the Peloponnesian sailors may have grumbled, but Eurybiades could not leave Leonidas in the lurch. Cf. app. xx, § 6; Grundy, p. 329; Munro, *JHS* xxii. 311.

Ἑλλάδα: in the narrow sense; cf. vii. 176. 2 n.

[2] οἰκέτας: the whole household or *familia*, including wives, children, and slaves (cf. vii. 170. 4 n., viii. 44. 1, 106. 2, 142. 3). The children are specially mentioned (cf. chap. 41. 1) as the hope of the house.

ἐπὶ μισθῷ: cf. v. 65. 2. This story is repeated with additions from Phanias by Plutarch (*Them.* 7), though attacked in *De Mal.* 34. It is in accord with the charges made against Themistocles (chap. 112) elsewhere, but is probably an invention of the time when Themistocles had fled to Persia and had been proclaimed a traitor. Such stories necessarily rest on scanty evidence and are quite unverifiable. The bias of H. (i.e., of his sources) against him, as against Adimantus, is patent (introd. § 31). Themistocles is the master of craft and wiles (chaps. 110, 124), Aristides the true patriot (79, 95). Special reasons for suspecting this story may be found in the improbability of the Euboeans squandering so large a sum as thirty talents on a subordinate when they might have bought the commander-in-chief cheap (five talents) (cf. Bauer, *Them.* p. 25); in the fact that Adimantus, who is supposed to have been bribed by Themistocles, continues to be his chief opponent (chap. 59f.), and that Eurybiades (cf. § 1 n.) must surely have intended to hold his position at Artemisium whether bribed or not (Munro, loc. cit.); and finally in the fact that the Euboeans made no use of the opportunity they are supposed to have bought so dearly (chap. 19).

### viii. 5

ἤσπαιρε: here only "resisted": the literal meaning (i. 111. 3; ix. 120. 1) is "struggled convulsively."

[2] There is an implied threat that Adimantus might be accused of treachery and corruption; cf. ix. 41. 3. For a more elaborate story of the same kind cf. Plut. *Them.* 7; Bauer, *Them.* p. 134.

πληγόντες is supported by Plut. *Dem.* 25 πληγείς ὑπὸ τῆς δωροδοκίας.

### viii. 6

For the parallel diary of the campaigns of Thermopylae and Artemisium given by H., and for its correction, cf. app. xx, § 5f.

πυθόμενοι . . . ἰδόντες. The Persians had heard of the Greek fleet from the captured look-out ships (vii. 179f.) and had no doubt seen them on their way to the anchorage at Aphetæ, but their station there was eighty stades from Artemisium (chap. 8. 2).

[2] **καταλαμβάνη**: here and in iii. 139. 2 in a favourable sense “might come on and shelter them,” elsewhere of some unlooked-for or unlucky chance; e.g., chap. 109. 5; ix. 60. 3.

**ἐκφύξασθαι**, “it seemed to all appearance likely that the Greeks would escape.”

**πυρφόρος**. In a Spartan army (Xen. *Lac.* xiii. 2) the “torch-bearer” took the sacred fire from the altar of Zeus Agetor and kept it always alight for use in the sacrifices for the army. His person was by Hellenic custom inviolable, hence the proverb οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐλείφθη (Zenob. v. 34, etc.) signified utter destruction.

#### viii. 7

**ἔξωθεν Σκιάθου**. Bury and Munro urge that to send the ships from Aphetæ outside Sciathus in the afternoon could not prevent the Greeks at Artemisium from seeing them. On this and other grounds they argue that they were dispatched from the Sepiad strand. Cf. app. xx, § 6.

**Caphereus** (Cape Doro) and **Geraestus** (Cape Mantelo) are the southeast and south extremities of Euboea (Plin. *H.N.* iv. 63).

[2] **ἀριθμόν**, “muster” (vii. 59). The great losses caused by the storm would make reorganization necessary. Here, therefore, Busolt and Grundy insert two days. Cf. app. xx, § 5.

#### viii. 8

Pausanias (x. 19. 1) says the Amphictyons erected statues to Scyllis and his daughter at Delphi for loosening the anchors of the Persian ships during the storm and so doing them great damage; cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 296; Plin. *H.N.* xxxv. 139; Athen. vii. 296e. Many other legends were told of him which are judiciously suppressed by H. For Scione cf. vii. 123. 1 n., and for salvage vii. 190.

[3] **ὡς γένοιτο**: not merely the fact of the disaster, which was already known, but the manner and the extent of it.

#### viii. 9

**ἐνίκα**, “the opinion prevailed”; vi. 101. 2 n., 109. 2. This resolution is regarded by most recent critics as incredible: the story is believed to have arisen from the dispatch of a detachment to meet the Persian squadron sent round Euboea (Bury, Munro; cf. app. xx, § 6 (2)), or from the fact that the Greek fleet ran before the storm for shelter (Grundy, *G.P.W.*, 324–5).

**ἀλισθέντας**. They bivouacked on shore to deceive the enemy as to their intentions.

**φυλάξαντες**. They waited till evening that night might cover their retreat if they were beaten. Diodorus (xi. 12) ascribes the resolution to attack to Themistocles, who saw that thus the united Greek fleet could assail in detail the scattered Persian squadrons, which lay in several harbours (cf. Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 334).

**διεκπλόου**: cf. vi. 12. 1 n.; Grundy, *op. cit.* p. 333 n., and *Thuc.*, p. 295f.

### viii. 10

**πάγχυ . . . μανίην:** cf. vi. 112. 2 n.

**ἄμεινον πλεούσας.** This is confirmed by Themistocles' speech, chap. 60 a.

[2] For the feelings and conduct of the Ionians cf. chap. 85; vii. 51.

### viii. 11

A similar formation was adopted by the Peloponnesian fleet against the smaller but more efficient squadron under Phormio in 429 B.C. Thuc. ii. 83 ἐτάξαντο κύκλον τῶν νεῶν ὡς μέγιστον οἷοί τε ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πρόρας μὲν ἔξω, εἴσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας. Since, however, they did not attack the Attic ships as they sailed round them, they fell into disorder and were routed. H. hints (below) at the disadvantages of the formation which are definitely pointed out by Phormio (Thuc. ii. 89).

**κατὰ στόμα:** going to work "prow to prow," a sign of indifferent seamanship later (Thuc. vii. 36), here perhaps explained by the confined space (ἐν ὀλίγῳ).

[2] **Γόργου:** cf. vii. 98 n.; v. 104, 115.

Plutarch (*Them.* 15) erroneously transfers this exploit of Lycomedes to Salamis.

[3] **ἔτεροαλκέως:** cf. ix. 103. 2 n.

**χῶρον ἐν Σαλαμῖνι.** Athens apparently had *ager publicus* in Salamis, and assigned a κληρὸς to Antidorus, but whether he ranked with the Athenian cleruchs or with the original inhabitants we cannot tell.

### viii. 12

**ἦν μὲν . . . θέρος,** "though it was midsummer, yet there fell." Storms were rare at that season (and even at the true date, the end of August; cf. Busolt, ii. 674), and therefore must be due to divine intervention.

**ἀπὸ Πηλίου.** The storm comes from Pelion (i.e., from the north), like the great storm of vii. 188 (if indeed the two storms be not one; cf. app. xx, § 6 (4)), yet the wrecks drifted north to Aphetæ. Probably this was due to tide and current, though it is possible that a thunderstorm from the north came up against the wind.

**τὰς πρόρας.** The ships lay ashore with their prows pointing seaward.

[2] **στρατιῶται:** the crews (cf. chap. 10. 1), or perhaps the marines, encamped on land.

### viii. 13

**τὰ Κοῖλα.** The deep hollow bays with jutting promontories north of Cape Geraestus (chap. 7. 1) towards Chalcis (Strabo 445), between Carystus and a point opposite Rhamnus (Val. Max. i. 8. 10). They had a bad name among sailors (Eur. *Tro.* 84; Livy xxxi. 47). The Persian squadron was probably wrecked before it reached Geraestus (cf. app. xx, § 6 (4)).

For the working of divine intervention cf. vii. 10. *e*; introd. § 36.

#### viii. 14

These fifty-three Attic ships had probably been detached to guard the Euripus against the Persian squadron sent round Euboea, and returned with the news of their destruction (*JHS* xxii. 311).

[2] **Κιλίσσησι**. Grundy (p. 336) finds a probable explanation of the isolation of the Cilicians in the scattered nature of the anchorage at Aphetæ (chap. 9 n.). For a more elaborate hypothesis cf. *JHS* loc. cit.

#### viii. 15

The synchronism of the three days' fighting was not, as H. seems to think, fortuitous. While he emphasizes the parallelism between Artemisium and Thermopylae, he insufficiently recognizes their interdependence (cf. chap. 21 and app. xx, § 4).

#### viii. 16

**παραπλήσιοι**: nearly equal, not in numbers, but in fighting strength, as the issue showed.

#### viii. 17

The success of the Egyptians may have been due to their heavy-armed marines (cf. app. xx, § 7). Diodorus (xi. 13) substitutes the Sidonians, whose naval skill is elsewhere (vii. 44, 100) affirmed. Plutarch (*De Mal.* 34; cf. *Them.* 8) would claim Artemisium as a victory, quoting Pindar, frag. 196 ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεινὰν / κρηπιδ' ἐλευθερίας, and an epitaph on a stele set up near the shrine of Artemis Proseoa (cf. vii. 176. 1 n.) at Artemisium which ran παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίης ἀπὸ χώρας / παῖδες Ἀθηναίων τῶδε ποτ' ἐν πελάγει / ναυμαχίῃ δαμάσαντες ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὤλετο Μήδων / σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτεμίδι. H. is clearly right in saying that the battle was indecisive, that is in effect a defeat for the Greeks, but Plutarch's quotations confirm H.'s statement that the Athenians distinguished themselves.

**Κλεινίης** married Deinomache, a daughter of the Alcmaeonid Megacles, and was father of the famous Alcibiades. He fell at the battle of Coronea, 447 B.C. (Plut. *Alc.* 1).

**οἰκηίη**: cf. v. 47. 1 and Plut. *Alc.* 1 ἰδιοστόλῳ τριήρῃ. As a rule the state supplied the ship, with (Ar. *Eq.* 911f.) or without (Thuc. vi. 31) the necessary outfit, and also pay and rations for the crew. The trierarch had only to keep the ship in good condition and the crew efficient. Many voluntarily did more than this (Thuc. vi. 31), but to undertake the whole expense was a proof of great wealth and liberality.

**δηκοσίοισι**: i.e., the whole crew; cf. vii. 184. 1.

### viii. 18

**νεκρῶν . . . ἐπεκράτεον:** this was regarded as a sign of victory (i. 82. 5f.; Thuc. iv. 97f.).

**δρησµὸν δῆ,** “at length they resolved”; for the phrase and previous resolution cf. chap. 4. 1 n. The later writers (Isoc. *Paneg.* § 92; Diod. xi. 12; Plut. *Them.* 9; *De Mal.* 34) put the final resolution of the Greeks to retreat after the arrival of news from Thermopylae. Probably they are right, since the actual retreat did not begin till after the news had come (chap. 21. 2), and the sea-fights had not been so unsuccessful as to justify flight; whereas when Thermopylae fell, it was useless and dangerous to remain at Artemisium.

### viii. 19

**τοῦ βαρβάρου:** from τὸ βάρβαρον; cf. i. 60. 3; iii. 115. 2, etc.

**Ἴωνικὸν . . . καὶ . . . Καρικόν.** The Ionians must be supposed to include other Hellenes of Asia. The Carians had resisted Harpagus (i. 174) and joined in the Ionian revolt (v. 103, 118–21).

H. breaks off his account of Themistocles’ device for detaching the Ionians (§ 1; cf. chap. 22) to insert his plan for securing an unmolested retreat (§ 2), with a note on the fate of the Euboeans’ flocks, which interested him as an illustration of the truth of prophecy.

**ἐλαυνόντων:** a mark of time. The inhabitants of the lowlands along the coast drove, as they still do, their herds up to the mountain pastures every morning and down again every evening.

[2] **πῦρ ἀνακαίειν.** They were to light fires in their camp on the shore to deceive the enemy and so get away unmolested. The fires would also serve to roast the sheep which were to provide food for the fleet.

### viii. 20

**Βάκις:** originally not a proper name but = “prophet,” *vates*, as Sibyl = prophetess (Rohde, *Psyche*, ii. 64); cf. Arist. *Pr.* 30. 1, 954a 36 ὅθεν Σίβυλλαι καὶ Βάκιδες καὶ οἱ ἔνθεοι γίνονται πάντες, ὅταν μὴ νοσήματι γένωνται ἀλλὰ φυσικῇ κρᾶσει. There were at least three prophets called Bacis, one being Attic and one Arcadian (Schol. Ar. *Pax* 1071), but the most famous and oldest, said to have been inspired by the nymphs (Ar. *Pax* 1071; Paus. iv. 27. 4; x. 12. 11), came from Eleon (v. 43 n.) in Boeotia. A collection of oracles, similar to those ascribed to Laius (v. 43 n.), Orpheus, and Musaeus (vii. 6. 3 n.), passed under his name from the end of the seventh century, and was carefully edited under the Pisistratidae. Nevertheless many later forgeries and interpolations were inserted in it (chap. 77. 1 n., 96. 2; ix. 43). Bacis was parodied by Aristophanes (chap. 77. 1 n.), but held in reverence by Pausanias (loc. cit.) and Cicero (*Div.* i. 18. 34).

**προεσάξαντο** (sc., σίτια καὶ ποτά (i. 190. 2; v. 34. 1) for a siege): cf. v. 34. 1 n.

The Euboeans suffered as much from their friends as from their foes, since the Persians, after plundering the villages on the coast of Histiaeotis (23. 2), sailed straight from Histiaea to Athens (chap. 66)

**βύβλινον**: cf. vii. 25. 1, 34. 1, 36. 3.

[2] **παρῆν**, like the double use of **χρᾶσθαι**, is ironical; “since they made no use of the oracle, they might,” etc.

### viii. 21

For Trachis cf. vii. 176. 2 n., and for Anticyra vii. 198. 2 n.

**κατῆρες**, “fitted with oars” (Plut. ἐνήρης), otherwise poetical.

**παλήσειε**, from **πάλη**, “wrestle,” is here an euphemism for “if they were hard pressed” (so **πονοῦν**, Thuc. v. 73).

**Ἀβρώνιχος**: he two years later went with Aristides and Themistocles to Sparta to negotiate the rebuilding of the walls of Athens (Thuc. i. 91).

[2] **οὐκέτ’ ἐς ἀναβολάς** (cf. Thuc. vii. 15; Eur. *Hel.* 1297; *Heracl.* 270): adverbial like **οὐκ ἐς μακρῆν** (ii. 121. a 3).

### viii. 22

**τὰ πότιμα ὕδατα**: i.e., on the coast of Histiaeotis, to which the Persian fleet crossed next day (chap. 23). With this appeal (rhetorically worked up by Justin, ii. 12. 3) cf. the fears of Artabanus and Xerxes’ reply (vii. 51–2). It was more successful in causing suspicion of the Ionians (chap. 90) than in securing actual desertion (chap. 85.)

### viii. 23

**σκιδναμένω**: of rays of light; cf. Hom. *Il.* vii. 451, and especially xxiii. 227  
**κροκόπεπλος ὑπεῖρ ἄλα κίδναται ἠώς**.

[2] **Ἑλλοπῆς**: the old name for the whole northern half of Euboea, of which the territory of Histiaea or Oreus (vii. 175. 2), comprising the northern coastland, formed a part.

### viii. 24–26

*Stories of Xerxes and the dead at Thermopylae and of the Olympic games.*

### viii. 24

**φυλλάδα** κτλ. Hysteron-Proteron. Clearly he first had the trenches filled with earth and then covered them over with leaves. It is most unlikely that such an obvious fraud was ever attempted: the story is a Greek invention intended to bring Xerxes into contempt.

### viii. 25

The Greek dead, according to the story, were all gathered together, probably on the hillock where the last stand was made, the barbarians left scattered about the

pass. The number 4,000 (if genuine) must be derived from that given by the inscription for the Peloponnesian combatants (vii. 228. 1 n., 202 n.): since most of these had retired in safety, H. brings in Helots (vii. 229. 1 n.) to make up his erroneous total.

### viii. 26

**αὐτόμολοι.** These Arcadians have been identified with the inhabitants of Caryae on the borders of Laconia, who are said to have been all killed or enslaved for Medism (Vitruvius, i. 1. 5, explaining “Caryatides” in architecture). They would seem, however, to be a band of adventurers seeking service as mercenaries; the Arcadians, like the Swiss at the end of the Middle Ages, often earned a livelihood thus (Thuc. iii. 34; vii. 57, 58).

[2] Ὀλύμπια ἄγουσι. The anecdote, whether true or false, goes to prove that the fighting at Thermopylae took place at the time of or just after the Olympic games, i.e., the end of August; cf. vii. 206. 1 n.; Busolt, ii. 673–4 n.

τὸν . . . στέφανον (sc., κειῖσθαί), “that the wreath was the prize.” In early days, as in the Homeric games (*Il.* xxiii), more substantial prizes were given, but at this time the four national festivals were all ἀγῶνες στεφανῖται. The victor, however, received more material rewards from his own city, e.g., a sum of money, or the right to maintenance for life in the Prytaneum, as well as Proedria.

**Tritanaechmes** (cf. vii. 82, 121. 3) speaks in the same spirit as his father Artabanus (iv. 83; vii. 46. 4 n.). The dramatic warning resembles that given to Croesus (i. 71).

27–30 The feud between Thessaly and Phocis.

### viii. 27

For Thessalian enmity to Phocis cf. vii. 176. 4, and for Thessalian allies vii. 132. 1 n. The date of this war cannot be fixed, but is probably after 510 B.C. Plutarch (*Mor.* 244) implies that the Thessalians had previously subdued the Phocians and set up tyrants in their cities; these the Phocians slew when they revolted. The Thessalians in revenge stoned 250 Phocian hostages and then invaded Phocis through Locris.

Pausanias (x. 1) makes the war begin with (1) the disaster to the Thessalian cavalry described in chap. 28, and end with the stratagem of Tellias given here (4).

Between the two he inserts (2) the destruction of a picked Phocian force of 300 by the Thessalian horse, and (3) a desperate resolve of the Phocians to conquer or to die themselves, and to devote their wives and families to the flames, which leads up to a brilliant victory (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 244). Though Pausanias is a little confused, these stories seem to belong to this war, and not to an earlier struggle before 570 B.C., when the Thessalians were defeated near Thespieae by the Boeotians (Plut. *Cam.* 19; cf. *De Mal.* 33). For full criticism and reconstruction cf. Macan, ad loc.

[3] ἐς τὸν Παρνησσόν: cf. chap. 32. 1.

Τελλίην: probably of the family of the Telliadae (ix. 37. 1; cf. ix. 33. 1 n.).

[4] Abae, too, was an oracle of Apollo; cf. i. 46. 2; viii. 33 n., 134. 1.

[5] ἡ δεκάτη: the customary tithe; cf. v. 77. 4 and chap. 26. 2 τὸν διδόμενον στέφανον.

**συνεστεῶτες**: probably like περί local, “standing face to face,” but with the implied sense of hostility, which the word bears elsewhere in H. For a full description cf. Paus. x. 13. 7. Heracles and Apollo were struggling for the tripod, Leto and Artemis trying to calm Apollo, and Athena Heracles. The struggle for the tripod was represented also in the gable of the Cnidian or Siphnian treasury at Delphi (Frazer, *P.*, v. 274), in relief at Lycosura (Paus. viii. 37. 1), and is frequent on vases (Baum. i. 463). Pausanias also tells us (x. 1. 10) of other offerings for the victory numbered (3) above.

#### viii. 28

**πολιορκέοντας** governs ἑωντούς and agrees with πεζόν (collective); cf. vii. 40. 1, 196, and especially Thuc. vi. 61 στρατιὰ Λακεδαιμονίων . . . πρὸς Βοιωτούς τι πράσσοντες (Stein).

**Hyampolis** (on which cf. Frazer, *P.*, v. 442–5) was founded by the pre-Hellenic Hyantes when expelled from Boeotia (Strabo 401, 424). It lay near Abae on the road leading from Thessaly through Opuntian Locris to the valley of the Cephissus near Parapotamii. The festival Elaphebolia there celebrated to Artemis was believed to commemorate the victory here described. With the Phocian device we may compare the pits dug by Bruce at Bannockburn to keep off the English horse.

#### viii. 29

**γνωσιμαχέετε**: apparently “change your minds and acknowledge that”; cf. iii. 25. 5.

[2] πλέον . . . ἐφερόμεθα, “had more weight than you”; cf. vii. 168. 3, 211. 2. The Thessalians refer to their position in the Amphictyonic council, and perhaps to the part they played in the first sacred war under Eurylochus, and to their dominion in Phocis (27. 1 n.).

**τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες**: having every opportunity of vengeance; cf. Dem. *De Cor.* § 96 τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι Κορινθίους.

#### viii. 30

The Greek usually hated an over-powerful neighbour more than a foreign master, yet Plutarch (*De Mal.* 35) attacks H. fiercely for this judicious remark. The historian, in spite of his tenderness for the Phocians (vii. 218 n.), is not blind to their failings.

#### viii. 31–34

*Advance of the Persians through Doris, Phocis, and Boeotia.*

#### viii. 31

H. writes as if the whole Persian army used this road through the Asopus ravine (vii. 199 n.), which, “after winding through the mountains some three and a half

miles, suddenly broadens out into a wide upland valley behind the range of Oeta, from which there is a long but not difficult passage to the Dorian plain" (Grundy, p. 261).

(Probably this approach from Malis is the "narrow strip" of Doris.) Thence this route, which entirely avoids Thermopylae, passes along the valleys of the Pindus and the Cephissus to Phocis and Boeotia.

But it may be deemed certain that Xerxes also used the coast-road through Thermopylae, which turns inland near Atalanta in Locris and reaches Parapotamii by Hyampolis (chap. 28). This is the only route suitable for a force of cavalry and a large baggage train. It would take the invaders to Hyampolis and Abae (chap. 33), which lie off the Doris route, the only one mentioned by H. Probably he regarded the use of the main coast-road as an obvious sequel of the capture of Thermopylae, which need not be explicitly stated in his narrative. Two other rough routes, which lead from Alpeni and Thronium on the Locrian coast to Elateia and the valley of the Cephissus, may possibly have been used by the Persians.

For the connection of Dryopis (Doris) with the Dorian invasion cf. i. 56 nn.

### viii. 32

**Tithorea** H. seems to regard as merely a mountain peak above the city Neon, and so Pausanias (x. 32. 8) understood him. But the heights in the immediate neighbourhood can easily be scaled from Daulis, and Plutarch (*Sulla* 15) distinctly declares that Tithora was a hill-fort, φρούριον ἀπορρῶγι κρημνῶ περικοπτόμενον εἰς ὃ καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ Φωκέων οἱ Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα φεύγοντες ἀνεσκευάσαντο καὶ διεσώθησαν. The fort on the slopes of Parnassus expanded into the city Tithora, shown by late inscriptions to be the modern Velitsa, which is still surrounded by fine Greek walls. This town seems to have superseded the older Neon (perhaps Παλαιὰ Θήβα in the plain three and a half miles away), which was destroyed after the Phocian war (Paus. x. 2. 4, 3. 2). For a full description cf. Frazer, v. 402–7.

[2] **Amphissa** (Salona), the chief town of the Locri Ozolae (Thuc. iii. 101; Paus. x. 38. 4), lay at the northwest end of the Crisaeian plain. Remains of Greek towers, walls, and gateways may still be seen in the extensive Frankish fortifications of Salona (Frazer, *P.*, loc. cit.).

### viii. 33

**Δρυμός**: called Drymaea (Paus. x. 33. 12), on the south face of a small hill projecting from the chain bounding the valley of the Cephissus on the north, with well-preserved walls and towers, five miles northwest of Amphiclea; cf. Frazer, ad loc.

**Τεθρώνιον** (Paus. loc. cit.): Moulki, in the plain north of the Cephissus, defended on three sides by its tributary the river of Dernitsa; cf. Frazer, ad loc.

**Ἀμφίκαια:** Amphiclea (Paus. x. 33. 9; cf. Frazer), now Dadi, at the foot of an outlying spur of Parnassus. H., giving (chaps. 33–5) fifteen names, seems to have mentioned every town in the district: indeed Πεδιάεας and Τριτιάεας are otherwise unknown names, and Plutarch only speaks of thirteen cities laid waste (*De Mal.* 35).

**Abae** stood on a nearly isolated rocky hill over 500 feet high a mile southwest of Hyampolis (28 n.). The scanty remains of the temples of Apollo are about a quarter of a mile to the northwest of the hill; cf. Paus. x. 35. 1–3; Frazer, ad loc. Though the burning of the temple is affirmed also by Pausanias, who adds that it was not restored, it is difficult to see how such complete destruction can be reconciled with the preservation of the statues, apparently dedicated earlier (viii. 27) but seen by H. after this time, or with the consultation of the oracle by the Carian Mys (viii. 134). Probably the gold and silver were carried off and the woodwork burned, but the Greek temple had no arched vault to spread destruction in its fall. Its walls and pillars would suffer comparatively little from fire and could be easily restored.

#### **viii. 34**

**Parapotamii** lay on a low hill above the defile leading from Phocis to Boeotia. The pass through which the Cephissus flows is about a mile and a half long and a quarter of a mile in width (Frazer, v. 419).

Near the southern end of the pass lay Panopeus (Paus. x. 4. 1; Frazer), the border town of Phocis, only twenty stades from Chaeronea, and like that town on the southern edge of the plain. The road running southeast leads thence to Chaeronea and the territory of Orchomenus, that westward to Daulis and thence by the Schiste (chap. 35. 1 n.) to Delphi.

**διατεταγμένοι:** *dispositi per urbes*; cf. vii. 178. 1. For Alexander cf. v. 17 n., 22, and chaps. 136–40.

**τῆδε:** explained not over clearly by the participial clause (cf. v. 16. 3). The presence of the Macedonian agents was intended to prove the Medism of the Boeotians, and thus to save them from molestation.

#### **viii. 35–39**

*The miraculous preservation of Delphi.*

#### **viii. 35**

**ἀπέργοντες** (cf. vii. 43. 2). From Daulis (Paus. x. 4. 7, with Frazer) the road skirts Mount Parnassus for about five miles. Where it turns west it is met by the road from Thebes; these with the road to Delphi form the famous “Schiste or Triodos” (Soph. *O.T.* 730, 733) where Oedipus slew Laius. Thence it ascends a deep valley enclosed by the steep and rocky slopes of Mount Parnassus (north) and Mount Cirphis (south). Near the top of the pass are the ruins of a Greek fortress, perhaps Aeolidae. Thence one road leads down the valley to Cirrha and Amphissa, another

to the right along the steep slopes of Parnassus to Delphi (Paus. x. 5. 3f., with Frazer).

[2] τὰ Κροίσου . . . ἀναθήματα: cf. i. 50f., 92.

### viii. 36

[2] From the stadium at the northwest end of Delphi an ancient steep and rugged path, "the evil staircase," ascends in a zigzag cut in the rock, including more than a thousand steps, over a ridge to a small upland plain. On the east are the upper slopes of Parnassus, on the north a lower line of hills. In the face of the most easterly of these next Parnassus is the Corycian cave, about 500 feet above the plateau, perhaps eight miles (three hours) from Delphi. It was sacred to Pan and the Nymphs (Paus. x. 32. 7; Inscr.). The great chamber is some 200 feet long, 90 feet broad at the widest point, and 20 to 40 feet high. Dripping water has formed a grove of stalagmites and stalactites. It must have provided an admirable refuge, being connected by a narrow passage with an inner cave.

τοῦ προφήτεω: cf. vii. 111. 2 n.

### viii. 37

ἀπώρων, "saw from afar" (ix. 69. 2). They only reached the temple of Athene Pronaia (§ 3, chap. 39 n.) near the eastern entrance of the town, while the temple of Apollo stood on a high terrace beyond a valley in the northwestern part of Delphi.

[2] For the portent of the arms cf. those of Heracles at Thebes before Leuctra (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 7; Diod. xv. 53; Polyaeus ii. 3. 8).

### viii. 39

In the repulse of the Gauls (279 B.C.) besides Phylacus, Pyrrhus son of Achilles and two Hyperborean heroes played a part (Paus. x. 23. 2). For similar appearances cf. Frazer, ad loc., and app. xviii, §§ 1, 3 (Marathon). The road is the sacred way coming from Daulis, the modern road from Arachova. The temple of Athene Pronaia is the last of the five at the Marmaria just outside the sanctuary (Paus. x. 8. 7; Dem. *Aristogit.* 34). It is now identified with a temple *in antis* built of local limestone. For the epithet Pronaia cf. i. 92. 1 n. The pool of Castaly is in a rock cut basin 36 feet long by 10 feet wide, to the right of the road near the mouth of a gorge in the rocks. Among the olives in the glen below are some large masses of reddish-grey rock, which might be those said to have come hurtling from the cliffs above. Facing each other across the gorge rise two perpendicular cliffs with peaked summits (Phaedriades; cf. Diod. xvi. 28), the eastern being called Hyampeia, the western Nauplia.

H.'s account of the deliverance of Delphi is obviously a temple legend told the author by the Delphic priests (cf. 35. 2, 39. 1, 2), who would also have furnished the inscription recorded by Diodorus (xi. 14). That the legend was widely accepted is shown by its repetition with minor variations when the Gaul attacked Delphi, 279 B.C. (Paus. x. 23). The stories in Ctesias (*Persica* 25, 27, p. 70) of an attempted

sack by Mardonius who fell there (after Plataea but while Xerxes is marching to Athens) and of actual spoliation by the eunuch Matacas dispatched by Xerxes after his return to Sardis deserve no credit. Even H.'s story is open to grave suspicions. The oracle had certainly shown strong signs of favouring the Mede (cf. vii. 140, 148, 169), and the bulk of the tribes forming the Delphic Amphictyony (cf. vii. 132 n.) had now joined Xerxes; it would therefore be impolitic (cf. Meyer, iii. p. 384) for the Persians to plunder Delphi. This fact they seem themselves to recognize though perhaps not till a year later (ix. 42). The certain fact seems to be that the Persians could have plundered Delphi and did not do so; tradition strongly supports the view that a Persian force marched on Delphi. Three interpretations have been given of this difficult problem.

(1) Xerxes, seeing that Delphi—tempted perhaps by the promised tithe (vii. 132)—wavered (cf. the encouragement to the Greeks (vii. 178, 189), and the second answer to Athens (vii. 141–3)), sent a detachment to take it, which was repulsed on the difficult mountain-road by the Phocians aided by a storm and some manifestations held to be supernatural. Since the priests forbade any defence (cf. 36) and Delphi was an open town, Xerxes might have sent quite a small force expecting no resistance (Duncker vii. 276 n.; Grundy, pp. 349, 350). Afterwards the Persians saw how impolitic any attack on Delphi was.

(2) The Persians who attacked Delphi were a mere band of disorderly plunderers acting without orders (Pomtow, *Jahr. kl. Philol.* cxxix. 227f.). This is, however, opposed to H.'s statement, chaps. 34, 35.

(3) The force was sent to protect Delphi from casual plunderers (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 320), but was perhaps harassed by Phocian zealots from Mount Parnassus. This view assumes that Delphi had come to a definite agreement with Xerxes (Curtius, Wecklein, Meyer), and afterwards put out the legend to cloak its Medism. Casson (*CR* xxviii. 145–51, xxxv. 144) suggests that Xerxes sent a force to Delphi to make an inventory of the temple treasures.

#### **viii. 40–49**

*The Greek fleet at Salamis. Evacuation of Attica* (41). *The navy list* (42–8). *Council of war* (49).

#### **viii. 40**

[2] ὑποκατημένους: transitive here only, “awaiting”; cf. vii. 27. 1. E. Meyer (iii, § 222) holds that this idea only grew up after the campaign of Plataea, and that immediately after Thermopylae no one would have contemplated a pitched battle in Boeotia with Xerxes (cf. app. xx, § 2). The Spartans had no doubt promised that Attica should be defended, but they meant to fulfill their promise at Thermopylae and not on Mount Cithaeron. And whatever the “man in the street” at Athens may have expected, the leaders must have known that resistance in Boeotia was out of the question, and must have ordered the evacuation of Attica as soon as they

heard that Thermopylae was lost, since the people had time to emigrate *en masse* before Xerxes reached Attica.

#### viii. 41

**Τροιζήνα.** Plutarch (*Them.* 10) adds φιλοτίμως πάνυ τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων. καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβόλους ἑκάστῳ δίδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεῖναι πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθούς. We may note that the places of refuge were all commanded by the Athenian fleet, so that the refugees would not become hostages in the hands of the Peloponnesians (Grundy, 353).

[2] τῷ χρηστηρίῳ. The advice to flee given vii. 140. 2, 141. 4.

This snake was known as οἰκουρὸς ὄφις (Ar. *Lys.* 758; Hesych. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἓνα φασίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως). In the earliest form of the legend Erichthonius (Erechtheus) was the sacred serpent (Paus. i. 24. 7; *JHS* xxi. 329); later he becomes the child of Earth and foster son of Athena hidden in a chest, being half-man, half-serpent (Hyginus *Fab.* 166), or a child guarded by serpents (Eur. *Ion* 20f., 267–74; Apollod. iii. 14. 6). For further discussion of the myths of Erichthonius cf. Frazer on Paus. i. 18. 2; Harrison, *Athens*, xxvi–xxxvi; and on the deity as a snake Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 17–21, 325f.

ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ: probably the Erechtheum; cf. chap. 55; v. 72. 3 n.

ὡς ἐόντι. H. will not pledge himself to the existence of the snake, which was believed to be concealed in a secret chest or chamber of the temple, and to prove its existence by the disappearance of the honey-cake offered every new moon (τὰ ἐπιμήνια, cf. vi. 57. 2). Cf. i. 181. 5 n. Plutarch (*Them.* 10) declares that Themistocles suggested to the priests the interpretation of the portent that the cake on this occasion remained untouched.

[3] τῆς θεοῦ: i.e., Athena Polias (v. 82. 3 n.). The snake was the symbol of her foster-child, Erichthonius, and sacred to the goddess herself. For gods deserting a doomed city cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 304f.; Eur. *Tro.* 25; Verg. *Aen.* ii. 351; Hor. *Odes* ii. 1. 25; Tac. *Hist.* v. 13.

#### viii. 42

The haven of **Pogon** lies between the island of Calauria and Troezen. The spacious bay sheltered by the island, with a broad entrance from the northeast giving access to the largest ancient ships, formed an ideal meeting-place.

πολλῶν πλεῦνες. There were fifty-four more ships at Salamis than at Artemisium, and nine new states (Hermione, Ambracia, Leucas, Naxos, Cythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos, Melos, Croton) were represented, while only one, Opuntian Locris, has meanwhile gone over to the enemy (Macan).

[2] οὐ μέντοι γένεος (cf. vii. 173. 2): added because a king or regent might naturally be expected to hold so important a command, as Leotychides did next year (chap. 131f.).

ἄριστα πλεούσας. The speed and handiness of the ship depended even more on the skill of the oarsmen than on the build of the hull: cf. vii. 44, 96. 1, 99. 3.

#### viii. 43

πλήρωμα, used in other authors of a single ship, means “crew,” but of a squadron (here and chap. 45) “total,” for the Corinthians forty, and for the Megarians twenty as at Artemisium.

Here, as in other lists of peoples forming a host, the author appends ethnographic remarks (vii. 61f., viii. 73; cf. Thuc. vii. 57f.). On the Dorians and on Dryopis cf. i. 56 n.

#### viii. 44

H.’s figures, 180 as against 198 from all other states, compare favourably with those of the Attic orator in Thucydides (i. 74), a little less than two-thirds of 400, and with those of Demosthenes (*De Cor.* § 238), 200 out of 300.

μῦνοι. At Artemisium the Plataeans had helped to man the Athenian ships (chap. 1); now the Athenians are said not only to have made good their heavy losses there (chaps. 16 and 18), but to have filled the places of the Plataeans. According to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* chap. 23; cf. Cic. *Off.* i. 22. 75) the Areopagus enabled the fleet to be fully manned by providing eight drachmas for each man; Cleidemus (frag. 13, *FHG* i. 362) ascribed this, too, to a stratagem of Themistocles, but his story deserves little credit (Plut. *Them.* 10).

[2] Κραναοί, “dwellers on the rock, or on the height” (κρα (= κάρ, head) and ? ναίω). αἱ Κρανααί = Athens (cf. Pind. *Ol.* vii. 82 Κρανααῖς ἐν Ἀθήναις, and Ar. *Av.* 123 μείζω τῶν Κραναῶν ζητεῖς πόλιν), and so Κραναὰ πόλις (Ar. *Ach.* 75) and with special reference to the Acropolis, the πόλις proper (cf. Thuc. ii. 15; Paus. i. 26. 6); Ar. *Lysist.* 481. No doubt early Athens and its citadel is to H. Pelasgic (for Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος cf. v. 64. 2; vi. 137. 2, and on Attic Pelasgi i. 56. 2, 57. 3, and app. xv). Hence he does not make the earth-born Cecrops founder of the Acropolis and first king of Athens (Thuc. ii. 15), as do most Attic antiquaries, and Cranaus his successor (Paus. i. 2. 6), but apparently reverses the order. On these old Attic genealogies cf. Harrison, *Athens*, xxi f.

Ἐρεχθέος: cf. chap. 55. We might expect Ἐρεχθεῖδαι (cf. Pind. *Isth.* ii. 19, etc.), instead of Ἀθηναῖοι, but the name Ἀθηναῖοι might well be given to the people of Erechtheus (Erichthonius), the foster son of Athena (Hom. *Il.* ii. 548).

στρατάρχεω: to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 3. 2; cf. Paus. i. 31. 3) he was polemarch and (Philoch. frag. 33; *FHG* i. 389; Strabo 383) gained the victory for the Athenians in the war between Erechtheus (his grandfather) and Eumolpus of Eleusis. The accepted tradition represented him as of foreign origin, the son of Xuthus or

Apollo and Creusa daughter of Erechtheus, and king of the Aegialees (v. 68. 2; vii. 94). Yet his sons give their names to the four old Attic (Ionic) tribes (v. 66. 2 n.). Clearly Ion played too important a part in old Attic mythology to be altogether ignored, but he could not be fitted into the received genealogy of the Attic kings, which ran in unbroken line from Cecrops to Theseus. Hence his ambiguous position (Strabo, Pausanias, loc. cit.) and foreign origin, which is strongly affirmed by Euripides.

#### viii. 45

The Bacchiadae of Corinth are said to have claimed suzerainty over Megara till Orsippus headed his countrymen in a successful revolt a little after 720 B.C. (Paus. i. 44. 1, with Frazer, Hicks, No. 1). Leucas and Ambracia, as well as Anactorium, were founded by sons of Cypselus, and Potidaea by a son of Periander (app. xvi), but the theory that there is a separate list of Corinthian allies either here or on the inscription at Delphi (ix. 81. 1 n.) is untenable (cf. Hicks, No. 19).

#### viii. 46

After ἄλλαι van Herwerden (cf. Stein) supplies δύο καὶ δέκα, because the contingents enumerated only amount to 366 ships, not to 378 as stated by H. (chap. 48; cf. chap. 82. 2). The additional twelve ships would make the Aeginetan contingent (42) second to the Athenian, as Pausanias (ii. 29. 5) states, bringing it above the Corinthian squadron (40). Munro, however, prefers Cobet's ἄλλαι ἰ νέες, partly on palaeographical grounds, partly because the special squadron in Aeschylus (*Pers.* 340) is one of ten ships. The addition of ten ships would make the Aeginetan contingent equal to the Corinthian, and H. may have inadvertently reckoned the two deserters (chap. 82. 2) twice over; cf. *JHS* xxii. 322

ἀπὸ Ἐπιδαύρου: cf. v. 83 n.

Οἰνώνη is the name of the desert island to which Zeus carried the nymph Aegina (cf. v. 80 n.); there she bore Aeacus its first inhabitant (Paus. ii. 29). Pindar (*Isth.* vii. 21) in telling this story calls the island Oenopia, though elsewhere (*Nem.* iv. 46; v. 16; viii. 7) Oenona. Oenone seems to be connected with οἶνον, and may be, like Calliste (iv. 147), rather a descriptive epithet than an earlier name.

[2] ἀπὸ Ἀθηνέων: cf. vii. 95. 1 n.

[3] For Democritus cf. Simonides, frag. 136 (Plut. *De Mal.* 36) Δημόκριτος τρίτος ἦρχε μάχης ὅτε παρ Σαλαμίνα / Ἑλληνες Μήδοις σύμβαλον ἐνπελάγει / πέντε δὲ νῆας ἔλεν δηίων, ἕκτην δ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς / ῥύσατο βαρβαρικῆς Δωριδ' ἄλισκομένην. Perhaps the six ships ascribed to the Naxians by Hellanicus and the five of Ephorus (Plut. loc. cit.) come from an imperfect recollection of this epigram. Plutarch makes H. speak of only three Naxian ships.

[4] Thucydides (vii. 57) is probably wrong in reckoning the men of Styra as Ionians, since Pausanias (iv. 34. 11) confirms H.

Ceos, Cythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos, and Melos are the most western Cyclades nearest Greece.

#### viii. 47

The **Thesproti** (cf. ii. 56; vii. 176. 4) occupied the coast of Epirus as far south as the gulf of Ambracia (Strabo 323). The river Acheron (cf. v. 92. g 2) flows through their land (Thuc. i. 46).

**Φάλλος:** cf. Plut. *Alex.* 34 and especially Paus. x. 9. 2 Φάλλω δὲ Κροτωνιάτη (Ὀλυμπιάσι μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ νίκη, τὰς δὲ Πυθοῖ πεντάθλου δύο ἀνείλετο καὶ σταδίου τὴν τρίτην· ἐναυμάχησε δὲ καὶ ἐναντία τοῦ Μήδου ναῦν τε παρασκευασάμενος οἰκείαν καὶ Κροτωνιατῶν ὅποσοι ἐπεδήμουν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀνεβίβασε), τούτου ἔστιν ἀνδρῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς. Aristophanes twice (*Ach.* 215; *Vesp.* 1206) alludes to Phayllus as a noted runner of the olden time, and probably refers to the hero of the Persian wars, though if so the scholiast is wrong in calling him Ὀλυμπιονίκης. The epigram (*Anth. Pal. App.* 297) ascribing to him a jump of 55 feet and a discus throw of 95 feet appears to be late, and is worthless as an authority (N. Gardiner, *JHS* xxiv. 77–80). It is noticeable that but one trireme came from Greater Greece, and that furnished by a volunteer who had a special connection with the mother country through his athletic victories.

#### viii. 48

Melos was believed to have been colonized from Lacedaemon at the time of the Dorian invasion (Thuc. v. 84. 112) before 1100 B.C.; cf. the colonization of Thera, iv. 147f.

On the numbers cf. 46. 1 n. and app. xix, § 1.

#### viii. 49

τῶν = τουτέων ὧν: the antecedent depends on ὅκου. The fleet might meet with defeat, in which case it was vital that the shore behind should be in the hands of friends; cf. § 2, chap. 76. 2; Thuc. vii. 36.

[2] **συνεξέπιπτον**, “were agreed in” (cf. i. 206. 3), imperfect because the final decision (chap. 63) was to the opposite effect; cf. chap. 123. 2 of voting which led to no result.

For the anacoluthon ἐπιλέγοντες after λεγόντων cf. iii. 16. 3, etc. The construction is κατὰ σύνεσιν, since in sense the previous clause = οἱ δὲ λέγοντες πλεῖστοι ἔγνωσαν.

**ἐξοίσονται:** middle in passive sense as in chap. 76. 2; cf. πολιορκήσονται, above v. 34. 1; viii. 70. 2.

#### viii. 50–55

*Xerxes wastes Attica and seizes Athens. Storming of the Acropolis. Portent of the sacred olive.*

### viii. 50

[2] Ἀθήνας = Attica; cf. v. 57. 2 n.

Θέσπειαν: so Hom. *Il.* ii. 498, though Thespieae is commoner. On its scanty remains cf. Frazer on Paus. ix. 26; so too Πλάταιαν is singular here only in H., elsewhere Πλαταιαί. For similar variations cf. i. 82. 1, 2.

### viii. 51

For the chronology of Xerxes' march cf. vii. 37. 1 n.

Καλλιαδέω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. Though the regular dating by archons is believed by many to go back to the institution of the annual archonship, 683 B.C., and almost certainly extends as far back as Solon, no trace of its use is found in the fragments of historians earlier than H. H. employs it here only, and Thucydides twice (v. 25, ii. 2) Πυθοδώρου ἔτι τέσσαρας μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις; cf. app. xiv, § 1.

[2] τὸ ἄστυ: the lower town as opposed to the Acropolis, i. 14. 4, etc.

τῶ ἱρῶ. Here and elsewhere (cf. chap. 55 n.; v. 72. 3 n.) most naturally taken of a double temple of Athena and Erechtheus on the site of the later Erechtheum (D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, 43f.; Frazer, *P.*, vol. ii, appendix). Since, however, no traces exist of any building there older than that erected during the Peloponnesian war (420–408 B.C.), Dörpfeld and his followers (including in this case E. A. Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, 76–83) interpret this of the old Hecatompedon; cf. v. 72. 3 n.

ταμίας . . . τοῦ ἱροῦ. These officials had charge of the temple property, especially of the costly offerings and treasures kept in the temple. From 434 B.C. the lists of the treasures of Athena and inventories of the treasures in their charge are preserved on Inscriptions (Hicks, 49, 66, etc.). The treasurers (in H.'s days *ten* in number) were taken from the time of Solon from the richest class, Pentacosimedemni (*Ath. Pol.* 7. 3, 8. 1; Gilbert, *G.C.A.*, 241 n.).

φραξάμενοι. This barricade must have been at the western end where the Propylaea were later built; the other sides were protected by precipitous rocks and the old Pelasgic wall. Possibly the old gateways (cf. τὰς πύλας, chap. 52. 2) of the Pelargicon or ἐννεάπυλον (v. 64. 2 n.) still remained and were barricaded (D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, 27f.).

### viii. 52

καταντίον: i.e., northwest and nearly opposite the principal entrance of the Acropolis which is on the west. The Amazons attacking Theseus are said to have seized this hill (Aesch. *Eum.* 688f.).

### viii. 53

H.'s description of this way up as in front of the Acropolis but behind the gates has caused some confusion (e.g., Leake, *Top. Athens*, 264, thinks it implies that H. regarded the north side as the front). The entrance, however, to the subterranean passage (cf. below) faces west, the same direction as the main entrance (πύλαι),

and is about seventy yards to the rear of it (ὄπισθε). Thus H.'s description is both accurate and obvious (E. Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, 47 ff.).

ἀνέβησαν . . . κατὰ τὸ ἱόν. Pausanias (i. 18. 2) repeats this, adding the myth of Aglauros (Agrauros) and her sisters who opened the chest in which Erichthonius was hidden (cf. chap. 41. 2 n.) and then cast themselves down from the rocks above the precinct of Aglauros. "It has generally been supposed that the escalading party either climbed up in the open, where they could hardly have escaped notice, or else ascended by the direct but narrow staircase that may still be seen above the grotto of Aglauros; but so obvious a way if not strongly barricaded, could hardly have been left unguarded. Recent excavations have shown a much more likely route. A natural cleft in the rock runs under or within the northern wall of the Acropolis; its western entrance is in the projecting face of rock just to the west of the cave of Aglauros; it has also an outlet at the eastern end, nearly opposite the west end of the Erechtheum. Where this cleft is within the wall of the Acropolis, it has an opening at the top which gives access to the plateau above it; but there is a sheer drop of about twenty feet, which might well lead the defenders to regard it as needing no guard; and an attacking party, once within the cleft, could ascend at their leisure with scaling ladders or ropes" (E. Gardner, loc. cit.).

Bury (*CR* x. (1896) p. 416) argues that the defence of the Acropolis was undertaken by a regular garrison at the command of the Athenian generals. He lays stress on the length of the defence (συχνὸν χρόνον, 52 ad fin.), reckoned by Busolt (ii. 695) at about a fortnight, on the desirability of satisfying both the rival interpretations of the wooden wall (chap. 51.2; vii. 142), and above all on the consternation caused at Salamis by the capture of the Acropolis (chap. 56).

Munro (*JHS* xxii. 321) accepts this view, though he admits that a fortnight's siege is hard to reconcile with the movements of the Persian fleet (chaps. 66, 70), and the regular occupation of the Acropolis inconsistent with the decree recorded in Plutarch (*Them.* 10), τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικία πάντας ἐμβαίνειν ἐς τὰς τριήρεις: cf. Thuc. i. 73 ἐσβάντες ἐστὰς ναῦς πανδημεί, Aristides, ii. 256 (Dind.). Moreover, the terror in the Greek fleet may be discounted as prevailing among the Peloponnesians always anxious to retreat to the Isthmus, and the συχνὸς χρόνος may only mean a long time under the circumstances (cf. Grundy, op. cit. 358, 359); so it seems better to accept H.'s account. Ctesias (§ 26. 70), who otherwise agrees with H., makes the defenders escape by night, a suggestion uncritically accepted by Wecklein (*Ber. Bayer. Akad.* (1876), 272).

[2] τὸ μέγαρον cannot be distinguished from τὸ ἱόν (chaps. 51. 2 n., 55 n., and v. 72).

#### viii. 54

Artabanus was regent during the king's absence (vii. 52 ad fin.).

ἐνθύμιον: whether he felt remorse for; cf. ii. 175. 5; Thuc. vii. 50. Possibly the real motive was a desire to conciliate the Attic exiles, his future subjects.

### viii. 55

Erechtheus the earthborn, though by genealogists made the son or grandson of Erichthonius, is really his double, the son of Earth and Hephaestus, and foster-child of Athene (cf. chaps. 41. 2 n., 53. 1 n.). For the *ἱερός λόγος* cf. Apollod. iii. 14. 6 and *Il.* ii. 547 *δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη / θρέψε Διὸς* *θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα, / καὶ δ' ἐν Ἀθήνης εἶσεν, ἐὼ ἐν πίονι νηῶν / ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροισι καὶ ἄρνειοῖς ἰλάονται / κουροῖ Ἀθηναίων.* Traditionally he is an ancient king of Athens (cf. 44. 2), founder of the worship of Athena, conqueror of Eumolpus of Eleusis, etc., but he is also identified with Poseidon. (For arguments against the identification cf. Farnell, *G.C.* iv. 47–54.) So a seat in the Dionysiac theatre (Block E. 1; *CIA* iii. 276) belongs to the priest Ποσειδῶνος Γαιόχου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως, cf. the altar of Poseidon in the Erechtheum, “on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus” (Paus. i. 26. 5), and a dedication to Poseidon Erechtheus found there (*CIA* i. 387). Butes, brother of Erechtheus and worshipped in his shrine (Paus. loc. cit.), is the son of Poseidon and Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, originally a sea-nymph (cf. vii. 189. 2 n.).

**ἐλαίη.** For the sacred olive as the life-tree of the state cf. Harrison, *CR* ix. 89, 90. As round the world-ash in the Edda twines the great snake Igdrasil, so the Attic serpent may have coiled round the sacred olive (Macan). The sacred olive (Paus. i. 27. 2 (cf. Frazer); Apollod. iii. 14. 2) stood in the Pandroseum just west of the Erechtheum proper (Philoch. ap. Dion. Hal. *De Dinarcho*, 3; *FHG* i. 409).

**θάλασσα:** the well of sea-water which, when the south wind blew, gave forth the sound of breakers (Paus. loc. cit.), is believed to be the large cistern beneath the Erechtheum proper, i.e., the western division. H. certainly speaks as if both olive and sea were in an actual shrine of Erechtheus presumably ruined by the Persians, but the olive seems to have been outside the later Erechtheum, which was not begun till about 420 B.C.; cf. also v. 72. 3 n.; viii. 51. 2 n. The myth (cf. Apollod. iii. 14. 1) was that Poseidon came first, and, striking with his trident, created the salt well on the Acropolis (above), then Athena made the olive (above); cf. *μαρτύρια θέσθαι* (below); and the land was adjudged to Athena by the witness of Cecrops. The scene was represented on the west gable of the Parthenon (Gardner, op. cit., 293f.; Collignon, *S.G.* ii. 34f.) at the moment of Athena's triumph. There seems no earlier authority for the legend, which may be a reminiscence of a struggle between the worshippers of Poseidon and of Athene (cf. Farnell, op. cit. i. 270).

### viii. 56–65

*Greek councils of war at Salamis ending in a decision to remain there. Anecdotes of Themistocles, Mnesiphilus, Eurybiades, and Adimantus. Invocation of the Aeacidae, and portent of the Eleusinian procession.*

### viii. 56

**τὸ προκείμενον.** The matter laid before the council of war, i.e., the place where they should fight (cf. below and chap. 49). Since the same council appears to have received the news that Xerxes had entered Attica (chap. 50), and also that he had

taken the Acropolis, though the siege took some time (52 ad fin.). H. must have merged into one two councils of war (cf. app. xxi, § 1). The proposal to leave Salamis and retire to the Isthmus attributed to the first council (chap. 49) is far more probable after the fall of the Acropolis, but the panic of the Greeks is as usual exaggerated.

### viii. 57

In the suggestions that the absolute necessity of fighting at Salamis was seen first by Mnesiphilus, and that Themistocles adopted his plan without acknowledgment (chap. 58. 2), we may see the prejudice of H.'s Attic informants (cf. chap. 4. 2 n.; introd. § 31). We may set against the story Themistocles' reputation for matchless wisdom immediately after Salamis (chap. 124), and his dedication after the battle of a shrine to Artemis Aristoboule (Plut. *Them.* 22; *De Mal.* 37), and above all Thucydides' insistence on his originality (i. 138) φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δεόντα ἐγένετο. The dispute whether statesmanship was innate or acquired became a favourite topic in philosophic circles (Xen. *Mem.* iv. 2. 2; *Symp.* viii. 39; Plato *Menex.* 93b, 99b), and Themistocles was a leading instance (Bauer, *Them.*, 72). We may see the result of this in Plutarch, who by silence (*Them.*) or explicitly (*De Mal.* loc. cit.) rejects the intervention of Mnesiphilus on this occasion, and yet retains him as the pupil of Solon and teacher of Themistocles in politics (*Them.* 2; *Mor.* 154, 795c). The anecdote here is surely apocryphal (cf. Busolt, ii. 641 n.; Meyer, iii, § 223 n.).

### viii. 59

All the later writers (Plut. *Them.* 11; Ael. *V.H.* xiii. 40; Aristid. ii. 258 Dind.) except pseudo-Plut. *Mor.* 185b represent the scene as taking place between Eurybiades and Themistocles, thus unduly emphasizing the rivalry between Sparta and Athens and obscuring the hostility of Corinth. They add more picturesque detail, e.g., Plut. *Them.* 11 ἐπαραμένον δὲ (Εὐρυβιάδου) τὴν βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφη, πάταξον μὲν, ἄκουσον δέ.

**προεξανιστάμενοι**: probably of a race: "those who start before the signal," and "those left at the post." Themistocles should have waited till the president called on him.

**ῥαπίζονται** are beaten by the ῥαβδοῦχοι (constables) at the orders of the stewards (ἀγωνοθέται). Thus Lichas was beaten for a breach of the rules at Olympia (Paus. vi. 2. 2; Thuc. v. 50; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2. 21).

### viii. 60

[a] Ἐν σοί. This recalls the address of Miltiades to Callimachus (vi. 109. 3).

**ἀναζεύγης**: in Attic intransitive, in H. (cf. ix. 41. 2, 58. 3) transitive. Here an expression proper only for an army and its baggage train is transferred to a fleet.

**βαρύτερας**, "of heavier build," is quite suitable to the argument here, and should not be emended (as by Stein) to βαρδυτέρας in deference to Plutarch's description

of the Greek ships as lower and lighter, and the barbarian as heavy and unwieldy, with lofty decks and poops (*Them.* 14). This description is not borne out by anything in H. (cf. viii. 10. 1) and may have been taken from some later battle, e.g., Actium.

[b] In the open sea the enemy could surround the weaker Greek fleet (chap. 16), in the narrows their very numbers would be against them as well as their ignorance of the fairway. The Greek ships were inferior to the enemy in maneuvering (chap. 10. 1). Only the great superiority in this acquired by the Athenians between 480 and 430 B.C. (cf. *Thuc.* i. 49) justified the opposite tactics of Phormio (*Thuc.* ii. 90).

[c] Without a fleet Xerxes would be driven to retreat by lack of supplies, as well as by the fear that he might be cut off from his kingdom.

λόγιον: cf. vii. 141. 4.

H., after a clear statement of the arguments for fighting at Salamis, makes Themistocles end with a piece of proverbial wisdom similar to that ascribed to Artabanus, vii. 10. *d* 2.

### viii. 61

ἐπιψηφίζειν ἀπόλι ἀνδρὶ means “to take a vote on the motion of a man without a city” (cf. *Thuc.* vi. 14), the point being that Themistocles, no longer representing a city, has no right to make a motion (*sententiam dicere*). For γνώμας συμβάλλεσθαι cf. v. 92. *a* 2.

### viii. 62

[2] **Siris**, fabled to be of Trojan origin (Strabo 264), was on the river of the same name half-way between Sybaris and Tarentum. Apparently it was colonized from Colophon and imitated Sybaris in wealth and luxury (*Athen.* 523). Probably it also resembled Sybaris in the possession of an overland trade, since we find alliance coins with the names of Siris and Pyxus on them (Hill, *G. and R.C.*, 104). It is said to have been conquered by its Achaean neighbours, Sybaris, Croton, and Metapontum (before 510 B.C., *Justin* xx. 2; cf. Pais, *Ancient Italy*, 67–86). Later, after 440, Siris was re-founded by Thurii and Tarentum jointly, though accounted a Tarentine colony. Finally, 433–431 B.C., most of its inhabitants removed to Heraclea, Siris remaining the port of that colony.

ἡμετέρη . . . ἐκ παλαιού. The claims of Athens to Siris seem shadowy, resting only on her headship of the Ionic race. But that the idea of westward expansion, afterwards so popular at Athens, had occurred to Themistocles is suggested by the names of his daughters Italia and Sybaris (*Plut. Them.* 32), by his supposed relations with Hiero (*Plut. Them.* 24, 25), if they be not fictions of Stesimbrotus and Theophrastus (*Schaefer, Philol.* xviii. 187), and by his interest in Corcyra (*Plut. Them.* 24; *Thuc.* i. 136). It is, however, possible that Themistocles, following the oracle, only threatened westward emigration vaguely, and that the precise spot was fixed on later, when Athenian interest had become centred on New Sybaris (450 B.C.) and Thurii (445 B.C.). At that time there would be many old oracles, real

or spurious, encouraging colonization there. The idea of emigration *en masse* had been mooted more than once in Ionia (i. 170), but would have been hard to carry out in this case.

#### viii. 64

**ἀκροβολισάμενοι:** a metaphor from “skirmishing,” as λόγων ὤθισμός (78) from hand-to-hand fighting. For this summons to the Aeacidae cf. v. 80. The idea clearly is that the coming of the image would ensure also the spiritual presence and aid of the heroes; cf. the coming of the ark to the camp of Israel (1 Sam. iv. 3).

Apparently only Aeacus and Phocus were regarded in legend as inhabitants of Aegina, and possibly the images are of these two heroes, but their descendants in Thessaly (Peleus, etc.) and Phocis (Paus. ii. 29. 2) would have a share in their honours.

#### viii. 65

The Eleusinian plain lies southwest of Mount Parnes, being divided from the Attic plain by Mount Poikilon and Daphni, and bounded on the north and west by Cithaeron and the highlands of Megara. It is called Thriasian (ix. 7. b 2; Thuc. i. 114, ii. 19–21) from the important deme of Thria, which lay probably at Kalyvia, three miles east-northeast of Eleusis. The regular route from Thebes, by which the Persian infantry would naturally come, led to the Thriasian plain a little north of Eleusis. Plutarch (*Them.* 15) puts this vision on the day of the battle, which would thus be on the 20th Boedromion (Plut. *Phoc.* 28, *Cam.* 19). It is, however, evident that Plutarch derived all the details of his account, except “a great light that shone from Eleusis,” from H., and that the historian believed that Dicaeus saw the portent at least a day, and perhaps several days, before the battle. Busolt (ii. 703–4) argues that the battle took place a few days after the 20th Boedromion (= Sept. 22) and some days before the eclipse (Oct. 2, 480), which prevented Cleombrotus from molesting the retreat of Xerxes (ix. 10), probably Sept. 27 or 28.

**τρισμυρίων.** The number is the conventional estimate for the Athenian citizen-body in the days of H. (v. 97. 2 n.), since citizens were expected to accompany the procession *en masse* (Plut. *Alc.* 34). The old temple or hall of initiation destroyed by the Persians was, as is shown by excavations, only about 82 feet square, and could not hold any such number; indeed, even the larger hall begun by Pericles (about 170 feet square) only seems to have provided seats for some 3,000 on the eight tiers of steps round it (Frazer, *P.*, ii. 503). Of course, many Athenians were not initiated.

[2] The poetical words, ἀδαήμονα, σίνος, ἀρίδηλα, may be derived from the source used by H. They clearly suit the tone of the story.

[4] The great procession from Athens to Eleusis along the sacred way took place on the 20th Boedromion (Eur. *Ion* 1076, cf. above). It bore the name Iacchus because in it the statue of the child Iacchus, with his cradle and playthings, was borne, escorted by Ephebi and followed by the Mystae bearing torches and singing hymns (Ar. *Ran.* 398–413). Frequent sacrifices and ceremonies on the road made

the procession last from daybreak till late at night. All through the day there was constant invocation of the god (Ἰαγῆχ' ὦ Ἰαγῆχε, Ar. loc. cit.).

For the worship of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis cf. Farnell, *Greek Cults*, iii. 126–98; Harrison, *Prolegomena*, chap. iv ad fin., chap. x ad fin.

[6] **Δίκαιος ὁ Θεοκύδεος**. This isolated anecdote was surely preserved by oral tradition. It gives no support to P. Trautwein's hypothesis that Dicaeus left memoirs from which H. drew freely (*Hermes*, xxv. 527–66).

### viii. 66–69

*Persian fleet at Phalerum. Council of War. Decision to fight against Artemisia's advice.*

### viii. 66

This resumes the diary of the Persian fleet, broken off in chap. 25, and takes it from Aphetae to Phalerum in nine days, six given here, one spent in going from Aphetae to Histiaea (chap. 23), one at Thermopylae, and one in returning to Histiaea (chap. 25) (Macan).

[2] The reinforcements which reached the land army, which H. (ix. 32. 2) estimates at 50,000, may well have balanced the losses. Accordingly Tarn (*JHS* xxviii. 204 n.) would save H.'s credit by taking him to refer not to ships or crews, but solely to fighting men, including marines. For the fleet the idea of compensation is absurd. H. has reckoned the loss from storms (vii. 190; viii. 13) at 600 ships, besides mentioning losses in battle amounting to perhaps a hundred more (vii. 194; viii. 11, 14, 16), thus reducing his grand total of 1,327 (cf. vii. 89. 1, 184. 1, 185. 1) to some 600 (cf. Diod. xi. 19, 27). He then found himself confronted with Aeschylus' computation of the fleet at Salamis (1,207; *Pers.* 341), which he had used earlier (vii. 89. 1) and reverted to it, setting against the enormous losses (cf. above and especially chap. 13 ad fin.) the scanty contingents of a few islands of doubtful loyalty (§ 2; cf. vii. 95).

**καὶ μάλα**, "and further"; cf. i. 134. 3. H. here turns to those who furnished ships.

**τῶν πέντε πολιῶν**. Six states (i.e., islands, cf. iii. 139. 1) are mentioned in chap. 46. Ceos, Naxos, Cythnos, Seriphos, Siphnos, Melos. The one here forgotten (Ceos according to Stein and Melos according to Macan) is most probably Seriphos, which is not found on the Delphic offering (ix. 81 n.).

### viii. 67

**ἐκαραδόκεον**: cf. vii. 163. 2, 168. 2. Neutrality did not save Paros (chap. 112), which had already suffered at the hands of Miltiades (vi. 133–5).

[2] **προΐζετο**. The king sat as πρόεδρος on a raised seat or throne (iv. 88. 1; vii. 44). Elsewhere H. uses προκατίζειν (i. 14. 3, 97. 1) or προκατίζεσθαι (v. 12. 2).

**ταξίαρχοι**: here and in vii. 99. 1 of sea captains, elsewhere more properly of army officers.

For Sidonian precedence cf. vii. 100. 2 n. The absence of all mention of the four Persian admirals (vii. 97) and the prominence of Mardonius are suspicious features in this council; cf. app. xxi.

### viii. 68

[a] εἰπεῖν. For infinitive in imperative sense cf. iii. 134. 5; *Il.* xiv. 501.

ἐοῦσαν: true; cf. i. 30. 3, 95. 1, etc. The δέ emphasizes the contrast between the feigned assent of the majority and Artemisia's own frank opinion.

ἄνδρες γυναικῶν. This shrewish saying is remembered by Xerxes (chap. 88. 3); for its bitterness cf. ix. 107. The land forces are not rated much higher, vii. 210 n. (Macan).

[c] Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 728 ναυτικός στρατός κακῶθεις πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν.

Artemisia does not here venture to decry the Phoenicians, but cf. chap. 100. 4.

### viii. 69

τετιμημένης. We should expect the dative agreeing with αὐτῇ, but the genitive shows that H. is giving us not a mere motive for the envy felt but a real fact, cf. chap. 90. 1; i. 3. 2, etc.

ἀνακρίσι, "objection"; cf. ἀνακρίνεσθαι, "wrangle" (ix. 56. 1) compared with ix. 55. 1, etc. So Plato, *Charm.* 176c and *Phdr.* 277e.

### viii. 70–82

*The day before the battle of Salamis. First movement of the Persian fleet (70). Fortification of the Isthmus with digression on the ethnology of the Peloponnese (71–3). Greek council of war and stratagem of Themistocles (74–5). Second movement of the Persian fleet and occupation of Psyttaleia (76). Oracle of Bacis (77). Debate of Greek generals. Arrival of Aristides and of the Tenians (78–82).*

### viii. 70

παρεκρίθησαν, "were drawn up in order of battle"; cf. ix. 98. 2. H. here seems to place the movement of the main Persian fleet from Phalerum the afternoon before the battle (cf. however chap. 76); Aeschylus clearly puts it after nightfall (*Pers.* 377f.); cf. app. xxi, § 3.

### viii. 71

ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. The Persian army never reached even Megara (cf. ix. 14). Doubtless its advance was connected with the projected encircling movement of the fleet (chap. 76).

Possession of the Attic shore (as of Psyttaleia; cf. chap. 76. 2) would enable the Persians to save their own stranded ships and shipwrecked men and to destroy those of the enemy.

[2] συγχώσαντες. The word implies an artificially constructed way (cf. vii. 115. 3), but there was no carriage road till Hadrian made one, of which some traces

remain (Paus. i. 44. 6), though according to Megarian legend, Sciron made a footpath for travellers. Now there is a highway and railroad, but fifty years ago the path still deserved its modern name, Kake Scala. It was indeed the shortest of the three ways across Geranea into the Peloponnese, but “for six miles it ran along a narrow crumbling ledge half-way up the face of an almost sheer cliff at a height of six to seven hundred feet above the sea . . . Nothing was easier than to make such a path impassable” (cf. Frazer, *P.*, ii. 547; Strabo 391).

**οἰκοδόμειον . . . τεῖχος** (cf. Diod. xi. 16). This wall, from the materials and haste with which it was built, would seem to have been a temporary field-work. Neither Thucydides nor Xenophon alludes to any such impediment to the march of troops across the Isthmus. In 369 B.C. (Diod. xv. 68) an ineffectual attempt was made to bar the Isthmus against Epaminondas by making a palisade and trench from Cenchreae to Lechaemum. A wall seems to have protected the Peloponnese against the Gallic invasion, 279 B.C. (Paus. vii. 6. 7), and more certainly in the days of Valerian (253 A.D.) there was a wall, repaired later by Justinian, and last used by the Venetians in 1463 and 1696. It may still be traced from sea to sea running along a line of low cliffs, a little south of the modern canal, and is best preserved near the Isthmian sanctuary; cf. Frazer, *P.*, iii. 5–6.

**ἦνετο**: the work does not seem to have been finished till the following summer; cf. ix. 7. The wood would be for palisades, the sand for mortar, and also for filling up along with other rubble the spaces between the outer faces of the walls.

#### **viii. 72**

**πάντες** goes with Ἀρκάδες, implying that all their cities and cantons took part; cf. vii. 202 n.

**Ὀλύμπια . . . Κάρνεια**. These had previously prevented (or at least excused) the Peloponnesians from gathering their full force; cf. vii. 206.

#### **viii. 73**

For a similar ethnographic summary cf. iv. 37f. H. is followed by Pausanias (v. 1). For further information on the peoples of Peloponnese cf. chap. 43, and on the Dorians and the Dorian conquest i. 56 nn.

**Ἀρκάδες**: held to be Pelasgi (cf. i. 146. 1), being autochthonous (ii. 171. 3), as was generally agreed in Greece.

**τὸ Ἀχαιϊκόν**. For the conquest of the north coast of Peloponnese by the Achaeans when driven out by the Dorians cf. i. 145. 1, vii. 94, and Paus. v. 1; Strabo 383.

[2] **Αἰτωλῶν**: cf. Strabo 354; Paus. v. 3. 5.

**Δρυόπων**: cf. chap. 43 and i. 56 n.

**Ἑρμιῶν**: commonly called “Hermione.” A maritime city opposite the isle of Hydra with two excellent harbours (Paus. ii. 34f.).

**Ἀσίνη.** The old Asine was on the coast (Paus. ii. 36. 4) near Nauplia (Strabo 373), probably at Tolon, five miles southeast of Nauplia. It was destroyed by the Dorian Argives during the first Messenian war, and its Dryopian inhabitants taking refuge with the Spartans were given a new home in the conquered Messenian land on the west coast of the Coronaeon Gulf near its southern headland Acritas (cf. Paus. iv. 14. 3, 34. 6f.). This is the city here meant, Cardamyle lying just across the gulf on the Laconian coast.

**Παρωρεῖται:** in Triphylia (cf. iv. 148. 4 n.); they were Minyan immigrants from Lemnos (iv. 145f.).

[3] The meaning seems to be: “The Cynurians being autochthonous, appear to be Ionians, and the only ones left in the Peloponnese” (the Aegialians having been driven out). Pausanias (iii. 2. 2 λέγονται δὲ οἱ Κυνουρεῖς Ἀργεῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν εἶναι, καὶ οἰκιστὴν φασιν αὐτῶν Κύνουρον γενέσθαι τοῦ Περσέως) would derive them from the pre-Dorian inhabitants of Argos. It is probable that they belong to the aboriginal population, but there seems no special reason for holding them to be Ionic. H. here as elsewhere (cf. i. 56) makes Ionians a branch of Pelasgi.

Apparently the town Orneae (about thirteen miles northwest of Argos) was reduced by Argos to a status similar to that of the Laconian Perioecic towns under Sparta. Hence all the other Perioeci of Argos were termed Orneatae; cf. the Caerites at Rome. Stein holds that καὶ περιόικοι is an adscript, on the grounds that Cynuria had belonged to Sparta at least since about 550 B.C. (i. 82; Thuc. v. 41), and that the Argive Perioeci, some of whom are said to have been enfranchised (Arist. *Pol.* 1303a 8), and who were all, including the Orneatae (Thuc. v. 67), treated as σύμμαχοι (Thuc. v. 47, 77), had been united with Argos (Paus. viii. 27. 1). But περιόικοι may well be an explanation of Ὀρνεᾶται.

**ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατέατο:** cf. 22. 2. This implies a condemnation of the Argives; cf. vii. 148f.

#### viii. 74

**ὄμως:** although they knew of their unremitting work at the wall.

[2] **ἔξεροράγη,** “broke out”; of ill temper hitherto restrained (vi. 129. 4), here impersonal; cf. iii. 71. 1, 82. 3. This disorderly meeting, which is apparently the council of generals (chaps. 75, 78. 1), debated the same subjects as before (chap. 49); cf. app. xxi, § 1.

**οἱ μὲν . . . Ἀθηναῖοι δέ:** as if πολλὰ ἔλεγον, not ἐλέγετο, had gone before; cf. Aesch. *P.V.* 203; Thuc. iv. 23; Soph. *Ant.* 259.

#### viii. 75

**ἔσσοῦτο τῇ γνώμῃ:** opposed to γνώμη νικᾶν (i. 61. 3) = “that his view would be defeated.”

**πολιήτας.** Losses at Thermopylae and elsewhere (vii. 222; ix. 30) had so much diminished the number of Thespians that the city was glad to welcome

immigrants (ἐποίκους). That Sicinnus was a Greek is stated by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 355) and supported by his enfranchisement. Plutarch (*Them.* 12) must be wrong in calling him a Persian, though he may have been an Asiatic Greek (Grote).

[2] Aeschylus (*Pers.* 353f.) rightly attributes the king's resolution to advance on Salamis to this message. On its purport and on the differences between Aeschylus and Herodotus cf. app. xxi, § 3.

#### viii. 76

On the occupation of Psyttaleia and the other movements cf. app. xxi, § 4f.

**Κέον . . . καὶ . . . Κυνόσουραν.** These names cause a difficulty. They seem to be taken from the oracle of Bacis (chap. 77). That oracle may well have had reference originally not to Salamis but to Artemisium; if so, Ceos would be the well-known island, Cynosura the promontory near Marathon, and the temple of Artemis that at Brauron (cf. Munro, *JHS* xxii. 306 n.). Afterwards the prophecy was applied to Salamis and the temple of Artemis identified with that at Munychia. Blakesley, following Larcher, believes that H. intends to describe the closing up of Persian squadrons from these distant points, but the nearest of them, Ceos, is forty miles off Salamis, while Cynosura is sixty miles away, so that the supposed movement is impossible. It seems probable that Cynosura (dog's tail) really was the name of the long tongue of land reaching out from Salamis towards Psyttaleia, and that Ceos and Munychia are mentioned because the prophecy must be fulfilled. Stein and Hauvette believe Ceos to be identical with Cynosura, the former, as the regular name, coming first and explaining the obsolete synonym; for this use of τε καί cf. chaps. 43, 73. 3. Beloch's (*Klio* viii. 477) suggestion that Ceos is the old name of Lipso Kutali (Psyttaleia) and his attempt to find the true Psyttaleia in the isle of St. George are not acceptable (app. xxi, § 5 n.).

[*Additional note* (1928). Munro now (*CAH* iv. 305f.) adopts Blakesley's view on Ceos and Cynosura. He holds that the Pontic or Hellespontine squadron, originally left behind at Abydos, had now been ordered up, and that its divisions had reached Ceos and Cynosura (near Marathon), but were too late for the battle of Salamis.]

[2] Aeschylus implies that the Persians sent a squadron round the island to enclose the Greeks. It must have been these detached ships from which Aristides had to flee (79, 81), yet they are never clearly mentioned in H.

Psyttaleia, said by Aeschylus to have been occupied by the flower of the Persian host, is described *Pers.* 447f. νῆσός τις ἐστὶ πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων / βαιά, δύσορμος ναυσίν, ἣν ὁ φιλόχορος / Πὰν ἐμβατεύει . . . ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ' ὄπως, ὅτ' ἐκ νεῶν / φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκσωζοῖατο, / κτείνοιεν εὐχείρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν, / φίλους δ' ὑπεκώζοιεν ἐναλίων πόρων. Cf. also Plut. *Arist.* 9 τὴν Ψυττάλειαν ἢ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται. For the argument drawn from this as to the site of the battle cf. app. xxi, §§ 4, 5.

[3] οὐδὲν ἀποκοιμηθέντες, "without having refreshed themselves with sleep"; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 383.

### viii. 77

This is perhaps the strongest profession of faith in oracles to be found in H., often as he delights to notice the fulfillment of prophecy (cf. chaps. 20. 1 n., 96; ix. 43). His faith is in marked contrast with the scepticism of Thucydides (ii. 17, 54; v. 26). Probably the ordinary Athenian leaned to the side of faith. During the Peloponnesian war, oracles attributed to ancient seers, above all to Bacis (chap. 20. 1 n.), were widely current at Athens (Thuc. ii. 8, 21). The keenness of the conflict between superstition and scepticism is shown by the frequent parodies of oracles in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 120f., 997f.; *Pax* 1060f.; cf. below).

The beginning ἀλλ' ὅταν was common in oracles (i. 55. 2; iii. 57. 4; vi. 77. 2), and was therefore (with the variation ἀλλ' ὅποταν) affected by the parodist, Ar. *Eq.* 197; *Av.* 967; *Lys.* 770.

**χρυσασόρου:** an epithet of Apollo "of the golden sword" (*Il.* v. 509; xv. 256) transferred to his sister.

**ἱερὸν ἀκτῆν:** in Hesiod, *Op.* 597, 805 = the holy corn of Demeter, here "the hallowed shore."

**γεφυρώσωσι.** The great Persian fleet might seem to stretch like a bridge across the straits, either (1) at Salamis, which H. plainly understands the oracle to mean, there being temples of Artemis both at Salamis itself (Paus. i. 36. 1) and at Munychia on the Attic shore (Paus. i. 1. 4); or (2) if the oracle referred to the fighting off Euboea, (a) at Artemisium (vii. 176), or (b) between Euboea and Attica, or finally across the bay of Marathon from Cynosura to Halae Araphenides and Brauron, the sites of two temples to Artemis (Eur. *I.T.* 1450f.; Strabo 399). But the oracle is best regarded as a *vaticinium post eventum* of Salamis.

**ὕβριος υἰόν:** cf. vi. 86. c 2; Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 10 ὕβριν κόρον ματέρα θρασύμυθον, Aesch. *Ag.* 766f. Conversely, Solon, frag. 8; Theogn. 153 τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν.

**ἀνὰ πάντα πιθέσθαι** seems meaningless, yet ἀνατίθεσθαι is strange, and ἀναπίεσθαι, "swallow up," rare and late. The concluding sentence rather clumsily resumes and repeats in another form the opening words of the chapter.

### viii. 78

**ὤθισμός:** wordy strife; cf. ix. 26. 1; iii. 76. 3; and similarly ἀκροβολισάμενοι (64. 1), ἀμφισβασίη (81).

### viii. 79

The narrative of H. suggests, though it does not assert, that this was the first return of Aristides to his country after his ostracism, which took place at the time of Themistocles' increase of the fleet (*Ath. Pol.* 22) in 483–482, or a little before (484–483, Jerome, Eusebius). But it appears that the general return of exiles must be placed in the archonship of Hypsichides, i.e., before June 480 (*Ath. Pol.* 22), though Plutarch (*Arist.* 8) makes it synchronize with Xerxes' march through Thessaly and Boeotia (July-August). Again, Xanthippus, who had also been ostracized, returned

before the evacuation of Attica (Plut. *Cato Mai.* 5; Philoch, frag. 84, *FHG* i. 397). Finally, in the capture of Psyttaleia, Aristides acts as general in command of a large force of Attic hoplites, i.e., appears to be one of the *strategi* (chap. 95 n.). If so, he must have been sent to Aegina on some mission, perhaps to take Athenian refugees thither (Grundy, p. 390), or to fetch the Aeacidae thence (Bury, *CR* x. 414f.). The objection that while Aristides reached Salamis overnight, the trireme with the Aeacidae is not reported to have arrived till next morning (viii. 83), is parried by Burrows' remark (*CR* xi. 258) that Aristides did not arrive till after midnight (viii. 76, 81), so that the sailors would have already turned in, and so would not welcome the Aeacidae till daybreak. Nor is it easy to see how any ship could have evaded the Persian blockade after Aristides. The objections remain that the trireme which fetched the Aeacidae must surely have been Aeginetan (viii. 64, 83, 84), and that, had Aristides been commissioned to escort the Aeacidae, H. would have known and mentioned so interesting a fact. With this character of Aristides cf. Plut. *Arist.* 3, where the people in the theatre apply to him the line of Aeschylus about Amphiarus (*Sept.* 592) οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει, and Timocreon, frag. 1 ap. Plut. *Them.* 21 ἀλλ' εἰ τύγε Πausανίαν ἢ καὶ τύγε Εὐάνθιππον αἰνέεις / ἢ τύγε Λευτυχίδα, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδα ἐπαινέω / ἄνδρ' ἰεῖραν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν / ἐλθεῖν ἕνα λῶστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆ ἤχθαιρε Λατῶ / ψεύσταν, ἄδικον, προδόταν, ὃς Τιμοκρέοντα ξεῖνον ἔοντ' / ἀργυροῖσι σκυβαλικοῖσι πεισθεῖς οὐ κατᾶγεν εἰς πατρίδ' Ἰάλυσον.

**[2] στὰς ἐπί:** not “appearing before” (as in iii. 46. 1), but “standing at the doors of,” since he calls Themistocles out (cf. ἐξῆλθε, § 2). Probably only the commander-in-chief of Athens, Themistocles (vii. 173. 2; viii. 4, 19, 61), would have the right to attend the council.

**[4] αὐτόπτης.** The new fact hitherto unknown to which Aristides can bear witness, is the complete envelopment of the Greeks by the Persian squadron sent round Salamis, blocking retreat to the west (cf. app. xxi, § 5). The advance of the main body to block the eastern straits could hardly have escaped notice.

#### viii. 81

ἐκπλῶσαι implies that Aristides had a difficulty in putting out from Aegina, hence διεκπλῶσαι (cf. Plut. *Arist.* 8 διεκπλεύσας), “slipping through the enemy,” is better.

#### viii. 82

**Τηνίων.** Diodorus (xi. 17) speaks of a Samian sent by the Ionians, and Plutarch, or his copyist (*Them.* 12), of a Tenedian ship, but Tenos duly appears on the snake supporting the tripod dedicated at Delphi (ix. 81 n.) as well as on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. v. 23).

**κατελοῦσι:** cf. Thuc. i. 132 ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα.

**Τῆ Λημνίη:** cf. chap. 11. 3.

### viii. 83–96

*The day of battle at Salamis. Exploits on both sides.*

### viii. 83

**οἱ . . . ποιησάμενοι.** H. begins to say that the generals called an assembly and addressed it, and then only names Themistocles as making a speech, alluding to the other speakers merely by the words ἐκ πάντων, for which cf. i. 134. 2.

“The whole speech was a contrast of the better and the worse in all that belongs to man’s nature and condition.” H. spares us the well-worn antitheses, victory and defeat, freedom and slavery, etc. Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 402 ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε, / ἔλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ’, ἔλευθεροῦτε δέ, / παιῖδας, γυναικίνας, θεῶν τε πατρῶων ἔδη, / θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.

[2] **καταπλέξας**, “having wound up,” i.e., finished (iv. 205. 1).

**κατά:** to fetch the Aeacidae; cf. chap. 84. 2; iii. 4. 2; and for the facts chap. 64.

### viii. 84

**ἀνεκροῦντο**, “the other Greeks were beginning to back water and to run their ships ashore”; this is not in Aeschylus (cf. app. xxi, § 7).

**Παλληνεύς** (cf. 93. 1): from the well-known deme Pallene (i. 62. 3). According to Plutarch (*Them.* 14) he was of Decelea, and according to Diodorus (xi. 27; cf. Ael. *V.H.* v. 19, and the *Vita Aeschyli*), he was a brother of Aeschylus, but since the poet was thought to be of Eleusis (*Vit. Aesch.*; schol. Ar. *Ran.* 886), this is perhaps a confusion. If Aeschylus is relating his brother’s exploits, the simplicity of *Pers.* 408f. has a double charm. He probably believed the Athenians began the battle, since the Phoenician ships were arrayed against them (85. 1; *Pers.* 410).

[2] If the Aeginetans were on the other wing of the Greek fleet (Diod. xi. 18), each city might be honestly convinced that their champions had begun the battle. Very possibly the Aeginetans, who won the prize for valour, were right in their claim, yet the mention of the trireme bearing the Aeacidae looks like the invention of a happy omen.

### viii. 85

**ἑσπέρης.** The true points of the compass are northwest and southeast; cf. vii. 36. 2, 176. 3. H. is probably under the misapprehension that the two fleets were ranged along the sides of the straits, but the true explanation would seem to be that each fleet pushed forward its right wing (Aesch. *Pers.* 399, 409, and app. xxi, § 7; Grundy, p. 397), which could be supported by troops posted on the shore behind it. The Athenians, as at Plataea, had the left wing, the post second in honour (ix. 26f.), the Lacedaemonians the post of honour on the extreme right. Diodorus (xi. 18) wrongly stations the Lacedaemonians with the Athenians, and puts the Megarians and Aeginetans on the right. He agrees in putting the Phoenicians on the right and the Ionians on the left of the Persian line (xi. 17), adding that the Cyprians, Cilicians, Pamphylians, and Lycians were between them arranged in

that order (xi. 19). This geographical order may be taken from the list of ships in vii. 90–2.

τὰς . . . ἐντολάς; cf. chap. 22.

[2] The exception is due to the author's peculiar interest in Samos. Theomestor must have received his reward at once and enjoyed it less than a year, since Samos was freed again in 479; cf. ix. 90f.

[3] Enrolment as a benefactor was an honour not uncommonly paid to foreigners by Greek states (cf. 136. 1 n.). It was also a regular Persian custom (cf. chap. 90. 4; iii. 140, 154, 160; vi. 30), as is proved by the book of Esther (vi. 1f.; cf. ii. 23), the inscription of Gadatas (Hicks No. 20) διὰ ταῦτά σοι κείσεται μεγάλη χάρις ἐμ βασιλείωσ οἴκω, Thuc. i. 129 κείται σοι εὐεργεσία ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρω οἴκω ἐς αἰεὶ ἀνάγκραπτος, and Arr. *Anab.* iii. 27. 4.

ὄροσάγγαι (Soph. frag. 193; Hesych., Phot.) = σωματοφύλακες τοῦ βασιλέωσ, and in this sense might come from old Pers. *var.*, "to guard" and *khshâyata*, "king," but Nymphis (frag. 12; *FHG* iii. 14) explains it as here, ξένοι βασιλείοι. Rawlinson suggests *khur sangha* (Zend), "worthy of praise or record."

#### viii. 86

H., but for this short chapter on the general disorder and a sentence or two in chap. 89, gives us no description of the movements in the battle, such as we get at Mycale, as well as at Marathon and Plataea. In his account the fighting resolves itself into a series of individual exploits without connected plan. The general picture in Aesch. *Pers.* 412f. is striking, τὰ πρῶτα μὲν νυν ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ / ἀντειχεν ὡς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν / ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοισ παρῆν, / αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐμβολοῖσ χαλχοστόμοισ / παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον, / Ἑλληνικαὶ τε νῆεσ οὐκ ἀφρασμόνωσ / κύκλω περίξ ἔθεινον, ὑπτιοῦτο δὲ / σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν, / ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνου βροτῶν.

αὐτοὶ ἐωυτῶν (cf. ii. 25. 5) seems to mean "they proved themselves better men than when off Euboea, and, indeed, surpassed themselves."

#### viii. 87

[2] *συνήνεικε*, "which turned out to her advantage"; cf. ix. 37. 4. The stress is on the double result of her action in saving herself from pursuit and in winning the praise of Xerxes (chap. 88).

φέρουσα, "full speed," elsewhere the middle or passive is used in this sense; cf. chaps. 90. 2, 91, etc.

Καλυνδέων: from Calynda, on the borders of Caria and Lycia; cf. i. 172. 2; vii. 99. 2 n.

[3] H. leans to the alternative that Artemisia fell foul of that particular ship by chance; cf. συνεκύρησε κατὰ τύχην παραπεσοῦσα. As one of her own squadron (vii. 99) it would be near her.

[4] **τριήραρχος**: the brave Ameinias (chap. 93. 1).

**αὐτοῖσι** refers as usual not to the nearer object (τὴν νέα) but to the more remote τριήραρχος (cf. i. 111. 1 ad fin.) by a *constructio ad sensum*.

#### viii. 88

[2] **τὸ ἐπίσημον**: probably (cf. 92. 2 σημήιον) figure-head at the bow of a ship (iii. 37. 2 n., 59. 3), not flag. Polyaeus (viii. 53. 1) says Artemisia varied her colours, showing now Greek, now Persian, but this is unlikely, though flags are represented as early as this at the sterns of Athenian ships (Torr, *Anc. Ships*, 100).

**ἐπισταμένους**, “knowing,” but ἠπιστέατο (below), “they believed.” Similarly ἐπιλέξασθαι is carelessly used in two senses (chap. 22. 1), ἐξελεῖν (chap. 121. 1), ἀναθεῖναι (ii. 135. 3).

#### viii. 89

**Ἀριαβίγνης**: commander of the Ionian and Carian contingent (vii. 97). Plutarch (*Them.* 14) speaks of the death of the king’s brother and admiral Ariamenes. He elsewhere (*Mor.* 488d; cf. Justin, ii. 10) speaks of the same Ariamenes as having contested the throne with Xerxes, where H. (vii. 2) writes of Artobazanes.

**χειρῶν νόμῳ** = Attic ἐν χειρσί, *comminus*, in hand-to-hand fighting; cf. ix. 48. 2.

[2] For the Persian formation cf. app. xxi, § 7.

#### viii. 90

[3] Samothrace was naturally held to be a colony of Samos (Paus. vii. 4. 3), but probably in the eyes of the Persians all the maritime peoples of the Aegean were “Ionian”; cf. iv. 138; vi. 8; vii. 95. For the execution of the Phoenicians cf. Diod. xi. 19.

[4] **κατήμενος**: cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 465 Ξέρξης δ’ ἀνώμωξεν κακῶν ὀρῶν βάθος / ἔδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ / ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίας ἀλός, and Plut. *Them.* 13 Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθῆστο τὸν στόλον ἐποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ὡς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἣ βραχεῖ πόρῳ διέργεται τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἢ νῆσος. Both the Heracleum (Diod. xi. 18; Ctesias *Persica* 26) and the throne of Xerxes must be looked for opposite the town of Salamis, beneath the heights of Mount Aegaleus (*Skaramanga*). Sir G. Wilkinson’s site (cf. Rawlinson ad loc.) is possible but far from certain. In later days a throne of Xerxes (δίφρος ἀργυρόπους) was stolen from the Acropolis (Dem. *Timoc.* 129; Harpocration, s.v.).

**γραμματισταί**: cf. vii. 100. 1 n.

**πατρόθεν**: cf. vi. 14. 3 n.

**προσεβάλετο**, “contributed to the fate of”; cf. Eur. *Med.* 284 συμβάλλεται δὲ πολλὰ τοῦδε δειμάτος. Ariaramnes was probably an Achaemenid, since he bore the same name as the great-grandfather of Darius (vii. 11. 2), and such royal names were not taken by ordinary Persians.

### viii. 91

**ὑποστάντες**, “posting themselves as in an ambush” (v. 92. g 3) in the straits between Salamis and Attica. O. Müller and Stein hold that the reserve Aeginetan squadron (chap. 46. 1 n.) blocked the passage. But such cooperation would have been difficult, and must surely have been more distinctly mentioned. Probably the Aeginetans, belonging to the advanced right wing (cf. app. xxi, § 8), worked round the left flank of the Persian fleet. Grundy (p. 400), however, believes that they were stationed next to the Athenians, and thus, since the Phoenicians got in advance of the rest of the Persian line, were able to take them in flank, while the Athenians attacked them in front.

### viii. 92

**τὴν . . . ἐπὶ Σκιάθῳ**: cf. vii. 179f., and for Pytheas vii. 181.

[2] The point of Polycritus’ taunt is that Athens ten years before had charged the Aeginetans in general, and his own father Crius (vi. 50 n.) in particular, with Medism (vi. 49, 73, 85).

**ὑπό**: under the protection of the land army drawn up on shore; cf. ix. 96. 3.

### viii. 93

**ἄριστα Αἰγινήται**: cf. chap. 122. Diodorus (x. 27. 2 = Ephorus) pretends the Spartans contrived that the prize should go to the Aeginetans to humble the Athenians, while Plutarch (*Mor.* 871d; *De Mal.* 40) carps at H. for stating the simple facts of the case: these comments of later authors are without foundation.

**Ἀναγυράσιος**: from Ἀναγυροῦς, a deme of the tribe Erechtheis, on the coast near Cape Zoster (chap. 107), southeast of Mount Hymettus; cf. Paus. i. 31. 1, with Frazer.

[2] **γυναῖκα**. For the general feeling about women cf. chap. 68. a n. The Athenians, whose repulse of the Amazons was among the greatest of their legendary glories (ix. 27. 4 n.), may have been specially sensitive.

**ἦσαν . . . Φαλήρω**. These words repeat, after the interruption, the conclusion of chap. 92.

### viii. 94

That this Athenian story was a late and malicious invention is hinted by H. himself in the words (§ 4) μαρτυρεῖ δέ σφι καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς. Indeed, the phrase φάτις ἔχει is itself a note of uncertainty; cf. vii. 3. 2; ix. 84. 2. There is no trace of any such charge elsewhere, and immediately after the battle the Athenians allowed the following epitaph to be placed on the tomb of the Corinthians buried at Salamis (Hicks, 18; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 870e) [Ἦ ξεῖνε, εὐυδρ]όν ποκ’ ἐναίομες ἄστρ Κορίνθου [Nῦν δ’ ἀμὲ Αἶα]ντος [νᾶσος ἔχει Σαλαμῖς]. The other couplet given by Plutarch (of which there is no trace on the stone) is a later addition, as shown by the scansion Πέρσας ἐνθάδε Φοινίσσας νῆας καὶ Πέρσας ἐλόντες / καὶ Μήδους ἱερὰν Ἑλλάδα ὄυσαμέθα, but there is no reason to suspect the epitaphs taken by

Plutarch (loc. cit.), cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxxvii. 459, from the cenotaph erected to the Corinthians at the Isthmus and from the grave of Adimantus Ἀκμᾶς ἔστακνῖαν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν / ταῖς αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς κείμεθα ὀυσάμενοι and Οὗτος Ἀδειμάντου κείνου τάφος, οὗ διὰ βουλάς / Ἑλλάς ἐλευθερίας ἀμφέθετο στέφανον. The fact is that Adimantus, here as elsewhere (cf. viii. 5. 59), suffers for the sins of his son Aristeus, one of the most active enemies of Athens at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war (cf. vii. 137. 3; Thuc. i. 60, 65, ii. 67). We should not, with Plutarch (loc. cit.), ascribe such tales to the malignity of H. but to the bitter feelings of his Athenian informants (cf. introd., p. 39). For the real mission of the Corinthians cf. app. xxi, § 8.

**τὰ ἰστία ἀειράμενον:** hoisting sail was a proof of flight (cf. vi. 14. 2; viii. 56), since in battle the trireme took down mast and sail and used only oars.

[2] Stein would place this temple of Athene Scirias on the south point of the island, apparently called Cape Sciradium (Plut. *Solon* 9), and would thus interpret Plutarch's (*De Mal.* 39; *Mor.* 870b) τὰ λήγοντα τῆς Σαλαμινίας, "the end of the land of Salamis," but this phrase may better be applied to the territory of the town Salamis, and the temple placed two miles north of the town on Cape Arapis, near the modern arsenal and the isle of Leros (cf. app. xxi, § 8).

### viii. 95

Aeschylus distinctly put this exploit after the defeat of the Persian fleet, when the Greeks can surround the island with their ships and land from them (*Pers.* 455f.). H. seems to date it at the time of the Persian rout (ἐν τῷ θορόβῳ τούτῳ, cf. chap. 91). Plutarch mistakenly makes Aristides land from boats with some picked volunteers at the beginning of the sea-fight, and adds other untrustworthy details from Phantias (*Them.* 13; *Arist.* 9). Bury argues forcibly that Aristides, being given so important a duty, must have been a Strategus (chap. 79 n.).

### viii. 96

**ἔτι ἐόντα:** many had been carried over to the Attic shore still held by the enemy (cf. § 2).

[2] **Cape Colias** is wrongly placed by Strabo (398) near Anaphlystus. Since Pausanias (i. 1. 5) makes it twenty stades from Phalerum, it is probably Cape Cosmas (Kiepert, xiv. 6), a narrow tongue of land with shelving beach, not Trispyrgi (Leake, Milchöfer), a rocky headland only 600 yards from the probable site of Phalerum. Vessels would be thrown on this part of the coast by such a wind as appears from H. and Plutarch (*Them.* 14) to have blown on the day of Salamis. But no doubt the particular spot is named to bring out the fulfillment of the oracles, the completeness of which H. emphasizes in the words ἀποπλησθῆναι . . . πάντα.

**ἀνδρὶ χρησιμολόγῳ:** cf. vii. 6. 3 n.

**ἐλελήθειε,** "whose meaning had escaped all the Greeks before the battle of Salamis."

φρύξουσι, “the Coliad women shall roast (their barley) with oars.” Pollux, i. 246 Σόλων δὲ καὶ τὰς νύμφας ἰούσας ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον ἐκέλευσε φρύγετρον φέρειν σημεῖον ἀλφιτουργίας, shows that “the roaster” was a distinctive token of the housewife.

#### viii. 97–99

*Xerxes meditates flight. Account of the Persian post and of the reception at Susa of the news of defeat.*

#### viii. 97

H. gives no details of the losses on either side, Ctesias (*Persica* 26) gives the Persian loss in ships as 500, Diodorus (xi. 19, Ephorus) says 40 Greek ships were destroyed and over 200 Persian besides those captured.

Ctesias (*Persica* 26) and Strabo (395) make Xerxes begin the mole before the battle. But it is unlikely that he would engage in a lengthy and laborious operation of such doubtful utility, while he had confidence in the superiority of his fleet. Again, after the loss of the battle and the retreat of his fleet, he could not hope to carry through the undertaking. Alexander, indeed, succeeded at Tyre (Arr. *Anab.* ii. 18), though only after defeating the Tyrian fleet, but there the channel was less than half a mile in width and three fathom deep, whereas at Salamis, even at the narrowest point by the Heracleum (Ctesias, loc. cit.), it is nearly a mile broad and four fathom at least in depth. H. is therefore justified in regarding it as a mere pretence to mask the retreat, unless indeed the whole story is a mistaken inference from some preparations for making a wharf or pier, or, again, an invention on the analogy of Xerxes’ other violations of nature (Isoc. *Paneg.* 89; Juv. x. 174f.), the Hellespont bridge and Athos canal (*JHS* xxii. 332).

#### viii. 98

Xenophon (*Cyr.* viii. 6. 18), too, says the Persian post is the quickest travelling accomplished by man on land. We may compare “The prairie post or pony express” in Mark Twain’s “*Roughing it*” (Macan), and, better, the description of the Great Khan’s post (Marco Polo, bk. ii, chap. 26; Yule, i. 433f.): “These men travel a good 200 or 250 miles in the day . . . the despatch speeds along from post to post always at full gallop with a regular change of horses.”

[2] **λαμπαδηφορῆ**. Torch races were held at the Panathenaea, and the festivals of Prometheus, Hephaestus, Pan (vi. 105. 3), Bendis (Plato, *Resp.* i. 328a), Hermes, and Theseus. They appear to have been of two kinds. In the simpler, a number of runners each with a lighted torch started abreast, and the one who first carried his torch alight to the goal won (Paus. i. 30. 2). The other was a relay or team race. There were several lines of runners; the first man in each 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. Cf. Lucr. ii. 79; Aesch. *Ag.* 312f.; and of the similar horse race to Bendis, Plato, loc. cit.

λαμπάδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀμιλλώμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις (cf. also *Leg.* 776b). The torch race arose from the custom of transmitting a new and sacred fire from the altar to hearths polluted by death or the enemy's presence (Plut. *Arist.* 20). In such cases the old fire was extinguished and new pure fire carried as quickly as possible by runners to the hearths awaiting it (cf. Frazer, *P.*, ii. 392).

ἄγγαρος, "post-rider," is a Babylonian loan-word (Meyer, iii, § 39 n.), the pure Persian being ἀστάνδης. It is used by Aesch. *Ag.* 282 φρουκτὸς δὲ φρουκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγάρου πυρὸς / ἔπεμπεν, and Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 6. 17. For this post cf. also Esther viii. 10, iii. 13.

### viii. 99

For the offerings cf. vii. 54. 1 n., and for the first message viii. 54.

[2] Aeschylus (*Pers.* 535f.) gives a vivid account of the mourning at Susa, but does not, like H., add the truly Oriental touch that the king's danger was the Persians' first thought.

### viii. 100–102

*The advice given by Mardonius and Artemisia to the King.*

### viii. 100

ἔφερε: here neuter: "his opinion inclined to"; cf. iii. 77. 1.

[4] For the list of naval contingents cf. Artemisia's speech, chap. 68 c. Both speakers omit the Ionians, as if free of blame; Mardonius substitutes Phoenicians for Pamphylians. A Persian would not be likely to blame the Phoenician and spare the Ionian.

### viii. 101

ὡς ἐκ κακῶν, "was pleased and glad so far as might be considering his past misfortunes"; cf. Thuc. vii. 42.

ἐπικλήτοισι: cf. vii. 8 n.

[2] ἀπόδεξις, "they would be glad to have an opportunity of proving their innocence."

[4] (ad fin.) Literally (Macan): "Advise me by doing which of the two I shall succeed in having been well advised." The phrase is an extension of the ordinary τί ποιέων ἐπιτεύξομαι, ἐπτυγχόνειν being here (and in chap. 103) used with the participle like the simple verb (102. 1). Perhaps the preposition adds the idea of hitting the mark.

### viii. 103

ἐς Ἐφεσον: the starting-point of the great road by Sardis to Susa; cf. v. 52f., especially 54, 55. Stein and Duncker (vii. 291) argue that the entrusting by Xerxes of his sons to Artemisia and Hermotimus shows that he had not determined to retreat, and consequently that the consultation of Artemisia is a fable. The

suggestion is plausible but not convincing, since there are many reasons why Xerxes might prefer to send his sons by sea and go himself by land.

**νόθοι:** sons of concubines. H. regards the chief queen Amestris as the only true wife.

### **viii. 104–106**

*Story of Hermotimus and his revenge.*

#### **viii. 104**

**φερόμενον . . . οὐ τὰ δεύτερα.** A metaphor from athletic contests; cf. *Il.* xxiii. 537 = οὐδενὸς δεύτερος (i. 23).

This notice of Pedasa (cf. v. 121 n.) is a repetition of one already given (i. 175), and was probably originally added in the margin by some reader who remembered the earlier chapter, and thence crept into the text. Here it does not suit the context. Again, though in style partially Herodotean, it betrays its origin by strange usages such as ἐντὸς χρόνου, an unlucky imitation of ἐκάς χρόνου (chap. 144. 5) and ἀμφί with the genitive, while φύει and χαλεπόν seem like a grammarian's explanations of the Herodotean (i. 175) ἴσχει and ἀνεπιτήδεον: Finally, Strabo (611) quotes the passage as given in bk. i, i.e., in its true form.

#### **viii. 105**

**ἤδη,** here and chap. 106. 3, like δῆ, strengthens the superlative: "the greatest known"; cf. ii. 148. 1; Thuc. vi. 31 μέγιστος ἤδη διάπλους.

**άλόντα:** possibly at the time of the Ionic revolt (v. 121; vi. 32), possibly by pirates.

Ephesus and Sardis were the starting-points of the Royal Road to Susa (v. 52f.). Also at Sardis there was a temple of Cybele (v. 102), "the great mother," served by eunuch priests called "Galli" (Juv. viii. 176; Mayor), and at Ephesus the eunuch-priests of Artemis, called Megabyzi, were held in honour (Strabo 641).

[2] **τῆς πάσης,** "in every respect." This view of the fidelity of eunuchs is ascribed by Xenophon (*Cyr.* vii. 560f.) to Cyrus, while Ctesias (*Persica* 5 and 9) makes Pesitacas and Bagapates have great influence with Cyrus, Ixabates and Aspadates with Cambyses, etc., but the preponderant influence of the eunuch and the harem in Persia seems really to begin with the reign of Xerxes (cf. ix. 108). For their extensive use and functions at court cf. iii. 77, 92, 130, and i. 117. The custom is said to have been derived from Babylon (cf. iii. 92 and Hell. frag. 169, *FHG* i. 68).

#### **viii. 106**

**ἐν Σάρδισι:** in the winter, 481–480 B.C.; cf. vii. 37. 1.

**Ἀταρνεύς:** cf. i. 160. 4; vi. 28. 2 n. It is referred to (§ 2) as ἐκεῖνη.

[3] **τὸ μηδέν:** cf. i. 32. 1 n.; "a cipher."

[4] **περιήλθε:** either as περιέλαβε (§ 3), "entrapped," or "came at length upon."

**τίσις.** The vengeance of heaven is personified as Ὀρκου πάις (vi. 86 c), and in Homer as μοῖρα, ἄτη, ἐρινύς; it works of itself on behalf of justice, bringing about the chance meeting and the judicial blindness of the offender. The human agent only cooperates; cf. also i. 13. 2; iii. 126. 1, 128. 5.

**viii. 107–12**

*Retreat of the Persian fleet and pursuit of the Greeks as far as Andros. Stories of Themistocles and the bridge (108–9), of his second message to Xerxes (110), and of the Andrians (111–12).*

**viii. 107**

**ταύτην . . . τὴν ἡμέραν:** apparently the day of the battle (chap. 108. 1), though H. does not expressly say so. This, however, is impossible, since one or more days are required for the mustering of the shattered fleet, the disembarkation of the Egyptian marines (ix. 32. 2), and the pretended preparations to continue the struggle (chap. 97); cf. Busolt, ii. 708.

**πορευθῆναι:** epexegetic infinitive loosely connected with διαφυλαξούσας; cf. iv. 64. 3; vii. 25. 1.

**[2] Ζωστήρ.** The massive triple-tongued promontory to the west of Vari (Anagyros, chap. 93). Off the middle cape, a long, narrow, indented spit of land, is a large low island Phabra (Strabo 398). It is, however, hard to believe that even frightened Orientals mistook these headlands for ships.

**viii. 108**

**Φάληρον:** whither they had retreated after the battle (chap. 92. 2).

**Ἄνδρου.** Macan thinks the Greek fleet cannot have sailed to Andros, leaving Salamis unprotected, while Xerxes was still in Attica, nor have attacked the islands without an express resolution of the council passed at Salamis, but a reconnaissance to Andros by the main fleet, while a few ships guarded Salamis, is not improbable, and the decision of the council is taken there according to H.

**[2] Εὐρυβιάδης.** Macan doubts whether Eurybiades should figure as the opponent of Themistocles in this debate, but the substitution of Aristides (Plut. *Them.* 16; *Arist.* 9) reads like a later fiction devised by some one anxious to add another occasion for their constant differences; and the transfer of the conversation to Salamis seems almost accidental.

**viii. 109**

**[3]** For the scourging of the sea cf. vii. 35 n. The burning of temples is proved by the instances adduced (v. 102. 1 n.) and by the ruins of temples never restored seen by Pausanias (x. 35. 2f., with Frazer). It is strongly affirmed by Aesch. *Pers.* 809 οἱ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη / ἠδ' οὖντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς / βωμοὶ δ' ἄϊστοι, δαιμόνων θ' ἰδρύματα / πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανέστραπται βάθρων. But Cicero's idea (*Leg.* ii. 10. 26) of an iconoclastic crusade is without foundation.

[4] For ἀλλὰ . . . γὰρ cf. chaps. 8. 1, 108. 4; vii. 158. 3, etc.

Themistocles seems to assume that the Persians will at least retreat from Attica.

[5] ἀποθήκην . . . ποιήσεσθαι. In Thuc. i. 137 Themistocles asserts his claim καί μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται, γράψας τὴν τε ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἦν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν. For the story of Themistocles' banishment and flight to Persia see Thuc. i. 135–8. He was probably ostracized 471–470, and fled to Persia five years later (Meyer, iii, § 286 n.).

### viii. 110

H. is evidently here under the influence of traditions hostile to Themistocles.

There is no special reason to suspect him of double dealing in this case; he may quite well have been honestly in favour of breaking down the bridge and stirring up revolt among the Greeks of Asia, and yet have resolved to sacrifice the project rather than make a breach in the alliance with the Peloponnesians. It is, however, hard to believe that he seriously contemplated sending the fleet to the Hellespont while the Persian army was still in Attica. Possibly he proposed the plan when Xerxes had begun his retreat; cf. further § 2 n. With this character of Themistocles cf. chap. 124; Thuc. i. 138.

[2] Σίκιννος. Plutarch (*Them.* 16; *Arist.* 9) and Polyaeus (i. 30. 4) substitutes a captive eunuch, Arnaces. Thucydides (i. 137; cf. 109. 5 n.) speaks of this second message as sent from Salamis. A. Bauer (*Them.* pp. 22, 49) and Wecklein (*Ber. der Bayer. Akad.* (1876), 296; with whom Meyer, iii, § 226 n., seems disposed to agree) regard this second message as an invention of the enemies of Themistocles, designed to cloud the glory of the first. But Thucydides (loc. cit.), rightly construed, implies that some message warning Xerxes to retreat was sent. It may have been, however, as Duncker (vii. 295f.), following Ephorus (Diod. xi. 19) and Ctesias (26 φεύγει Ξέρξης βούλη πάλιν καὶ τέχνη Ἀριστείδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους), argues, a mere ruse to hasten the departure of Xerxes, although in his letter (ap. Thuc. i. 137) Themistocles later claimed it was a benefit conferred on the king. It is certainly odd that Xerxes should again accept advice from Themistocles when Sicinnus' first message had had such disastrous results.

### viii. 111

[2] νησιωτέων: cf. vii. 95. 1.

χρήματα: clearly the fleet exacted war indemnities from islands that had supported the enemy (cf. 66. 2). These would be used for the pay and provisions of the crews. Such ἀργυρολογία was a common practice in the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. ii. 69; iii. 19; iv. 50, 75, etc.). H. unfairly (cf. chap. 4. 2 n.) represents the whole matter as if it had to do with the private gain of Themistocles (chap. 112). No doubt some money may have stuck to the fingers of the most influential leader (Timocreon, frag. 1), but these exactions were in the main public.

[3] Cf. Alcaeus, frag. 92 ἀργάλεον πενία, κάκον ἄσχετον, ἃ μέγα δάμνης, / λαῶν ἀμαχανία σὺν ἀδελφέα, Eur. frag. 250 οὐκ ἔστι πενίας ἱερὸν ἐχθίστης θεοῦ. For the concluding gnome cf. vii. 172. 3.

#### viii. 112

ἐς τὰς ἄλλας: with the exception, of course, of the loyal states (cf. chap. 46).

[3] ὑπερβολή: here and Polyb. xiv. 9. 8, “delay” from ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. For the fact cf. chap. 121.

ἱλασάμενοι, “appeasing,” a word appropriate to a man’s attitude to a god (i. 50. 1, 67. 2, etc.); here ironical, Themistocles having boasted of the gods who were his good allies (111. 2).

#### viii. 113–20

*The retreat of Xerxes to Thessaly (113–14) and thence to Sardis (115–17). An alternative story rejected (118–20).*

#### viii. 113

τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν: by the same way as he had come; possibly Xerxes and his suite returned from the Thriasian plain by Eleutherae (chap. 65. 1 n.) to Thebes, though next year Mardonius is said to have gone by Declea and Tanagra (ix. 15), but probably the army used all the practicable routes.

προπέμψαι. Considerations of transport and supply must have made it necessary for Mardonius to retire to Thessaly for winter quarters, and it was now October (ἄνωρῆ). Only Artabazus’ corps really escorted the king on his homeward way (chap. 126). For the force retained by Mardonius cf. app. xix, § 5.

[2] τοὺς ἀθανάτους: cf. vii. 41. 2, 83. 1.

θωρηκοφόρους: cf. vii. 61. 1 n.

τὴν ἵππον τὴν χιλίην: in vii. 40, 41, and 55 it appears that there were two regiments of this strength. For the Medes cf. vii. 62, the Sacae and Bactrians vii. 64, and the Indians vii. 65.

[3] ἐν δὲ . . . αἰρέετο, “among the nations selected the Persian was in strongest force.” Cf. Thuc. iii. 39 ἀποφαίνω Μυτιληναίους μάλιστα δὴ μίαν πόλιν ἡδικηκότας ὑμᾶς, iii. 113, viii. 40.

στρεπτοφόρους. For Persian ornaments cf. vii. 83. 2 n.; ix. 80. 2.

#### viii. 114

τὸ διδόμενον, “what was offered them”; iii. 148. 2; viii. 138. 1; ix. 111. 5.

[2] Verrall has most ingeniously shown how this apocryphal story may have arisen from a painted or sculptured group symbolic of the fact that Plataea was Sparta’s revenge for Thermopylae, depicting Xerxes answering a herald by pointing to Mardonius, with an inscription in hexameters here put into prose (cf. ix. 76 n.; CR xvii. 101, 102) ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, Λακεδαίμονιοί τε φόνιοιο / αἰτεῦσίν σε δίκας

Σπάρτης ἀπό θ' Ἡρακλεΐδαι, / Ἑλλάδα ῥυόμενόν σφιν ὅτι κτεῖνας βασιλῆα. H. was convinced of the truth of the story by the inscription, and regarded the scene as an historic fact.

### viii. 115

**δεξάμενος.** In a double sense of “accepting” the price offered and the omen; chap. 137. 5; i. 63. 1; ix. 91. 2.

**πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα.** Though the advance (chap. 57. 1) took double the time, a retreat of about 550 miles in 45 days is not so rapid as to imply disorderly flight.

**οὐδὲν μέρος:** an obvious exaggeration, as may be seen from H.'s own statements elsewhere (chap. 130. 1). The Greeks were convinced that Xerxes started homewards with the greater part of his force ( Thuc. i. 73 κατὰ τάχος τῶ πλέονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν, cf. chap. 100. 5), only leaving Mardonius a picked force (chap. 113; Aesch. *Pers.* 803 πλῆθος ἔκκριτον στρατοῦ), and reached Asia with a mere handful of men; hence multitudes must have perished by the way. But in all probability Xerxes left Mardonius the bulk of the land force; otherwise what need was there for Artabazus with a corps from Mardonius' army to escort him (chap. 126?). And that corps, whose original strength was 60,000 (chap. 126), is estimated, even after its heavy losses in the winter campaign (chap. 127f.), as 40,000 strong (ix. 66. 2). It would seem then that, even in Herodotus, the losses and sufferings of the retreat have been much exaggerated. Yet more incredible are the horrors in Aeschylus, the losses from hunger and thirst in Thessaly, where Mardonius wintered, and the disaster through the melting of the ice on the Strymon (*Pers.* 495f.); cf. Grote iv. 489f. From the first the contrast between the proud advance and the miserable retreat of Xerxes struck the Greek imagination, and the contrast got more and more exaggerated as time went on. Cf. Justin ii. 13 “ipse cum paucis Abydon contendit, ubi cum solutum pontem hibernis tempestatibus offendisset, piscatoria scapha trepidus traiecit . . . (carens) etiam omni servorum ministerio.” We may see from the scarcity of details, as well as from the suspicious character of some of those given, both in H. and Aeschylus, how slight was the knowledge the Greeks had of the retreat of Xerxes, as compared with the full account of his advance (vii. 61 n.).

[3] **Siris**, on a tributary of the Strymon, in a fertile plain just northeast of Lake Cercinitis, capital of Σιριοπαίονες (v. 15. 3 n.), now Seres. For the line of march cf. vii. 121. 2 n.

[4] **νεμομένας.** The subject must be τὰς ἵππους understood from ἄρμα (above); cf. iv. 8. 3. In describing the chariot (vii. 40. 3) H. spoke of horses, not mares.

According to Strabo (329, frag. 36f.) the Agrianes dwelt round the source of the Strymon, but they were Paeonian (cf. v. 16. 1 n.; Thuc. ii. 96).

### viii. 116

The **Bisaltae** lived above Argilus (vii. 115. 1), and the Crestonian land reached as far as the sources of the Echeidorus (vii. 124, 127. 2, and v. 3. 2 n.), but it may have touched Bisaltia at its other end and have been subject to the Bisaltian prince.

### viii. 117

**ἐντεταμένως**: cf. vii. 34 n. According to a tradition followed by Aeschylus (cf. *Pers.* 734–6 μονάδα δὲ Ξέρξην ἔρημόν φασιν οὐ πολλῶν μέτα — / ἄσμενον μολεῖν γέφυραν γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν), the bridge was still intact, and even after Mycale the Greeks did not know it had perished (ix. 106. 4).

[2] Hippocrates (*Aer.* 7) ascribed the greatest importance to differences in the source and taste of water, πλεῖστον γὰρ μέρος συμβάλλεται ἐς τὴν υγιείην.

### viii. 118

[2] **Στρυμονίην**: North-Northeast. Arist. *Vent.* 973b 17 Θρακίας κατὰ μὲν Θράκην Στρυμονίας, πνεῖ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 192 πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι / κακόσχολοι, νήσιδες, δύσορμοι, which are called (l. 1418) Θρηκίων ἀημάτων.

### viii. 119

**ἐν μυρίησι**, “among ten thousand opinions not one would be to the contrary.”

**ἐς κοίλην νέα**, “into the hold” among the rowers, the Persian marines being on deck (vii. 184. 2).

**ὄκως οὐκ ἂν . . . ἐξέβαλε**. Instead of putting ἐκβαλεῖν answering to ἐκβιβάσαι, H. makes this clause depend on the main verb οὐχ ἔχω ἀντίξοον, and also substitutes ὄκως οὐκ ἂν ἐξέβαλε for μὴ οὐκ ἂν ἐκβαλεῖν.

Xerxes might well prefer to keep skilled Phoenician sailors and sacrifice a few Persian grandees.

### viii. 120

The golden acinaces was among the regular royal gifts (iii. 84. n.; Xen. *An.* i. 2. 27, 8. 29), the royal tiara of golden tissue naturally was not. For similar gifts cf. iii. 20. 1; vii. 116.

**τὴν ζώνην**. Cf. the oath of Histiaeus, v. 106. 6.

**Ἄβδηρα**. For its site cf. vii. 109. 1 n. The sense is “Abdera is nearer the Hellespont than is the Strymon.”

### viii. 121–25

*The thank-offerings of the Greeks and the fame of Themistocles.*

### viii. 121

**ἐς Ἴσθμόν**: to Poseidon (chap. 123. 2), to whom there was an early Doric temple in the Isthmian sacred enclosure (Paus. ii. 1. 7, with Frazer).

ἐπὶ Σούνιον: to Poseidon. The marble temple, some of whose pillars still remain, stands on an old temple of stone (cf. Frazer on Paus. i. 1).

For the dedication of ships cf. Thuc. ii. 84, 92. It was more usual to cut the prows off and dedicate them (cf. iii. 59. 3; Xen. *Hell.* ii. 3. 8; vi. 2. 36, and the "rostra" at Rome).

[2] ἀκροθίνια. The first-fruits or tithe (δεκάτη); cf. v. 77. 4; vii. 132. 2 n.; viii. 27. 5.

ἀνδριάς: an Apollo (Paus. x. 14. 5), though H. suppresses the name; cf. chap. 27. 5; i. 183. 2.

Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ χρύσεος. The existence of this statue is confirmed by pseudo-Philip (Ep. 21 = Dem. 12. 21) Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προγόνου πρώτου κατασχόντος τὸν τόπον (i.e., Amphipolis) ὅθεν καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Μήδων ἀπαρχὴν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἀνέστησεν εἰς Δελφούς.

### viii. 122

Apparently Apollo claimed the ἀριστήια for himself because he had vouchsafed to the Aeginetans a propitious sign such as that given to Lysander at Aegospotami (Plut. *Lys.* 12; Cic. *Div.* i. 34. 75). After that battle the Spartans dedicated two stars to the Dioscuri, whose connection with the stars is older than that with St. Elmo's fire. The third star here may have represented (Preller, *Gr. Myth.* i<sup>3</sup>. 207; ii<sup>3</sup>. 106) Apollo Delphinios, also a saviour from storms at sea much worshipped at Aegina. Probably one star was at the top of the mast and the others at either end of the yard-arm.

τοῦ Κροίσου κρητῆρος: i.e., the silver bowl which stood at the angle of the ante-temple; the golden bowl had been moved elsewhere (i. 51).

A more permanent memorial of Aegina's deliverance may be seen in the Aeginetan marbles at Munich, the pediment sculptures from the temple of Aphaia at Aegina; cf. iii. 59. 3 n.

### viii. 123

δέφερρον: voted in the division (iv. 138. 1). For the solemn procedure cf. Plut. *Per.* 32; Dem. *De Cor.* 134. Plutarch (*Them.* 17; *De Mal.* 40. 871d) makes every general vote the second prize to Themistocles. A similar story is told of contending sculptors who agreed in giving the second place to the Amazon of Polycleitus (Plin. *H.N.* xxxiv. 53).

### viii. 124

ἀκρίτων, "without deciding"; active, so ἄπιστος (ix. 98. 4), ἄπρακτος (Thuc. iv. 61. 7, 99. 1).

[2] ὄχῳ. Sparta was famous for its manufacture of chariots.

[3] For the 300 Spartan knights cf. i. 67. 5 n.

Both the asyndeton (cf. i. 20. 1) and δὴ (cf. vi. 68. 3) intensify the force of μούνον. The Athenian envoy at Sparta (432 B.C.) is equally emphatic on the exceptional honours paid to Themistocles (Thuc. i. 74).

### viii. 125

**Ἀφιδναῖος**: cf. ix. 73. 2 n.

**τὴν ἐς Λακεδαίμονα**, etc. The proposals of Alexander as envoy of Mardonius (chap. 136) and the Spartan reply would give occasion for dragging in Themistocles' relations with Sparta. Diodorus declares (xi. 27) that the Athenians were so angry with Themistocles for accepting gifts from the Spartans that they deprived him of his command and gave it to Xanthippus, but the statement is only an inference drawn by Ephorus from the facts in H.

[2] **Βελβινίτης**. Belbina is a rocky islet about ten miles south of Sunium at the entrance of the Saronic gulf, now St. George. It remained a separate community (Pseudo-Scylax 52), paying tribute as late as 425 B.C. (CIA i. 37; Hicks, 64). It is here a mere example of an utterly unimportant place (Teles in Stobaeus xl. 8 ὀνειδίζουσι μὲν ὅτι Κύθνιος ἢ ὅτι Μυκόνιος ἢ ὅτι Βελβινίτης), the assailant of Themistocles being an Athenian (§ 2) of Aphidna (§ 1), and the saying meaning, "I should not have received this honour had I been of Belbina, nor will you though you are (like me) an Athenian." Plato (*Resp.* 329e, followed by Cic. *Sen.* 3. 8, Plut. *Them.* 18) spoils the double point of the story by making the assailant himself a Seriphian.

### viii. 126–29

*Winter. Artabazus in Chalcidice takes Olynthus and besieges Potidaea.*

### viii. 126

Artabazus in the list of the army commanded only the Parthians and Chorasmians (vii. 66. 2). Here he is in command of a complete army corps of 60,000, belonging to Mardonius' force, which did not include any great number from those nations (chap. 113). H. is so fully informed about his movements and views (ix. 41f., 66, 89), and judges him so favourably, that some special connection with him or his descendants may safely be assumed; H. seems to have found one of his sons, Tritanaechmes, satrap of Babylon (i. 192), while Artabazus himself was given (ca. 477 B.C.) the satrapy of Dascyleum, to promote the treacherous intrigues of Pausanias (cf. v. 32 n.; Thuc. i. 129), and was succeeded in his satrapy by his descendants, the genealogy being probably as follows (Nöldeke, Krumbholz, *de Asiae Minoris Satrapis*):

Artabazus  
 (satrap) 477–468 (Thuc. i. 129)  
 |  
 Pharnabazus I  
 |  
 Pharnaces II  
 (satrap) 430–414 (Thuc. ii. 67; v. 1)  
 |  
 Pharnabazus II  
 (satrap) 413–389 (Thuc. viii; Xen. *Hell.* i–v. 1 and  
*Anab.* vi, vii)

**viii. 127**

**ταύτην.** The city is here elicited from the people Ὀλυνθίους (above), the converse is common (121. 1).

**Βοττιαῖοι:** cf. vii. 123. 3 n.

**τῶ Χαλκιδικῶ γένει** (cf. vii. 185. 2). The inhabitants of the Chalcidic colonies, after whom the whole peninsula was called Chalcidice. In 432 B.C., under the influence of Perdiccas, Olynthus became the centre and capital of all these Hellenic settlements on the coast. The Bottiaei coalesce with the colonists and act in close conjunction with them (Thuc. i. 57f.; ii. 79, 99, 101; iv. 7).

**viii. 128**

The cities of Pallene were in alliance (§ 2 ad fin.); so Scione (vii. 123. 1 n.) furnished a contingent for the defence of Potidaea.

**ὅκως . . . γράψειε,** “as often as”; for the optative cf. chap. 52. 1; i. 17. 2 ad fin.

**γλυφίδας:** probably the points on each side of the notch, where the arrow is held by the fingers. The parchment was rolled round the butt end of the arrow and then feathers put on over it to hide it. Aeneas Tacticus 31, repeating this story, reads *περί*, but that would mean that the notch was wrapped round, which would make the arrow so clumsy as to be useless. For a similar method of communication cf. Caesar, *B. Gall.* v. 48.

**viii. 129**

**παρήσαν.** The town reached across the Isthmus, so the Persians, being without ships and wishing to get to the side towards Pallene, tried to pass along the marshy shore at low tide, but when they got two-fifths of the way were caught by the tide. Aristeus was more successful (Thuc. i. 63).

[3] Potidaea was under the special protection of the god from whom it was named, Posidon, whose image, taken perhaps from this very statue (Head, *H.N.*, 212), was on its coins. Such extraordinary tidal waves were naturally ascribed to him, as were earthquakes (vii. 129. 4). No doubt it is this remarkable sign of the wrath of the god which leads H. to dwell on an unimportant episode.

### viii. 130–32

Persian fleet mustered at Samos. The Greeks under Leotychides advance from Aegina to Delos (spring, 479 B.C.).

### viii. 130

**ἐπιλάμψαντος.** The metaphor, like *πρώιος*, is from the dawn of day; cf. i. 190. 1 with iii. 135. 1.

**αἱ δὲ . . . αὐτοῦ:** according to Diodorus (xi. 27) these might be the Phoenician ships, which were not at Cyme; but probably he believed that they fled straight home from Salamis in fear of Xerxes' wrath (xi. 19).

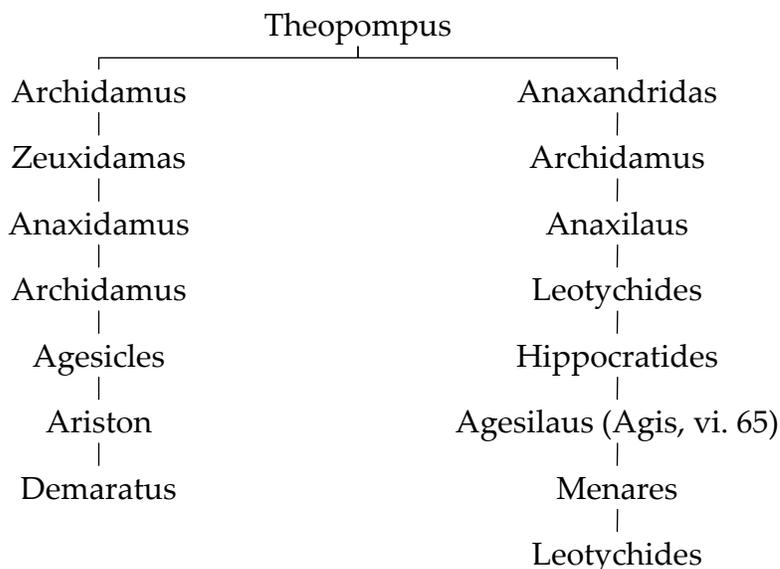
**Περσέων . . . ἐπεβάτευον.** A strange phrase meaning apparently "most of the marines were Persians and Medes."

[2] **Μαροδόντης** had commanded the men from the islands in the Persian gulf (vii. 80): at Mycale he commanded the marines; the other two are new admirals of the fleet (ix. 102. 4). Bagaeus may be the faithful servant of Darius (iii. 128) and Artachaees the overseer of the Athos canal (vii. 117; cf. vii. 22. 2, 63).

**τριηκοσίας.** Diodorus (xi. 27) says over four hundred ἦσαν δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι νῆες ἐν Σάμῳ πλείους τῶν τετρακοσίων. H. includes in his three hundred the Phoenician squadron sent home later (ix. 96. 1).

### viii. 131

[2] Cf. the list of Agiadae, vii. 204. The first king among the ancestors of Leotychides is Theopompus, the seven more immediate ancestors of Leotychides belonging to the younger branch, which gained the throne by the deposition of Demaratus (cf. vi. 65. 2).



**Εὐνόμου τοῦ Πολυδέκτεω.** It has been held that Eunomus is a mere pseudonym for Lycurgus, who created *εὐνομία*, and should be ejected from the lists; the order

is reversed in Paus. iii. 7. 2; Plut. *Lyc.* 1; the change in his place in the list is to accommodate his reign to the supposed date of Lycurgus.

**Εὐρυφῶντος.** Eurypon is the eponymous hero of the Eurypontid house. After him Pausanias, Plutarch (loc. cit.), etc., insert Soos; but the insertion seems to be late and designed to make each royal house consist of an equal number of kings.

[3] The emendation ἐπτά, i.e., ζ for β, is necessary. The first king in the line of Leotychides' ancestors is Theopompus, not Hippocratides, and H. (i. 65. 1) agrees with Pausanias (iii. 1) in making Agesicles king. Of course the immediate descendants of Heracles were not kings of Sparta.

**Xanthippus** is the opponent of Miltiades (vi. 131. 2, 136. 1 n.), ostracized 485–484 B.C. (*Ath. Pol.* 22), but now returned from exile (chap. 79 n.). Curiously enough another Xanthippus was archon in 479 (Diod. xi. 27; *Marm. Par.* 52).

### viii. 132

**Ἴώνων.** These men speak as if they were envoys sent by the Ionians, though apparently only Chian refugees acting on their own initiative.

[2] **Ἡρόδοτος:** mentioned by the historian perhaps because of his name, perhaps from personal friendship or relationship; but cf. introd. p. 2. An old Chian inscription (*IGA* 382) gives Ἀθηναγόρης Ἡροδότου.

**Στραάτι.** Tyrant ever since the Scythian expedition; iv. 138. 2.

[3] **τὴν . . . Σάμον . . . ἀπέχειν.** A dramatic exaggeration (cf. vi. 112). No doubt communication had been interrupted by war and piracy (Grundy, 433f.), but Athenians had been to Sardis less than twenty years before, and even the Dorians had attacked Samos in the days of Polycrates (iii. 47f.). In this *reductio ad absurdum* the author (or his Ionian source) is deriding the timidity of the Greeks and their admiral. It was not ignorance of the distance but fear of the enemy which kept the Greek fleet at Delos.

**ἀναπλώσαι** seems a necessary emendation since here the author is speaking from an Ionian point of view, and ἀνωτέρω (cf. 130. 2) means “further out to sea” (from Asia) than Samos. So καταπλώσαι (§ 2) is “to sail towards land” and κατωτέρω here “nearer Asia” than Delos.

### viii. 133–44

*Mardonius through Mys consults oracles (133–5), and through Alexander of Macedon tries to win Athens. Origin of the Macedonian monarchy (137–9). Speeches of Alexander and the Spartans. Replies of Athens (140–4).*

### viii. 133

**Εὐρωπέα:** from Europus. There were towns of that name in Emathia (Thuc. ii. 100), Media (founded by the Macedonians, Strabo 524), and Syria (Steph. Byz.). Mys was, however, clearly a Carian (chap. 135. 3; Paus. ix. 23. 6). There was a town in Caria named Euromus (Strabo 635; Steph. Byz. s.v.), hence Stein suggested

Εὐρωμέα here, needlessly, since Pausanias (loc. cit.) also reads Εὐρωπέα, and Steph. Byz. (s.v.) says Europus was another name for the Carian town Idrias.

For a Carian as interpreter being δῖγλωσσοσ cf. Thuc. viii. 85.

σφι. Mardonius and the Persians; cf. chap. 136. 2. Some would forbid access to a barbarian.

#### viii. 134

The old city of Lebadeia stood at the mouth of a wild gorge, probably on the eastern bank of the Hercyna, about ten minutes north of the modern town, while the grove of Trophonius was on the western bank (Strabo 414; Paus. ix. 37. 5, with Frazer, v. 196f.).

The legend of Trophonius is the common folk-tale of the Clever Thief (cf. ii. 121 *b*; for his end cf. i. 31. 3 n.). Trophonius appears to have been originally the chief local god of Lebadeia (Paus. i. 34. 2); later, in accordance with a common tendency of Greek religion as it became systematized, he was degraded into a hero. On inscriptions he is sometimes distinguished from and sometimes identified with Zeus Basileus: Strabo (loc. cit.) speaks of an oracle of Zeus Trophonius, and Livy (xlv. 27) of a temple, yet Pausanias (ix. 39. 5) distinguishes Zeus Basileus and Trophonius. Cicero seems to identify Trophonius with Mercury (*Nat. D.* iii. 22. 56). His statue by Praxiteles had the appearance and attributes of Aesculapius, particularly the snake, perhaps the earliest representation of the god (cf. Paus. ix. 39. 3). Pausanias (loc. cit.) describes the way of consulting the oracle from his own experience. The inquirer had first to live some days in the shrine of "Agathos Daemon" and Tyche, to eat sacrificial meats and wash in the water of the Hercyna, and to sacrifice a ram. Then at night he was taken to the springs of Lethe and Mnemosyne, to drink forgetfulness of the past and memory for the revelations to come. Thence the priests took him to a vaulted cave on the hill; from the upper chamber he climbed down a small ladder into a pit some six feet across and twelve feet deep, bearing honey-cakes in his hands to appease the chthonian deity. There, lying on his back, he worked his way feet foremost through a small opening into the inner shrine and returned in the same way afterwards. While still bewildered and under the influence of the deity, the priests placed him on the chair of Mnemosyne, and asked him what he had seen and heard. His answer was interpreted and versified (Paus. iv. 32. 5) by the priests. For Trophonius cf. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 21, 245–6, and for Amphiaraus, *ibid.* 58–62.

Ἄβας: cf. chap. 33 n.

πρῶτα ὡς ἀπίκετο: brachylogy for "he visited Thebes first and when he was come there"; cf. i. 17. 2.

Ἰσηνίω: cf. i. 92. 1 n.; v. 59.

ἰγοῖσι = ἐμπύροισι: "burnt sacrifices"; in Thebes omens were taken from the flame or the ashes of the victim burnt (Soph. *O.T.* 21 μαντεία σποδῶ). So the Iamidæ (ix. 33. 1) took auspices at the altar of Zeus at Olympia; cf. Pind. *Ol.* viii. 2.

**κατεκοίμησε ἐς Ἀμφιάρεω.** Amphiarus was consulted by sleeping in his shrine on the skin of a sacrificed ram (Paus. i. 34. 5). Mys probably visited not his most famous shrine near Oropus (Paus. i. 34) but one near Thebes. Amphiarus, probably originally a chthonian deity, became in legend an Argive hero, one of the Seven against Thebes. The earth was said to have swallowed him up, by some at Harma (Paus. loc. cit.; ix. 19. 4), by others at a place between Potniae and Thebes, where there was a shrine (Paus. ix. 8. 3). This would seem to be the place meant here, since the offerings made by Croesus to Amphiarus were transferred to the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes (i. 52), and the refusal to permit Thebans to consult the oracles reads like a taboo against natives. Strabo expressly tells us (404) that the oracle of Amphiarus was brought to Oropus from Cnopia in the Theban territory, and this may have happened just after H. wrote (cf. Frazer, v. 31). In any case the usages would seem to have been similar. We may compare the oracle of Calchas at Drium in Apulia (Strabo 284) and of Faunus (Verg. *Aen.* vii. 81f.; Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 649). Amphiarus was consulted chiefly by the sick; grateful patients cast gold or silver coins into the sacred spring (Paus. i. 34. 4); for parallels cf. Frazer, ad loc. Plutarch (*Arist.* 19; *Mor.* 412) says that Mardonius' envoy to Amphiarus was a Lydian, and that the vision vouchsafed to him foretold that Mardonius should be slain by a stone.

#### **viii. 135**

**Πτώου.** Mount Ptous was said to be named from a son of Athamas and Themisto (Apollod. i. 9. 2). It is a range with three peaks (τρικάρηνον, Pind. frag. 70 ap. Strabo 412) between Lake Copais and the Euboic sea. On a conspicuous hill connected with it by a ridge is the ruined acropolis of Acraephia (Paus. ix. 23. 5 with Frazer), north of the Athamantian plain (cf. vii. 197. 1 n.). Fifteen stadia away from Acraephia, in a little valley beneath the true summit of Mount Ptous (Mount Palagia), was the temple of Apollo, excavated by the French School (1885–6, 1891). For an account of it cf. Frazer, v. 100–3.

The oracle declined after the destruction of Thebes (335 B.C., Paus. ix. 23. 6), and disappeared before the days of Plutarch (*Mor.* 412–14).

[3] The miracle lay in the fact that the god answered the inquirer in his own tongue, which was doubtless unknown to the Promantis. He also apparently answered so clearly that there was no need of skilled priests to interpret the wild and whirring words. Pausanias (loc. cit.) spoils the story by making Mys inquire of the god in Carian.

#### **viii. 136**

For Alexander and Bubares cf. v. 21. 2.

ἔσχε, "had her to wife"; cf. iii. 31. 6, 68. 3, 88. 3, etc.

**Ἀλάβανδα** was always a Carian city, and was ruled by a Carian, Ariodolis (vii. 195). Hence Stein would correct to Ἀλάβαστρα, following Steph. Byz. Ἀλάβαστρα πόλις Φρυγίας, Ἡροδότος.

The **Proxenoι** received the ambassadors of the states they represented, procured for them admission to the assembly, and in general looked after the interests of the state by which they were appointed (cf. ix. 85. 3). The title πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης was often bestowed as an honour in recognition of such services as Alexander implies (chap. 140. b 1) he had rendered Athens. It was eagerly sought by foreign princes and powers (Xen. *Vect.* iii. 11); a number of such honoured benefactors are to be found in Demosthenes *In Leptines*; cf. § 60 ἐψηφίσασθε . . . προξενίαν, εὐεργεσίαν, ἀτέλειαν ἀπάντων. The earliest known decrees conferring such honours at Athens are of the middle of the fifth century. Cf. Hicks, 39; CIA iv. (1) 27 Θαλυκίδην καὶ Μενέστρατον [καὶ Ἀθήναιον τοὺς Θεσπιᾶς ἀναγρ[ά]φσαι προχσένους καὶ εὐεργέτα[ς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς [ἐκείνω]ν ἐμ πόλ[ε]ι ἐν στήλῃ λιθί[ν]η]. Cf. for later cases Hicks, 77, 89, 97, 111, 113; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 1. 4.

For the πρόξενοι at Sparta cf. vi. 57. 2 n.

[3] ἄν . . . **προλέγοι**: a potential optative with vague reference to time past, as in Homer; cf. i. 70. 3 n., vii. 180 ad fin., 214. 3; Goodwin, § 443.

### viii. 137

**ἔβδομος**. Alexander himself is included (cf. chap. 139). It is usual in ordinals to count in both the beginning and the end, but the method seems strange when it causes a man to be counted among his own ancestors (cf. i. 91. 1) or descendants (i. 13. 2). Thucydides agrees as to the number of the Macedonian kings and in tracing their descent from Temenus of Argos (ii. 99f.; v. 80); but in the fourth century another account was current, probably derived from Theopompus (frag. 30, *FHG* i. 283; cf. Diod. vii. frag. 17; Euphorion frag. 24, below; Vell. Pat. i. 6. 5; Justin vii. 1, etc.). By this Caranus (“head leader”), son or brother of the Argive king Pheidon (cf. vi. 127. 3 n.), is made the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, and is succeeded by Κοῖνος and Τυρῖμμος (Satyr. frag. 21, *FHG* iii. 164), who precede the first Perdiccas. The object of this lengthening of the line was to make the Macedonian dynasty at least as old as the Median (cf. vi. 127. 3 n.).

**ἐξ Ἀργεος**. Argos in the Peloponnese appears as the ancestral home of the family in all versions of the legend (Isoc. *Philip.* 32). But the Argos with which the Argeadae (cf. Appian *Syr.* 63 Ἄργος τὸ ἐν Ὀρεστεία ὅθεν οἱ Ἀργεάδαι Μακεδόνες, Strabo 329, frag. 11 τούτων δὲ πάντων οἱ Ἀργεάδαι καλούμενοι κύριοι) were really connected is Argos Oresticum (Strabo 326; Steph. Byz.), near the source of the Haliacmon. They first held the fruitful valleys there (valley of Kastoria), and the hill country as far as the source of the Erigon; this is the Upper Macedonia (cf. vii. 128. 1 n.) where the three brothers served (below), and to which Caranus went by order of an oracle (Euphorion, frag. 24 ἐκπρολιπὼν Ἄργος τε καὶ Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα / χώρει πρὸς πηγὰς Ἀλιάκμονος). The Argeadae (cf. Paus. vii. 8. 9) later made Aegae their capital, and established an hegemony over the kindred tribes (cf. Thuc. ii. 99) in Upper Macedon, the Lyncestae, Orestae, Elimiotae, as well as over the coastlands as far as the Axios.

The likeness of name (Argos and Argeadae) led the Macedonian kings, at least from the time of Alexander I (cf. v. 22. 2 n.; ix. 45. 2), to claim descent from the Heracleid kings of Peloponnesian Argos, just as the princes of the Lyncestae did from the Corinthian Bacchiads, those of the Molossi from Achilles (Strabo 327), and the Illyrian Enchelees (cf. v. 61. 2 n.) from Cadmus. Yet their names are not even Greek, and their origin is at least doubtful (cf. v. 22. 2 n.). In the legend the name Argos is misinterpreted, and Temenus is falsely inserted. Probably ἐς Ἰλλυριοῦς is put in because these Argives are believed to have come to Macedon by land from the West. Otherwise the story is a folk-tale, current among the Argeadae, about their earlier homes and the claim of their princes to their possession.

**Γαυάνης:** probably = βουκόλος, since in Sanskrit *gô* = βοῦς. If so, Ἀέροπος may refer to horses (cf. Φίλιππος) and Perdiccas to goats. The three brothers represent three tribes (Hesych. Ἀέροπος, ἐν Μακεδονία γένος τι), as in the Scythic legend (iv. 5 n.). Another point of resemblance is the superiority of the youngest brother.

**ὑπερβαλόντες.** The Scardus range, stretching south from the source of the Axios (Vardar), is crossed by two passes (Tozer, *Highlands of Turkey*, i. 350), one at Kalkandele, the other leading by Lake Lychnitis (Okhrida) eastwards to Aegae (Vodena), later the Via Egnatia (op. cit. i. 149). This route would take the brothers to the Lyncestis; Lebaea is otherwise unknown.

[2] τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων: sheep and goats (i. 133. 1).

For this primitive simplicity cf. *Od.* vi. 57f. (Nausicaa washing clothes) and *Il.* vi. 424.

[3] The double portion was an omen of future kingship; cf. vi. 57. 1; vii. 103. 1.

[4] κατὰ indicates the direction and path of the rays that poured in.

ἐσέχων: cf. i. 193. 2; ii. 11. 1, 158. 2.

[5] Perdiccas symbolically claims possession of the hearth (ἔστία) of the house and thus of the whole estate of its master, and then calls the sun to witness his claim to house and land. The primitive Germans seem to have looked on the sun as the original source of all rights to land; so Grimm says of a symbolic taking possession of a new fief: "The new holder early in the morning rode out fully armed and with his naked sword (cf. μάχαιρα) made three strokes crossways in the air as soon as he saw the sun rise"; cf. also iii. 86.

### viii. 138

In Euripides' play, Archelaus, an exile from Argos, destroys Cisseus, the treacherous king of Macedon, in his own snare, and fleeing thence finds a city, named, from the goat which led him, Aegae (Hygin. *Fab.* 219). He appeared on the stage as a goatherd (Dio Chrys. 70–1). In the other version Caranus, after helping Cisseus, the king of Orestis, to conquer the Eordi, guided by a goatherd surprised the stronghold which he renamed Aegae. Both stories emphasize the part played

by a goat, and it is significant that the goat remained the standard of Macedon and the device on its coins.

[2] ἄλλην γῆν . . . Μακεδονίης. Μακεδονίς proper, the district round Aegae, the home and burial-place of the Temenid kings.

Before the Macedonian conquest Phrygians were believed to have held Edessa or Aegae, now Vodena. (For a description cf. Tozer, *op. cit.* i. 155.) Cf. vii. 73 n.; Euphor. frag. 24; Strabo 330, frag. 25, 680.

Midas here is the mythical founder of the royal house (cf. i. 14. 3 n.), son of Gordias and Cybele. He invented the flute (Plin. *H.N.* vii. 204), founded the worship of his mother, and was judge of the contest between Apollo and Marsyas; cf. Hygin. *Fab.* 191; *Orphica* (Abel, 1883), frag. 310.

[3] Silenus ordinarily figures as the oldest and wisest of the rout of Satyrs (cf. vii. 26. 3 n.); perhaps he was originally a deity of fruitful streams (Lat. *silanus*) and fertile gardens. He unites the wisdom of the sage with drunken sensuality, and can inspire both music and prophecy (cf. Marsyas, vii. 26. 3 n.).

ἦλω: by Midas who put wine in the spring from which Silenus was wont to drink (Xen. *An.* i. 2. 13; Paus. i. 4. 5). The fact that Pausanias places the fountain at Ancyra and Xenophon at Thymbrium, while Bion (ap. Athen. 45e) puts it in the Paeonian land near the borders of the Maedi, is one more argument for an early migration (vii. 20 n. and app. i, p. 371f.). Silenus is said to have been asked what was the best thing for man, and in reply to have pointed out the futility of human hopes and endeavours, and to have praised death. (Aristotle ap. Plut. *Mor.* 115; Theop. frag. 76, *FHG* i. 290; Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 48, 114; cf. the Trausi, v. 4 n.)

ἄβατον ὑπὸ χειμῶνος, "impassable from the cold." The top is covered with perpetual snow.

τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίην: including much territory that before belonged to Paeonians and Thracians, who were subdued or expelled, as well as the kindred tribes of upper Macedonia, apparently dependants of Alexander I; cf. v. 17. 2 n.; vii. 112, 123. 3, 185. 2. For a rather different account of Macedonian expansion cf. Thuc. ii. 99.

### viii. 140

[a. 2] αἴτιον, "unless you should cause me to fail."

[a. 4] θεεῖν κτλ.: cf. vii. 57. 1 n.

ὀρμημένου: cf. i. 158. 2, "since the king inclines to."

ἔστε . . . ἀπάτης: the clause gives the terms of the proposed peace; cf. ix. 7 a. For ὀμαιχμίην cf. vii. 145. 2.

ἄνευ . . . ἀπάτης: a regular formula (i. 69. 2; ix. 7 a): "nullo malo dolo."

[b. 1] ἐξ ἐμεῦ: cf. v. 11. 1; vi. 13. 1. Alexander was called Φιλέλλην (Dio Chrys. 25).

[b. 2] οὐκ οἴοισι. The use of the dative with ἐνορᾶν instead of the accusative (as in i. 170. 2) is without parallel; Stein justifies it by its use with the kindred word συνειδέναι (ix. 60. 3; v. 24. 3, etc.).

χείρ is joined with δύναμις as a symbol of power in iv. 155. 4; cf. Isaiah lix. 1, "Behold, the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save"; cf. l. 2, and for kings Ovid, *Her.* xvii. 166 "An nescis longas regibus esse manus?" The term "long-armed" is therefore given to Eastern kings (so Nala, ii. 12 "Bhimas ma'hâbâhur" and Artaxerxes μακρόχειρ), though the term was in this case supposed by some to refer to a physical peculiarity (Plut. *Artax.* 1).

[b. 3] ἐν τρίβῳ, "in the path" of danger, imitated by Dionysius vi. 34, xi. 54.

ἐξαίρετον μεταίχμιον. Attica lay between the two powers as a natural battleground, since the Persians held Greece as far south as Cithaeron, and their enemies the Peloponnese to the Isthmus.

ἀλλὰ πείθεσθε: cf. chap. 62. 2.

### viii. 141

τῶν λογίων: perhaps identified by H. with those taken from the Acropolis by Cleomenes, in which it was prophesied πολλα τε καὶ ἀνάρσια ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐξ Ἀθηναίων (v. 90. 2), but surely of more recent invention, since only in 480–479 B.C. did a league of Persia and Athens seem a possible contingency.

[2] συνέπιπτε: cf. chap. 15. 1; v. 36. 1 n.

### viii. 142

Ἡμέας δέ: i.e., as opposed to Alexander. For δέ cf. chap. 68 a n.

[2] The Athenians brought on the war by helping the Ionians (v. 97f.) when the Spartans had refused. The Spartan conveniently forgets the message to Cyrus (i. 152) and the outrage on the herald (vii. 133).

περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρης ἀρχῆς: MSS. Such a reference to the Athenian Empire is too naïve an anachronism, nor is it supported by the praise of Athens as a liberator (Blakesley, Rawlinson), for this refers to the Epigoni and the Heracleids in the mythical age, as is shown by τὸ πάλαι (§ 3), cf. ix. 27. Hence ἀρχῆθεν (cf. chap. 22. 2 ad fin.) must be read.

[3] ἄλλως according to Stein = χωρίς, "apart from," for which cf. iii. 82. 5; ix. 26. 6, but the use is unexampled and but weakly supported by ἄλλος τινος, *diversus ab aliquo* (iii. 8. 1). Matthiae and Abicht make αἰτίους do double duty: "that Athenians, the cause of all this, should become the cause of."

καρπῶν . . . διξῶν: two harvests, i.e., that of the past and of the coming summer, since it would seem that but few were able to sow that autumn as Themistocles advised (chap. 109. 4).

[4] οἰκετέων ἐχόμενα: for the periphrasis cf. i. 120. 3, etc.

ἐπιθρέψειν: here and in 144. 3 ad fin. “maintain,” since the children are not sufficiently clearly indicated to justify the special sense “bring up” (as in i. 123. 1).

[5] τύραννος . . . τυράννω. Both Alexander and Mardonius (or rather his master Xerxes) were really legitimate national kings, not tyrants, and H. himself calls the kings of Macedon βασιλεύς, though he styles the monarchy τυραννίς (chap. 137. 2). The opprobrious term is dramatically appropriate in the mouth of an enemy (cf. for the opposite case vii. 161 n.). Further, the tyrants of Ionia had been the natural allies of the Mede (iv. 137, etc.), and, as the “Holy Alliance” and *Dreikaiserbund* have shown, there is a certain natural affinity between monarchies.

### viii. 143

[2] This answer to Mardonius as well as that to the Spartans (below) is said by Plutarch (*Arist.* 10) to be due to Aristides, but this is no doubt a mere conjecture. For the formula cf. v. 92 a 1 n. and especially Soph. *Phil.* 1329f. καὶ παῦλαν ἴσθι τῆσδε μήποτ' ἐντυχεῖν / νόσου βαρείας, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἥλιος / ταύτη μὲν αἴρη, τῆδε δ' αὖ δύνη πάλιν.

For Persian disregard of gods and heroes cf. ix. 76, and for destruction of temples chap. 109. 3 n.

### viii. 144

The speech falls into three parts: (1) repelling the suspicion of disloyalty (§§ 1–3), (2) refusing the maintenance offered (§§ 3, 4), (3) demanding an active campaign (§ 5).

[2] τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. This noble assertion of Hellenic nationality may be unhistorical, but it is in harmony with the spirit of the struggle against the Mede. As Myres points out (*Anthropology and the Classics*, 134), “H. here first gives us a reasoned scheme of ethnological criteria.” “Common descent, common language, common religion, and common culture, these are the four things that make a nation one, and conversely the things which, if unconformable, hold nations apart.” He further thinks that H. gives the four criteria in what he regards as the order of their relative importance, and contrasts the somewhat similar order, laying stress first on physical characteristics, adopted by H. (iv. 23) in describing the Argippaei, with that of Aeschylus in the *Supplikes* (234f.).

[4] ὑμῖν . . . ἐκπεπλήρωται, “the kindness on your part is complete.” ὑμῖν and ὑμεῶν above are put forward for emphasis. Stein thinks the tone of this one of polite irony, indicating that it was written at a time of tension between Sparta and Athens, but this is uncertain. H. does, however, by his vigorous insistence on the patriotism of Athens, hint at least that Sparta had shown scant gratitude for the great service done her.

## Book IX

*The campaigns of Plataea (chaps. 1–89) and of Mycale (90–122).*

### ix. 1–5

*Advance of Mardonius on Athens. Renewed negotiations.*

#### ix. 1

**ὄκου . . . παρελάμβανε.** For the construction cf. iii. 51. 3; viii. 52. 1, 115. 2.

For a list of the Greek allies, reckoned at 50,000 (chap. 32), cf. viii. 66.

Doubtless they had gone on furlough during the winter.

**Θεσσαλῆς ἡγεομένοισι.** For the Aleuadae as princes of Thessaly and their Medism cf. vii. 6. 2 n. Thorax, head of the house (chap. 58. 1), is mentioned in an early poem of Pindar (*Pyth.* x. 64, ca. 500 B.C.).

**παρῆκε:** H., always anxious to emphasize the guilt of the Aleuadae (vii. 6. 2 n., 130. 3, 172. 1), speaks as if the Thessalian were free to act as he chose. But this is inconsistent with viii. 126. 2, 131. 1; nor can we doubt that the Persians kept Thermopylae in their own hands.

#### ix. 2

**κατελάμβανον,** “tried to hold back”; cf. iii. 36. 1.

**ἐπιτηδεότερος.** It was suitable for cavalry (cf. vi. 102), but the advantages here put forward are its convenience as a base of supply and as head-quarters for negotiations. From οὐκ . . . ἔων a word such as ἐκέλευον must be supplied; cf. v. 82. 2; vii. 104. 5, 143. 3.

[2] **κατὰ . . . τὸ ἰσχυρόν,** “by force of arms”; cf. i. 76. 3.

**ταῦτὰ ἐγίνωσκον:** a synonym for ὁμοφρονέοντας; cf. ταῦτὰ φρονέειν, v. 3. 1, 72. 2, etc. The relative clause shows that this union is no mere possibility, but certain to occur, as it had before.

**περιγίνεσθαι,** = “conquer,” governs the accusative on the analogy of νικᾶν.

#### ix. 3

H. clearly holds that the idea of throwing Persian gold into the scale, and of gaining by bribery what they had failed to win by force, dates from the defeat of Salamis (cf. chaps. 5, 41 and Diod. xi. 28). Nor is it improbable that the question was then mooted. But the first clear instances of such bribery, the missions of Megabazus (457 B.C.; cf. Thuc. i. 109) and of Arthmius of Zeleia, are later. Though Plutarch (*Them.* 6) seems to place the latter at the time of Xerxes’ invasion, and attributes the man’s punishment to Themistocles, the words of the decree inscribed on the pillar in the Acropolis, Ἀρθμιος Πυθωνάκτος Ζελεΐτης ἄτιμος [ἔστω] καὶ πολέμιος τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸς καὶ γένος . . . ὅτι

τὸν χρυσοῦν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγεν (Dem. *Phil.* 3, 41; *De Fals. Leg.* 271; Aristid. i. 310 Dind.), make it probable that Athens was then at variance with the Peloponnesians. Again, though Plutarch ascribes the decree to Themistocles, Craterus (quoted by the scholiast on Aristides, loc. cit.) assigned it to Cimon. If so, Arthmius' mission must be placed after the outbreak of the war between Athens and the Peloponnesians and the subsequent recall of Cimon, i.e., after 457 B.C. (cf. E. Meyer, iii, § 337; Busolt, ii. 653, n. 3).

**ἀγνωμοσύνης:** cf. v. 83. 1 n.

**πυρροῖσι.** The use of fire-signals has its origin in the beacon lighted to warn the neighbourhood of a foe's approach. It was frequent in the fifth century (cf. vii. 183. 1; Thuc. ii. 94, iii. 22. 80; and esp. Aesch. *Ag.* 280f. the signals telling the fall of Troy). Apparently the numbers and direction of a hostile force could be signalled (Thuc. loc. cit.); yet for want of an adequate code, only more or less foreseen contingencies could be signalled even in the days of Polybius, though much attention had been paid to the art (Polyb. x. 43f.).

**διὰ νήσων** without article = the mid-Aegean isles (cf. iii. 96. 1; vii. 95. 1), but those west of Delos were no longer in Persian hands (viii. 132). Hence Rawlinson is led to suggest that this line of beacons like that described by Aeschylus (loc. cit.) was by Athos and Lemnos.

[2] **δεκάμηνος.** Probably the reckoning is inclusive (Busolt, ii. 722, n. 2), so that as Xerxes took Athens about Sept. 25, 480 B.C. (viii. 65 n.), Mardonius occupied it before the end of June.

#### ix. 4

[2] **προέχων:** strangely used for προειδώς (chap. 41. 4); for ἔχων cf. chap. 2. 2, and for προ- cf. v. 82. 1 n.

#### ix. 5

**τὴν βουλήν.** The Boule of 500 must therefore have held meetings in Salamis.

[2] **κατέλευσαν.** Verrall has shown (*CR* xxiii. 36f.) that the Greek writers are in substantial agreement as to the fate of Cysilus or Lycides, and that the transference of this famous case of lynching to the previous year (480 B.C.), when the Athenians retired before Xerxes, is a confusion due to Cicero's (*Off.* iii. 11, § 48) misinterpretation of Demosthenes (*De Cor.* §§ 202, 204). It is clear from H. and Lycurgus (*Leoc.* § 122) that the lynching took place in Salamis, and was a well-known case recorded in a decree. Demosthenes' date (§ 202) is vague, "when the Athenians had the hardihood to abandon their land and city and take to their ships," but may as probably refer to the continued or repeated exodus of 479 as to 480 B.C.; and by stating (§ 202), in language reminiscent of H. (viii. 140), that Athens had received offers from the king of Persia, by which she might have kept her own land and been given more, Demosthenes really fixes the event to 479, since in 480 Xerxes never offered Athens any such terms. Cicero has blundered, and H. is confirmed by the Greek orators. Probably, however, he has inadvertently

substituted an ominous (cf. vii. 180) patronymic (Lycides = son of Lycus, “wolfling”) for the victim’s true name Cyrsilus. The lynching of Cyrsilus is paralleled by the fury of the Hollanders in tearing De Witt to pieces.

#### ix. 6–11

*An Athenian embassy to Sparta ends Sparta’s hesitation and leads to the dispatch of a Spartan force.*

#### ix. 6

ἔπεμπτον. Plutarch says (*Arist.* chap. 10) that this was done on the motion of Aristides, and that the envoys named in the decree were Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides; cf. Busolt, ii. 721, n. 5.

#### ix. 7

The **Hyacinthia** fell in the Spartan month Ἐκατμοβεύς. They followed shortly after the Isthmian games (*Xen. Hell.* iv. 5. 1f.), which took place in the early summer (*Thuc.* viii. 3, 9, 10). Apparently they usually fell in Thargelion (May), but this year, through intercalation in the Spartan Calendar, in Skirophorion (June); Busolt, ii. 722, n. 2. This pre-Dorian festival was celebrated annually at Amyclae in honour of Apollo and of Hyacinthus, the beautiful youth whom he had slain accidentally by a cast of his quoit. Hyacinthus seems to personify the vegetation dried up by summer’s heat. On the first day the offerings of the dead were made to Hyacinthus; his urn, which was behind a closed iron door beneath Apollo’s altar, was opened, and his ashes drenched with wine and milk (*Paus.* iii. 19. 3). Abstinence and melancholy marked the day; no garlands were worn, no paeans sung, and only plain unleavened cakes were eaten. The second day was a joyful festival sacred to Apollo; boys celebrated the praises of Apollo in anapaestic measures to the accompaniment of cithara and flute; there was a horse race of boys and a solemn procession of maidens in chariots. Probably the robe woven by Spartan women (*Paus.* iii. 16. 2) was then presented to the god. Of the third day no details are known; the importance of the whole festival is shown by the anxiety of all Spartans and especially the Amyclaeans to return home to keep it even in time of war (*Xen. Hell.* iv. 5. 11; *Paus.* iii. 10. 1, iv. 19. 4).

ἦγον. For parallel cases cf. v. 63. 2 n.; vi. 106. 3; vii. 206. 1.

τὸ τεῖχος: cf. viii. 71; ix. 10 n.

τοὺς ἐφόρους: cf. chaps. 8. 1, 9. 2, and for the significance of the fact app. xvii, § 2.

[a] ἐπ’ ἴση τε καὶ ὁμοίῃ: *aequo foedere*, i.e., between equal independent powers.

[b. 2] ὅ τι τάχος = ὡς τάχιστα; cf. *Thuc.* vii. 42. 3 and ὡς τάχος, v. 106. 5.

Θριάσιον πεδίων: cf. viii. 65. 1 n. It is a strange suggestion that the plains of Boeotia and Eleusis would be good battle-grounds for Greek hoplites opposed to cavalry, though it accords with the description of Greek warfare ascribed to Mardonius (*vii. 9 b*).

### ix. 8

ἦν (sc., τὸ τεῖχος): from ἐτείχεον.

[2] ἄλλο γε (sc., αἴτιον): cf. i. 49.

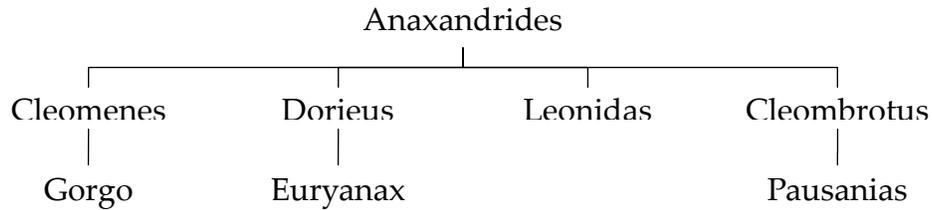
### ix. 10

H.'s account of the long delay and sudden dispatch of the Spartans is obviously inadequate. The wall was probably defensible in the autumn of 480 B.C. (viii. 71). Again, there can have been no need for a Tegean to show the Spartan government that "a great door to the Peloponnese was open" from the sea, if the Athenian navy changed sides (cf. Plut. *De Mal.* 41, *Mor.* 871e). But the delay, as well as the secrecy and speed of the mobilization can be explained if we remember (1) that Argos had an understanding with Mardonius (chap. 12), (2) that the Eleans and Mantineans were at least wavering, since they arrived too late for the battle of Plataea (chap. 77), and afterwards banished their generals, presumably for Medism; indeed no Arcadians except the men of Tegea and Orchomenus (chap. 28) fought at Plataea. The Argives may have hoped to anticipate the strategy of Alcibiades in 418 B.C. (Thuc. v. 57f.) by cutting off the Spartans from their northern allies. This explains why the Spartans marched by Orestheum (chap. 11. 2 n.) well away from the Argive frontier. It may, however, well be true that the Ephors were at last induced to risk an attack from Argos and a rising in Arcadia, by the fear that the loyalty of Athens would stand no further strain.

H. puts the whole Spartiate force at 8,000 (vii. 234. 2 n.). The 5,000 here may be meant for two-thirds of the host, a common proportion (Thuc. ii. 10; iii. 15), or for a corps of 1,000 from each Spartan village (cf. chap. 53 n.). For the Helots cf. chap. 28. 2 n. and app. xxii, § 2.

[3] The eclipse, which was partial, was on October 2, 480 B.C. (Busolt, ii. 715). Cleombrotus must have contemplated attacking the Persians as they retreated from Attica, probably by marching through the Megarid to occupy the passes of Cithaeron in their rear (cf. chaps. 13, 14). But to risk all that had been won at Salamis in another battle was utterly opposed to the cautious policy of Sparta. The eclipse only justified a timidity in keeping with the situation and with the orders no doubt given to Cleombrotus. The return home was due to the approach of winter, during which a Greek force was always disbanded. They then came back to complete the wall in the spring.

Εὐρουάνακτα. The genealogy implied seems to be:



But if Euryanax be the son of Dorieus who fell in Sicily (cf. v. 41–6) he should have been king before Leonidas. Perhaps Dorieus by going abroad (cf. vi. 70. 1 n.) forfeited the throne or renounced it for himself and his descendants, or possibly the Dorieus here mentioned belonged to a younger branch of the royal house.

#### ix. 11

**παίζετε:** of the music, dances, and processions on the second day of the Hyacinthia cf. chap. 7. 1 n.

[2] ἐπ' ὄρκου: a curious and unparalleled variant for σὺν ὄρκῳ (Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 3. 12, etc.). Stein compares Antiphon, *Tetr.* i. 3, 8, p. 119 ἐπὶ τῶν μαρτύρων, and Dionys. v. 29 πίστεις δοῦναι ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν.

Ὀρέσθειον must not be confused with Orestia, called Oresteion by Euripides (*Or.* 1647; cf. *El.* 1273f.), the southern half of Megalopolis (Steph. Byz.) towards Messene (cf. Paus. viii. 34. 1–4), but must be identified with the Oresthasion of Pausanias (viii. 3. 1, 2, 44. 2), called Orestheion in Thuc. v. 64, Plut. *Arist.* 10. Oresthasion is placed by Loring (*JHS* xv. 27f.) above the little plain of Alea between Marmaria and Papari. It lay not on the direct route from Sparta to Tegea and the north, which led too near the Argolid and through Mantinea, but on an alternative route up the Eurotas towards Megalopolis, which turned near Oresthasium to Area Pallantium and the plain of Tegea and Mantinea (cf. Loring, *op. cit.* route c, pp. 47–52). It was used by the Spartans again in 418 B.C. (Thuc. v. 64) for the same reason, and served then as a mustering-place for their Arcadian allies.

**ξείνους:** Cic. *Off.* i. 12. 37 (cf. chaps. 53. 2, 55. 2) “equidem etiam illud animadverto, quod qui proprio nomine perduellis esset is hostis vocaretur, lenitate verbi rei tristitiam mitigatam. hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus.”

#### ix. 12–15

*Mardonius, warned by the Argives, evacuates Attica. After raiding Megaris he retreats to a position in Boeotia.*

#### ix. 12

**ἡμεροδρόμων:** cf. vi. 105. 1; Livy xxxi. 24 “hemerodromos vocant Graeci ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium.”

**αὐτοί:** *sponte.* On the Medism of the Argives cf. vii. 148. 2 n., 150. 1 n.; ix. 10. 1 n. The warning was necessary, since a picked Spartan force might reach the borders

of Attica in three days (vi. 120), and, marching by the Megarid, might then block the passes of Cithaeron in Mardonius' rear.

#### ix. 13

[2] τὰς Ἀθήνας. The lower town, the Acropolis having been burnt down in 480 B.C. (viii. 53. 2). There is some exaggeration in the complete destruction described; some few houses and parts of the wall (Thuc. i. 89), and possibly the old temples of the Dioscuri and Dionysus (Paus. i. 18. 1, 20. 2), remained.

[3] κατὰ στεῖνόν. Either (1) by the long and narrow defile through Mount Cithaeron, starting from Eleutheræ and passing through Dryoscephalæ (chap. 39. 1 n.), or (2) by the even more difficult path across Mount Parnes by Phyle and Panactum, or (3) by the circuitous route followed by Mardonius according to H. (chap. 15). The Peloponnesians might cross Cithaeron direct from Megara either along the coast by Pegæ and Aegosthena, or by the Vilia pass near Plataea, and so cut Mardonius' connection with Thebes.

#### ix. 14

It is most unlikely that Mardonius, who had determined to fight in Boeotia, led his whole army, or indeed any large portion of it, back towards Megara in the hope of cutting off the Greek vanguard. He merely threw out a cavalry screen to cover his own retreat and to prevent the Greeks advancing through the Megarid (chap. 13 n.). Pausanias (i. 44. 4) preserves a tradition that Persian archers reached the neighbourhood of Pegæ.

ἐκαστάτω. For a similar remark cf. iv. 204. H. is, as often, weak on the points of the compass—the Persian force was further west in Thessaly or at Thermopylæ, not to speak of Delphi—but he is right if he means that this detachment of cavalry penetrated furthest into Greece towards the southwest.

#### ix. 15

**Decelea**, on a hill near Tatoi, commands the road leading from the Attic plain over Mount Parnes to Oropus and Tanagra. The road ascends to the summit of the pass through wooded ravines, but is not difficult. Probably H. only gives us the route of the main column under Mardonius, and the Persians used other passes also (Delbrück, *Perserkriege*, 143f.).

**βοιωτάρχαι**, eleven in number, formed the executive of the Boeotian league (Thuc. iv. 91; *Oxyr. Pap.* v. 171).

**Ἀσωπίων**, called Parasopii (Strabo 408), = "men of the Asopus valley" who would know the northern side of Parnes and the gorges leading down to the Asopus well, and also the pass into Attica.

**Σφενδαλέας**, or Sphendale, an Attic deme (Steph. Byz., *CIA*) on the way to Tanagra (Milchöfer, *Karten von Attika*, Text. ix. 27f.).

[2] **Σκῶλον**: cf. Strabo 408 Σκῶλος δ' ἐστὶ κώμη τῆς Παρασωπίας ὑπὸ τῶ Κιθαιρῶνι, δυσοίκητος τόπος καὶ τραχύς. The little town must have been on the

rough ground above the plain, but its site is uncertain. Pausanias (ix. 4. 4) puts it forty stades down the Asopus from the point where the road from Plataea to Thebes crossed the stream. Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 153–4) follows Leake in placing it near Darimari, and thinks the Persian fort guarded the Asopus where the road from Attica by Panactum crossed it. Grundy (pp. 449 n., 463 n.) would place Scolus not far east of the road from Dryoscephalae to Thebes, and the Persian camp, on the Asopus where that road crosses it; this seems the more probable view.

ἐν γῆ . . . Θηβαίων. Strabo (409) extends the territory of Thebes over the Asopus to Mount Cithaeron, and includes in it not only Scolus but Erythrae and Scaphae (Eteonus) also. Yet these townships would seem to have been traditionally united to Plataea (cf. vi. 108). They are so regarded by some authorities quoted by Strabo (loc. cit.) and by Pausanias (ix. 2. 1, 4. 4). At some date before 424 B.C. (perhaps only when Plataea fell in 427) these small places became subject to Thebes, and doubtless remained so till the peace of Antalcidas, 387 B.C. (cf. *Oxyr. Pap.* v. 171, and notes, pp. 223–7).

ἔκειρε. He had to cut down trees, even fruit-trees (chap. 97), to build his square wooden fort (chaps. 65. 1, 70. 1). The fort was not, however, merely a place of refuge; doubtless it commanded the passage of the Asopus, the bridge being further defended on the south side by a bridge-head. Both here and in chap. 65 it is distinguished from the camp, which was clearly larger, and which must have been entirely on the north side of the Asopus.

[3] The sites of Erythrae and Hysiae are still matters of controversy. Munro (loc. cit.) again follows Leake in placing Hysiae close under Mount Cithaeron, just to the right of the main road from Athens and Eleutherae to Thebes, and Erythrae at Katsula about two miles east of his site for Hysiae. Grundy (pp. 458–60 and 464) would put Hysiae just above Kriekouki and Erythrae above the road from Eleutherae to Thebes. The two towns would thus be within a mile of each other.

H. probably only means that the Persians occupied the valley over against Erythrae and Hysiae, as we find the Greeks in possession of Erythrae a little later (chap. 19. 3).

[4] **Attaginus**, along with Timagenidas, led the Medizing oligarchy of Thebes (chaps. 86. 1, 88).

#### ix. 16–18

*Stories of the banquet at Thebes, and of the testing of the Phocians.*

#### ix. 16

**Θερασάνδρου**. The story is notable because it is one of the four cases (cf. ii. 55; iii. 55, and iv. 76) in which H. gives the name of his informant (cf. introd., p. 29). The fifty “Thebans” doubtless included men from other cities of Boeotia.

**κλῖναι.** The subject must be Attaginus, who as host would arrange this. In Greece it was usual that only two should recline on one couch at supper (Plato *Symp.* 175c), whereas the Roman *lectus* held three.

[2] **ὄμοτραπέζος**, “sharer in the feast”; **ὄμοσπονδος**, “sharer in the libation” with which the drinking began; cf. Plato *Symp.* 176a.

[3] These forebodings are interesting if true. Probably the Persians had lost confidence, as is shown by the evacuation of Attica and by the fortification of the camp; possibly, too, they were divided amongst themselves, Artabazus disapproving of the designs of Mardonius (chaps. 41, 66).

[4] For inevitable fate cf. i. 91. 1; iii. 43. 1, 65. 3, and for ἀναγκαίη ἐνδεδεμένοι i. 11. 3; viii. 22. 2.

[5] Verrall (*CR* xvii. 99) has ingeniously suggested that this maxim came from a tragedy, ὀδύνη δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐχθίστη πέλει / αὕτη φρονοῦντα πολλὰ μηδενὸς κρατεῖν. For the sentiment cf. Soph. *O.T.* 316.

Thersander and H. are at pains to prove that this story cannot be discredited as a mere *vaticinium post eventum*.

#### ix. 17

**καὶ συνεσέβαλον.** This goes back to an earlier point of time, so that the author may bring out the contrast with the Phocians, who sent their force too late to take part in the invasion of Attica.

**Ἀθήνας** = Attica; cf. viii. 50. 2, similarly **Θήβας** (§ 2) for the Theban land.

**ἐμήδιζον . . . ἀναγκαίης.** If the manuscript reading is right it must mean that the Phocians now joined the Persians decidedly (σφόδρα) though unwillingly; but (1) σφόδρα should mean “eagerly,” and (2) some Phocians still fought for Greece (chap. 31. 5), and many more were, in H.’s opinion (vii. 203f., 218 n.; viii. 29f.), loyal at heart.

[3] Arsaces actually shot down the exiled Delians after this fashion (Thuc. viii. 108).

[4] For Thessalian enmity cf. viii. 29f. **ἄνδρα**, which goes with ἀγαθόν, is put forward for emphasis.

**παρέχοντας:** to hand oneself over as to a doctor. The appeal is made in poetic language; for **μόρω** cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 444 δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρω, and for ἔρραψαν Hom. *Od.* xvi. 379 φόνον αἰπὺν ἐράπτομεν.

#### ix. 18

**διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα:** probably “stretched forth their javelins or throwing spears”; cf. κατακοντιεῖ (chap. 17. 3) and Thuc. viii. 108; less probably τὰ βέλεα may be taken with ὡς ἀπήσοντες, and the phrase construed “bent (their bows) (cf. iii. 35. 3) as though to shoot their arrows.”

### ix. 19–24

*Occupation by the Greeks of their first position in Boeotia on the slope of Cithaeron. Defeat of the Persian cavalry and death of Masistius.*

### ix. 19

[2] **καλλιρέειν** is impersonal; cf. vii. 113. 2 n.

The Greeks may have expected to find Mardonius still in Attica: indeed, the repeated sacrifice would seem to imply that the advance into Boeotia was beyond their original plan. Yet, in any case, they would naturally turn aside to Eleusis to pick up the Athenian troops, and would cross Cithaeron by the good road thence.

[3] **Ἐρυθράς**: cf. chap. 15. 3 n.

**ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρέης**. This position on the foothills of Cithaeron would give them protection against the attacks of the Persian cavalry, and would also cover the passes and roads to Attica and the Megarid, by which supplies and reinforcements reached them (chaps. 28. 2, 38. 2, 39. 2).

### ix. 20

**Μασίστιος** (cf. vii. 79). The form **Μακίστιος** might be thought by Greeks to signify the Persian leader's great height; cf. chap. 25. 1.

**Νησαῖον**: cf. vii. 40. 2 n.

**κατὰ τέλεα**. They charged successively by squadrons (vii. 81 n.), not all together (chap. 23).

**γυναῖκας**: the bitterest taunt; chap. 107. 1, cf. viii. 88. 3

### ix. 21

The station of the Megarians open to cavalry attack was doubtless the comparatively level ground where the road from Eleutherae to Thebes comes down from the pass. Grundy (p. 458f.) rightly holds that the Greeks had come over the Dryosephalae pass, and now were drawn up with their centre astride of the road, the Megarians being in the left centre of the Greek line (chaps. 28. 6, 31. 5). Macan's suggestion that the Greeks were but just emerging from the pass in a column headed by the Megarians or by the Athenians is opposed to the clear statement of H. (chap. 19. 3).

Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 157) puts forward the over-elaborate hypothesis that Pausanias marched with the bulk of his forces by Oenoe and Panactum, and finding himself checked by the Persian stockade, deployed his army to the left along the base of the mountain, continually extending his left flank westward as more troops came into line. Thus the Megarians might temporarily form the extreme left of the army. The Athenians would next come up (to take post to their left), and on them would naturally fall the duty of relieving the distressed Megarians.

[3] οἱ τριηκόσιοι. There is no evidence that there was at Athens a permanent picked corps of 300, as the οἱ would naturally imply, though we hear of the selection of 300 picked men for special service before Syracuse (Thuc. vi. 100).

The full details given of this cavalry skirmish were probably told to H. by some near relation of Olympiodorus. He was no doubt the father of the more famous Lampon, the seer and interpreter of signs and oracles, derided in comedy (e.g., *Ar. Av.* 521), especially by Cratinus for superstition, but the friend and adviser of Pericles. Lampon was one of the ten commissioners sent out to found Thurii; hence H. would naturally have met him there, even if he had not in Athens.

#### ix. 22

τοὺς τοξότας (cf. chap. 60; Aesch. *Pers.* 463). These archers were citizens of the Thetic class (*CIA* i. 54. 79 τοξόται ἀστικοί), not the Scyths who were first enlisted by Pericles. E. Meyer (iii. 408) suggested that they numbered 800, and thus explained convincingly the redundancy in H.'s total of light-armed troops at Plataea (chap. 29). At the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. ii. 13; *Ath. Pol.* 24) these archers numbered 1,600: hence Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 147) would assign the other 800 at this time to the Athenian fleet, since we learn from Plutarch (*Them.* 14) that four archers served on each ship at Salamis.

προέχων, "being in front of the others"; cf. iv. 120. 3; Hom. *Il.* xxiii. 453.

[2] H. may have seen this corselet in the Erechtheum, where it was preserved with a sword believed to be that of Mardonius (Paus. i. 27. 1). For Persian armour cf. vii. 61. 1 n.

[3] ἀναχωρήσιος. Each squadron would advance, hurl its missiles, and then retire rapidly without special orders. In their hasty retreat the fall of their leader passed unnoticed.

#### ix. 23

[2] ἀποστήσαντες (sc., ἵππους): "pulling up" their horses "far away." For the sense of ἴστημι cf. Hom. *Od.* vii. 4 στήσεν ἄρ' ἐν προθύροισι (τοὺς ἡμιόνους), and perhaps ἔστησαν, chap. 22. 3, and for ἀπό cf. ἀποστάς, v. 51. 2.

#### ix. 24

Such unbridled exhibitions of grief were characteristic of Persians (iii. 66. 1; viii. 99. 2 n.) as of other Orientals (vi. 58). Shaving the head as a sign of mourning was a common custom (ii. 36) among Greeks (vi. 21) as well as Persians (Curt. x. 17) and other Orientals (Job v. 20). Cutting off the manes of horses was a Macedonian and Thessalian form of mourning (Plut. *Pelop.* 34; Eur. *Alc.* 428f.), an honour paid, along with others of the same kind, by Alexander the Great to Hephaestion.

#### ix. 25–32

*Advance of the Greeks to a second position. Dispute between Athens and Tegea for precedence. Battle array of the Greeks and Persians, and composition of their forces.*

### ix. 25

Apparently the wagon bearing Masistius' body was drawn along a road behind the Greek lines, i.e., from Erythrae towards Plataea, though Macan, believing that the Greeks were still in column in the pass, thinks it went up the road through the pass to the rear.

[2] ἐπικαταβῆναι. They moved towards Plataea, but also forwards down into the plain. H. does not understand at all the importance of this movement; by it the Greeks assumed the offensive and tried to provoke a battle. Yet if they really hoped to turn the Persian right by forcing the passage of the Asopus (Grundy, p. 473; Munro, *JHS* xxiv. 158), this advance into the plain was absurdly rash in face of the superior Persian cavalry. Cf. app. xxii, § 5.

[3] Γαργαφίης . . . Ἀνδροκράτης. We cannot be certain that the two points given are intended to mark the extreme limits of the Greek position, though the spring Gargaphia is clearly held by the Spartans (chap. 49. 3), the right wing of the army (chap. 28. 2), and the precinct of Androcrates, a Plataean hero (Plut. *Arist.* 11), very probably defines the position of the left wing. Neither spring nor precinct can be identified with certainty. Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 37–8) still maintains that Apotripi, the traditional site, is the true Gargaphia, but Grundy (p. 465 n.) and Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 159) seem right in preferring Leake's Gargaphia, a more abundant spring in a much more conspicuous position. The heroon of Androcrates is placed by Grundy (466f.) within three-quarters of a mile of Plataea, to the right of the road to Thebes (cf. Thuc. iii. 24). Munro (loc. cit.) and Macan follow Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 38–40) in placing it at the church of St. John, a conspicuous site (cf. Plut. *Arist.* 11), and therefore preferable. They believe that Thucydides (loc. cit.) is distinguishing two roads to Thebes, which passed to the right and the left of the shrine.

### ix. 26

τὸ ἔτερον κέρας. The right wing as the post of honour belonged to the Spartans as leaders (chap. 28. 2; cf. vi. 111. 1 n.); the left wing is here in question. Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 41) argues strongly that the story of this quarrel for precedence is an Athenian invention. The dispute, if historical, must have taken place earlier, i.e., directly the Greeks fell into position on Mount Cithaeron. Now the Athenians were probably then already on the left (chap. 21), as they succour the Megarians. Further, the Tegeans are found occupying the position next the Spartans not only here (chap. 28) but at Mantinea in 418 B.C. (Thuc. v. 71) and at Corinth in 394 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 19). The tactical reasons for posting the Athenians on the left as the largest single corps of hoplites (8,000) with the best archers are obvious, if we remember that the left wing was most exposed to cavalry (chap. 49).

[2] Εὐρυσθέος: cf. chap. 27. 2 n.

[3] Ἴώνων: cf. i. 146 n.

τὸν Ἴσθμόν. The fight took place on the boundary between the territories of Megara and Corinth (Paus. i. 44. 10).

ἐπὶ διακειμένοισι, “on settled terms”; cf. Hesiod, *Sc.* 20, and συγκείμενα (iii. 158. 1).

[4] ἑκατὸν ἐτέων, “within a century” (for the genitive of time cf. ii. 115. 6) = the fourth generation. Temenus, Aristodemus and Cresphontes, the Heracleid leaders of the successful Dorian invasion were the fourth generation from Hyllus, as is seen in the genealogies (vii. 204; viii. 131).

[5] For **Echemus** cf. Pind. *Ol.* xi. 66 (of the foundation of the Olympic games by Heracles, ὁ δὲ πάλα κυδαίνων Ἐχεμος Τεγέαν). This combat (cf. Paus. viii. 5. 1) was represented on a memorial stele at Tegea (Paus. viii. 53. 10).

**Φηγέος**: probably a slip or accidental mis-writing for Κηφέως, the name given by Pausanias (viii. 5. 1) and Apollodorus (i. 9. 16; ii. 7. 3; iii. 9. 1), whereas Phegeus belongs to Psophis, once called Phegia, in northwest Arcadia (Paus. viii. 24. 2 and 8f.).

**κοινῆς ἐξόδου**: as though the Peloponnesian league had existed before the Dorian conquest.

[7] ἀγῶνες: for these conflicts cf. i. 66f.

#### ix. 27

As E. Meyer has shown (*F.* ii. 219), we have here an echo of the laud of Athens usual in funeral orations in the Ceramicus and in other panegyrics (cf. also vii. 161. 3 n.). These three mythical instances of valour and unselfishness were, along with Marathon (§ 5), the regular themes of patriotic Athenian orators. Cf. Isocrates, *Paneg.* §§ 54–70; *Panath.* 168f., 193f.; *Plataic.* 53; Plato, *Menex.* 239; pseudo-Lysias *Epitaph.* 3f.; pseudo-Dem. *Epitaph.* 8. Similarly in the Tegean speech there is a little history and a large admixture of myth.

**προέθηκε**, “has laid on us the task of.” The idea seems to be that the Tegean has instituted a contest in self-laudatory panegyrics.

[2] Cf. Diod. iv. 57, 58, and especially Apollod. ii. 8. The Athenians refused to surrender the Heracleids to Eurystheus, and slew his sons in battle, while Hyllus came up with Eurystheus as he fled by the Scironian rocks and slew him.

For another version cf. Euripides, *Heraclidae*.

[3] Apparently in the oldest form of the legend it was Adrastus who persuaded the Thebans to allow the Argive heroes to be buried at Thebes (cf. Pind. *Ol.* vi. 15 with schol.); at any rate the grave of Tydeus was there (Paus. ix. 18. 2, quoting *Il.* xiv. 124, a spurious line); then the Attic tragedians, etc., made Adrastus flee to Theseus at Athens, who, whether by persuasion (Aesch. *Eleusinioi*; Plut. *Thes.* 29; Isoc. *Panath.* 168–71) or by force of arms (Isoc. *Paneg.* 58; Eur. *Supp.* 634f.), recovered the bodies and buried them at Eleusis (Euripides, *op. cit.*), where their tombs were shown (Paus. i. 39. 2). Thus the story was turned into a panegyric on Athens.

[4] Theseus is said to have carried off the queen of the Amazons, Antiope or Hippolyte (cf. iv. 110. 1 n.), from her land, going thither either as a companion of Heracles (Paus. i. 2. 1; Philoch. frag. 49, *FHG* i. 392; cf. Plut. *Thes.* 26) or with his friend Pirithous (Pind. frag. 161). The Amazons in revenge invaded Attica and fought long and fiercely with Theseus near the Pnyx and Museum. These daughters of Ares seized the hill of Ares (Aesch. *Eum.* 688f.) to attack the Acropolis thence (cf. viii. 52). In that neighbourhood was the Amazoneion (Diodor. iv. 28; Aesch. *Eum.* 655f.) and the graves of the Amazons (Plut. *Thes.* 27). Graves of Amazons were also to be seen at Cynoscephalae and Scotussa in Thessaly, at Chaeronea in Boeotia, at Chalcis near Megara (Plut. *Thes.* 27), and at Troezen (Paus. ii. 31. 4, 32. 9).

Amazons are favourite subjects of sculptors and vase-painters. The fight with them was represented by Phidias on the shield of the Parthenos (Paus. i. 17. 2) and on the metopes of the Parthenon, and by Micon in the Stoa Poikile (Paus. i. 15. 2) and the Theseion (Paus. i. 17. 2). It is treated as the mythical counterpart of the Persian invasion.

ἀπὸ Θερμώδοντος: cf. iv. 110. 1.

οὐ τι προέχει, "it avails naught." The Athenian speaker glides gracefully away from the Trojan war, in which his countrymen played no great part; cf. vii. 161. 3 n.

[5] μούνοι δῆ: very emphatic (cf. viii. 124. 3 n.). This insistence that the Athenians won Marathon by themselves ungratefully forgets the help of the Plataeans (cf. vii. 10. b 1). Attic orators follow the example of their advocate here; cf. Plato, *Menex.* 240c; *Leg.* 698e; Isoc. *Paneg.* § 86. 99; pseudo-Lysias, §§ 20–6; especially μόνοι ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρὸς πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν βαρβάρων.

The forty-six nations answer to the number of those who served on foot in the host of Xerxes (vii. 61–80). The assumption that they all fought at Marathon is purely gratuitous.

## ix. 28

The studied variety of phrases used by H. to express the same idea, viz., the juxtaposition of the various Greek contingents, is remarkable, especially if it be compared with the monotonous repetition of chap. 31.

The great importance of this chapter for the question of Greek population is admitted even by Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, 9), though he holds, probably wrongly, that the numbers of hoplites given rest on a mere estimate made by the historian.

[2] The repeated assertion that there were seven Helots to each Spartiate (chaps. 10. 1, 29. 1, 61. 2) evidently rests on something more than mere conjecture. The words ἐφύλασσον most naturally would mean that they were in personal attendance on their master, but elsewhere each Spartiate has but one squire (θεράπων, cf. vii. 186. 2 n., 229. 1 n.). Krüger would take it to mean that the light-armed Helots covered the right wing from the attacks of the Persian horse and archers; but though H. regards them as combatants (μάχιμοι, chap. 30; cf. 29. 8),

there is nowhere any indication that they played an effective part in the fighting, though archers, and presumably other light troops, were urgently required (chap. 60). Hence at best they can only have been an army service corps (chaps. 39, 50); cf. app. xi, §. 3.

[3] **εὐροντο**, “gained the favour.” Potidaea (cf. vii. 123. 1; viii. 127f.) was a colony of Corinth (Thuc. i. 56). E. Meyer (iii. 235 n.) holds that it is unlikely that any Potidaeans fought at Plataea, and that H. put them in erroneously because he found their name on the memorial at Delphi (chap. 81 n.), while Beloch (loc. cit.) would derive the whole list of names from the same source. Both views seem unlikely; cf. chap. 81 n. Obst (*Der Feldzug des Xerxes*, 62–6) accepts the numbers given by Herodotus for the contingents of hoplites, and argues for the presence of the Paleans and Potidaeans at Plataea, which Munro (*CAH* iv. 323) now doubts.

[4] The only Arcadians who fought at Plataea were the men of Tegea and Orchomenus (cf. chap. 10 n.), though Mantineans and other Arcadians followed Leonidas (vii. 202) and Cleombrotus (viii. 72). The men of Tiryns and Lepreum were the only new recruits from Peloponnese. For Lepreum cf. iv. 148. 4. Tiryns and Mycenae were at the time of the Persian war independent communities; for their subsequent destruction cf. vi. 83 n.

[5] **Χαλχιδέες**. Macan holds that these are probably the native inhabitants and not Athenian Cleruchs, since the latter would naturally have been brigaded with the Athenians. In viii. 1 and 46, however, Chalcidians serve on ships provided by Athens.

**Παλέες**. Beloch (loc. cit.) suggests that Παλέες is a misreading of the φαλειῶι (Eleans) extant on the Delphic serpent (chap. 81. 1 n.), but it seems far more probable that Pale really sent hoplites to Plataea, and, like Croton, Lemnos, and Seriphos, which each sent a single ship to Salamis, was not inscribed on the Delphic memorial because of the insignificance of its contingent.

[6] **Μεγαρέων τρισχίλιοι**. Beloch (op. cit. and *Klio* vi. 52–7) holds that the 5,000 hoplites assigned to Corinth (§ 3) and the 3,000 to Sicyon (§ 4) and Megara are all exaggerated estimates. He points out (*Bevölk.*, 119) that the field army of Corinth in the Peloponnesian war and later is not much more than 3,000 strong (Thuc. i. 27, iv. 42–4, v. 57; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2. 17), while Sicyon, whose force in 394 B.C. is but 1,500 (Xen. loc. cit.), and Megara he considers (pp. 118, 173) even less able to provide the contingents here given. But all these towns must have lost very much in strength during the period of the Athenian empire; all had been very important in the 6th century.

**Πλαταιέες ἑξακόσιοι**. In spite of Beloch’s doubts (p. 165) this number agrees very well with the data in Thucydides, for the Plataeans much outnumber their 300 Theban assailants (ii. 3), and still number 400 after the removal of all but those necessary to garrison the town (ii. 78). As the campaign was in their territory, they would come in full force, πανδημεί (vi. 108) or πανστρατιᾷ (Thuc. v. 57).

**ὀκτακισχίλιοι.** If allowance be made for the hoplites serving on board the fleet (chap. 99f.), this number agrees very well with the 9,000 or 10,000 said by late authors to have fought at Marathon (vi. 117 n.) and with the field army of 13,000 hoplites in 431 B.C., however we may explain the large number of men then used only for garrison duty (Thuc. ii. 13). For the whole number of citizens cf. v. 97 n.

#### **ix. 29**

[2] This calculation rests on the ordinary Greek assumption that each hoplite was accompanied by a light-armed attendant (cf. vii. 186. 1 n.). Mere camp-followers are not included (cf. *μαχίμων*, chap. 30). The 800 extra light-armed troops, 34,500 as against 33,700 hoplites, are probably the Athenian archers (chap. 22. 1 n.).

#### **ix. 30**

**αἱ ἔνδεκα μυριάδες.** For the article with a round number cf. viii. 82. 2. It looks as if the Thespians were brought in to fill up the number.

**οἱ περιεόντες.** 700 Thespians had fallen at Thermopylae (vii. 202, 222, 226; viii. 25).

**ὄπλα.** The panoply of the heavy-armed soldier (cf. 63. 2); being without this, they fought as *ψιλοί*.

#### **ix. 31**

**ἀπεκήδευσαν,** "had made an end of mourning for." *ἄπό*, "to the full"; cf. ii. 40. 4; viii. 76. 3.

**ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν.** Grundy (p. 470, n. 473) still clings to his view that H. uses the Asopus in two senses. Here and in chap. 40 he admits that it refers to the main stream, the "Thespian" Asopus, but in line 1 and elsewhere (especially in chap. 51. 1) he insists that H. uses the name for the brook marked "A. 1" on his plan, the "Plataean" Asopus. This cutting of the knot has not found favour with other writers (Woodhouse, *JHS* xviii. 56; Munro, *JHS* xxiv. 161; E. Meyer, iii, p. 413). The name is throughout applied to the main stream. Mardonius' foot was stationed on the left bank (chaps. 36, 40, 59), to protect the road to Thebes, which was threatened by the Greeks in their second position (25. 2 n.).

[5] For the 1,000 Medizing Phocians cf. chaps. 17, 18, and for the loyalists viii. 32.

**τοὺς περὶ Θεσσαλίην:** the seven dependent tribes described in vii. 132, etc.

#### **ix. 32**

For the Egyptian military classes cf. ii. 164f. The force here described was composed of the marines from the 200 Egyptian ships; cf. vii. 89. 3 n.

[2] **πρότερον:** i.e., viii. 113. 3, where it is clear that the horse are included. The number of the European allies confessedly rests on mere conjecture. No doubt the countries named might have furnished 50,000 men, but it is a suspicious circumstance that the European and the Asiatic forces of Mardonius are each just one-sixth of those absurdly ascribed to Xerxes (vii. 184, 185 n.). Again, the fact that

their line faced only the Athenians, Plataeans, and Megarians (11,600 hoplites with over 12,000 ψιλοί) points to a force of some 25,000.

#### ix. 33–37

*The seers on either side, Tisamenus and Hegesistratus.*

#### ix. 33

**καὶ ἀμφότεροι**, “both sides” (καί giving emphasis (i. 74. 3)); one would not have expected it of Persians. The Iamidae, who traced their descent from Iamus, son of Apollo (Pind. *Ol.* vi. 35–72; Paus. vi. 2. 5), were the most famous of the great families of soothsayers in Elis. They took auspices at the altar of Zeus at Olympia (Pind. *Ol.* vi. 5, 70; viii. 2, quoted viii. 133 n.) and furnished soothsayers to many Greek states (v. 44. 2; Paus. iv. 16. 1, vi. 2. 5, viii. 10. 5). They had a family tomb in Sparta (Paus. iii. 12. 8). Κλυτιάδην here is a late gloss, and does not occur in Paus. iii. 11. 6, a passage obviously derived from this. Further, Cicero plainly distinguishes the Iamidae and the Clytidae; *Div.* i. 41. 91 “Elis in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet, Iamidarum unam, alteram Clytidarum, haruspicinae nobilitate praestantes”; Philostratus (*V.A.* v. 25) agrees, adding the Telliadae (chap. 37. 1). Again Pausanias, who traces the Iamidae to Iamus and Apollo (vi. 25), makes Clytius, the ancestor of the Clytids, a descendant of Melampus (vi. 17. 1), as does Homer (*Od.* xv. 241) though with a different pedigree.

**λεωσφέτερον**: a ἀπαξλεγόμενον, probably derived from λεώς, meaning full citizen (§ 4).

**περὶ γόνου**. Probably, being childless, he adopted his brother’s son (§ 5), for Pausanias (iii. 11. 5) says that his grandson Hegias was with Lysander at Aegospotami as seer.

[2] ἀναιρησόμενος γυμνικὸς ἀγῶνας: cf. v. 102. 3.

**ἀσκέων δὲ πεντάεθλον**: cf. vi. 92. 2 n.

The order of events in the Pentathlon seems to be best given by Eustathius on *Il.* xxiii. 621 ἄλμα ποδῶν δίσκου τε βολὴ καὶ ἄκοντος ἐρωή / καὶ δρόμος ἦδε πάλη (cf. Soph. *El.* 691; schol. ad Pind. *Isthm.* i. 35), Simonides (153) ἄλμα ποδωκείην δίσκον ἄκοντα πάλην displacing the running *metri gratia*. Certainly the wrestling came after all the other contests; cf. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 4. 29; Bacchyl. ix. 30f., especially ἡ τελευταίας ἀμάρυγμα πάλας. Pausanias (iii. 11. 6) says that Tisamenus beat his opponent Hieronymus in running and jumping, but he was no doubt beaten by him in throwing the spear and the discus; hence the wrestling, the last event, was decisive. The wrestling then, as now, was decided by the best of three falls (Aesch. *Eum.* 589f.; Eur. *Or.* 434; Plato *Phdr.* 256b, *Euthd.* 277d; *Anth. Pal.* xi. 316). Each had won a fall in this, so all depended on “a single fall” (ἐν πάλαισμα), the last; this is better than to take ἐν πάλαισμα in a more general sense of “the odd event.” For a full discussion cf. E. N. Gardiner, *JHS* xxiii. 54f. He shows that any competitor, e.g., Aristomedes of Phlius (Bacchyl. loc. cit.), who won three events, must have won outright (cf. schol. ad Aristid. *Panath.* ἀρκεῖ (τοῖς πεντάθλοις) τρία τῶν πέντε

πρὸς νίκην), and suggests that, if at the end, two or more competitors had scored an equal number of wins, account was taken of second and third places as apparently in the mythical pentathlon of Peleus (Philost. *Gymn.* 3).

[*Additional note* (1928). Gardiner (*Olympia*, pp. 303–6) gives the order as footrace, jump, throwing the discus, throwing the javelin, and wrestling, and suggests a method of eliminating competitors. He holds that it was necessary to win three falls in wrestling (op. cit. p. 309).]

ἔδραμε (cf. vii. 57. 1 n.): more emphatic than the common παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθε, *parum a fuit quin*.

[3] τὸ Τεισαμενοῦ μαντήιον: cf. v. 43 n.

ἡγεμόνα τῶν πολέμων. This cannot mean that the seer was to share the actual command in war, for in comparison with this the grant of citizenship would be nothing. It seems to refer to the position of the kings as priests, since they offered sacrifice before all important undertakings (Xen. *Lac.* 13). Tisamenus was to act with them in this.

[5] χρησιμοσύνης: here concrete “request”; so κελευμοσύνη, i. 157. 2.

τούτοισι μούνοισι: added to give clearness and emphasis to οὕτω, “on these conditions only.”

#### ix. 34

The parallel here is between the demands of two famous seers. For another parallel cf. v. 67. 1.

ὡς εἰκάσαι: cf. iv. 99. 5 and Thuc. iv. 36 ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλοις εἰκάσαι.

The legend is told with many variations of detail, but the general outline is as follows. The three daughters of Proetus, king of Tiryns, provoked the wrath of Dionysus by refusing to take part in his orgies (Hesiod, frags. 41, 42; ap. Apollod. ii. 2. 2) *or* that of Argive Hera by contempt for her image and temple (Acusilaus ap. Apollod. loc. cit.; Pherecydes, frag. 24; *FHG* i. 74), and were punished with madness. They wandered in the wilderness and were joined by more and more Argive women, so that in despair the Argives summoned Melampus from the court of Neleus at Pylos (Apollod. i. 9. 11; Diod. iv. 68). Melampus, well acquainted with the mysteries of Dionysus (cf. ii. 49), healed and purified the maidens, perhaps with Melampodium, black hellebore (Plin. *H.N.* xxv. 47), at the temple of Artemis at Lusi (Paus. viii. 18. 8 with Frazer), *or* at that of Apollo in Sicyon (Paus. ii. 9. 8). For representations of the scene cf. Rosch., ii. 2573. As a reward one princess with a third of the kingdom was given by her brother, king Anaxagoras, to Melampus, and another to Bias (§ 2) (Diod. iv. 68; Paus. ii. 18. 4). The legend seems to be Argive, and is ignored by Homer (*Od.* xv. 238f.); Pindar (*Pae.* iv. 28 in *Oxyr. Pap.* v. 37) makes Melampus refuse the kingdom of Argos.

[2] **προετίνατο**: here not “offered” but “demanded.” Both meanings come from the original sense, *propono* (cf. vii. 6. 2 n.), while ἐπορέγεται = “raises his demands.”

### ix. 35

**μοῦνοι . . . δὴ . . . πολιῆται**. This statement is clearly inaccurate, since Helots were occasionally admitted to citizenship as Mothakes (Phylarch. frag. 44; *FHG* i. 347), though not as Neodamodeis (Thuc. vii. 19, 58, etc.). Again, in mythical times H. himself records the admission of the Minyae to citizenship (iv. 145), and implies the same of the Aegidae (iv. 149). To these cases, and perhaps also to the non-Dorian Talthybiadae (vii. 134) and the Epeunacti (Theopompus, frag. 190; *FHG* i. 310), Aristotle may refer when he declares that in the days of the early kings the Spartans bestowed the citizenship freely (*Pol.* ii. 9. 17, 1270a 35). H. must be taken to mean that Tisamenus and Hegias were the only foreigners admitted to Spartan citizenship in historical times, a striking example of an exclusiveness eventually fatal to the state; cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 24. H. clearly knew nothing of the alleged grants to Tyrtaeus (Plato, *Leg.* 629a; Plut. *Mor.* 230d) and to Alcman (Plut. *Mor.* 600e).

[2] This brief summary is our earliest and most authentic record of an anti-Spartan movement in the Peloponnese, which does much to explain the free hand allowed to Athens in the Aegean after 476 B.C., and the rapid growth of her power. The most certain point in the movement is the συνοικισμός at Elis before 470 (Diodor. xi. 54; Strabo 337) with the democratic changes that accompanied it, especially the formation of ten local tribes (Paus. v. 9. 5) and the establishment of a βουλή of 500, later increased to 600 (Thuc. v. 47); cf. Busolt, iii. 116f. The democratic constitution of Argos, with its popular assembly (Thuc. v. 28, 31), βουλή, and law court, may date from this time; certainly it is not later than 460 B.C. (cf. Busolt, iii. 114f.). On the other hand the συνοικισμός (Strabo 337) and the democratic movement at Mantinea (Arist. *Pol.* 1318b 25–7), placed ca. 470 B.C. by Busolt (iii. 118), should be dated ten years later, since Mantinea took no part in the battle of Dipaea, and assisted Sparta in the Messenian war, i.e., at Ithome (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2, 3); cf. Meyer, iii, § 285.

On the battles of Tegea and Dipaea later writers (e.g., Paus. iii. 11. 7; viii. 8. 6 and 45. 2; Isoc. *Arch.* 99) add little or nothing of value to H. Both should be dated near together in the time of the movement against Sparta, i.e., ca. 473–470 B.C. (Busolt, iii. 121 n. 1; Meyer, iii, § 285). Themistocles would then be in Argos intriguing against Sparta, if the traditional date for the fall of Themistocles (470 B.C.) refers not to his ostracism (as Meyer, iii, § 286 n.) but to his final expulsion and flight (Busolt, iii. 112 n. 2). Tegea would seem to have been hostile to Sparta just before as well as after the Persian war. At any rate, Hegesistratus found refuge there before 480 B.C. (ix. 37), and Leotychides afterwards (vi. 72). Apparently the Tegeans, though defeated in the battle here mentioned, defended their city with success (Simonides, frag. 103). They were, however, induced then or later by Cleandridas to accept oligarchy and Spartan hegemony. Yet they seem to have

been still in alliance with Argos at the time of the destruction of Mycenae, i.e., ca. 464 B.C.; cf. vi. 83. 2 n. and Strabo 377 Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ Κλεωναίων καὶ Τεγεατῶν ἐπελθόντες ἄρδην τὰς Μυκίνας ἀνεῖλον.

**ἐν Διπαιῦσι:** also called Dipaea (Paus. viii. 27. 3; Isoc. *Arch.* 6. 99), on the river Helison (Paus. viii. 30. 1), in the district Maenalia (Paus. iii. 11. 7), perhaps the modern Dabia. The Argives are believed to have been kept away from this battle by the siege of Tiryns (cf. vi. 83. 2 n.), and the Mantineans stood aloof, doubtless from hostility to Tegea (Meyer, iii, § 285). The Spartans, though greatly outnumbered (Isoc. loc. cit.), gained a decisive victory, which restored their prestige in the Peloponnese.

**Ἴσθμῶ,** the reading of the MSS., is confirmed by Paus. iii. 11. 8 πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ Ἴσθμοῦ ἐς Ἰθώμην ἀποστάντας τῶν Εἰλώτων, since he is obviously combining this passage with Thucydides' (i. 101–3) account of the third Messenian war and the siege of Ithome. It is therefore uncritical (with Paulmier) to correct to πρὸς Ἰθώμη, especially as we know only of a siege and not of any battle at Ithome. The combat here mentioned is, like that of Stenyclarus in this war (chap. 64), elsewhere unnoticed. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*A. and A.* ii. 296 n.) would read ὁ Μεσσηνίων πρὸς τῷ Ἴσθμῶ, making Μεσσηνίων depend on τῷ Ἴσθμῶ. In any case this Isthmus would seem to be an otherwise unknown place in Messenia. Stein is reminded of the legendary king of Messenia, Isthmius (Paus. iv. 3. 10). Tisamenus and the oracle at Delphi induced the Spartans to make terms with the revolted Helots and to let them go (Paus. iii. 11. 8; cf. Thuc. i. 103).

**Τανάγρη:** for Tanagra (457 B.C.) cf. Thuc. i. 107–8; Hill, *Sources*, 103f. The Athenians received aid from Argos, Cleonae (Paus. i. 29. 5, 7), and other allies. Hicks, 28–30; Paus. v. 10. 4 with Frazer.

#### ix. 36

**ἀμυνομένοισι.** The seers on each side (cf. 38. 2) seem to have grasped the fact that the offensive was fraught with danger. Cf. app. xxii, § 5.

#### ix. 37

**Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰροῖσι.** Here, as elsewhere (vi. 97. 2; vii. 43. 2; viii. 133; vii. 113. 2 n.), the Persians follow Hellenic usage.

**Τελλιαδέων:** cf. chap. 33. 1 n. Perhaps the seer Tellias (viii. 27. 3) belonged to this family.

[2] ὥστε = ἄτε, as in § 3. **πρὸ τοῦ θανάτου,** “ready to suffer much rather than die,” not “being likely to suffer many grievous tortures before death,” since the Greeks did not use torture except for slaves. For πρὸ = “in preference to” cf. vii. 152. 3 ad fin.

[4] ἐκ τῆς ἰθέρης, “openly, straightforwardly”; cf. ii. 161. 4 ad fin.; iii. 127. 1. So ἰθήη τέχνη, ix. 57. i.

**συγκεκρημένον:** *conflatum*; cf. iv. 152. 5 ad fin.; vii. 151, 145. 1 n.

**Ζακύνθῳ.** Demaratus, too, had sought refuge over sea in Zacynthus (vi. 70. 2).

**ix. 38–40**

*Reluctance of both sides to attack. The Persian horse seize the pass of Dryoscephalae.*

**ix. 38**

[2] ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν: exclusively for themselves; cf. 17. 2.

**ix. 39**

The use of his overwhelming cavalry to cut communications was the obvious course for Mardonius (cf. app. xxii, § 5). Even a temporary cutting of the lines, by such a raid as is here described, was serious, and might at any time be repeated. Dryoscephalae is usually rightly identified with the pass of Gyphto Kastro (cf. Grundy, 447, 493 n.; Frazer, *P.*, v. 2), through which the main road from Athens and Eleusis by Eleutherae to Thebes passed in ancient as in modern times. This is the natural interpretation of Thucydides (iii. 24), and a modern traveller (Vischer, *Erinner aus Griech.*, 533) states that the “three heads” after which the Boeotians named the pass can be plainly distinguished from their side. On the other hand, the words αἱ ἐπὶ Πλαταιέων φέρουσι hardly suit this pass. Hence Munro would include under the name the whole group of passes (*JHS* xxiv. 155 n.), and others, e.g., Stein and Rawlinson, identify “Dryoscephalae” with Grundy’s second pass. Through this came probably the main road to Thebes from Megara and the Peloponnese over Mount Kardyes by the modern Vilia (*JHS* xxiv. 155, 156). Cleombrotus used it in 378 B.C., and thus avoided touching Attic territory (*Xen. Hell.* v. 4. 14, 19). Grundy’s third road (called by him the Plataea-Megara road; cf. p. 456 n.) seems to be a rough track of no great importance, used as a short cut by travellers on foot or on horseback.

**περιβαλόμενοι:** either “surrounding” (Stein; cf. *Xen. Cyr.* iii. 3. 23) or “securing them” (Blakesley, Rawlinson); cf. iii. 71. 4; vi. 24. 2; vii. 190; viii. 8. 1.

**ix. 40**

The Thebans are praised ironically. They are the cause of others fighting (γάρο), making a brave show but leaving deeds of valour to the Persians.

**μάλα** = μάλ' αὖ *rursus*; cf. i. 134. 3.

**ἔσκον:** iterative.

**ix. 41–46**

*Eleventh day. Mardonius, in spite of Artabazus, resolves on immediate battle. Oracles. Warning of Alexander to the Athenians.*

**ix. 41**

**τῶν δέκα:** i.e., the eight days mentioned in chap. 39. 1 and the two in chap. 40. 1. It is, however, a suspicious circumstance that throughout the story of this campaign H. reckons in periods of ten days, i.e., in Greek weeks. The Athenian

envoys are ten days in Sparta (chap. 8), the Greek army is in position inactive for ten days, it advances on Thebes ten days after the battle (chap. 86), while Thebes surrenders after a siege of twenty days (chap. 87. 1); cf. Busolt, ii. 726 n.; Meyer, iii, § 236 n. Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 58) further argues that the point of departure in H.'s chronology is uncertain; the words ἀντικατημένοισι ἐν Πλαταιῆσι (cf. chap. 39. 1), usually and naturally taken to refer to the occupation of the second position by the Greeks (chap. 25), he would refer to the opening of the campaign when the Greeks seized their first position on the slopes of Cithaeron. He also suspects H. of duplicating the interval of two days between the closing of the passes and the final battle, regarding the two days of waiting as purposeless, and the Persian Council, the visit of Alexander, and the challenge of Mardonius as fictitious. He thus compresses the campaign from the occupation of the first position to the final battle within a space of eleven days. Such bold reconstructions must of necessity be hypothetical. We may, however, agree that H.'s chronology is too vague to be satisfactory, and that there is more than one improbable incident in his narrative. Especially we may note with Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 160) and Macan (ii. 349, 369, 376) the improbability that the Greeks remained so long in their advanced position on the Asopus Ridge, and that Mardonius on his part delayed so long the cutting of their communications (cf. app. xxii, § 5).

ἔδρα, "chafed at inaction"; cf. Thuc. v. 7 ἀχθομένων τῇ ἔδρα, Bacchylides (frag. 23 Bergk, 52 Kenyon) οὐχ ἔδρας ἔργον.

**Ἀρτάβαζος:** cf. viii. 126. 1 n. His prudent counsel is contrasted with the infatuation of Mardonius. He is to him what Solon is to Croesus, Croesus to Cyrus, or Artabanus and Demaratus to Xerxes.

[2] The idea is not that the whole army should or could find refuge within the walls of Thebes, but that the city should be made the base of the army, and the wooden fort on the Asopus (chap. 15. 2 n.) be given up. In view of the Greek advance, a base on the Asopus may well have seemed too far forward.

The existence of plentiful supplies at Thebes is inconsistent with Alexander's report of a shortage on the Asopus (45. 2), since with superior cavalry it must have been easy to maintain communication between them. The statement here is probably accurate, as it comes from a better source (Busolt, ii. 730 n.) and is more in accord with the care of the Persians for their commissariat (cf. vii. 25). Grundy (pp. 476, 477), however, holds that the Phocians, who were threatening Mardonius' communications (chap. 31. 5), may have caused supplies to run short.

[3] For the suggestion of bribery cf. chap. 25 with chap. 3. 1 n. Plutarch (*Arist.* 13) declares that there was at this time an oligarchic plot among the Athenians to overthrow the constitution, and if necessary to betray Greece to the Persian. The statement is regarded as probable by Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 36) and Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 149), and as at least possible by E. Meyer (iii, § 233) and Busolt (ii. 730); but it may be a mere anecdote designed to illustrate the great services of Aristides in

quelling the conspiracy, or transferred from some other occasion, e.g., Marathon (Macan, ii. 88).

[4] οὐδαμῶς συγγινωσκομένη: probably repeats and strengthens the idea of foolish obstinacy expressed in ἀγνωμονεστέρη (cf. vii. 9. b 1), though it may mean “in no way agreeing with Artabazus” (v. 94. 2; vi. 140. 2).

συμβάλλειν, like δοκέειν, depends on a verb, “said, bade,” latent in ἐγίνετο γνώμη.

βιάζεσθαι, “to constrain” the auspices to be favourable, by repeated consultation.

#### ix. 42

[2] τῶν ἐπικλήτων: cf. vii. 8. 1 n.

[3] This story may well be another attempt to explain why Delphi was not plundered by the Persians. Mardonius’ knowledge of this oracle seems inconsistent with the expedition to Delphi in the previous year (cf. viii. 35f., and especially 39 n.), unless we assume that he only heard of it when inquiring of the oracles (viii. 133f.) in the winter of 480–79 B.C.; cf. Busolt ii. 689. n. 3 and Hauvette, p. 389.

[4] ὡς περιεσομένους: the circumstantial participle with ὡς, in the accusative absolute, implies that this is the thought of the Medizing Greeks. Goodwin, § 917; Madvig, *Gr. Syntax*, § 182.

#### ix. 43

οἶδα. This phrase implies personal inquiry on the part of H., who seldom gives his opinion so strongly; cf. i. 20.

For the **Enchelees** cf. v. 61. 2 n. The oracle apparently promised the Enchelees victory over the Illyrians if they took Cadmus and Harmonia as leaders (Apollod. iii. 5. 4), and prophesied an incursion into Greece, warning them against the plunder of Delphi; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 1330f. (a speech of Dionysus to Cadmus):

Δράκων γενήσει μεταβαλὼν, δάμαρ τε σὴ  
ἐκθηριωθεῖσ' ὄφεος ἀλλάξει τύπον,  
ἦν Ἄρεος ἔσχεσ Ἀρμονίαν θνητὸς γεγώς.  
ὄχον δὲ μόσχων, χρησμὸς ὡς λέγει Διός,  
ἐλᾶς μετ' ἀλόχου, βαρβάρων ἡγούμενος.  
πολλὰς δὲ πέρσεις ἀναρίθμῳ στρατεύματι  
πόλεις· ὅταν δὲ Λοξίου χρηστήριον  
διαρπάσωσι, νόστον ἄθλιον πάλιν  
σχήσουσι . . .

τὰ μὲν = ἃ μὲν resumed by ταῦτα μὲν (§ 2). For Bacis cf. viii. 20. 1 n., and for Musaeus vii. 6. 3 n.

[2] The extract is ungrammatical, no verb being given to govern σύνοδον καὶ ἰυγὴν. The style is Homeric; cf. *Il.* iv 383 Ἄσωπὸν δ' ἵκοντο βαθύσχοινον

λεχεποίην. Glisas, mentioned in Homer (*Il.* ii. 504), lay northeast of Thebes, just south of Mount Hypatus and above the Aonian plain (Strabo 412; Paus. ix. 19. 3 with Frazer); its ruins are perched on the rocky hill of Tourleza. The Thermodon seems to be the Calamites, rising west of Harma and flowing through the Aonian plain to the lake of Hylica (Frazer, *P.*, v. 62). The fight between the Thebans and the Epigoni was said to have taken place in this region.

#### ix. 44

**προελήλατο**: impersonal = *nocte multum provecta*; cf. ii. 121. *d* 6 ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός. There seems no reason to doubt that the Macedonians were opposite the Athenians on the Greek left (chap. 31. 5), or to disbelieve in the phil-Hellenism of Alexander (cf. v. 22. 1) or in his friendship for Athens (viii. 136, 140 *b*). Yet this story of his midnight visit is open to suspicion. Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 43) asks how he could have eluded the Persian sentinels, or, if he was believed to be the bearer of dispatches, where was the alleged risk. More serious objections are the improbability of his assertion that supplies were running short, and the falsification of his warning that Mardonius would fight the decisive battle next day. Macan (ii. 373) points out that Alexander has already given one friendly warning to the Greeks (vii. 173), and notes the tendency to justify the conduct of the Macedonian, yet he rightly holds that there was probably some communication and collusion between Alexander and the Athenians (ii. 384).

**τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι**. The majority of the ten strategi (vi. 103. 1) would be with the army, though Xanthippus at least was with the fleet at Mycale (chap. 114). Plutarch (*Aristid.* 20) names Leocrates and Myronides besides Aristides, to whom he makes Alexander appeal (*Aristid.* 15).

[2] **ὀνομάζων**: apparently Alexander inspires confidence by naming the Athenian general.

#### ix. 45

**ἀπόρρητα ποιούμενος** takes the place of an unused verb = “charging you to keep it secret”; cf. chap. 94. 1, *Ar. Eq.* 647 *κἀγὼ φρασα / αὐτοῖς ἀπόρρητον ποιησάμενος*. It is followed naturally by *μή* (like *ἀπαγορεύειν*, vii. 149. 1), here made emphatic in the phrase *πρὸς μηδένα λέγειν*.

#### ix. 46–51

*Twelfth day* (46–51). *Athenian and Spartan change of positions* (46, 47). *Challenge of Mardonius* (48). *The Greeks, harassed by cavalry, resolve to retreat to the Island* (49–51).

#### ix. 46

Few critics or historians will now accept this story of marching and countermarching as the literal truth. These maneuvers could not be carried out by large bodies of troops in face of the enemy in a single day (Hauvette, p. 469). Such conduct on the part of Spartans is unexampled (Grote), and would surely have demoralized the whole Greek army. The foundation of the story is probably some

maneuver whose purpose was misunderstood by H. (Grundy, p. 470), or willfully misrepresented by his Athenian informants (Woodhouse, *JHS* xviii. 47, etc.). The simplest hypothesis is that of E. Meyer (iii, p. 40), that the Spartans moved to the left wing because when the Greeks advanced that was the post of danger. Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 159, 160) suggests that the troops marched to the second position by brigades, and that the Spartans, moving first, marched by the Athenians, and then the Athenians in turn pushed on behind this screen of troops and again formed the left wing near the Asopus.

[2] It is no doubt literally true that no living Spartan had fought in a pitched battle against the Persians, since Aristodemus, the sole survivor from Thermopylae (ix. 71), took no part in the fighting there (vii. 229); but we can hardly believe that the Spartans, after Thermopylae, feared the Persian—they certainly had more reason to fear Thessalians (v. 63); nor is it true, so far as we know, that they had fought with the Boeotians, whereas the Athenians had defeated them utterly (v. 77).

[3] Plutarch treats Pausanias' unwillingness to face the Persians as ridiculous (*De Mal.* 42, *Mor.* 872b), and (*Arist.* chap. 16) makes the Athenians grumble at his orders till reconciled to them by Aristides. The latter variant is evidently designed to glorify Aristides.

#### ix. 47

ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου (sc., ἐποίει). Mardonius did likewise on the left wing.

#### ix. 48

The taunt and challenge of Mardonius seem to be reminiscences from Homer (*Il.* iii. 67f.; viii. 161f.). We may, however, compare the combat for Thyrea (i. 82 n.).

For Spartan reputation for valour cf. vii. 209; Thuc. iv. 40.

[4] τί δὴ οὐ . . . ἐμαχεσάμεθα; These questions with τί οὐ, expressing surprise that something is not already done, and implying an exhortation to do it (Goodwin, § 62), are common in Attic; this is the only instance in H. For ἦν and εἰ parallel cf. iii. 35. 2; viii. 21. 1.

βαρβάρων. H. has no more scruple than Aeschylus (*Pers.* 187, 337) in making a Persian herald speak of his nation as “barbarian.”

νικᾶν depends on λέγομεν understood from ἄρξομεν τοῦ λόγου (3 ad fin.).

#### ix. 49

τὰ καταλαβόντα: what befell him; cf. chap. 104; iii. 42. 4; viii. 6. 2 n.

[2] ἵπποτοξόται: that the Persians were mounted archers follows from comparing vii. 84 with vii. 61; cf. also Xen. *An.* iii. 3. 7; Aesch. *Pers.* 26. The Parthians inherited his mode of fighting; Hor. *Odes* i. 19. 11, ii. 13. 17; Verg. *Georg.* iii. 31, etc.

[3] Notice that the Spartans are made solely responsible for the loss of the fountain Gargaphia, on which cf. chap. 25 n.

### ix. 50

Since the successful raid of the Persian cavalry, the Greek transport dare not leave the shelter of the hills. The enemy's horse might at any time sweep down upon them if they attempted to cross the open ground between the pass and the Greek position.

### ix. 51

At the present day there is no such "island" as H. describes near Plataea. But the Greeks felt no objection to calling a peninsula an island; cf. Peloponnesus, Chersonesus, etc. Leake and Vischer identified as "the island" a level stretch of meadow land intersected by several streams, which later unite to form the Oeroe. Grundy (p. 481f.) objects that in September, when the battle was fought, these streams would be dry before they reached this part of the plain, and that their beds offer no obstacle to cavalry. Further, in order to reach this supposed refuge from the cavalry, the Greek army, already shaken, would have had to cross a mile of open country exposed to its attacks. Finally, this tongue of land is surrounded by good cavalry ground, so that in case of defeat, the Greek army would have been in a hopeless position. Grundy, therefore, rightly prefers (p. 484f.) the ridge or ridges at the foot of Cithaeron between the upper courses of the same streams, because this position is almost unassailable by cavalry, and lies (πρὸ τῆς Πλαταιέων πόλιος) east of Plataea, the side towards which the city looks, and from which it is naturally approached. The only difficulty is the statement that it is ten stades from the Asopus. If we reject Grundy's use of the name for the tributary stream from Apotripi (chap. 31. 1 n.), we must either with Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 57) insert κ' = 20 after Ἀσωποῦ before καί, or with Munro hold that the sentence means, "the island is distant from the Asopus, or rather from Gargaphia, at which they were then encamped, ten stades"; cf. *JHS* xxiv. 161.

[2] **σχιζόμενος [ὁ] ποταμός.** Since the river referred to must be the Oeroe, the article is better away. There is now no trace of such a division of the stream. The Oeroe is a small and sluggish stream, formed of brooks from Mount Cithaeron and flowing west to Creusis.

**ὅσον περ,** "as much as" (cf. ii. 170. 2; iv. 50. 2). **ὅσον τε,** "about," is more Herodotean.

[3] **ὥσπερ κατιθὺ ἐόντων,** "as they did when they were directly exposed to them." The remark would apply specially to the Athenians who had advanced furthest on to the plain.

[4] H. speaks as if the whole force was first to take position on the island behind the Oeroe, and then the right wing was to move sideways along the hills to the pass or passes over Cithaeron. It is, however, far more likely that only a part of the army was intended to occupy the island, probably only the Athenians, while the Spartans themselves undertook the difficult operation of relieving the provision trains blocked in the passes, and thus reopening the communications of the Greek

army (Grundy, p. 492; Woodhouse, p. 53). They would also permanently secure the passes for the future.

#### **ix. 52–57**

*Night of the twelfth day. Flight of the Greek centre (52). Retreat of Pausanias and of the Athenians delayed by the obstinacy of Amompharetus (53–7).*

#### **ix. 52**

H. evidently believed that the Greek centre, including all the troops from the Corinthians to the Megarians (cf. chaps. 28 and 69), fled in a panic. But, if so, it is not easy to see why they halted and piled arms before Plataea, instead of making directly for the Plataea-Megara pass (Grundy, p. 490). Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii, p. 50f.), followed by Munro and Macan (ii. 382), suggests that the centre really occupied its intended position. Hence it was readily reached by a messenger from Pausanias (chap. 69), and then, in accordance with its orders, split up into two brigades.

**πόλις.** Plataea had been burnt by the Persians (viii. 50), but no doubt parts of its walls still were standing, and would cover the left flank of the Greek position.

**Ἡραῖον.** Probably on the site of the large temple found by the American excavators. It lies east of the fortified northwest corner of the town, identified by Grundy as fifth-century Plataea, and yet within the larger later city, as is implied by Pausanias (ix. 2. 7, with Frazer ad loc.). It is eighteen stades from Grundy's Gargaphia and fifteen from Apotripi. It is natural to suppose that the largest temple at Plataea was dedicated to its chief goddess, Hera Teleia (cf. Paus ix. 2. 7f.). According to Plutarch (*Arist.* chaps. 11 and 18), Hera was called also Hera Kithaironeia.

#### **ix. 53–57**

The story of Amompharetus reads like a camp tale. It is no doubt a fact that he remained behind with a detachment; it is very possible that in a council of war he opposed the plan of retreat. But the whole scene here described is opposed to the high repute of Spartan discipline, and the maxim that it is a disgrace to retreat before the enemy is as mythical as "the Guard dies but never surrenders." Probably he was left behind with a rear-guard to cover the delayed retreat (cf. 57 n.).

#### **ix. 53**

**κατά,** "after them"; cf. i. 84. 5; ii. 70. 2; iii. 4. 2; ix. 59. 1. The expression is loose, but H. clearly believed all the Greek brigades were to converge on "the island."

[2] The existence of a Pitanae λόχος is totally denied by Thucydides, i. 20 (cf. vi. 57. 5 n.), who is echoed by Hesychius (s.v. Πιτανάτης) ὁ Πιτανάτης λόχος αὐτοσχεδιάζεται, οὐκ ὦν ταῖς ἀληθείαις. Nevertheless Caracalla, in forming a number of young Spartans into a λόχος Πιτανάτης, believed himself to be imitating ancient usage (Herodian, iv. 8). There is a good deal of evidence for the

view that the earliest λόχοι at Sparta were local corps, probably five in number (cf. Gilbert, *G.C.A.*, 68f.). Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 454 λόχοι γὰρ οὐκ εἰσι τέτταρες ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ἀλλὰ πέντε, Ἐδῶλος Σίνις Ἀρίμας Πλοῶς Μεσσοάγης; cf. schol. Thuc. iv. 8 and Hesychius, who cites Aristotle as the authority for five λόχοι. H.'s 5,000 Spartiates (cf. chap. 10. 4) perhaps represents a corps of 1,000 from each Spartan village. We may explain the direct contradiction in Thucydides by supposing that H. has made a mistake as to the name of the λόχος, since Pitana, though an important suburb (cf. iii. 55. 2), was not, according to the scholiasts, one of the "quarters" after which the λόχοι were called, or less probably by the fact that the organization of the Spartan army, which was kept a secret (Thuc. v. 68), had been changed before Thucydides wrote, probably at the time of the Helot revolt (ca. 464 B.C.), so that a denial true for his own day might be false for the time of the Persian war.

ξείνους: cf. chap. 11. 2 n.

οὐ παραγενόμενος. This looks like a hypothesis invented to explain absence of opposition earlier, but Amompharetus may have been on outpost duty with his regiment.

Εὐρουάναξ: cf. chaps. 10. 3 n., 55. 1.

#### ix. 54

The Spartans and Tegeans formed together the right wing.

The excuse put forward by the Athenians to explain their own failure to reach their appointed post on the "island" does not hold water (Woodhouse, *JHS* xviii. 52; Macan, ii. 383). Why should Pausanias after ordering a general retreat expose his own division unsupported to Persian attack? Probably in the end he reached, or all but reached, his appointed station (app. xxii, § 6; Macan ii. 382). If he delayed to start, it was probably because he intended himself to cover the retreat of the other divisions, and the Athenians, by their own admission, were not yet moving. It is probable enough that already in 479 B.C. there was mistrust of Sparta at Athens, caused by the delay in sending help, and justified perhaps by the jealousy shown in Sparta's attempts to prevent the rebuilding of the walls of Athens (478 B.C.; Thuc. i. 89f.; cf. app. xxii ad fin.). Yet the phraseology of H. recalls the charges of treachery current at Athens in the Peloponnesian war, satirized by Aristophanes (*Ach.* 308; *Pax* 1067), and most fully expressed by Eur. *Andr.* 446f. Σπάρτης ἔνοικοι, δόλια βουλευτήρια, / ψευδῶν ἄνακτες, μηχανόρραφοι κακῶν . . . / οὐκ αἰσχροκερδεῖς; οὐ λέγοντες ἄλλα μὲν / γλώσση, φρονοῦντες δ' ἄλλ' ἔφευρίσκεσθ' ἀεὶ; H. unconsciously reflects Athenian prejudice (cf. viii. 144. 4 n.) of the kind which made *Punica fides* proverbial at Rome, and *per fide Albion* in France.

#### ix. 55

[2] τὰ ἐντεταλμένα: the questions he had been ordered to ask; cf. 54. 2.

The Athenians were to close up to the Spartans and conform their movements to those of Pausanias. In H.'s opinion the purpose would be to close the gap left by the retreat of the centre, but most probably it was throughout intended that in the new position the Athenians should be next the Spartans and Tegeans (cf. app. xxii, § 6).

#### ix. 56

[2] **ταχθέντες**, "under orders" (from Pausanias); cf. vii. 169. 1; viii. 7. 2, 13. 1. Grundy (p. 504) rightly holds that the Athenians were posted on the Asopus Ridge, and descended its western slope into the plain, thus starting their march in the *opposite* direction to the Spartans (τὰ ἔμπαλιν, cf. vii. 58. 1).

#### ix. 57

Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 54) holds that Amompharetus was left behind with a rear-guard to cover the retreat of the right wing, and perhaps also of the Athenians who were evidently still trailing across the plain at sunrise (Munro, *JHS* xxiv. 164). He retreated slowly (βάδην) only just in front of the Persian cavalry (§ 3).

**περιείχετο**, "kept on insisting" that they should stay where they were (Macan).

**ἰθέη τέχνη**: outright; cf. chap. 37. 4.

[2] If Hude is right in adopting the conjecture δ' = 4 for δέκα = 10, there can be little doubt that Grundy's identification of the temple of Eleusinian Demeter (p. 496) with the modern church of St. Demetrius should be accepted, as it is some four and a half stades from his Gargaphia. The church is, however, nearer his stream A 5, with which he at first (1894; *Topography of Plataea*, 33) identified the Moloeis, than the more important stream A 6, which he now (*G.P.W.*, 495) prefers. The Ἀργιόπιος χῶρος is unknown.

If the MS. reading δέκα be retained (cf. app. xxii, § 6), it would seem probable that there is a confusion between two temples. There were at least two temples of Demeter within the field of operations, (1) near Plataea, cf. Paus. ix. 4. 3; (2) near Hysiae, Plut. *Arist.* 11. It would seem then that the Demeter temple here, if *ten* stades from Gargaphia, should be looked for under the rocky foot of Cithaeron, either on some high ground about fifteen stades from Plataea, where now are the foundations of a large Byzantine church (Hauvette, p. 476, cf. *AJA* vi. 467), or just east of Kriekouki and west of the Eleutherae-Thebes road, where two inscriptions have been found relating to the worship of Demeter (Frazer, *P.*, v. 5; Munro, *JHS* xxiv. 163), while that mentioned in chap. 65 would be the modern Demetrium. Grundy, although he retains the ten stades from Gargaphia, is convinced that only one temple is meant throughout, that which is now the church of St. Demetrius.

#### ix. 58–75

*Battle of Plataea. Mardonius attacks the Spartans and Tegeans and is defeated (58–65).*

### ix. 58

[2] ἐλέγετε. H. does not ascribe such a saying directly to the Aleuadae, though they may be included in the phrase (chap. 48. 1) ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων. From a Persian point of view they might be regarded as neighbours of Sparta. For this boast of the Spartans cf. vii. 104. 4–5, 209, 234; ix. 53.

ἐναπεδεικνύατο. Stein would supply an object (e.g., ἔργα, ἀρετάς), but the middle may have the force of “approved themselves,” *se ostentabant*.

[3] For the genitive ἐπαινεόντων after the dative ὑμῖν cf. i. 3. 2; viii. 69. i.

συνηδέατε, “of whom you knew somewhat”; cf. chap. 60. 3; v. 24. 3; vii. 164. 2.

Ἄρταβάζου goes with τὸ [καὶ] καταρρωδῆσαι, θῶμα . . . ἐποιεύμην being equivalent to ἐθώμαζον; cf. viii. 74. 2. For the facts cf. chap. 41.

ἀναζεύξαντας; cf. viii. 60. a n.

### ix. 59

The Athenians having descended into the plain to the west of the Asopus ridge (chap. 56. 2 n.) would be hidden from the enemy by the northern extension of that ridge (Grundy, p. 504 n.).

[2] κόσμῳ: the discipline and order of the separate corps or regiments.

τάξι: their position and use in the army as a whole (cf. viii. 86 n.).

### ix. 60

Doubts have been thrown on this message of Pausanias. Its wording has clearly been altered to suit Athenian prejudices, exalting Athens and condemning the other allies. But it is quite natural that Pausanias, who probably thought he was attacked by the whole force of the enemy, should ask for reinforcements from his nearest allies, and especially for archers (§ 3) to help him against the Persian cavalry (cf. chap. 22. 1 n.).

[2] δέδοκται. There is no need for a new resolution, because their course has already been determined; cf. iv. 68. 4; v. 96. 2; vi. 109. 3; ix. 74. 1.

### ix. 61

[2] Only one light-armed soldier is reckoned for each Perioecus and Tegeate; cf. chap. 29. 2 n., but there were seven for each Spartiate (chap. 20. 2 n.).

[3] γέρορα: light wicker shields (vii. 61. 1; Xen. *An.* i. 8. 9; ii. 1. 6). Rüstow supposes that the Persians fixed them in the ground with the help of their short spears, but, as Stein points out, some more elaborate and effective arrangement seems required. They are described as a considerable obstacle to the Greek hoplites (chaps. 62. 2, 102. 2, 3) and a real protection for the Persians (chap. 99. 3). It is only when the Greeks have broken through this shield-wall that the Persians are defenceless.

The Heraeum (cf. chap. 52 n.) would be above and behind him, to the left.

### ix. 62

It is clear that Pausanias showed great tactical skill, and the Spartans their usual courage and discipline in remaining passive under the hail of arrows, till the Persian infantry was thoroughly engaged, so that a battle at close quarters was inevitable. He thus rendered the Persian cavalry practically useless, except in covering the retreat (chap. 68), and might confidently count on the superiority of the Greek hoplite in arms and discipline (chaps. 62. 3, 63. 2).

[2] τὸ Δημήτριον: cf. chap. 57. 2 n.

[3] ἄνοπλοι need only mean “without shields,” though the strong expressions below (chap. 63. 2) seem to imply that they were also without cuirass or corselet. This was true of the Bactrians, Indians, and Sacae, but some at least of the Persians and Medes wore cuirasses (viii. 113; vii. 61. 1 n.) quilted with scales of metal.

The skill (σοφίη) of the Lacedaemonians may have been shown as at Thermopylae (vii. 211. 3) by a feigned retreat, as is definitely stated in Plato, *Lach.* 191c. For similar tactics against a shield-wall cf. the Normans at Hastings.

### ix. 63

χιλίους. The regiment of horse picked in viii. 113. 2.

### ix. 64

For the oracle cf. viii. 114 n.

The genealogical remarks serve to show and enhance the importance of the Greek leader (cf. vii. 186. 2 n.). For Leonidas' genealogy cf. vii. 204.

[2] Ἀριμνήστου. Plutarch (*Arist.* 19) says Arimnestus slew Mardonius by striking him with a stone, but a distinguished Spartiate would be unlikely to use a stone as a weapon. Stenyclarus is the name given to the northern or upper plain of Messenia, divided from the southern by low hills, as well as to the deserted town once the capital of the district.

Arimnestus fell in the Helot revolt known as the third Messenian war, probably in its opening engagement (464 B.C.).

Macan, reading Αειμνήστου, thinks he may have been a Plataean “well known in Sparta,” since Thucydides tells us of a Lacon, son of Aeimnestus at Plataea (iii. 52) and also of a Plataean contingent sent to help Sparta in the Helot revolt (iii. 54). But how came a Plataean to be fighting among the Spartans, and not on the other wing? Cf. however chap. 72. 2 n.

### ix. 65

τειχος: cf. chap. 15. 2 n.

[2] Grundy (p. 503) holds that this incidental statement strongly supports his view that the temple stood on the site of the church of St. Demetrius (cf. chap. 57. 2 n.), as the barbarians would naturally flee on both sides of the hill on which the sanctuary stood.

For this caution in dealing with things divine cf. ii. 3. 2 n.

**ἀνάκτορον.** This is the first mention of the destruction of the temple at Eleusis. τὸ ἱόν is a gloss on ἀνάκτορον, the proper term for the cella or shrine containing the statue of the god (Pollux i. 9); cf. Eur. *Ion* 55, *I.T.* 41, 66, etc., and specially used for the sanctuary of Demeter, at Celae (Paus. ii. 14. 4) and at Eleusis, Athenaeus 167f. Ἐλευσίνοι τε μυστηρίων ὄντων ἐθήκεν αὐτῇ θρόνον παρὰ τὸ ἀνάκτορον, cf. 213 D. Possibly the great hall of initiation is meant (Frazer, *P.*, ii. 510; iii. 82).

#### **ix. 66–70**

*Flight of Artabazus (66). Victory of the Athenians and defeat of the Greek centre (67–9). Storming of the Persian camp (70). Losses on both sides.*

#### **ix. 66**

For Artabazus cf. viii. 126, ix. 41. Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 165) suggests that when the battle took place he may have been still several marches in rear, and that his absence was later ascribed to prudence. The suggestion though ingenious seems over bold.

[2] In viii. 126. 1 Artabazus commands a complete army corps of 60,000: the missing 20,000 must have fallen at Potidaea, or been detached on garrison duty, cf. app. xix, § 5.

#### **ix. 67**

**οἱ . . . μηδιζοντες τῶν Θηβαίων.** These words seem incidentally to admit that there was a non-Medizing party at Thebes; cf. vii. 222 n.

**τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων.** This probably refers only to the barbarian allies or subjects, who would naturally follow the Persians like a flock of sheep (chaps. 68, 70, 1). We hear only of barbarians fighting and falling in the fort (chaps. 70. 4, 71). The thirty myriads (chap. 70. 5) are the barbarian forces, exclusive of the Greek contingents (chap. 32. 2). But as only the Boeotians fought zealously, the other Greeks may have been forgotten by H.; probably they scattered to their homes as quickly as they could.

#### **ix. 68**

**τοσαῦτα** explained by the succeeding participles; cf. v. 16. 3.

#### **ix. 69**

**ἀγγέλλεται.** Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 50, 51) argues that this message was in fact an order from Pausanias, sent to his central division posted in the position they had been instructed to occupy (cf. chap. 52 n.). The right section, headed by the Corinthians, was ordered to join the right wing, the left, including the contingents from Phlius, Megara, and all those posted between them, was to support the left wing. He also ingeniously suggests that the Phliasiens and Megarians are named to give us the two extremes of the section (cf. chap. 28 n.). This would imply, however, that the Plataeans were throughout brigaded with the Athenians, which

is nowhere stated by H. (cf. however Diod. xi. 32 (i.e., Ephorus)). Possibly Corinth, Megara, and Phlius are named simply because they supplied the most considerable contingents to the right and the left centre.

**τὴν φέρουσαν ἄνω:** i.e., across the ridges coming down from Cithaeron towards the Asopus.

**τὴν λειοτάτην:** across the plain, perhaps along the road from Plataea to Thebes.

[2] **Ἀσωπόδωρος:** perhaps the same mentioned by Pindar (*Isthm.* i. 34) as father of a Herodotus, who won a chariot-race at the Isthmia.

The **Megarians** who fell in the Persian war, at Artemisium, Mycale, Salamis, and Plataea, were buried within the city (Paus. i. 43. 3, Frazer, ad loc.) and honoured with sacrifice as heroes. This we learn from the heading to the inscription added by the high-priest Helladios, who (ca. A.D. 300) restored the epigram over them, attributed by him to Simonides, Hicks 17 Ἑλλαδι καὶ Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐλεύθερον ἄμαρ ἀέξειν / ἴεμενον θανάτου μοῖραν ἐδεξάμεθα . . . τοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βοιωτίῳ οἴτινες ἔτλαν / χεῖρας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἵππομάχους ἰέναι. The distich praising their courage in facing cavalry at Plataea may well be a later addition: in any case conventional praise of the dead cannot outweigh H.'s distinct statement of their rout (but see app. xxii, §§ 1, 6, 7).

#### ix. 70

ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, “perished unheeded”; cf. iv. 135. 1; vii. 223. 2. H. accordingly refuses to count them among those who fell in the battle.

[2] **τειχομαχέειν.** Spartan inefficiency in siege operations is borne out by the facts that they were obliged to blockade Ithome (Thuc. i. 104) and Plataea (Thuc. ii. 75–78), and that they fail to take even the hasty and incomplete fortifications at Pylus (Thuc. iv. 4, 5, and 11, 12). Whether Athenian skill in siege work, such as it was, was developed so early as this has been doubted; cf. however Thuc. i. 102.

[3] Hauvette (p. 481) sees in the Athenians the sappers, in the Tegeans the scaling party, of the Greeks. Delbrück (*Perserkriege*, 112) and Busolt (ii. 737 n.) suggest H. has put together without reconciling two local traditions.

**σκηνήν.** This tent of Mardonius is probably that left by Xerxes (cf. ix. 82). The Odeum of Pericles is said to have been built in imitation of it (Plut. *Per.* 13; Paus. i. 20. 4, Frazer).

**Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης:** cf. i. 66. 4 n.

[4] **ἀλκῆς ἐμέμνητο:** Homeric; cf. *Il.* vi. 112 μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

**ἀλύκταζον:** ἀπαξ λεγόμενον; “to be distraught”; cf. ἀλύω; ἀλύσσω, ἀλυσθαίνω, ἀλυκτέω.

[5] Perhaps the Greeks spared only 3,000 of those who took refuge in the fort; but doubtless many barbarians, besides the corps of Artabazus, fled elsewhere.

Diodorus (xi. 32) estimates the Persian loss at Plataea at more than 100,000, Ctesias

(*Persica*, chap. 26. 70) the whole loss after Salamis at 120,000, but these numbers deserve no credit. The massacre was, however, great and indiscriminate; cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 816f. τόσος γὰρ ἔσται πέλανος αίματοσφαγής / πρὸς γῆ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὕπο· / θῖνες νεκρῶν δέ.

The numbers of the Greeks slain are incredibly small, even if it be granted that H. gives only those who fell in the actual battle, disregarding previous operations. He certainly omits the Megarians and Phliasians, and probably the Perioeci and all light-armed troops. Even so the numbers are inconsistent with the many Spartans who fell (chaps. 61. 3, 63. 1), and the long struggle between the Spartans and Persians (chap. 62. 2) and between the Athenians and Boeotians (chap. 67. 1). Probably H. misunderstood the inscriptions on the monuments erected over the fallen (chap. 85). If the fifty-two Athenians all belonged to the tribe Aeantis (Clidemus ap. Plut. *Arist.* 19; *FHG* i. 362), H.'s error in their case may have consisted in mistaking the stele of a single tribe (cf. Hicks 26) for the full muster-roll of the Athenian dead. Plutarch (loc. cit.) reckons the Greek dead at 1,360, a small but possible total.

#### **ix. 71–75**

*Individual feats of valour.*

#### **ix. 71**

This vague expression of opinion as to the superiority of the Spartans in valour becomes in Diodorus (xi. 33, i.e., Ephorus) a definite award of the prize to the Spartans and Pausanias from favouritism. Plutarch (*Arist.* 20; *De Mal.* 42, *Mor.* 873a) speaks of a bitter rivalry between Spartans and Athenians as to the Aristeia and setting up the Trophy, happily settled by the mediation of Aristides and by the ingenious suggestion of the Corinthian Cleocritus, to award the prize to the Plataeans. But this story seems due to the late and untrustworthy Idomeneus. It was clearly unknown to H., and Thucydides would surely have made some allusion to it in the speech of the Plataeans to their Spartan judges (iii. 53–9), had he ever heard of it.

[2] For Aristodemus and his dishonour cf. vii. 229–31.

The order in which the names are given is clearly that of merit, hence below only Posidonius is compared with Aristodemus.

**Σπαρτιῆται.** The MSS. Σπαρτιήτης is impossible, as it would imply that the other two were Perioeci.

[4] **τίμιοι:** probably besides a public funeral and monument, “heroic honours,” i.e., offerings to the dead; cf. τιμᾶν, i. 30. 5; v. 67. 4. For these cf. v. 47. 2 n.; ix. 69. 2 n.

#### **ix. 72**

Imitated from *Il.* ii. 673 Νιρῆς ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθεν / τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν, cf. v. 47. 2 n.

**κατήμενος** might only mean “stationary,” but it seems to have been quite usual to sit down in the ranks; cf. Eur. *Supp.* 357, 664, 674; Plut. *Arist.* 17.

[2] According to Plutarch (*Arist.* chap. 11) Arimnestus commanded the Plataean contingent, and Pausanias (ix. 4. 2) says that he did so at Marathon also, and that his statue was set up in the temple of Athenea Areia built with Persian spoils. But it is not easy to see how the Plataean commander (or indeed any Plataean) could have been in the Spartan ranks, since their station was on the left wing with the Athenians (chap. 28; Plut. *Arist.* 20). Thucydides mentions (iii. 52) Aeimnestus as father of Lacon, Spartan Proxenus at Plataea, and so the name is given in some MSS. here; cf. chap. 64. 2 n.

### ix. 73

**Δεκελέων** repeats and emphasizes Δεκελεῖθεν; cf. ix. 93 ἀνδρὸς Ἀπολλωνιῆτεω, Ἀπολλωνίης δέ, vii. 80. For Decelea cf. chap. 15. 1 n.

[2] The old Attic myth is but loosely connected with the anecdotes of Sophanes; cf. vi. 121. It is probably a temple legend serving to explain the worship of the Dioscuri in Athens (as Anakes in the Anakeion, near the precinct of Aglauros; cf. viii. 53. 1 n.). It is given in fuller if later forms by Plutarch (*Thes.* 31f.), Diodorus (iv. 63), Pausanias (i. 17. 5), and was treated by the poets Alcman (Paus. i. 41. 4), Stesichorus (Paus. ii. 22. 6), Pindar (Paus. i. 41. 5), and on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. 19. 3; Dio Chrys. 163). Theseus, with his comrade Peirithous, seized the girl Helen as she was dancing at the feast of Artemis Orthia, and placed her under the care of his mother Aethra in the hill-fort of Aphidna. Whilst he was away, having gone with Peirithous to carry off Persephone, the Dioscuri came to Attica to rescue their sister.

**Δεκελός**, eponymous hero of Decelea, may have had treachery imputed to him on account of his name (δεικνύναι); the insolence (ὑβρις) of Theseus consisted in his deposition of the local princes and unification of Attica under one ruler (Plut. loc. cit.). The later versions (cf. Plut. loc. cit.), which made the Dioscuri besiege Athens itself (following Alcman), substitute Academus for Decelus, and the Academy as the spot spared by the Spartans.

**Ἀφίδνας** (Ἀφίδνα), one of the twelve Cecropian townships (Strabo 396), a deme of the tribe Acantis, is probably the ruined fortress on the isolated hill Kotroni, six miles east of Decelea (Frazer, *P.*, ii. 163).

**Τιτακός**: eponymous hero of the deme Τιτακίδαί, not far from Aphidna; like all the deme heroes he is regarded as autochthonous.

[3] **προεδρία**: seats of honour at public games, and ἀτελείη, exemption from the tax on foreigners, were often granted as marks of honour to benefactors; cf. i. 54. 2; Hicks 89, 126, 134, 165. Here they are regarded as such distinctive marks of friendship that H. rather ungrammatically attaches to them the crowning proof of Sparta's favour, abstention from wasting the land of Decelea in the Peloponnesian war.

ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. H. elsewhere (vii. 137. 1) refers in similar terms to the Peloponnesian war, implying it was going on while he was writing. The sparing of Decelea no doubt refers to the five early invasions (431–425 B.C.); in 431 at least Archidamus wasted the country surrounding it; cf. Thuc. ii. 23. H. did not live to see Decelea occupied by Agis (413 B.C.); cf. introd. § 8f.

#### ix. 74

διξούς: possibly “the two stories told” had their origin in Scolia (drinking songs) in honour of the famous warrior.

ἐδέδοκτο: *instituerat*; “it was his wont to”; cf. chap. 60. 2 n.

[2] Before ἄγκυραν most editors with some MSS. read ἐπίσημον “as a device on his shield,” and some such word is required. For such devices cf. i. 171. 4; Aesch. *Sept.* 375–652; Eur. *Phoen.* 1107–38.

#### ix. 75

For Eurybates, his exploits and death, cf. vi. 92 n., and for the Pentathlon ix. 33. 2 n.

**Leagrus** belonged to a good family. His son Glaucus commanded the reinforcements sent to Corcyra 433 B.C. (Thuc. i. 51; Hicks 53), and had been general in 440 B.C. (Busolt, iii. 199 n.), and his granddaughter was wife of Callias δαδοῦχος (Andoc. *Myst.* 117).

**Δάτω.** Δάτος or Δάτον was apparently a name given originally to the whole district east of Mount Pangaeum and west of the Nestus, from the mountains north of Philippi to the sea. It was fertile, well timbered, and rich in gold mines (Strabo 331, frags. 34, 36). The name is so used here and in Isocrates, *De Pace* 86. The people are called Δατήνοι (Harpocration). The town Δάτον was not founded by the Thasians till about 360 B.C. (Diod. xvi. 3. 7; Pseudo-Scylax 68), probably on the site of the older mining settlement Crenides, called afterwards Philippi (Appian, *B. Civ.* iv. 105; Ephorus and Philochorus ap. Harpocration, cf. Busolt, iii. 197, n. 5 and *PW*), though Kiepert and others place it on the coast near Neapolis; cf. Strabo loc. cit.; Plin. iv. 42. Thucydides twice tells us (i. 100; iv. 102) that the Athenian colonists were destroyed at Drabescus (cf. Diod. xi. 70, xii. 60; Paus. i. 29. 4), probably the modern Drama, ten miles northwest of Philippi at the end of the plain (Busolt, iii. 203 n.). The disaster is dated by Thucydides thirty-two years after the death of Aristagoras (498–497 B.C.) and twenty-nine before the foundation of Amphipolis (cf. Diod. xii. 32), i.e., 465 B.C. The attempted settlement is connected with Cimon’s expedition against Thasos, which had revolted owing to disputes with Athens about its mines and possessions on the opposite coast (Thuc. i. 100, 101); cf. Busolt, iii. 198f.

#### ix. 76–79

*Stories of Pausanias, the lady of Cos, and Lampon of Aegina. Mantineans and Eleans too late for the battle.*

ix. 76

**Φαρανδάτεος:** cf. vii. 79. He was a nephew of Darius.

**κοσμησαμένη.** Pausanias (iii. 4. 9) also insists on her rich attire and retinue.

**ἀρμαμάξης:** cf. vii. 41. 1 n.

[2] Verrall (*CR* xvii. 99–101) has ingeniously argued that this speech is a transcript from an inscription, explaining a picture or bas-relief dedicated by the lady and representing her as a suppliant before the “king,” with Persian corpses (one named Φαρανδάτης Τεάσπιος) on the ground, and two maids on the one side balancing two ephors on the other. The inscription would run Ω βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, λῦσαί μ’ ἰκέτιν δοριλήπτου / (αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γὰρ εἰς τόδ’ ὄνησας τούσδ’ ἀπολέσσας, / τοὺς οὐθ’ ἠρώων (δαιμόνων), οὐ θεῶν ὄπις οὐτιν’ ἔχοντας. / Κῶη δ’ εἰμὶ γένος, θυγάτηρ Ἥγητορίδαο / Ἄνταγόραο· βίη δὲ λαβῶν Κῶ μ’ εἶχεν ὁ Πέρσης. H. has but substituted the generic δαιμόνων for ἠρώων (cf. viii. 109. 3 n.) and disguised the verse by writing αἰχμαλώτου for δοριλήπτου, though even so the expression remains poetical; cf. viii. 114. 2 n. H.’s interest in this lady of Cos may be explained by the close connection between Cos and Halicarnassus (vii. 163 n.); both were under Artemisia (vii. 99).

**βασιλεῦ.** Pausanias, though only regent (chap. 10), might well be addressed as king (cf. vii. 161 n.). For Pausanias cf. v. 32 n.

[3] In Xenophon’s time at least the king was regularly accompanied by two ephors on all European expeditions (Xen. *Lac.* xiii. 5; *Hell.* ii. 4. 36), and it may be that this custom is as old as the time of the Persian war. Yet Pleistoanax (445 B.C.) is accompanied to Attica not by Ephors but by a number of councillors, the chief of whom is appointed by the Ephors (Plut. *Per.* 22), and Agis after his failure by ten councillors (Thuc. v. 63, 418 B.C.). The apparent freedom from any control enjoyed by Pausanias and Leotychides, as well as by Archidamus at the beginning and Agis at the end of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. viii. 5) is also remarkable. We must either suppose that the Ephors, though present, did not interfere with the king, but only reported on his conduct, or that the custom is later and the presence of Ephors on this occasion accidental.

ix. 77

**αὐτίκα μετὰ ταῦτα.** H. uses a standing formula (viii. 108. 1; ix. 93. 3 n.) intended to emphasize the fact that the Mantineans and Eleans arrived from the Peloponnese just too late when all was over (ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι, cf. iv. 164. 3; viii. 94. 4). Probably the two states were infected with Medism, and waited for the issue of the battle of Plataea before joining the victors. The banishment of the generals perhaps indicates a democratic revolution against a ruling oligarchy (cf. chap. 10 n. and Munro, *JHS* xxiv. 148).

**ἄξιοι . . . ζημιῶσαι,** “deserved that men should punish them”; cf. iv. 42. 1.

[2] **τοὺς Μήδους:** generic; Persians, not the specific people, the Medes.

ἐδίωκον, “were minded to pursue”; but ἐδίωξαν (2, 3; cf. i. 68. 5), “banished.”

[3] The Eleans, however, though not the Mantineans, who had been at Thermopylae (vii. 202), contrived to have their name inserted in the inscriptions on the national memorials (chap. 81 n.), not only at Olympia but at Delphi. Possibly they owed this to Spartan favour, since it appears that the Spartans were responsible for the list of names on the Delphic memorial (Thuc. i. 132), and both the dialect and lettering of that inscription are Laconian.

#### ix. 78

Λάμπων ὁ Πυθέω. Pytheas, father of Lampon, is not likely to be the heroic son of Ischenous, captured at Sciathus and released at Salamis (vii. 181; viii. 92). It is, however, tempting to identify Lampon with the father of the Pytheas, whose victory as a youth at Nemea (before 480 B.C.) was celebrated both by Pindar (*Nem.* v.) and by Bacchylides (Ode xiii), while those of his brother Phylacidas at the Isthmus (480, 478 B.C.) were sung by Pindar (*Isthm.* iv and v). The objection is that Pindar (*Isthm.* v. 16) speaks of Lampon as son of Cleonicus, but Cleonicus may be a remoter ancestor (cf. *Isthm.* iv. 55) or a title given to Pytheas from the numerous athletic victories of the family (*Isthm.* iv. 17f.; v. 60f.). Lampon belonged to the great house of the Psalychidae (*Isthm.* v. 63) and was famous for hospitality (*Isthm.* v. 70; Bacchyl. xiii. 191). If the Lampon here mentioned be not Pindar’s friend, he must have been a contemporary and relative. For τὰ πρῶτα cf. vi. 100. 3 n.

The tale here told of Lampon illustrates two tendencies in H. or his sources: (1) a prejudice against the Aeginetans (v. 81 n.), to whom Athenian opinion was most hostile when H. wrote (cf. chaps. 80. 3, 85. 3; vi. 87, 91 nn.); (2) a wish to contrast Greek and barbarian (cf. chap. 82; vii. 134f.).

[3] For the fate of Leonidas’ corpse cf. vii. 238 n. Mardonius seems to have been brought in by the apocryphal story in viii. 114.

#### ix. 80–85

*The booty. The dedicatory offerings. The tombs at Plataea.*

#### ix. 80

For the gold cups and vessels cf. vii. 119. 2, 190.

[2] The Persians, especially the guard of “Immortals,” were splendidly attired (vii. 83; viii. 113).

τοὺς ἀκινάκας. The article is inserted (cf. iii. 118. 2; ix. 107. 2) because the acinaces (vii. 54. 2 n.) was well known to be a Persian weapon.

[3] The Swiss, after the defeat of Charles the Bold at Granson (A.D. 1476), are said to have been equally ignorant. (P. de Commines, *Mémoires*, v. 2) “Il y en eut qui vendirent grande quantité de plats et d’escuelles d’argent pour deux grands blancs la pièce, cuidans que ce fut d’estaing.”

The point of the story, “and that is the way the Aeginetans first grew rich,” reveals its character as a malicious Attic witticism, invented in days when Aegina’s commercial greatness had been so completely eclipsed by the new power of Athens that the distant and profitable voyages of the earlier Aeginetan traders (ii. 178. 3; iv. 152. 3; vii. 147. 2) had been forgotten.

#### ix. 81

The famous golden tripod at Delphi and the statues at Olympia (and at the Isthmus) were dedicated from the spoil won at Plataea, and hence were regarded by Pausanias (v. 23. 1; x. 13. 9) as trophies of that victory alone. But the words which head the list of states inscribed on the bronze triple serpent supporting the tripod, [Τ]ο[ῖ]δε τὸν πόλεμον [ἐ]πολ[έ]μεον, as well as those of Thucydides (i. 132), ὅσαι συγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα, show that it was regarded as a memorial of the whole war (cf. the inclusion of states which fought at Salamis only, viii. 82. 1 n.). Either on the stone pedestal of the column or, less probably, on the thirteenth coil of the serpent, which has been flattened to receive the words given above, Pausanias had originally inscribed Ἑλλάνων ἀρχαγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσα Μήδων / Παυσανίας Φοῖβω μνᾶμ’ ἀνέθηκα τότε (Anthol. i. 133; xliiii; less characteristically given in κοινή and in the third person by Thuc. i. 132, etc.). Probably the place of this erased inscription was taken by the couplet quoted by Diodorus (xi. 33. 2), Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου σωτήρες τόνδ’ ἀνέθηκαν / δουλοσύνης στυγεράς ῥυσάμενοι πόλιας. Probably the three feet of the tripod rested on the three serpents’ heads, though there is no mark of a join on the top of the one still extant. It is less likely that the feet of the tripod rested on the stone base, and that the serpent column was merely the central prop of the golden cauldron supported by the tripod. In the sacred war (355 B.C.) the Phocians stole the golden part of the monument but left the bronze (Paus. x. 13. 9). Constantine carried off the serpent column and placed it in the Hippodrome (Atmeidan) at Constantinople, where it still remains. It was apparently converted into a three-mouthed fountain by a later emperor. It was seen and described by travellers from 1422 on, but in 1700 was thrown down and the serpents’ heads were broken off. The base of the column was excavated by Sir C. T. Newton (1855) and the inscription published in 1856 by O. Frick and Dethier; a revised version is due to Fabricius (1886). Of the twenty-nine serpent coils fifteen had been underground, the inscription beginning on the thirteenth coil and ending on the third; the twelfth and thirteenth coils have been scarred and dented with sabre cuts, so the inscription is hardly legible.

The list of states on the serpent column should be compared with that on the trophy at Olympia and with those given by H. of the Greeks who fought at Plataea and Salamis:

Hicks 19: Serpent Column			Paus. v. 23: Statue of Zeus at Olympia		H. viii. 43-8, 83; ix. 38-30, 77			
	<i>State</i>	<i>Coil</i>		<i>State</i>		<i>State</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Ships</i>
1	Lacedaemonians	12	1	Lacedaemonians	1	Lacedaemonians	10,000	16 T
2	Athenians		2	Athenians	2	Tegeans	1,500	
3	Corinthians		3	Corinthians	3	Corinthians	5,000	40 T
4	Tegeans	11	4	Sicyonians	4	Potidaeans	300	
5	Sicyonians		5	Aeginetans	5	Orchomenians	600	
6	Aeginetans		6	Megarians	6	Sicyonians	3,000	15 T
7	Megarians	10	7	Epidaurians	7	Epidaurians	800	10 T
8	Epidaurians		8	Tegeans	8	Troezenians	1,000	5 T
9	Orchomenians		9	Orchomenians	9	Lepreans	200	
10	Phliasians	9	10	Phliasians	10	Mycenaeans	} 400	
11	Troezenians		11	Troezenians	11	Tiryntians		
12	Hermionians		12	Hermionians	12	Phliasians	1,000	
13	Tiryntians	8	13	Tiryntians	13	Hermionians	300	3 T
14	Plataeans		14	Plataeans	14	Eretrians		7 T
15	<i>Thespians</i>		15	Mycenaeans	15	Styreans	} 600	2 T
16	Mycenaeans	7	16	Ceans	16	Chalcidians	400	20 T
17	Ceans		17	Melians	17	Ambraciots	500	7 T
18	Melians		18*	Ambraciots	18	Leucadians		3 T
19	Tenians	19	Tenians	19	Anactorians	} 800		
20	Naxians	6	20*	Lepreans	20	<i>Paleans</i>	200	
21	<i>Eretrians</i>		21	Naxians	21	Aeginetans	500	30 (or 40) T
22	Chalcidians		22*	Cythnians	22	Megarians	3,000	20 T
23	Styrians	5	23	Styrians	23	Plataeans	600	
24	Eleans		24	Eleans	24	Athenians	8,000	180 T
25	Potidaeans		25	Potidaeans	25	Thespians	1,800 (light- armed)	
26	<i>Leucadians</i>	4	26	Anactorians	26	<i>Mantineans</i>	(too late)	
27	Anactorians		27*	Chalcidians	27	Eleans	(too late)	
28	Cythnians				28	Ceans		2 T, 2 P
29	<i>Siphnians</i>	3		29	Naxians		4 T	
30	Ambraciots	3		30	Cythnians		1 T, 1 P	

31	Lepreans				31	<i>Crotoniats</i>		1 T
					32	Melians		2 P
					33	Siphnians		1 P
					34	<i>Seriphians</i>		1 P
					35	<i>Lemnians</i> (defectors)		1 T
					36	Tenians (defectors)		1 T

N.B. — Those contingents italicized in list 3 do not appear on either inscription; those italicized in list 1 are not found in list 2. \* indicates a marked difference in order from list 1. T = trireme, P = penteconter.

It will be noticed that five names found in H. are not given on the Delphic inscription, and that four more are omitted by Pausanias. Prof. A. Bauer (*Wiener Studien*, 1887, p. 223f.) would explain the omissions by the suggestion that the right to have names inscribed on a monument was earned not by fighting but by contributing to the cost of the monument. But this view is contradicted by the heading of the Delphic inscription (above) and by the words of Thucydides (i. 132 above), as well as by H.'s statement. It is far more likely that states whose contingents were very small were left out, unless, like the Tenians, they rendered signal service (cf. viii. 82). Indeed, it would appear from the fact that the names of the Tenians and Siphnians are written irregularly, and in each case make a fourth name on the coil, three being the usual number, that these states were inserted later. The thirty-one names on the Delphic tripod is the precise number given by Plutarch (*Them.* 20) as fighting against Persia. Whether the four omissions in Pausanias are due to faulty copying of the inscription at Olympia, or whether here, too, the comparative insignificance of the contingents caused the omissions, must remain doubtful. Domaszewski's explanation (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, i. 181–87) of the arrangement as three groups, (1) Tegea to Tiryns, Peloponnesian allies (Spartan); (2) Plataea to Elis, Athenian allies; (3) Potidaea to Ambracia, Corinthian colonies, is untenable, as neither Mycenaeans, Chalcidians, nor Eleans are specially Athenian allies, and the order is different at Olympia. In both lists the compilers seem to have been guided at once by the importance and services of the states, and by geographical considerations, but they applied the principles rather differently. Tegea, for instance, is put specially high on the Delphic list because of the bravery of her hoplites at Plataea (cf. ix. 61, 62, and 70; cf. also ix. 26); cf. in general Frazer on Paus. ix. 13. 9; Röhl, *IGA* 70 (with a picture); Hicks, 19.

τοῦ βωμοῦ. Cf. ii. 135. 4 n. On the level space near it, northeast of the temple just above the Sacred Way, stands a huge base with two pedestals, one recording the dedication of a tripod and a Victory by Gelo, in commemoration of the battle of the Himera (Diod. xi. 26), the other probably dedicated by Hiero (Jebb, *Bacchylides*,

452f.). Just above this stands the base on which the Plataean trophy is believed to have rested.

τῶ ἐν Ἴσθμῶ. Poseidon (cf. viii. 121. 1 n.). Probably there was a list of names on this offering too.

[2] καὶ τούτοισι: as well as to Pausanias.

πάντα δέκα: tenfold, almost proverbial; cf. iv. 88. 1.

### ix. 82

This contrast (cf. chap. 78 n.) between Persian luxury and Spartan hardiness is rather strangely assigned to Pausanias, who himself within a year or two fell into the luxurious and despotic habits of an Eastern Sultan (Thuc. i. 130). For a similar story cf. i. 71.

### ix. 83

ἐφάνη κτλ.: chaps. 83. 2 and 84 as well as this sentence are rejected by Krüger and Gomperz as containing a collection of disconnected notices here out of place, and also because of some strange or corrupt words and phrases, e.g., καὶ τὸ ἄνω τῆς γνάθου, ἐπείτε δέ, τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ. Stein takes refuge in his usual theory of notes incorporated in a second edition, a suggestion more applicable to chaps. 81, 82, since the words ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ and καὶ τῶν Πλαταιέων συχνοί have no point unless the sentence follows immediately on the end of chap. 80, the contrast being with the Helots and Aeginetans. The notice may be modeled on iii. 12.

[2] Albrecht Achilles, Margrave of Brandenburg 1486 A.D., had a skull without a suture (Bähr), Pyrrhus, and a son of Prusias of Bithynia, an upper jaw with the teeth all of a piece (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 3; Plin. vii. 69).

### ix. 84

The connection is defective and the words ἐπείτε δέ meaningless. Stein suggests ἐπεὶ γε δή on the assumption that the gigantic skeleton was that of Mardonius. This can hardly be true, for there is nowhere a suggestion that Mardonius was a giant, though no doubt other Persian leaders are big men (vii. 117. 1, 187. 2; ix. 25. 1, 96. 2).

Pausanias, who repeats this story (ix. 2. 2), saw a grave of Mardonius to the right of the road from Eleutherae to Plataea near the battle-field.

ἤδη . . . ἤκουσα: cf. iv. 77. 1.

πολλοὺς . . . τινάς: very many; τις, intensive, cf. § 2; v. 33. 2.

παντοδαπούς, "of all nations." Pausanias (loc. cit.) makes all the successful claimants "Ionian."

[2] τοιούτῳ: i.e., secretly, if the reading is sound.

### ix. 85

The opening sentence is clearly connected with the end of chapter 81.

ἔθαπτον . . . χωρὶς ἕκαστοι. Pausanias believed there were only three tombs in all (ix. 2. 5) τοῖς μὲν οὖν λοιποῖς ἐστὶν Ἑλλησι μνήμα κοινόν· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ τέ εἰσιν οἱ τάφοι, καὶ ἐλεγείᾳ ἐστὶ Σιμωνίδου γεγραμμένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. Presumably the other tombs had disappeared from neglect.

**ἰρένας.** *Iren* is the term for a young Spartan between twenty and thirty years of age. These youths had no part in the meetings of the assembly and no right to a household of their own, but they were free from the discipline of the boys, and were indeed expected to inspire them by precept and example. They were also largely employed on military service. But it is impossible that all the Spartiates who won the highest distinction at Plataea were *irens*, and in particular that Amompharetus, colonel of his regiment, with a voice in the council of war (chaps. 53, 55), should be so young a man. (This has led Blakesley to suspect the clause ἔνθα μὲν . . . Καλλικράτης.) Again, the Lacedaemonians or Perioeci (chap. 11. 3) are left out in H.'s scheme. It seems more likely that the first tomb contained all the Spartiates (the majority of whom may have been *irens*; cf. chap. 12. 2), the second the Perioeci, and the third the Helots.

[2] **Ἀθηναῖοι:** so too Pausanias (loc. cit.). Thucydides (ii. 34) says that those who fell in war, except at Marathon, were buried at Athens, but it is a mistake to regard this as a deliberate contradiction. Marathon was the only purely Athenian battlefield on which the victors were buried, but Plataea was a Pan-Hellenic triumph.

[3] The particular fact that the Aeginetan tomb was erected ten years after the battle by Cleades, their proxenus (viii. 136. 1 n.) at Plataea, is no doubt true enough, but the inference drawn by H. is unfair. It is probable enough that there were many cenotaphs erected later. Only where the dead fell thick and fast in a single spot, as in the case of the states previously named (§ 2), could their bones be gathered for burial. Those who fell in the earlier fighting, or even in the skirmishing of the day just before (chaps. 49, 52) the battle, would be scattered over a wide area. In such cases it was customary to set up a cenotaph in memory of the dead; there would be no attempt at deception.

#### **ix. 86–89**

*The siege, surrender, and fate of the Thebans. The retreat of Artabazus.*

#### **ix. 86**

For Timagenidas cf. chap. 38, Attaginus, chap. 15. The constitution of Thebes is described by a Theban orator (Thuc. iii. 62) as having been at this time a dynastic oligarchy ἡμῖν γὰρ ἡ πόλις τότε ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε κατ' ὀλιγαρχίαν ἰσόνομον πολιτεύουσα οὔτε κατὰ δημοκρατίαν . . . δυναστεία ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν εἶχε τὰ πράγματα. Cf. also vii. 222 n.; Plut. *Arist.* chap. 18 (cf. below); Paus. ix. 6. 2.

**ix. 87**

[2] **πλέω μὴ ἀναπλήση**, “let not the land of Boeotia suffer any more for us.” For the expression implying evil cf. v. 4. 2, vi. 12. 3; for such negative exhortations cf. Goodwin, § 259; vii. 10 *g* μὴ νυν οὕτω γένηται.

**ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ**, “from the public treasury” (vii. 144. 1), but **σὺν τῷ κοινῷ**, “with the assent of the whole state” (v. 109. 3; viii. 135. 2 n.). H. insists that the whole Theban state Medized eagerly (cf. introduction, p. 40), but apparently there were two parties there (cf. Thuc. iii. 62 cited above), Plut. *Arist.* 18 *προθυμότατα τῶν πρώτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων τότε παρ’ αὐτοῖς μηδιζόντων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ἀλλ’ ὀλιγαρχούμενον ἀγόντων*. Pausanias (ix. 6. 2), too, acquits the commons of Medism. **καί**: the penalty must be paid by the state since the offence, Medism, was also general.

**ix. 88**

**τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους** is assimilated to the case of the relative (τοὺς . . . ἐξέδοσαν); cf. iii. 147. 1.

**διώσεσθαι**. αἰτίην must be supplied (Bähr).

**ἀντιλογίης**: *causae dictio*, both of the prosecution (87. 2) and of the defence.

This expectation of a trial is interesting; it may be compared with the case of the Plataeans in the Peloponnesian war (iii. 52–68). Pausanias, when in his turn accused of Medism, hoped to escape by bribery (Thuc. i. 131); indeed the corruptibility of the Spartans was notorious (cf. vi. 72 n.); nor were the other Greeks much better (Thuc. viii. 45).

Blakesley makes the unlikely suggestion that Pausanias was already Medizing, and so was glad to put Timagenidas out of the way lest he should disclose his treachery, while he spared the children of Attaginus to conciliate their father, who was still at large.

But H. takes a simpler and more generous view of his action, nor does even Thucydides (i. 128f.) hint that his treachery began before the fall of Byzantium, 478 B.C. Pausanias let the innocent go free, but foresaw and defeated the devices of Timagenidas and his friends.

**Κόρινθον**: strictly to the Isthmus where the council of allies met; cf. vii. 172. 1, 173. 4, 175. 1, 195. Macan suggests that this taking to Corinth means that the prisoners were duly tried (presumably by the Council), and that Pausanias merely executed the sentence of the Court. The representation of his action as arbitrary and autocratic may come from a hostile tradition current after his fall.

**ix. 89**

**Ἀρτάβαζος . . . φεύγων**: through Phocis (cf. § 2, chap. 66. 3) to Thessaly. It is difficult to believe that Artabazus arrived in Thessaly before the Thessalian cavalry reached home, and before any rumour of the defeat at Plataea had spread there.

Again, in his speech to the Thessalians, he is absurdly vague and fails to lie with circumstance.

[4] **τὴν μεσόγαιαν**: taking the straight way across the land (vii. 124 n.), e.g., from Therma to Acanthus.

**Θρηίκων**. Demosthenes (*Aristoc.* § 200 *περὶ συντάξεως*, § 24) substitutes *Perdiccas* of Macedon, who did not come to the throne till 454 B.C. Possibly *Alexander* of Macedon may have turned against the beaten Persians.

**ἐκ Βυζαντίου**. Why Artabazus did not cross the Hellespont at Sestos is not made clear. If the Greek fleet was already besieging Sestos (chap. 114), it is curious that he should have made no effort to save it, though such timidity is in harmony with the caution ascribed to him by H. The sequel of Plataea and that of Mycale are to H. two quite independent stories.

[*Additional note* (1928). Obst (op. cit. pp. 211–13), While rejecting Lehmann-Haupt's theory of the decisive influence on Persian strategy of a contemporary revolt of Babylon (*Klio* vii. 447, etc.), would account for Artabazus' retention of Xerxes' favour (Thuc. i. 129) in spite of his failure to save Sestos by supposing that he had been ordered to march with all speed to Babylon.]

#### ix. 90–95

*Samian envoys reach the Greek fleet at Delos. Story of Euenius.*

#### ix. 90

**τὸ τρωῶμα**: as in vi. 132. 1. H. does not explicitly say the disaster was Persian.

**κατέατο**, "lay inactive." The story is resumed from viii. 132. The Persian fleet had been "stationed" (*κατήμενοι*, viii. 130. 2) at Samos, and an embassy from Chios had already asked for help from the Greeks (viii. 132). For Theomestor cf. viii. 85. 2 n.

[2] **ἄγρην**, "they would never make such a catch again." The Persian fleet, if surprised by an attacking force from the sea, supported by a revolt in the island, might be captured or destroyed at a blow.

[3] This disparagement of the barbarian fleet comes from interested Ionians. It is in contrast with the view of Themistocles (viii. 60 a n.); but that was before Salamis, this after.

#### ix. 91

**κληδόνος**: cf. chap. 101. 3 n.

**κατὰ . . . ποιῆντος**, "by chance (iii. 74. 1), through God's doing"; equivalent to *θείη τύχη* (iii. 139. 3).

[2] For the play on the name cf. vi. 50. 3 n.; Aesch. *Ag.* 689. For names as omens cf. vii. 180 n.

### ix. 92

[2] Stein would bracket the clause μετὰ σφέων . . . ποιούμενος, as a marginal annotation on Δέκομαι τὸν οἰωνόν (91. 2), inconsistent with αὐτός τε . . . ἀποπλεύσει (91. 2). It may, however, be an intentional correction of that statement, Leotychides having after all decided to keep Hegesistratus with his own fleet (μετὰ σφέων) and send on his companions (οἱ μὲν).

**Ἀπολλωνίης δέ**—since Ἀπολλωνιήτεω = ἐὼν ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίης; cf. chap. 73. 1 n. The addition is necessary to distinguish this Apollonia from that on the Euxine (iv. 90, 93) and from some twenty other less distinguished towns (Steph. Byz.). It was a colony of the Corinthians (Thuc. i. 26) founded in the days of Periander (Plutarch, 552f). The Corcyraeans forced their way in here as in other Corinthian colonies, and claimed credit as joint or sole founders (Strabo 316; Scymnus 440; Paus. v. 22. 4). It lay ten stades from the river Aous and sixty from the sea (Strabo loc. cit.). As one of the termini of the Egnatian Way it became very important in Roman days, and also had a reputation as a place of education (Suet. Aug. 8).

### ix. 93

**ἰρὰ ἡλίου πρόβατα**: doubtless sheep (§ 2), 350 or 360 in number, to correspond with the days of the year; so Homer speaking of the isle Thrinacia, *Od.* xii. 128 βόσκοντ' Ἡελίοιο βόες καὶ ἴφια μῆλα, / ἐπτὰ βοῶν ἀγέλαι, τόσα δ' οἰῶν πώεα καλά, / πεντήκοντα δ' ἕκαστα, etc.; cf. *Hymn. Hom. Ap.* 412.

**ποταμόν**: apparently the Aous, which rises in Mount Lacmon, the central part of Pindus (Strabo 271), and flows by Apollonia though nowhere near Oricum. Possibly H. has confused this “river” with the little stream which enters the sea at Oricum.

**γένει δοκιμώτατοι**: cf. Arist. *Pol.* iv. 4, 1290b 11 ἐν Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἰονίῳ καὶ ἐν Θήρᾳ . . . ἐν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἦσαν οἱ διαφέροντες κατ' εὐγένειαν καὶ πρῶτοι κατασχόντες τὰς ἀποικίας, ὀλιγοὶ ὄντες πολλῶν. Apparently descent from the original settlers was a necessary qualification for citizenship; cf. iv. 161. 3 n. We may compare the feeling of the Boers towards the Uitlanders in the Transvaal.

[3] For such visitations cf. vi. 139. 2 n.

[4] **πρόφαντα**: cf. v. 63. 2 n. = χρηστήρια (94. 1) and θεοπρόπια (94. 3).

**τοὺς προφήτας** ignores the custom at Delphi (viii. 36. 2 ad fin.), where there was but one προφήτης, and at Dodona (ii. 55. 1), where there were priestesses. It is a scholiast's attempt to explain αὐτοί (below), which plainly refers to the gods consulted, Zeus and Apollo, who speak in person; cf. i. 47. 3; vii. 141. 3.

### ix. 94

[3] The cause of Euenius' anger is explained by the words ὡς ἐξαπατηθεῖς; had he known the whole state of the case, he would have asked for more.

ἔμφυτον . . . μαντικὴν. This is the promised gift of the gods (93. 4 ad fin.). Euenius was the inspired seer like Calchas (*Il.* i. 72) or Iamus (Pind. *Ol.* vi. 65), not the learned interpreter. For the contrast cf. Cicero, *Div.* i. 18, quoted vii. 6. 3 n.

#### ix. 95

ἀγόντων Κορινθίων: cf. chap. 36, and for the connection with Corinth chap. 92. 2 n.

ἦδη . . . ἤκουσα gives a variant discredited by the author; cf. iv. 77. 1; vii. 35. 1, 53. 3.

ἐπιβατεύων, "relying on"; cf. iii. 63. 3, 67. 2; vi. 65. 4.

ἐξελάμβανε is correlative to ἐκδίδοναι, and the whole expression recalls ἐργολάβος, and implies one who works for hire as a day-labourer; cf. Hom. *Od.* xvii. 383. Such soothsaying for hire was viewed with contempt. For ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, round about all Hellas, cf. *Od.* xvii. 386, xxiv. 201, and especially xvi. 63 πολλὰ βροτῶν ἐπὶ ἄστεα δινηθῆναι.

#### ix. 96–107

*Battle of Mycale. Advance and landing of the Greeks (97–9). The battle (100–5). The Greeks return to Samos to hold council (106, 7). The Persian leaders quarrel at Sardis.*

#### ix. 96

**Καλάμοισι:** Alexis of Samos (ap. Athen. 572f.; *FHG* iv. 299) mentions a temple of Aphrodite ἐν καλάμοις, which might well be the marshy ground near the mouth of the Imbrasus, between the Heraeum and the city of Samos. Perhaps the phrase τὸ Ἡραῖον τὸ ταύτη is meant to indicate this position outside Samos; in any case the great Heraeum is meant, as is shown by H.'s usage elsewhere (i. 70. 3; iii. 123. 1; iv. 88. 1, 152. 4), and by the fact that no other Heraeum near Samos is known. The Greek fleet would naturally take post on the east side of the island near the town of Samos and opposite Mycale, as the Persian had done before.

ἀνήγον: put out to sea across the narrow strait dividing Samos from Mycale (cf. i. 148. 1).

πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον gives the result of their action, viz., to reach the mainland.

ἀπῆκαν ἀποπλέειν. Probably H. is right in holding that after Salamis the Persians dare not face the Greeks at sea, particularly as the Ionians were untrustworthy (Meyer, iii, § 238), and so sent the Phoenician ships home to secure their safety. Delbrück (*Perserkriege*, 104) strangely ascribes their departure to overconfidence caused by the long inaction of the Greek fleet, while Domaszewski (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, i. 188) suggests that they may have been sent to guard the coast of Thrace. Whether H. is right in postponing the departure of the Phoenicians till the Greeks reached Samos, or at least were sailing from Delos, is more doubtful (Stein). Diodorus (xi. 19; cf. viii. 130 n.) seems to mean that they sailed straight home from Salamis; at latest they must have gone at the first news of the Greek advance.

[2] **καταλελειμμένος τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ**: left behind by the rest of the army, either when it marched on Greece, or when it was disbanded after its return. Krüger regards στρατοῦ as a partitive genitive (cf. vii. 170. 3 n.), since the construction is used elsewhere with the simple verb (vii. 168. 4; viii. 113. 2; ix. 19. 1).

[3] **ἔρουμα**: cf. chap. 15. 2 n.

#### ix. 97

**Πότνια** in the singular is applied to any goddess just as ἄναξ is to any god; but the plural πότνιαι is used only of the Eumenides (Aesch. *Sept.* 887; *Eum.* 951; Soph. *O.C.* 84), or as here of Demeter and Kore (*O.C.* 1050; Ar. *Thesm.* 1149; Paus. ix. 8. 1). Besides the temple of Demeter on Mycale (chap. 101. 1) there was one at Priene, recently excavated by Wiegand (*Priene*, 147f.), at which the goddesses were called θεσμόφοροι ἄγναϊ πότνιαι (Boeckh, *CIG* ii. 2907).

For Thesmophoria near Ephesus cf. vi. 16.

**Γαίσων** or Γαῖσος is probably the brook running by Domatia south of Mount Mycale, which flows into a marsh bordering on the sea. Ephorus, frag. 91, ap. Athen. 311e; *FHG* i. 260; Mela, i. 17; Plin. *H.N.* v. 31, § 113. Probably the word ποταμόν has fallen out of the text.

**Σκολοπόεις**. Placed by Wiegand (*Priene*, 17), arguing from an inscription at Domatia, on the east bank of the Gaeson, while the Persian stockade, to which perhaps it owes its name, must have been lower down on the west bank (Kiepert, *Formae*, No. vii n.).

For Neleus cf. i. 147. 1.

**ἔρκος**. Diodorus (xi. 34) adds a deep ditch.

**ἡμερα**. The destruction of fruit trees, although there was a large forest close by on the hill, showed reckless disregard of the Milesians' property, but cf. chap. 15. 2 n.

If the words bracketed by Krüger be retained in any form, they must mean that the Persians were prepared to stand a siege in defence of their fleet and to strike a blow for victory with their army (cf. 101. 3 ad fin.).

#### ix. 98

[2] **ἀποβάθρας**, "gangways," here "boarding-bridges." Clearly the Greeks intended to fight in the old-fashioned way by boarding (Thuc. i. 49), not trusting to the new maneuvers. For these cf. vi. 12 n.

[3] **συνθήματος**, "watchword" in battle or on the march, usually the name of a deity; cf. Xen. *An.* i. 8. 16; vi. 5. 25; vii. 3. 39.

**Ἡρης** is an almost certain conjecture, as the famous Heraeum (chap. 96. 1 n.) had been the starting-point of the Greek fleet, and stood behind their line of battle.

[4] The passage appears to be an interpolation modeled on viii. 22. At least ἔπειτε ἀνενειχθέντα and ἀπίστους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, “mistrustful of the Greeks,” are suspicious phrases.

#### ix. 99

[3] τοῖσι Μιλησίοισι. This re-appearance of the Milesians, who had all been killed or led away captive (vi. 19, 20 n.), is paralleled by that of the Eretrians who fought at Salamis (viii. 46. 2) and Plataea (ix. 28. 5), in spite of the similar fate that befell them in 490 B.C.; cf. vi. 101 n., 119. Doubtless H. exaggerated in both cases the completeness of the destruction wrought by the Persians.

The dative after κατεδόκειον, “whom they suspected,” seems to be on the analogy of κατακρίνειν (cf. vii. 146. 2).

γέγραφα: cf. chap. 61. 3 n.

#### ix. 100

φήμη. As has been shown by Grote (v. 47f.), the multitude in all ages is subject to “sudden unaccountable impressions,” whether of panic or encouragement, which in an age of faith are naturally attributed to divine intervention. The φήμη here is paralleled by that in Aeschines (*In Tim.* § 128f. and *De Fals. Leg.* § 144f.; cf. also Paus. i. 17. 1) and by the ὄσσα of Homer (*Il.* ii. 93; *Od.* xxiv. 413). If, however, we are to find any real foundation for the report, we must either suppose with Grundy (p. 526) that it referred to one of the earlier successes of the Greeks in Boeotia, e.g., the death of Masistius, or we must give up the precise synchronism between Plataea and Mycale (§ 2, chap. 101. 2). Either is better than accepting the rationalizing suggestion of Ephorus (Diod. xi. 35; Polyaeus i. 33) that Leotychides invented the report to encourage his men, while the Persian generals told their troops that Xerxes was coming to their aid with a large force. The traditional precise synchronism between Plataea and Mycale (cf. Diod. xi. 34; Justin ii. 14) is a little discredited by the similar record as to the Himera and Salamis (vii. 166 n.), or the Himera and Thermopylae (Diod. xi. 24). Further, though no exact chronology is possible, if Mardonius was at Athens in June (chap. 3 n.), the battle of Plataea probably took place at the beginning of August (chap. 41. 1 n. and Busolt, ii. 725, n. 4). The dates in Plutarch, third Boedromion (*Cam.* 19, *Moral.* 349 F) and twenty-sixth Panemos = Metageitnion (*Aristid.* 19), seem to be those on which the victory was celebrated at Athens and at Plataea (cf. vi. 106. 3 n.). Mycale, on the other hand, is more naturally placed in the middle of August (Busolt, ii. 742, n. 2), since by the time that the Athenians have settled down to besiege Sestos it is autumn, i.e., mid-September, chap. 117 n. A fortnight’s interval would give time for the rumour to cross the Aegean.

[2] τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρης. H. rather awkwardly confuses two ways of stating the same fact. (1) “The days of Plataea and that of Mycale were identical,” and (2) the self-same day saw the battles of Plataea and Mycale.

### ix. 101

For the Demetrium near Plataea cf. chap. 57. 2 n.

[3] **περὶ Μαρδονίῳ πταίσει**, “that Mardonius might be the rock on which Hellas would make shipwreck.”

**κληδών** = φήμη; cf. v. 72. 3 and 4; Soph. *Phil.* 255.

**ἔσπενδον** means eagerness of spirit, not actual motion, since the Persians awaited attack (chap. 99).

### ix. 102

**προσεχέσι**: used predicatively with **τεταγμένοισι**, as is shown by **τοῖσι ἐπεξῆς τεταγμένοισι** (§§ 1 and 3). The Greek leaders apparently landed to the east of the Persian camp, and, finding the beach too narrow for the deployment of their troops, marched the left wing along it straight against the enemy, while the right wing made a turning movement (**περιήσαν**) on the hills above. Then followed the breaking through the shield-wall and the rout of the Persians, and finally the capture of the camp.

**χαράδραν**. Perhaps the Gaeson, which served the Persians as a natural moat to their camp (chap. 97 n.).

[4] For Tigranes cf. chap. 96 and vii. 62. 1 n., for the other Persian leaders viii. 130. 2.

### ix. 103

[2] **ἔτεροαλκῆς** νίκη (or ἄρης) means in Homer and Aeschylus (*Pers.* 930) “decisive victory,” but here and in viii. 11. 3 (**ἔτεροαλκέως**) “inclining now this way and now that, *anceps*, undecided.”

Ephorus, being from Cyme, was led by local patriotism to emphasize, and probably to exaggerate, the share of the Asiatic Greeks in the victory. He makes the appearance of the Samians and Milesians the turning-point in the battle, and declares that the Aeolians and others took part in the pursuit and slaughter of the Persians (Diod. xi. 36. 4, 5).

### ix. 105

**Ἑρμόλυκος**. Pausanias saw on the Acropolis a statue of Hermolycus, the Pancratiast, who is probably to be identified with the one here mentioned (cf. Frazer on Paus. i. 23. 10).

**παγκράτιον ἐπασκήσας**: cf. vi. 92. 2 n. The Pancratium was a mixture of boxing and wrestling. For a detailed account cf. E. N. Gardiner, *JHS* xxvi, pp. 21–22, and Greek athletic sports and festivals.

For **Carystus** cf. vi. 99. 2 n.; viii. 66. 2, 112. 2, 121. 1. It was subdued by Athens in the war here mentioned, placed by Thucydides (i. 98) after the capture of Scyros and before the revolt of Naxos, i.e., ca. 472 B.C. (Busolt, iii. 140, n. 6). For Geraestus cf. viii. 7. 1 n.

ix. 106

[2] ἀναστάσις here = “peaceful removal” cf. § 3 and iv. 115. 3 ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

Ἑλλάς here in the wide sense of any land inhabited by Hellenes, and only limited by the relative clause to lands in the power of the confederates.

[3] τοῖσι ἐν τέλει: a vague phrase for the competent authorities, i.e., the king and his advisers; cf. οἱ ἄρχοντες (iii. 46. 1; vi. 106. 2 n.) and the use of τὰ τέλη in Xenophon, on which cf. Underhill, *Hellenica*, p. 341, n. 8, and Gilbert, *G.C.A.*, 54, n. 3.

τῶν μηδισάντων. The reference is primarily to the list of traitors given in vii. 132. 1, i.e., Thessalians, Malians, Locrians, and Boeotians (except Thespieae and Plataea), but we may suppose many islands to be included, e.g., Andros, Tenos, Paros, and Carystus in Euboea (vii. 95 n.; viii. 66, 111f.), and perhaps those Peloponnesian states whose neutrality savoured of treachery (viii. 73. 3 ad fin.), especially Argos (vii. 148f.) and Achaia (vii. 94. n.; viii. 73. 1 n.).

The idea of evacuating Ionia had been suggested by Bias (i. 170), and even partially carried out both in 546 B.C. (i. 164–68) and in 494 B.C. (vi. 17, 20). Hence there is nothing improbable in its suggestion here. Possibly, too, it might be regarded as a military measure within the competence of Leotychides and his council, though a question of such far-reaching importance as the expulsion of the Medizers should surely have been referred to the Probouloi at the Isthmus. Diodorus (xi. 37), in saying that both Ionians and Athenians at first agreed, and that the latter repented only when the Ionians and Aeolians had made all their preparations to emigrate, is guilty of foolish exaggeration, since the assent of the Ionians is not in accord with their strong attachment to their native land (cf. i. 165; vi. 3).

[4] H. distinctly limits admission into the league to the islanders present with the Greek fleet. We have already heard of the Chians and Samians (viii. 132; ix. 90f.), but the Lesbians are here first mentioned. Presumably they had previously joined but H. omitted their admission, just as he omits to mention the presence of allies as well as Athenians at the siege of Sestos (chap. 114. 2 n.). The other loyal islanders (enumerated in viii. 46 and n.) must have been long before formally admitted to the league (cf. vii. 145). There is a difficulty as to the position of the Greeks on the mainland. H. here appears to exclude them, and in chap. 101 ad fin. makes “the islands” and the Hellespont the prize of victory, yet Ionia (in which Miletus is included) has already “revolted from Persia” (chap. 104 ad fin.), and, according to Thucydides (i. 89), allies from Ionia and the Hellespont helped the Athenians to take Sestos, while Ionians and others lately freed from the king are foremost in promoting the transference of the hegemony to Athens (i. 95). Diodorus (xi. 37) cuts the knot by admitting to the league all Aeolians and Ionians without distinction, which has led Steup to insert καὶ τοὺς ἠπειρώτας here. But Diodorus in this chapter is full of errors, and it seems better to suppose that such Greeks of

the mainland as revolted from Persia were at first informally under the protection of Athens, and that they were only granted a formal alliance later, probably when the hegemony was transferred to Athens (cf. Busolt, iii. 39, 40). Of course many Greek states in Asia remained subject to Persia for years after this (cf. vi. 42 n.).

**τὰς γεφύρας.** The bridge had perished ten months before (viii. 117), but the Greeks may well have been ignorant of the fact so long as the Hellespont was in the hands of the enemy.

#### ix. 107

For **Masistes**, son of Darius and of Atossa, cf. vii. 82, and for his taunt chap. 20 n.

[3] **Κιλικίης πάσης ἦρξε.** This would be most interesting if true, but Xenagoras cannot well have been satrap of Cilicia, because that country, though called a satrapy (iii. 90), remained till at least 400 B.C. under the rule of its native princes (Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 4. 2), who bore the title **Συέννεσις**. Cf. i. 74. 3 n. (585 B.C.); v. 118. 2 (500 B.C.); vii. 98, and Aesch. *Pers.* 326 (480 B.C.); Xen. *An.* i. 2 ad fin.; Ctesias *Persica* § 58, p. 78; Diod. xiv. 20 (401 B.C.). Hence the conjecture **Λυκίης**.

#### ix. 108–13

*Tragedy at the Persian Court. The amours of Xerxes and the vengeance of Amestris.*

#### ix. 108

**προμηθεόμενος**, “from respect for” = **αἰδεόμενος**, hence followed by the acc.; cf. ii. 172. 5.

**τῷσϋτό.** The same thought, viz., that the king would not use violence.

Darius, the eldest of Xerxes’ three sons, was murdered by his brother Artaxerxes (465 B.C.) at the suggestion of Artabanus, the Vizir who slew Xerxes (Diod. xi. 69; Ctesias § 29. 71).

**θυγατέρα:** somewhat strangely in apposition to **γάμον**, cf. iii. 88. 2.

[2] **ἠγάγετο.** The middle is commonly used of the bridegroom, but here (cf. chap. 111. 3; i. 34. 3) of his father bringing about the marriage.

#### ix. 109

[2] **τῇ δέ:** attracted into the case appropriate in the next clause; cf. i. 24. 5 ad init.

**ἔδεε:** of the decrees of fate; cf. ii. 161. 3; similarly **χοῖν**, i. 8. 2; ii. 55. 2.

[3] For the grant of cities cf. ii. 98 n.; Thuc. i. 138; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 6.

**στρατός.** E. Meyer (iii, § 20) inclines to interpret this of a bodyguard. So the **στρατή** of Masistes (chap. 113 ad fin.) can hardly have been more than a guard.

#### ix. 110

[2] For birthday feasts cf. i. 133. Plato (*Alc.* 1, 121c) says that the birthday of the king’s eldest son was celebrated with feasting throughout the Empire.

**τυκτά** = Persian *tacht*.

**σμάται:** cf. iv. 73. 2. It would seem that the king, who at all other times appeared in full royal dress crowned with the tiara (cf. vii. 61. 1), on the day of this feast showed his head bare, and, like his companions at table, smeared it with ointments.

**Πέρσας δωρέεται.** For the gifts cf. Thuc. ii. 97; Plut. *Alex.* 69; Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 5. 21 and 7. 1; Meyer, iii, § 17; and Esther ii. 18. For the whole scene Matt. xiv. 6–9; Mark vi. 21–6.

#### ix. 111

[2] **ἐμὸς ἀδελφεός:** i.e., full brother; cf. vii. 7 n., 82 n., 97.

[5] **τὰ διδόμενα:** cf. viii. 114. 1 n.

**τοσόνδε,** “only so much”; cf. i. 128. 2, 199. 3.

Masistes’ answer “You have not yet destroyed me,” means primarily “You have taken from me not life, but all that makes life worth living,” and perhaps contains a covert threat “You have still left me life and the chance of revenge.”

#### ix. 112

For similar barbarities cf. Homer, *Od.* xviii. 86; xxii. 475; *Il.* xxi. 455; xxiii. 21. For Amestris’ cruelty vii. 114.

#### ix. 113

For Bactra and the Bactrian νομός cf. iii. 92. 2; vi. 9. 4.

#### ix. 114–22

*The Athenians besiege and take Sestos. Story of Artayctes. The wisdom of Cyrus.*

#### ix. 114

**ἀπολαμφθέντες:** *intercepti*, arrested by contrary winds; cf. ii. 115. 4; Livy xxxvii. 37.

[2] Thucydides (i. 89) speaks as if the Peloponnesians had sailed straight home from Mycale, but adds the significant fact that Ionians and Hellespontines helped to besiege Sestos, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως ὑπομείναντες Σῆστον ἐπολιόρκουν. In each case the fuller account should be followed. Thucydides omits the fruitless voyage of the Peloponnesians, but supplies an omission in H. (cf. chap. 106). Sestos was of great importance to Athens as commanding the corn-route to the Euxine (vii. 147. 2 n.), and as the strongest (chap. 115) place in the Chersonese (Thuc. viii. 62; Xen. *Hell.* iv. 8. 5), on which Athens had claims founded on the dominion of Miltiades (cf. vi. 34f.); app. xvi, § 8.

#### ix. 115

**ἐόντος:** for the case cf. viii. 69. 1 n.

For Cardia cf. vi. 33. 3 n.

ἐνθαῦτα and ταύτην refer to Sestos.

#### ix. 116

ἐτυράννευε: more properly ἐπετρόπευε (vii. 78 ad fin.).

τούτου τοῦ νομοῦ: apparently the European (i.e., Thracian) conquests of Darius, the Skurdra of the Nakshi-Rustum Inscription, which may well have formed a satrapy, of which Sestos was the capital and Artayctes the governor (vii. 33. 1 ad fin.), though it is not mentioned in H.'s list (iii. 90f.), as it had not been conquered at the beginning of Darius' reign, and was lost again by Xerxes.

ὑπαρχος is, however, also used of the commandant of a fortress; cf. vii. 194. 1 n.; while νόμος is used of districts smaller than satrapies; ii. 165, 166, etc.; iv. 62. 1, 66.

Artayctes is also leader of the Macrones and Mossynoeci (vii. 78); cf. Masistes, vii. 82, ix. 113; Meyer, iii, § 42 n.

**Protesilaus** of Phylace in Phthiotis was slain as he landed on the Trojan shore ( *Il.* ii. 701 τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνήρ / νηὸς ἀποθρώσκοντα πολὺ πρότιστον Ἀχαϊῶν). He was honoured as a hero at Phylace (Pindar, *Isthm.* i. 58) and generally (cf. Wordsworth, "Laodamia") so regarded (Paus. iii. 4. 6), yet at Elaeus he was worshipped as a god (chap. 120. 3; Paus. i. 34. 2). Probably he was a native deity identified with the Greek hero from similarity of name. His oracle, like those of Amphiaraus and Trophonius (with whom Pausanias, i. 34. 2, compares him), was frequented by the sick (Philostr. *Her.* 670, 678f.). For Elaeus cf. vi. 140. 1 n.

[3] Cf. vii. 5. 2 n. The request for a man's house was so natural that the king had no suspicion of the sacrilege intended.

The Persian kings claimed all Asia (i. 4. 4; vii. 11. 4 n.), as did the Sassanids (Dio (*Epit.*) lxxx. 4; Herodian vi. 2. 2).

#### ix. 117

πολιορκεομένοισι: passive, "the besieged," as in i. 84. 1; similarly the active of besiegers, iii. 56. 1; viii. 129. 1.

φθινόπωρον. The rising of Arcturus (Sept. 18) marked the beginning of autumn (cf. chaps. 100. 1 n., 101). The murmuring of the besiegers and the distress of the besieged (chap. 118) clearly began in the autumn, but the siege no doubt lasted into, and perhaps through, the winter ( Thuc. i. 89 ἐπιχειμάσαντες εἶλον). The statement of Diodorus (xi. 37) εὐθύς ἐκ κατάπλου προσβολὰς τῇ πόλει ποιησάμενος εἶλε Σῆστον is an obvious blunder. H.'s words (chap. 121) κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο, no doubt limit the siege to a single year, but his year, like that of Thucydides, is a campaigning year from spring to spring; cf. viii. 130, 131; vii. 37; vi. 31.

#### ix. 118

τόνους. The leather girths of a bedstead supporting the mattress, and perhaps the leather plaited work forming the seat of a chair; cf. v. 25. 1, 2; vii. 36. 1.

**ὄπισθε:** at the back of the fortress. the front being plainly towards the sea.

**ix. 119**

**Ἀψίνθιοι:** cf. vi. 34. 1 n. For the practice of sacrificing strangers to Artemis in the Tauric Chersonese cf. iv. 103, and for the custom of the Getae iv. 94.

[2] **Αἰγὸς Ποταμῶν:** an open roadstead opposite Lampsacus, named, perhaps, from two small streams which reach the sea near it, famous for the final defeat of the Athenians by Lysander (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1. 18f.).

**ix. 120**

**ἐπάλλοντο:** cf. i. 141. 2, and for a similar portent Homer, *Od.* xii. 394f.

[4] For Madytus and the place of the bridge cf. vii. 33 n.

They crucified him with hands and feet stretched out and nailed to cross-pieces; cf. vii. 33. This barbarity, unusual on the part of Greeks, may be explained by the enormity of the outrage or by Athenian deference to local feeling.

**ix. 122**

[2] The ruggedness of Persia proper is frequently insisted on in antiquity, rightly in the main; cf. i. 71. 2f.; Plato *Leg.* 695a; Arr. *Anab.* v. 4. 5.

**πλέοσι:** in more points (Stein); cf. ἄπασι (i. 1. 2, 91. 6).

[3] H. ascribes to Cyrus the teaching of Hippocrates *Aer.* 24 (cf. i. 142) εὐρήσεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χώρας τῇ φύσει ἀκολουθέοντα καὶ τὰ εἶδεα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ πίειρα καὶ μαλθακή . . . καὶ τῶν ὠρέων καλῶς κεῖται, ἐνθαῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι σαρκώδεές εἰσι καὶ ἄναρθροι καὶ ὑγροὶ καὶ ἀταλαίπωροι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακοὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ . . . ὅκου δ' ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα ψιλὴ τε καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ τρηχεῖα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος πιεζομένη καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κεκαυμένη, ἐνθαῦτα δὲ . . . τὰ τε ἥθεα καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς αὐθάδεας καὶ ἰδιογνώμονας τοῦ τε ἀγρίου μᾶλλον μετέχοντας ἢ τοῦ ἡμέρου ἔς τε τὰς τέχνας ὀξυτέρους τε καὶ συνετωτέρους καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀμείνους εὐρήσεις. H. throughout assumes the influence of climate on character and on institutions. Differences between one folk and another he would trace in part to differences in physical and geographical environment, since he is convinced of the relativity of human institutions (cf. Macan, ad loc., and iii. 38). It should never have been doubted that this anecdote was deliberately chosen by the historian to close his work. It recalls the fact that the Persians, though now defeated, were a famous race of warriors; it perhaps is intended to warn the conquerors that they too may suffer decline and fall if they relax their discipline (cf. vii. 102). No doubt the moral is a little obvious, the literary artifice somewhat naïve, but is not all this characteristic of Herodotus?

## Appendix I: The Ethnography of Western Asia Minor and the Lydian History of H.

[**Authorities.** For the history and art of Western Asia Minor cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, vol. v (1890). On Phrygia cf. P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 28 seq.; on Lydia, P. Radet, *Lydie et le Monde Grec* (687–546 B.C.), a most interesting book, but too ready to defend traditional views. For the languages cf. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, and for the whole subject Meyer, i. 472 seq. (especially 476), and Hogarth's brilliant sketch, *Ionia and the East*.]

### § 1

Asia Minor is the meeting-place between East and West, the bridge by which opposing civilizations have advanced in turn to attack each other. Hence, as might be expected, there is a great mixture of races in it. But, broadly speaking, the Halys is the dividing line.<sup>1</sup>

East of it the peoples are mostly Semitic; this may be due to direct immigration or to the influence of the great Semitic empires, whether the Hittite, ruling from Pteria or Carchemish, or the Assyrian from Mesopotamia.

### § 2

**Asia Minor West of the Halys.** But these peoples concern the student of H. comparatively little; it is the tribes in the western half, with which the Greeks had come more into contact, that take an important place in H.'s account of the relations of Greeks and Barbarians. These tribes are especially the Mysians, the Lydians, and the Phrygians.<sup>2</sup>

They were probably akin to each other; this was certainly the opinion of the ancients, e.g., H., who, as a native of Halicarnassus, was likely to know the truth (i. 171. 6 n.), says that Carians, Mysians, and Lydians were akin, and quotes ritual evidence; and Xanthus <p. 371> (frag. 8),<sup>3</sup> using the evidence of dialect, says that the Mysians were half-way between Phrygians and Lydians. This view is partly confirmed by the fact that, of the few Lydian words known, some are said to be Carian, and others Phrygian, and also by "the most general features of the popular worships of Western Asia Minor," e.g., the importance of "the great goddess who personified the creative power of nature."<sup>4</sup> This cult is found everywhere.

### § 3

**Origin of the Peoples. Invasion from Europe.** Another view of the ancient writers is now generally accepted as true in the main, though a generation ago it was looked on as a mere piece of Hellenic vanity, i.e., that these Anatolian races had come in from the Northwest. Xanthus (frag. 5) says that the Phrygians came from Thrace, after the Trojan war; H. says they had been "neighbours of the

Macedonians" (vii. 73. 1 n.), and also that the Bithynians (vii. 75. 2) were originally Thracians. Strabo (295) says the same of the Mysians.<sup>5</sup>

It is true that we cannot quote similar opinions about the Lydians and the Carians; probably their immigration had been earlier, perhaps some centuries before 1000 B.C., as they had penetrated further south, and so all tradition of it had been lost.

#### § 4

**Primitive Anatolian Population.** But modern criticism conjectures another element in the races of Western Asia, the existence of which was forgotten, or never known, by the Greeks. The tribes from the North were warriors, who established themselves as a ruling caste; but an earlier race survived as serfs, and, in fact, formed the mass of the population.<sup>6</sup> As the conquerors brought few <p. 372> women with them, they married the women of this earlier race, and so were gradually absorbed in the nationality of their own subjects.

Such a process has happened repeatedly in India; such a process is conjectured to explain the disappearance from modern France of the race of tall, fair Gallic warriors, once so terrible to the Romans; such a process explains naturally what was always an enigma to the Greeks. Tradition spoke of the warlike Phrygians (Hom. *Il.* iii. 185); early history knew of the famous Lydian cavalry (i. 80. 4); but Lydians and Phrygians later were effeminate and "natural slaves." To explain the puzzle, stories like that of i. 155. 4 were invented; the result of a gradual process is put down to the policy of an individual.

#### § 5

**Results of the mixture.** The blending of a race of European conquerors with a subject population also explains the difficulty which modern scholars have felt in determining the race of these Anatolian peoples. On the one hand, the survivals of their languages seem to be akin to the Indo-European tongues<sup>7</sup>; and similarity of origin is indicated by the way in which they influenced and were influenced by the Greeks.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, it is possible to see a clear Oriental element in their worships,<sup>9</sup> their social customs (i. 94. 1), and their myths.<sup>10</sup> Even in the worship of the "Great Mother" herself (cf. 80 n.), there is a blending of Northern and of Eastern elements, of frenzied excitement and of sensual impurity.

The mixture of conquered and conquering races will explain all this. At the same time Radet<sup>11</sup> may be right in thinking that there had been a definite Syrian immigration into Lydia, adding a Semitic <p. 373> element to the already mixed population; but it is equally possible that the Lydians, as the great intermediaries between East and West, "the Phoenicians of the land," were influenced by imitation of the Semitic races, rather than by actual Semitic immigration.

#### § 6

**Date of the Migrations.** If we might believe that among the "peoples of the sea" who attack Egypt in the thirteenth century B.C. (cf. app. x, § 8) we have the "Maeonians" ("Maunna"), i.e., the Lydians, we should have an approximate date

for their southern progress; but the identification is most uncertain. In any case Lydia, as has been already argued, seems to have been occupied by a northern race of conquerors much earlier than Phrygia; for while in Lydia the Mother-goddess of the subject race became the chief divinity, in Phrygia, on the contrary, the Father-god, Papas, the god of the conquerors, was never displaced. We may infer that the reason why the process of assimilation in Phrygia began later and was never so complete was that the conquest itself was later.<sup>12</sup>

## § 7

**Phrygia.** The Phrygian kingdom can perhaps be dated with some approximate certainty. Neither in the *Iliad* nor in the *Hymn to Aphrodite* do the names of "Gordias" or "Midas" occur in connection with the Phrygians, though this people is repeatedly mentioned.<sup>13</sup>

Hence it was probably only ca. 800 B.C. that the real Phrygian kingdom was founded. It lasted about two centuries, for its memory was still fresh in the time of Croesus (i. 35; but see note there); the fugitive Adrastus is a prince of its blood royal. Of its history we know nothing beyond a few stories (e.g., i. 14); we may probably accept as historical the fact that its king, Midas, perhaps the grandson of "Mita, king of the Muski," mentioned by Sargon about 718 (Winckler, *Altor. For.* ii. 136), committed suicide at the time of the Cimmerian invasion (Strabo 61; ca. 650 B.C.). No doubt the raids of these barbarians ruined Phrygia and made it an easy prey to its Lydian neighbour, under whose rule we find it at the end of the seventh century.

It strongly influenced the Greeks; from them it borrowed its alphabet, while in return it gave the Greeks myths, like that of Pelops or of Marsyas, architectural forms, and orgiastic worships. That the Phrygians were once a warlike people we know only from Homer, and from the "Broken-Lion Tomb," on which two warriors in Carian armour are represented (*JHS* ix. 363f.).

## § 8

**The Lydians.** But between the Phrygians and the Greeks <p. 374> on the seaboard lay the Lydians, the tribe with whose attack on Greece H. begins his history. That this attack was connected with the change of dynasty described by him is obvious.<sup>14</sup> It is tempting to conjecture that some immigration of fighting men from the North (cf. "Dascylus," father of Gyges and "Dascylium," i. 8. 1 n.) was the cause of the new vigour of the Lydian monarchy which the Greeks found so serious. Perhaps the tradition that Gyges was a member of the royal bodyguard is a true one, and we may suppose that the degenerate Heraclidae had invited northern warriors to defend them, and then were deposed by their own defenders (cf. the legend of Vortigern and the first Saxon invasion of England). But this is pure conjecture; we can only say for certain that in the seventh century Lydia first began to be known to Assyria ("Gugu" figures in the inscriptions (cf. i. 15; ii. 152 nn.) of Assurbanipal) and also to the Greeks. The change of dynasty which

coincided with this rise of the nation into prominence is a fact, but its circumstances are lost in fable.

## § 9

**Rise of the Mermnad Dynasty.** Of the change itself we have four different versions:

(1) That of H., which is clearly favourable to Gyges and bears marked traces of Delphic influence (e.g., i. 13. 2 and *passim*).

(2) That of Nicolaus of Damascus (ca. 30 B.C.; for his fragments cf. *FHG* iii), who is supposed to give the account of Xanthus. According to this, Gyges was not a mere soldier, but was the head of a noble Lydian house: his grandfather had been a sort of Mayor of the Palace, but had been murdered by the king. Gyges was born in exile, but was recalled, and became a favourite with Sadyattes (= H.'s "Candaules"). He abused his position by trying to play Lancelot to his master's bride, the Mysian princess Tundo, and to escape her vengeance, killed his master.

(3) The third version is that of Plato (*Resp.* 359), who invests Gyges with a magic ring conferring invisibility.<sup>15</sup> In this story, too, the queen appears.

(4) The fourth story is that of Plutarch (*Quaest. Graec.* 45, *Mor.* 302), which seeks to explain the origin of the double-axe of Zeus of Labranda or Labraunda; this story may preserve one element of importance, i.e., that Gyges was assisted by Carian mercenaries.

The question whether any of these stories be true, in whole or in part, is impossible of decision. It is more important to note: (a) that clearly the greatest uncertainty prevailed in the Greece of H. <p. 375> as to the events of the two preceding centuries; the kings of the Mermnad dynasty were historical persons, but fiction had been busy with their names; (b) that in three of the four versions of the story the queen plays a part; this is a characteristic of Anatolian legend, which makes the female element always prominent<sup>16</sup>; (c) the blending of popular stories and real history, which marks H.'s account of the seventh and sixth centuries, is not due to any special peculiarity of his own, but was the inevitable result of the uncertain nature of his evidence.

To sum up briefly, H. as usual has his names right; but he knows little or nothing of the real course of events: this is especially seen in his ignorance of the relations of Lydia and Assyria. (Cf. app. ii, § 4.) His chronology too is artificial and mainly inaccurate.

## § 10

**The Chronology of the Mermnadae.** H. assigns to the house of Gyges 170 years (viz., Gyges 38 (chap. 15), Ardys 49, Sadyattes 12 (chap. 16), Alyattes 57 (chap. 25), Croesus 14 (chap. 86. 1)). Reckoning these years back from the fall of Croesus (for the date of this cf. i. 86 n.), we must place the accession of Gyges about 716 B.C. But this is about half a century too early; Gyges was the contemporary of Archilochus

(frag. 24; H. i. 12. 2), and was reigning after 660 B.C., as we know from the monuments of Assurbanipal (see above). Probably then the Lydian chronology of H. is a mere calculation,<sup>17</sup> his own or more probably that of some predecessor; it is reckoned on the basis of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  years to a generation, i.e., the five Lydian kings reign for  $166\frac{2}{3}$  years + the "three" of the Delphic story (i. 91. 3). On what principle (if any) these 170 years were distributed it is impossible to say; only it is natural that to Alyattes, with whom Lydian power reaches its height, is assigned the longest reign.

## § 11

**Importance of Lydia in Greek history.** The Lydians have an influence on Greek history in two main respects, social and political. Socially, they stand by the side of the Phoenicians as the intermediaries between East and West at the beginning of the historic period (i.e., eighth and seventh centuries B.C.); under their rule were the outlets to the Aegean of the long caravan routes, which reached across Asia Minor to the valley of the Euphrates. Hence it was natural that they should be the inventors of coined money (H. i. 94. 1 n.). Politically, they were the first Oriental despotism with which the Greeks came into close contact. Hence they were the first to subdue the Greeks (i. 6. 2), and it is not improbable that the example of their wealthy kings led to the establishment <p. 376> of τυραννίδες among the Greeks. τύραννος is said to be a Lydian word (cf. app. xvi, § 2).

## § 12

**Sources of H.'s history.** These can be very clearly traced:

(1) Delphic tradition; chaps. 14, 50, 51 would have shown this, even apart from the direct statement in chap 20; hence the whole story has a theological tendency (cf. 13. 2 n.).

(2) Other Greek tradition, perhaps especially from Miletus (cf. chaps. 20 and 74, 75, the stories as to Thales); much of this was no doubt ethical narrative (e.g., the story of Solon), which had grown up round famous names.

(3) Fragments of Lydian tradition, e.g., the legends of Atys and Adrastus, the lion cub of Meles (chap. 84), etc.; most of this, however, probably came to H. through Greek channels, though his accounts of the tomb of Alyattes and of the manners of the Lydians (chaps. 93–4) seem based on his own observation.

## § 13

**The Lydian origin of the Etruscans.** The theory that the Etruscans were Eastern in origin was almost universally held in antiquity, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (i. 27 f.) is the only important dissentient. The most popular form of the theory was that of H., which made them to have been Lydians (cf. i. 94. 6). Archaeology tends to confirm the tradition. One of the most curious of the resemblances between the Etruscans and Asia Minor is their chamber-tombs<sup>18</sup>; there are marked resemblances also in dress, in beliefs, especially as to divination, and in customs. Perhaps the most striking feature of all is the frequent recurrence in Etruria of the

polygonal walls of Mycenaean Greece and of Asia Minor.<sup>19</sup> That the Etruscans were Orientals and came by sea is then one of the many points in which archaeology tends to confirm H. against the scepticism of nineteenth-century scholars (in this case Niebuhr and Mommsen, *R.H.* i. 129).

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## Notes

1. Cf. Ramsay, *H.G.* p. 32, where the statement is limited.
  2. For the Carians and the Lycians cf. i. 171, 173 nn.; the former were subject to Croesus (i. 28), but neither of these tribes appear in Lydian history so much as the more northern ones.
  3. *FHG* i. 37; for Xanthus' relations to H. see introd. p. 23.
  4. Perrot, v. pp. 242–3: the Greeks called her Cybele at Smyrna, Artemis at Ephesus, Enys (Bellona) at Comana, where her proper name was Ma (Strabo 535). For her wide prevalence as a coin-type cf. Hogarth, *Ephesus*, pp. 330–1.
  5. Further evidence is afforded by:
    - (1) Myths, e.g., that of Midas and his rose garden is localized near Edessa and Mount Bermius (viii. 138. 2) in Macedonia.
    - (2) Common names; that of the “Mygdones” round Dascyleum is repeated in “Mygdonia” on the lower Axios; so, too, there are “Brygians” in Macedonia (vi. 45. 2) as late as 493 B.C. (Βρύγιοι is the Macedonian dialect form of φύγες, cf. Βίλιππος.)
    - (3) Common civilization; musical skill and orgiastic rites are characteristic both of Thrace and of Phrygia.
- For the legend of a counter-movement from Asia to Europe cf. vii. 20. 1 nn.

6. "It is reasonable to characterize the whole original population of Western Asia as Proto-Armenian" (*JHS* xix. 49). We have traces of their languages in place-names ending in "ssa," "nda," and of their matriarchal system in the prominence of the female elements in myths and cults; the presence of similar place-names in Greece seems to indicate that the race was spread on both sides of the Aegean; cf. i. 171. 1 n. and Meyer, i. 476.

7. Perhaps we may compare the Lydian Manes (i. 94. 3) with Indian "Manu" and German "Mannus." Plato (*Crat.* 410a) had already noticed the resemblances of Greek and Phrygian. On the other hand, the longest Lydian inscription (that recently found at Sardis, i. 84. 1 n.), though so far untranslated, shows, in its terminations at any rate, that it is not akin to Greek.

8. For similarity of customs cf. i. 35. 2 (purification), 74. 6 (oaths), and chap. 94 (the general statement).

9. Cf. the *ἱερόδουλοι* at Comana, Strabo 535.

10. Cf. the story of the death of Croesus' son, i. 36 seq., and the frequency of the termination "Attes" in Lydian names; cf., too, the stories of the Amazons.

11. p. 54. Though Atys is a native Anatolian figure, he is connected with the local god of North Syria, Ate; but whether the cult immigration was from Syria into Anatolia, or vice versa, is disputed (Meyer, i. 487 n.). It has been argued that the Lydians were of Semitic race because in Gen. x. 22 "Lud" is the son of Shem; but, even allowing this genealogy to have any significance as to race connection, "Lud" must stand for some tribe far to the southeast of Asia Minor; for he comes between "Arphaxad" (Chaldaeae) and "Aram" (Syria).

12. Winckler, however, puts the first migration of the Phrygians in the twelfth century B.C., and identifies the "Mita of Muski" of that date with "Midas." Garstang (*Hittites*, pp. 53–8) accepts this, and considers that this northern invasion was the first blow to the Hittite power; but he admits that the chief migration of the Phrygians was not till the ninth century.

13. *Il.* ii. 862; iii. 184–9; x. 431; xvi. 719; *Hymn*, 111–2, 137.

14. Perhaps the displacement of "Maeonian" by "Lydian" is part of the same sequence of events.

15. This motive is very Eastern, and occurs in the Arabian Nights and elsewhere. It is indeed quite possible that there were two "Gyges," a native Lydian "hero" (cf. the Gygaean Lake, i. 93. 5) and the historic Gyges. The legends of the former may have influenced the history of the latter.

16. Radet, however (p. 122), thinks Tundo the queen was a real person, and that her prominence is explained by some Lydian custom of making the throne descend in the female line (cf. i. 173 n. for such a custom).

17. Radet (p. 144), however, ingeniously tries to prove that 716 B.C. is the date of Gyges' birth.

18. The Etruscan tombs seem to show, e.g., that they, like the Lycians (cf. i. 173), traced descent through the mother.

19. For a full summary of the evidence cf. B. Modestov, *Introd. à l'Histoire Romaine*, 1907, pp. 341 seq.

## **Appendix II: Assyria and Babylon**

### **§ 1**

**The beginnings of civilization in Mesopotamia.** At what period civilization began in the valley of the Euphrates it is impossible to say; the date given by Nabonidus for Naramsin, the son of Sargon of Accad, i.e., 3750 B.C., has been thought to be confirmed by the excavations at Nippur, though a lower date is now usually adopted; Naramsin at any rate seems to be historical. <p. 377> What is of more importance is the mixed character of the population of Babylonia, where a primitive population, perhaps of Turanian type, became blended with Semitic invaders, who adopted from their predecessors the cuneiform script and certain elements at all events of their art and their religion. This primitive population is often called "Sumerian," and its language "Accadian." Even as early as the above-mentioned Sargon, the arms of Chaldea perhaps were carried to the Mediterranean; but the main interest for us of this primitive period is the highly developed civilization which is revealed in the code of Hammurabi (twenty-third century B.C.), recently discovered at Susa.<sup>1</sup> The "struggle of the nations" begins, however, with the Egyptian conquest of Syria under Thothmes III (1501–1447), which followed, as a reaction, the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt; the rivalry of the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates from this time forward is a constantly recurring feature in history, till the world-empire of Rome absorbed both.

### **§ 2**

**The Rise of Assyria.** But it was a new power, not Babylonia, which at first played the prominent part in this struggle; the purely Semitic race of Assyria, ruled at first by priest-kings dependent on Babylon (between 2000 and 1600 B.C.), became independent about 1400 B.C. Their original home was on both banks of the Upper Tigris, south of Mount Masius. The Assyrians were the warrior race of antiquity; their religion, their art, their cuneiform writing they borrowed from Chaldea; but their reckless cruelty, their religious fanaticism, and their love of empire were their own; they begin the series of world-powers whose rule we can trace in Western Asia. Their rule is fittingly symbolized by the great winged bulls of Sargon and Sennacherib.

*The earlier Assyrian Empire.* Of their early conquests it is impossible to speak here; it may perhaps be noted, however, that Tiglath-Pileser I (ca. 1130 B.C.) is the first Assyrian king whose armies reach the Euxine and the Mediterranean; if we reckon

back from the fall of Nineveh (ca. 606 B.C.), his date corresponds curiously with the "520 years" which H. (i. 95) gives for Assyrian rule in Upper Asia.<sup>2</sup>

### § 3

**The Second Assyrian Empire.** It is the great warrior kings from the ninth to the seventh century with whom we are most familiar, and of whom even H. had heard one fact (see below). They rule from Media to the Mediterranean and the Euxine. <p. 378> Tiglath-Pileser III<sup>3</sup> (745 to 727 B.C.) anticipates the work of Darius Hystaspes; he seems to be the first monarch to organize his empire, fixing a definite tribute; he also introduces the plan, afterwards continually adopted by his successors and by the Persians, of securing important districts by wholesale deportations of prisoners. "His accession marks a new turning-point in the history of Hither Asia." Sargon, his next successor but one (722–705 B.C.), is well known as the destroyer of Samaria; by its fall Assyria and Egypt were brought into direct contact, except for the feeble buffer-state of Judah. He fought against the kings of the twenty-fifth dynasty, whom H. (ii. 137) combines into one, Sabakos the Ethiopian. Sargon's successor, Sennacherib (705–681), was renewing the attack on Egypt when his army was destroyed by plague (cf. ii. 141 n.). Finally, Esarhaddon, his son, broke the power of Egypt (672–670 B.C.), drove the invading Ethiopians southward, and set up native Egyptian princes as vassals in the Delta, whose rule seems to be vaguely referred to in H.'s story of the Dodecarchy (ii. 147 n.). The next king, Assurbanipal (668–625 B.C.), is the last of the great Assyrians; he sacked Thebes in 664, and received the submission of Gyges of Lydia (cf. app. i, § 8); his library, collected at Nineveh, has survived his conquests, and is one of the greatest of the Oriental treasures of the British Museum.

### § 4

**Decline and Fall of Assyria.** But Assyria was exhausted with its long wars, and could not hold out longer against the rising nationalities of Media, Lydia, and Persia, nor against the attacks of the northern barbarians (see i. 15 n.). The fall of its capital, Nineveh (ca. 606 B.C.), so vividly described by the prophet Nahum, marks the beginning of a new period of history. On the ruins of the Assyrian empire rise new national powers, which, after a century of rivalry, are absorbed by the new world-power, the Persian empire. The greatness of Assyria was hardly known to H., and his ignorance of it is the most serious gap in what we may perhaps by compliment call his "Oriental history"; of Egypt and Babylon he knew something, but of Assyria, the name of only one king and two events. And the reason is obvious; Assyria disappeared more completely from history than any other great state had ever done; its rule was based on force and cruelty; it raised against itself a feeling of universal hatred, and, when its power was broken, its very name was blotted out, and left no trace behind it.<sup>4</sup> And it must be remembered <p. 379> that the long waste of Assyrian blood had only been artificially replaced by the introduction of conquered peoples; when the constraining power was withdrawn most of these would scatter.

## § 5

**History of Babylonia.** Babylonia meantime had been a subordinate state; it had been definitely conquered in 728 B.C., and only regained its independence under Nabopolassar (625–605 B.C.). With the fall of Nineveh, it succeeded for a short period to the rule of Mesopotamia. Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabopolassar, is without doubt the most familiar figure in the history of the East before Cyrus; during his long reign (605–562 B.C.) he twice captured Jerusalem (598 and 587), he humbled Egypt and perhaps invaded it (ii. 161 n.), and did his best to maintain the balance of power in Western Asia (i. 74); it did not need a great statesman to foresee that the real danger lay on the East from the Iranian powers. It was to guard against these that he made Babylon a gigantic fortress, to which the “Median wall”<sup>5</sup> was a first line of defence in the North. The city itself he adorned with the greatest splendour<sup>6</sup>; he was “the Augustus of Babylon” (G. Rawlinson). His successors were weak monarchs, of whom only the last, Nabonidus (H., 188. 1, calls him “Labynetus”), need be mentioned. He was distinguished as a scholar and archaeologist, and our knowledge owes much to his researches; but he was no warrior. He offended the priests of Babylon by his neglect of “the daily offering” and of the worship of Marduk, and by his transference to Babylon of old local cults. Hence when Cyrus, after overthrowing the Lydian allies of Babylon (i. 77. 2 n.), advanced against him, his subjects betrayed him, and his great city fell almost without a blow<sup>7</sup> (538 B.C.); the story of Babylon is henceforth part of the story of Persia.<sup>8</sup>

## § 6

**The Ἀσσύριοι λόγοι of H.** The question of the amount of knowledge (or rather ignorance) which H. possessed of the events briefly epitomized above, is complicated by the fact that he had intended to treat the history of Babylon and Assyria separately; he twice promises a fuller account (i. 106, 184). The most probable <p. 380> view is that this was to be a digression (like the Libyan λόγοι promised ii. 161 and given at the end of bk. iv) which was to be introduced in connection with the account of the second capture of Babylon (at end of bk. iii), but which H. never wrote; that it was to be an independent work seems unlikely, still more unlikely that it was written and perished,<sup>9</sup> while most unlikely of all is Lehmann’s theory that the “Assyrian History” only concerned Babylon, and was derived mainly, if not entirely, from the temple of Nebo at Borsippa (WKP 1896, p. 85). This last is a pure assumption, though H. was especially familiar with this temple (i. 181. 2 n.).

*Defects in the narrative of H.* Two of these have been already mentioned: his complete ignorance of the greatness of Assyria, and the prejudice of his informants against the royal house of Babylon. Two others may be added: (1) he is completely ignorant of the extreme antiquity of Mesopotamian civilization; (2) he obviously has no idea of the difference between Assyria and Babylonia (i. 184 and passim). But it may be noted to his credit that he has none of the wild stories as to Ninus, the founder of Nineveh (cf. i. 6 n.), or as to the warrior queen and sensualist

Semiramis, the Assyrian Catherine II (i. 184 n.), which Diodorus (ii. 4 seq.) borrows from Ctesias. The Semiramis of Ctesias is a mythical figure, made up partly from the story of the great goddess Ishtar (Astarte), partly from confused remembrances of the great Assyrian conquests; the Semiramis of H. is a historic queen. There can be little doubt that H. had visited Babylon (1. 178 n.); the vividness and (generally speaking) the accuracy of his account of its customs and its buildings (i. 178f. with notes) confirm his claim to be an eyewitness. But he saw it only as a temporary visitor, and he shows none of the intimate familiarity with this part of the world that he shows in Egypt.

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## Notes

1. Cf. King and Hall, pp. 267 seq.; Maspero, pp. 157–8. H. united Babylonia and made Babylon the capital. Hummel (Hastings, s.v. Babylonia) dates him 1772–1717 B.C.
2. It is interesting to compare Berosus' (frag. 11, *FHG* ii. 503) estimate of 526 years from Semiramis to Pul, i.e., to middle of the eighth century. H. as usual compares favourably with the wild estimate of Ctesias, who gives Assyrian rule 1360 years (Diod. ii. 21).
3. For him cf. Meyer, i<sup>1</sup>. 446–53; he removed the Syrians to Kir (2 Kings xvi. 9), and corresponds both to Pul (xv. 19) and to Tiglath-Pileser (xv. 29; xvi. 7) in the Book of Kings. Just before his accession, Nabonassar became (747 B.C.) dependent king of Babylon; with him commences the famous *Canon* of Ptolemy, a list of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian kings with dates (for it cf. Hastings, s.v. Assyria, p. 179, or *EB*<sup>11</sup> iii. 871).
4. The retreating Greeks under Xenophon marched past the ruins of Nineveh, without even knowing (*An.* iii. 4. 10–1) what they were.
5. For the "Median wall" cf. Xen. *An.* i. 7. 15.
6. For his works cf. i. 180 seq. nn. It is curious that H. knows nothing of his name. He speaks of him as "Labynetus" in i. 74. 3, 188. 1 (as the father of the last king of Babylon), and attributes some of his great buildings to his wife Nitocris (chap. 185 n.).
7. Of these discreditable events H. had heard nothing, though they had happened less than a century before his visit to Babylon. In their place had been substituted the wonderful story of the diversion of the water of the Euphrates, which is a pure invention, presumably of the Chaldaean priests. The real story was only discovered in 1879 (cf. app. iv, § 1). We must probably also attribute H.'s ignorance of the name of Nebuchadnezzar to the prejudices of the priests against the royal house.
8. Berosus (frag. 14, *FHG* ii. 508) says Nabonidus was made satrap of Carmania, but he really seems to have died at once (Prášek, i. 230; see, however, *RP*<sup>2</sup> v. 163).
9. Stein (p. xlvii) argues that it was to be an independent work, as being less connected with Persian history than any of the other digressions. Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii. 18, 601b 3) remarks that H. was ignorant that an eagle is ἄποτος: πεποίηκε γὰρ τὸν τῆς μαντείας πρόεδρον ἀετὸν ἐν τῇ διηγήσει περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν τὴν Νίνου πίνοντα (there is a v.l. Ἡσίοδος, but the word διήγησις seems very inappropriate to a poetical episode of the Hesiodic Ὀρνιθομαντεία). The "prophetic eagle" is a subject which H. would have loved, but it is hard to believe that a separate work of the "Father of History" has survived only in this scanty reference. See, however, Rawlinson (on i. 106) for further evidence.

## Appendix III: Median History

### § 1

The tremendous efforts of Assyria during the eighth and the first part of the seventh centuries had exhausted the old powers of Southwest Asia, which were mainly Semitic; the Chaldaeans had <p. 381> been subdued, the power of Elam had been broken, Syria had been overrun again and again, and largely depopulated; and the conquerors themselves were almost equally weakened. The rapid success of the Aryan nations of the East in founding new empires must be largely explained by this cause.

*Geographical position of Media.* The Medes<sup>1</sup> were the first of these to come to the front. They lived on the high plateau southwest of the Caspian, and in the mountain ranges (running northwest and southeast) which border the valley of the Upper Tigris. They were preceded in this country by an earlier race, the "Proto-Medes." The Aryan migration may well have started in the second millennium B.C., though the name "Aryan" does not appear on the Assyrian monuments till the reign of Sargon; the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) in the northeast are against opponents whose names are largely Aryan.<sup>2</sup>

### § 2

**Media and Assyria.** The country of Media was ruled by petty chiefs; Sargon in 715–714 receives tribute (*RP* vii. 34) from twenty-two rulers in Media, and in the East at any rate the people were largely nomadic.<sup>3</sup> Raids against Media were a regular part of the Assyrian policy from the time of Shalmaneser II (859–825 B.C.), and the people were transplanted wholesale to other parts of the empire, e.g., Dayaukhu in 715 by Sargon to Hamath, while the children of Israel were placed in the "cities of the Medes."

The great kings of eighth-century Assyria thought no more of the petty tribes on their northeast frontier than the British Rāj fears Pathans or Beloches; but it was from them the fatal blow was to come; from their geographical position, close to the capital, Nineveh, they could strike with the greater effect.

### § 3

**Beginnings of Median independence.** Greek tradition placed the beginning of the Median kingdom in the last quarter of the eighth century. The name of Deioces is historical, but only as one of Sargon's conquests<sup>4</sup>; it is not unlikely that he was the leader of a national party among the Medes, and that the success of his descendants was attributed to him. It is noticeable that no conquests are placed in his long reign of fifty-three years (chaps. 101, 102). The real assertion of Median independence may be placed in the time of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680–668 B.C.). Great as he was, he was conscious that his power was declining, and he endeavoured to support his arms by diplomacy; <p. 382> so he gave an Assyrian princess in marriage to a Scythian chief (i. 103. 3 n.), and seems to have tried to

enlist allies among the Medes.<sup>5</sup> If we may lay stress on a casual mention of “Mamitiarsu the Mede”<sup>6</sup> among the confederates of Kastarit against Esarhaddon (680–676 B.C.), we have a curious coincidence with one version in H. of the duration of the Median power, i.e., for “128 years” preceding 550 B.C. (i. 130). But the whole matter is uncertain.

The same must be said of H.’s second king, Phraortes, whom he makes to reign twenty-two years (647–625 B.C.), conquer Persia and other tribes, and finally fall in battle against Nineveh. The monuments do not help us, but H.’s story may be true,<sup>7</sup> even as to the conquest of Persia.

#### § 4

**The Empire of Cyaxares.** But there is no doubt that real Median greatness begins with Cyaxares. If he succeeded to a beaten army and a disunited kingdom, he died (after a reign of forty years) the most powerful ruler of Western Asia. In him the organizer was combined with the warrior; he broke up the old tribal contingents, and arranged his forces after the Assyrian model in a regular army (i. 103). His success was hindered for a time by the inroad of the Scyths (cf. i. 103 n.); but if these came at the request of the Assyrians, they did as much harm to friends as to foes; and when Cyaxares had got rid of them, he easily recovered his power, and Nineveh at last fell (ca. 606 B.C.). The invitation to the attack came from the king of Babylon, but, as the Hillah inscription of Nabonidus<sup>8</sup> seems to indicate, it was the Medes alone who actually took the city. Babylon, however, had its share of the spoil, as H.’s informants, if not he himself, knew<sup>9</sup> (i. 106. 3 n.). Cyaxares, however, took the lion’s share, and had no difficulty in extending his rule over countries which for nearly <p. 383> a century had been wasted, not only by the Assyrians, but also by Cimmerians and Scythians. He probably ruled from the Helmund in the East to the Halys in the West; the coalition to check the excessive power of Media, and its support to Lydian resistance, are at least indicated by H. (i. 74 n.).

#### § 5

**The Fall of Media.** Of the last Median monarch, Astyages, we know very little.<sup>10</sup> His memory was blackened in the tradition which H. had received, probably from the descendants of Harpagus (see below); but traitors do not speak well of those they have betrayed. To judge from the precautions of the Babylonian kings, he was thought formidable by his neighbours; the Greek tradition made him a weakling (Arist. *Pol.* 1312a 12), but this can hardly be true. It is to be noticed that Nabonidus rejoices at his defeat by Cyrus, and ascribes it to his impiety in allowing his Scytho-Medic troops to plunder the holy city of Harran.<sup>11</sup> With his fall the rule of Asia passed to the kindred<sup>12</sup> race of the Persians, but it remained in Aryan hands till the rise of the Parthians in the third century B.C.

A not very successful attempt is made by Prášek<sup>13</sup> to distinguish two independent traditions in H.’s Median history, that of the house of Harpagus (cf. app. iv, § 4) and a popular source (in i. 123–130).

## § 6

**Chronology of Median Rule.** The only scheme worth considering is that of H.; it is as follows:

Deioces	700–647	53 years (i. 102. 1)
Phraortes	647–625	22 years (i. 102. 2)
Cyaxares	625–585	40 years (i. 106. 3)
Astyages	585–550 <sup>14</sup>	35 years (i. 130. 1)

<p. 384> It is instructive to compare this with the list of Ctesias,<sup>15</sup> who gives nine kings, only one of whom can be identified, and makes Median rule last 317 years, from the capture of Nineveh, which he thus dates more than 250 years too early. The contrast between the genuine tradition of H. and the reckless invention of his critic could not be better shown.

But H.'s scheme is only partially historical; his names are genuine, but:

(1) If Deioces is the Dayaukhu of Sargon, he really disappears from history fifteen years before his reign is supposed to begin. The most that can be said for H. is that Assyrian power began to decline after Sargon (died 705 B.C.), and that so Median independence may be loosely said to begin with the seventh century.

(2) It is highly suspicious that each pair of his Median kings rule just seventy-five years (53 + 22, 40 + 35). The last pair is probably rightly given, the first invented to correspond.

(3) H., however (i. 130.1), gives us another calculation for Median rule in Asia, i.e., that it lasted 128 years, *παρὲξ ἧ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον*, i.e., probably for 128 – 28 years = 100.<sup>16</sup>

This tradition probably comes from an independent source; but an ingenious attempt is made to reconcile it with the regal chronology, by inverting the lengths of the first two reigns, and giving Deioces 22 and Phraortes 53. If this be done, then H. dates the Median rule from the accession of Phraortes, for 53 + 40 + 35 = 128, the figure of i. 130.<sup>17</sup>

Some, however, strike out the words *τριάκοντα καὶ δυῶν δέοντα* as a gloss, which is supposed to have been added (from iv. i. 2) to give the length of Scythian rule. It certainly is a curious coincidence that the Scythians are said to rule *twenty-eight* years and the Medes one hundred and *twenty-eight*. <p. 385>

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## Notes

1. Cf. H. vii. 62. 1 ἐκαλέοντο πάλαι Ἄριοι.
2. Prášek (i. 30, 82).
3. Cf. i. 96 nn. κατὰ κόμας; but though H. has preserved a Median tradition as to the origins of the race, the details of his story are Greek. *RP* vii. 33 seems to show the Medes were mainly in the pastoral stage.
4. ut sup. and *RP* vii. 37, capture of Bit Dayaukhu in 713. For his date see below.
5. Prášek, i. 126.
6. Cf. Knudtzon, *Assyr. Gebete*, 80–1, Omen 2; Prášek, i. 118.
7. i. 102 nn.; Maspero (iii. 455) accepts; Rawlinson (i. 396) thinks that Phraortes is the Fravartish of the Behistun Inscription, changed by patriotic imagination from a sixth-century pretender into a seventh-century king. His arguments are:
  - (1) Cyaxares founded the Median power; it is from him pretenders claim descent, (but this may well be due only to his great conquests).
  - (2) Aeschylus *Pers.* 765–66 gives only *two* Median kings, but admittedly Aeschylus knew much less of Oriental history than H. For other theories cf. Prášek, i. 134–40, who calls Phraortes “Astyages I” (an official title), following Berosus, frag. 12 (*FHG* ii. 505). Phraortes has also been identified (without any reason) with the Arphaxad of the Book of Judith.
8. Col. 2; Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 213.
9. It must be said, however, that they exaggerate the part of Media, in that they give no hint that the great Assyrian empire was perishing under attacks from every side. Babylon took the southern provinces. Even the Egyptian, Necho, seems to have had the same object—to recover provinces lost to Assyria (cf. ii. 158 n.).
10. Winckler’s theory (*Altor. Gesch.* 1889, p. 125), that he was a Scythian usurper, is now given up, even by himself; it was based on the fact that his troops are called “Umman Manda,” both in the Cyrus Cylinder (cf. app. iv, § 1) and in the Sippara inscription. That “Manda” originally meant the raiders from the North is certain, but it seems now to be generally admitted that it is used also of the Medes who came from the North. The interesting question, whether he is “Darius the Mede” of the Book of Daniel, is discussed by Rawlinson, i. 404–6; his birth in 600 B.C. (Dan. v. 31) would be consistent with his marriage in 585 (see i. 74 n.). His name (= “biting snake”) seems to be a title, not a proper name. The only ground for Rawlinson’s theory (*Five Great Monarchies*, iii. 218) that the reign of Astyages was a period of Magian ascendancy, is the evidence of H. i. 107. 1, 108. 2, and especially 120. 5.
11. Sippara Inscription (cf. app. iv, § 1).
12. This is shown by the fact that Greeks and Jews alike identified the two races, cf. the familiar “Laws of the Medes and Persians” (Daniel vi) and τὰ Μηδικά, = “the

Persian Wars”; cf., too, the place of the Medes under Persian rule (app. vi, § 3) and the similarity of dress (vii. 62).

13. *Klio*, iv. 199 seq.

14. This *terminus a quo* (550 B.C.) is given by the *Annals of Nabonidus* (col. 2; Ball, p. 219); the fall of Astyages is dated in “the sixth year” of Nabonidus, who came to the throne in 555. Cyrus himself became a king in 558, and it used to be supposed (wrongly) that this year was the last of Astyages. Others (cf. app. iv, § 1) put the fall of Astyages in 553–552; in that case he would come to the throne in 588, and H. would be wrong in putting the “eclipse battle” in the time of Cyaxares (i. 74 n.); that king would have begun the Lydian war, but his son, Astyages, would have finished it. This point must be left uncertain, but all the Median dates, e.g., in Rawlinson, are (nine *or* six years) too early, being reckoned back from 559 B.C.

15. *Assyr. frag.* 17, p. 439, in *Diod.* ii. 32–4. For the manner in which he based his inventions on H.’s facts cf. Rawlinson, i. 393–4; Maspero, iii. 447 n.

16. The words were taken by Heeren = 128 + 28 = 156. But this makes Median “rule” in Asia six years longer than the Median kingdom.

17. This inversion also makes H. consistent with himself; for (1) How could Deioces, a man already of full age, reign 53 years and be succeeded by his son? (2) It makes Median rule begin with Phraortes the conqueror, not in the middle of the reign of Deioces, who “ruled the Medes only” (i. 101).

#### **Appendix IV: Cyrus and The Rise of Persia**

A useful summary of present-day views as to Cyrus is found in the *Revue Biblique*, Jan. 1912 (by Père Dhorme; quoted as *RB*).

Cyrus is the most familiar figure in oriental history. Partly his own greatness, perhaps still more his connection with the Jews, have given him a position in the popular memory, and he is probably the only Eastern monarch whose name has been used freely as a Christian name. Yet till within the last generation a large part of what was believed about him was quite inaccurate. Two inscriptions especially have revolutionized our knowledge of him (the translations here quoted are Ball’s in *Light from the East*, 217 seq.).<sup>1</sup>

#### **§ 1**

(1) *The Annals of Nabonidus*. This was acquired by the Br. Mus. in 1879, and published by Pinches in *SBA* vii, part I (1880), p. 139f. The most important passages are as follows:

Col. II, lines 1–4. “His troops he collected, and against Cyrus, king of Anshan . . . he marched. As for Astyages (Istuvegu), his troops revolted against him, and he was seized and delivered up to Cyrus. Cyrus marched to Againtanu (Ecbatana),

the royal city. The silver, gold, goods, and substance of Ecbatana he spoiled, and to the land of Anshan he took the goods." . . . (This has no date, but was probably in the sixth year,<sup>2</sup> as the next line begins "the seventh year.")

Line 15, "ninth year . . . In the month Nisan, Cyrus, king of the land of Persia, mustered his troops, and below the city of Arbela, the Tigris he crossed."

Col. I (Reverse), lines 15–9. "Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day, Gobryas, pasha of the land of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus without a battle entered Babylon. Afterwards Nabonidus, being shut up in Babylon, was taken . . . Cyrus entered Babylon. The walls fell down before him.<sup>3</sup> Peace for the city he established."

Lines 24–5. "On the fourth day, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, having repaired to the temple, the officials of the house of the sceptre of Nebo conferred on him the sceptre of the world." The inscription was clearly drawn up by the priests after the defeat of Nabonidus. In the parts omitted here, reference is made repeatedly (e.g., lines 6, 11, etc.) to Nabonidus' neglect of religious observances. "The King at <p. 386> Nisan to Babylon came not. Nebo to Babylon came not. Bel went not forth. The New Year's feast was omitted."

(2) *The Cyrus Cylinder*. In Br. Mus.; first published by Sir H. Rawlinson in 1880. *JRAS* xii:

Lines 20–3. "I am Cyrus, the king of the world (Schrader, "the hosts"), the great king, the king of Tintir (i.e., Babylon), the king of the land of Shinar and Accad, the king of the four quarters of the world, the son of Cambyses the great king, king of the city of Anshan, the grandson of Cyrus the great king, king of the city of Anshan, the great grandson of Teispes the great king, king of the city of Anshan, the enduring seed of royalty, whose reign Bel and Nebo loved."

Lines 33–4. "The gods of the land of Shinar and Accad, whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the Lord of the gods, had brought into Shuanna (Babylon), by the command of Merodach, the great lord, in peace in their own shrines I made inhabit again."

In the earlier part of the inscription Cyrus describes how Nabonidus had "made the continual (Schrader, "temple") offering to cease" (line 17), and how Merodach had raised up him (Cyrus) as a deliverer (line 12), and given him victory over the Umman Manda (line 13), and finally brought him to Babylon "without a battle" (line 17).

Two points are raised by these inscriptions as to Cyrus, which must be first discussed: (1) his position and history previous to the capture of Babylon; (2) the genealogy of the Achaemenidae.

## § 2

**Cyrus before the capture of Babylon.** It will be noted that Cyrus is "king of Anshan" when he defeats Astyages, in the sixth year of Nabonidus, and does not become king of Persia till the "ninth year" of Nabonidus; even as late as 538 B.C.,

he still can call himself "king of Anshan" (Cyrus Cylinder line 12). The view<sup>4</sup> has, therefore, been put forward that Cyrus was not ruler in Persia, but in Elam, i.e., in the old kingdom which, with Susa as its capital, so long resisted the Assyrian power. In support of this view are adduced the position of Susa as the later capital, and the use of "Susian" as the third official language (e.g., in the B.I.); cf., too, the words of Isaiah (xxi. 2), "Go up, O Elam; besiege, O Media."

Others (e.g., Winckler) go further, and deny that Cyrus was an Achaemenid at all.<sup>5</sup>

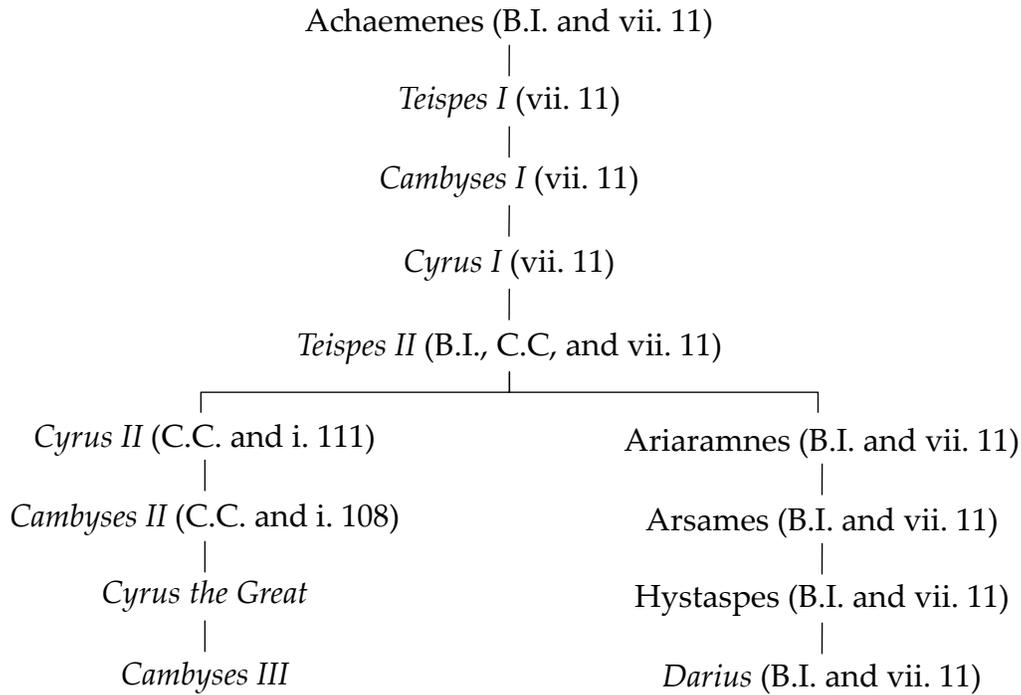
To these views there are two fatal objections: (1) it is impossible to believe that the Jews (cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, Ezra i. 1 and passim) and the Greeks were alike mistaken in the nationality of the conqueror of Babylon; and (2) whatever interpretation be given to "Anshan," the fact remains that the empire founded by Cyrus was Persian and <p. 387> not Elamite. Moreover, the monuments seem to show that the real Elamites were negroid in type,<sup>6</sup> neither Aryan like the Persians nor Semitic like the Assyrians.

Some, then, deny altogether the identification of Anshan and Elam, and make Anshan a part of Persia, perhaps near Pasargadae. It seems, however, safer to connect Anshan and Elam,<sup>7</sup> and to suppose that, after the destruction of the old kingdom of Elam by Assurbanipal, the Achaemenidae extended their rule westward into Elam (i.e., Anshan), and that for a time the title borne by the more important branch of the house was "King of Anshan."

### § 3

**The genealogy of the Achaemenidae.** Here, beside the evidence of the Cyrus Cylinder (ut sup.), we have to interpret the words of Darius at Behistun (i. 4, cf. app. iv, § 1): he says "My father is Hystaspes, and the father of Hystaspes was Arsames, and Arsames' father was Ariyaramnes, and Ariyaramnes' father was Teispes, and Teispes' father was Achaemenes. On that account are we called Achaemenians. From ancient times we have been kings. Eight of my race have before me held the kingdom. I am the ninth. In two lines we have been kings." It will be noted that Darius does not call any of his immediate ancestors kings. In addition there is the genealogy of Xerxes in H. vii. 11. 2. The table of descent is variously constructed.

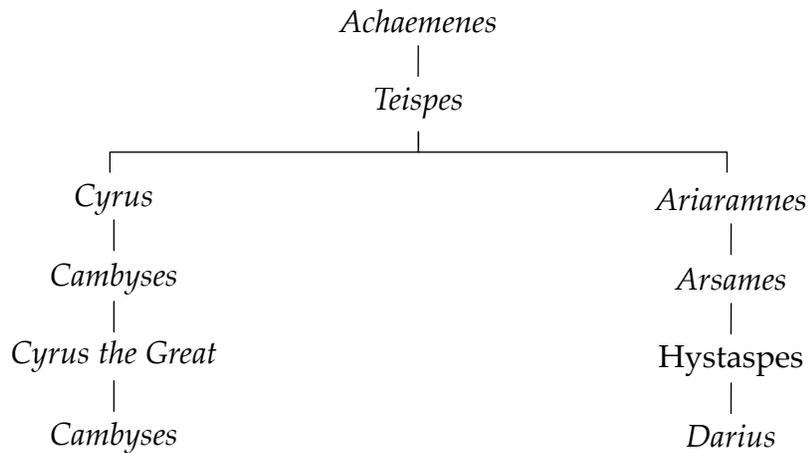
(1) Perhaps the most probable view is that of Nöldeke<sup>8</sup> and Prášek<sup>9</sup> (names of kings are in italics):



<p. 388> The objection to this view is that Darius definitely says that Teispes II was the son of Achaemenes. The explanation probably is that he traces his descent back to the last of the undivided line, and then goes straight to the heroic ancestor. So Artaxerxes II, in his inscriptions at Susa and Hamadan, mentions all his royal ancestors back to Darius, and then ends, "son of Hystaspes the Achaemenid"; the parallel, however, is only partial.

(2) Cauer<sup>10</sup> (however) and Lehmann think this objection fatal, and the latter makes (a) Achaemenes to be father of Teispes II (i.e., the three intermediate kings of H. vii. 11 disappear); (b) the "eight kings" to be Achaemenes, Teispes (of the undivided line), the four kings of the elder line, and Ariaramnes and Arsames of the younger. (Cauer gives up Ariaramnes and Arsames, and suggests in their place two unnamed ancestors of Teispes II.) (c) Lehmann thinks the three first names of H. vii. 11, Teispes I, Cambyses I, and Cyrus I, are inventions made to claim for the direct ancestry of Xerxes the great names of the Anshan branch.

The family tree then will be:



It is proposed (e.g., by Macan, ad vii. 11, and others) to alter the text in vii. 11 to suit this sense, inserting *καὶ* after the first *Τεῖσπεος* and *τοῦ Κύρου* after *Καμβύσεω*, so that the passage would read *μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τεῖσπεος <καὶ> τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω <τοῦ Κύρου> τοῦ Τεῖσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος*. Xerxes then gives his genealogy, first on the father's, then on the mother's (Atossa) side.

The objections to this reconstruction are that (a) "Achaemenes" looks more like an heroic ancestor than a real king<sup>11</sup>; and (b) it is very curious that Darius (in the B.I.) says nothing of Arsames and Ariaramnes being "kings."<sup>12</sup> <p. 389>

The only point that is certain is that, though H. has preserved rightly, for the most part at any rate, the names and the order of the Achaemenidae, he has no conception of the birth and the royal claims either of Cyrus or of Darius.

#### § 4

**Greek accounts of Cyrus:** (1) *That of H.* The general account of H. is obviously made up of various elements.

(a) There is a strong Median strain in it; Cyrus is represented as being the son of a Median princess—an obvious concession to the vanity of a conquered race.<sup>13</sup>

(b) It is very probable that the story was largely derived from some member or members of the house of Harpagus<sup>14</sup> (cf. app. iii, § 5, and for his prominence in it chaps. 80. 2, 108, 124, 129). They claimed descent from Deioces, and as they ruled for more than a century in Lycia (cf. i. 171 n.), H. may well have come across them there.

(c) But there are also undoubtedly Greek elements in the story: (a) the meal served to Harpagus (chap. 119) recalls the stories of Tantalus and of Atreus; (b) the story of the exposure of Cyrus, to prevent the fulfillment of an oracle, embodies the same idea as that of Oedipus.

(d) The miraculous preservation of Cyrus has its parallels in those of other national heroes, e.g., Sargon of Accad (app. ii, § 1), the Indian Chandragupta (fed by the sacred bull), and Romulus.<sup>15</sup>

Possibly these four elements were already combined in the story when H. heard it.<sup>16</sup>

(2) *Other Greek accounts.* On the other hand, an entirely different version of the rise of Cyrus was current among the Greeks. It is probably that of Ctesias.<sup>17</sup> It differs from H. in the following main points:

- (a) Cyrus is the son of poor Mardians, Atradates and Aegiste.
- (b) He enters the service of Astyages as a menial, and rises to the highest rank as cup-bearer.
- (c) Cyrus wins by hard fighting, and he is twice defeated before a final victory at Pasargadae. <p. 390>

At the same time the story has certain points in common with H., e.g., the prophetic dream of i. 107, though this is given to the mother of Cyrus, and the name of his adviser, Oebares, who in iii. 85 is the counsellor of Darius.

It will be obvious that, both in names and in the details as to events<sup>18</sup>, this story is even further removed from that of the monuments than that in H. We may sum up in the words of the great orientalist, Spiegel (ut sup. ii. 242), "The veracity of H. is so strikingly maintained in the field of Iranian history that it needs no justification if we, in the older period of the history, choose him especially for our guide."<sup>19</sup>

## § 5

**The importance of Cyrus in history.** Whatever may be the exact truth as to the parentage and the rise of Cyrus, two points are obvious:

- (1) That the Medes, although they lost the rule of Asia, were akin to, and to some extent shared the rule of, the new Persian conquerors.
- (2) That his victories mark the final triumph of the new Aryan races over the peoples, whether Semitic or other, who had previously ruled in Western Asia.

Hence it is not surprising that a coalition of the existing powers, Lydia, Babylonia, Egypt (cf. i. 77. 2 nn.), was made against him. This coalition he struck down by his vigorous aggression; if we may trust Diodorus (ix. 32), it was betrayed to Cyrus by Eurybatus, who, sent by Croesus to bribe the Greeks to unite against Cyrus, deserted and told the Persian king all Croesus' plans.<sup>20</sup> It is not necessary to say anything here as to the defeat of Lydia, for on this H. (i. 79 seq.) is our main authority, and his account is fairly adequate; but on the even more important conquest of Babylon the inscriptions have thrown a new and altogether unexpected light.

## § 6

**Cyrus and Babylon.** Two points stand out here especially:

- (1) The story of the diversion of the Euphrates (i. 191) is probably the most successful fraud in history. It may contain some elements of truth (cf. nn. on i. 189. 3), but it conceals the essential fact that Babylon fell by the treachery of the priests,

whose privileges Nabonidus had curtailed (see above § 1), and that Cyrus took the impregnable fortress without a struggle.<sup>21</sup> <p. 391>

(2) The religious opportunism which marks the account of the Cyrus Cylinder (ut sup.), where he describes himself as the “servant of Merodach,” and his son Cambyses as receiving the “sceptre of the world” in the Temple of Nebo, is probably characteristic of the conqueror’s whole policy. The early Achaemenidae were not fanatical Mazdeans, and Cyrus was as ready to honour Bel in Babylon as Jehovah in Jerusalem<sup>22</sup> (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23).

## § 7

**Cyrus’ subsequent career and death.** The subsequent victories of Cyrus are matters of some uncertainty. It is very doubtful if he reduced Phoenicia.<sup>23</sup> But he must have carried his arms victoriously far to the east and the northeast. Subsequent Persian tradition had no doubt (cf. iii. 75; vii. 2. 3) that it was Cyrus who had founded the Persian Empire. For these campaigns we have no evidence, nor do they concern the narrative of H. This, however, professes to give a full account of his death, as to which there were almost as many accounts as about his birth. The following are the most important points:

(1) There is general agreement that he died in battle; the only contrary testimony is that of the historically worthless romance of Xenophon (*Cyr.* viii. 7).

(2) As to the enemy he was fighting against, Berosus (frag. 12, F. H.G. ii. 505) makes them the Dahae, southeast of the Caspian; this is the most probable account. Ctesias (6, 7, p. 65) makes them the Derbicae, neighbours of the Hyrcanians, while H., in defiance of all probability, takes Cyrus over the Araxes (i.e., the Oxus) to fight against the Massagetae. The only point of importance is that Cyrus meets his death on the northeast frontier of his empire, in the fighting which has gone on from time immemorial between the settled inhabitants of the Iranian plateau and the wild nomad tribes of Central Asia (cf. p. 429 n. 1).

(3) If, as is possible, Cyrus was defeated as well as killed, the defeat must have been unimportant, and not complete as in the story of H. His body was brought back and buried with great splendour at Pasargadae.<sup>24</sup>

The whole narrative of H. here is unfavourable<sup>25</sup> to Cyrus; his insatiable ambition (cf. 204. 2) and its consequent punishment are insisted on. No doubt this is the reason for H.’s geographical <p. 392> blunder. The contrast is better marked when the great world-ruler, Cyrus, falls fighting against the remote barbarian Massagetae.

The account of Cyrus is a triumph of story-telling, but one of the less successful parts of the history of H.; the prejudice of his informants has distorted some facts and concealed others, nor had he criteria to test their evidence. But there is a large substratum of fact underlying all the fiction, and even in H., the figure of Cyrus stands out as one of the great men in world-history.

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## Notes

1. Translations also in *RP*<sup>2</sup> v, pp. 158–68, where the Sippara Inscription of Nabonidus is also translated, which mentions the victory of Cyrus, king of Anshan, over the Manda. I have compared Ball's version with Schrader's in *Keilinschr.-Bibl.* iii. 2, pp. 128–35.
2. Others (*RB* Jan. 1912, p. 29) put the fall of Astyages in the third year of Nabonidus, i.e., in 553–552 (cf. app. iii, § 6).
3. Schrader (doubtfully), "the ways were dark before him."
4. Cf. Sayce, s.v. Cyrus in *Hastings Dict. Bib.*; also in *RP* (ut sup.)
5. Winckler, *Unters.*, 127. It may further be noted that while the names of the immediate ancestors of Darius (§ 3) seem to be Persian, that of Cyrus is probably Elamite (*RB* Jan. 1912).
6. Perrot et Chipiez, v. 412–3.
7. So Meyer, i. 363 n. Anshan is originally the district round Susa; then in later times an archaic name revived by the Achaemenidae and Nabonidus.
8. *EB*<sup>9</sup> xviii. 565.
9. *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, i. 179–83.
10. In *PW*, s.v. Achaemenidae; Lehmann, in *Klio*, viii. 493.
11. So the later Sassanians (A.D. 225) did not bear the name of the first king, Artaxerxes, the son of Sassan, but that of his father.
12. Sir H. Rawlinson (on i. 125) presses this point strongly; but his own reconstruction of the pedigree there is forced in the extreme.
13. Cf. iii. 1–2, the Egyptian story as to birth of Cambyses, and the later Persian story in the *Shahnameh*, that Alexander had a Persian father. Dhorme, however (*RB* ut sup. p. 27), believes in the Median marriage; he thinks that the family of the Achaemenidae were the feudal rulers to whom (cf. i. 134 n.) the Medes left the rule of Elam. Hence the head of the family would be a fit match for a royal princess. This is possible.
14. Cf. *Klio*, iv. 199 seq.
15. Cf. other parallels in Persian literature quoted in Spiegel, *Erâinische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 270.
16. H. (i. 95. 1) says there were four accounts of the rise of Cyrus, and that he chose that of those "Persians οἱ μὴ βονλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον." On the other hand, the story of Cyrus' mixed pedigree may be Delphic (cf. chap. 91).
17. For it cf. the long fragment of Nicolaus Damascenus (No. 66), *FHG* iii. 397 seq.
18. Cf. also i. 127 n.

19. The Cyrus legend is examined at great length and with much learning by A. Bauer (*Sitzungsb. der Acad. der Wissensch.* (Wien), vol. 100, 1882); but his results are not at all convincing.

20. This story may be true, especially as Diodorus says "Eurybatus" became a proverb for treachery; but it looks suspiciously like a combination of the story of Phanes (iii. 4) with that of Timocrates the Rhodian and the origin of the Corinthian War (in 395 B.C.).

21. Berosus' narrative (frag. 14, *FHG* iii. 508) implied that Babylon fell to Cyrus easily, and said nothing of H.'s river diversion.

22. The Cyrus Cylinder, like the Book of Chronicles, may treat acts of polite acquiescence as if they were prompted by genuine devotion; but such an official record could not have been published unless it represented the monarch's position with approximate accuracy. Just as he had restored the Babylonian gods to their cities, so he restored the temple at Jerusalem.

23. Cf. iii. 19. 3 n.

24. For his tomb cf. i. 125 n., and contrast 214. 4, 5.

25. Duncker (vi. 120) thinks H. here is following a Median source (see above). The prominence of Croesus in the story suggests rather a Delphic tradition.

## Appendix V:

### The Reign of Cambyses and the Early Years of Darius Hystaspes

[In this appendix book iii is quoted by chapter only. An attempt is made in it to summarize the real course of events and to indicate the points of dispute; as to most of these the evidence is given in the commentary; but it is added here when the points only slightly concern the statements of H.; one important passage is quoted at length.]

#### § 1

**Authorities.** By far the most important is the trilingual inscription of Darius, set up by him on the rock of Behistun after he had crushed the great revolts in the Persian Empire. It measures, with the sculptures, 150 feet by 100, and records the events which begin with the conspiracy of Gaumâta. The three languages are Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite (originally called Scythian). The story of its decipherment is the most fascinating in the history of Oriental scholarship.<sup>1</sup> It is quoted here from the version of King and Thompson<sup>2</sup>; the most important sections of it are as follows:

Sec. X. "Thus saith Darius the king" . . . "He who was named Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, one of our race, was king before me. That Cambyses had a brother, Smerdis by name, of the same mother and the same father as Cambyses. Afterwards Cambyses slew this Smerdis. When Cambyses slew Smerdis, it was not known

unto the people that Smerdis was slain. Thereupon Cambyses went into Egypt. When Cambyses had departed into Egypt, the people became hostile, and the lie multiplied in the land, even in Persia, as in Media and in the other provinces."

Sec. XI. "Thus saith Darius the king. Afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian, Gaumâta by name, who raised a rebellion in Paishiyâuvâda, in a mountain named Arakadrish. On the fourteenth day of the month Viyakhna did he rebel. He lied unto the people, <p. 393> saying: 'I am Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, the brother of Cambyses.' Then were all the people in revolt, and from Cambyses they went over unto him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces. He seized on the kingdom; on the ninth day of the month Garmapada he seized on the kingdom. Afterwards Cambyses died by his own hand."

Sec. XII. "Thus saith Darius the king: The kingdom of which Gaumâta, the Magian, dispossessed Cambyses, had belonged to our race from olden time. After that Gaumâta, the Magian, had dispossessed Cambyses of Persia and of Media and of the other provinces, he did according to his will, he was (as) king."

Sec. XIII. "Thus saith Darius the king: There was no man, either Persian or Median or of our own race, who took the kingdom from Gaumâta the Magian. The people feared him exceedingly, (for) he slew many who had known the former Smerdis. For this reason did he slay them, 'that they may not know that I am not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus.' There was none who dared say aught against Gaumâta, the Magian, till I came. Then I prayed to Auramazda; Auramazda brought me help. On the tenth day of the month Bâgayâdish I with a few men slew that Gaumâta, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. At the stronghold named Sikayauvatish, in the district named Nisâya in Media, I slew him; I dispossessed him of the kingdom. By the grace of Auramazda, I became king; Auramazda granted me the kingdom."

Other accounts of these events are given in Ctesias (8–15, pp. 65–8) and in Justin (i. 9–10), where traces of an old narrative, independent of H., and more correct in one name ("Cometes"), are preserved.

## § 2

The reign of Cambyses is marked by one event of the first importance—the conquest of Egypt; the old world was finally brought under one sceptre. But the reign is most interesting as marking the extinction of the elder branch of the Achaemenidae and the transference of power to the younger branch.<sup>3</sup>

*Analysis of the traditions as to Cambyses.* Meyer (Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.*, 1882, s.v. Kambyzes) analyses them thus:

(1) *Egyptian.* From this source mainly come iii. 2, 4, 10–32, 37. There are, however, many Greek elements in it, e.g., the story of Phanes. This version tries to represent Cambyses as a legitimate Egyptian prince (but H. rejects this, chap. 2), and is full of hatred against him. <p. 394>

(2) *Persian*. This comes mainly in Ctesias. To it belong in H. chaps. 61–6, and perhaps chap. 34. In this tradition there is nothing as to the madness of Cambyses, but his destruction is due to his father's curse, drawn on him by fratricide.

This analysis of sources may be correct, but H. is at any rate perfectly consistent; he makes the jealous tyrant, half mad from disease and from jealousy, to be sobered by the stroke of calamity and by the finger of heaven showing him his folly (cf. 64–5). But it must be admitted that H. leaves us in doubt when and why Cambyses became mad; he is similarly vague as to Cleomenes (cf. app. xvii). Probably in both cases he did not know, and so could not say.

Cambyses is usually said to have become king in 529 B.C. (cf. 66 n. as to the duration of his reign). It is most unlikely that his brother was associated with him in rule; Ctesias (8, p. 65) says that he was satrap of Bactria and the adjacent provinces; but his disappearance, hard enough to explain in any case, becomes impossible if he were a reigning prince.

The first four years of the reign of Cambyses were occupied in extending his dominions to the sea<sup>4</sup>; he was ready in 525<sup>5</sup> for the long-planned attack of Persia on Egypt. The success of this was too sudden and complete to allow of variation in traditions. There is, however, much dispute as to his acts as conqueror in Egypt, and as to the murder of his brother and his own death.

### § 3

**Cambyses in Egypt.** Cambyses at first undoubtedly behaved in Egypt with moderation,<sup>6</sup> as was the usual custom of the Persians; but according to the tradition recorded by H., and confirmed by later Greek writers, e.g., Diodorus, Plutarch, and others, he afterwards outraged the religion of the Egyptians.<sup>7</sup> Some modern writers deny this, but it is dangerous to reject all tradition on the testimony of isolated monuments, especially when other monuments are quoted in support of tradition. The Egyptians certainly were prejudiced against him, but this very fact may be the result of his excesses. Darius at any rate was not unpopular in Egypt.

### § 4

**The Ethiopian Expedition.** Closely connected with the question of Cambyses' behaviour in Egypt is the next question—how far was his expedition against Ethiopia successful? The answers to this are absolutely contradictory. H. says that he met <p. 395> with complete disaster (chap. 25); others put this story down to Egyptian prejudice, and ascribe to him a success more or less complete. The evidence is most unsatisfactory; it may be summarized as follows:

(1) *Later passages in H.* In iii. 97 the "Ethiopians who border on Egypt" are said to have been "subdued by Cambyses"; it is to be noticed, however, that they pay no tribute, but only bring gifts every other year. In vii. 69 "the Ethiopians above Egypt" serve in the Persian army.

(2) *Later writers.* Strabo (790) and Diodorus (i. 33) say that he conquered Ethiopia and founded the city of Meroe, which he named after his sister.

(3) *Inscriptions.* The famous stele of Dongola, brought to Berlin in 1871, appears to make the Ethiopian king Nastasesen claim a victory over Cambyses (Kambasuten). His bowmen (cf. iii. 21. 1; vii. 69. 1) defeat the enemy with great slaughter (cf. Budge, Sudan, ii. 84–7, 94–5). Unfortunately, however, the inscription is variously translated; otherwise it would be decisive.

(4) *Indirect evidence.* (a) Ptolemy (4. 7; cf. Plin. *H.N.* vi. 181, “Cambysis forum”) speaks of the ταμιεῖα Καμβύσου above the Third Cataract; the name has been doubtfully identified on the monuments. But it is by no means certain that it had anything to do with Cambyses. (b) Napata at this period does seem to give place to Meroe as the Ethiopian capital. (c) The nature of the tribute in iii. 97 makes Duncker (vi. 161 seq.) believe that Persian conquest extended to the “zone of ebony and the elephant.”

(5) *Probability.* It may fairly be urged that a failure such as H. describes is more consistent with the gloom in which the reign of Cambyses admittedly ended, than the theory of great Ethiopian victories.

*Summing up.* On the whole, the balance of probability seems to be in favour of H.'s story, though he is probably wrong in denying any success to Cambyses, who seems to have extended Persian authority as far south as Wâdî Halfa, i.e., over that part of Ethiopia which the Egyptians had regarded as theirs.

A further dispute arises as to the route of Cambyses:

(1) It is most natural to suppose that he left the Nile at Korosko and struck across the desert, following the line on which the railway now runs (cf. 25. 6, “When they came to the sand”). Insufficient preparation and the desert combined to produce disaster, which H. puts down to lack of food, not of water (25.4).

(2) Duncker accepts the evidence of Strabo (820) that the army was overwhelmed by a sandstorm between Pselchis and Premnis, i.e., between Korti and Wâdî Halfa. This disaster he puts on the return journey from Napata. It is suggested that the disaster of 26. 3 (see n.) really happened to the main expedition, not to that against the Ammonians. <p. 396>

(3) Flinders Petrie (iii. 363), accepting the identification of “Cambysis forum,” makes the march to be along the Nile as far as the Third Cataract.

One more point must be briefly mentioned. H. does not mention the Nile in the campaign; this is consistent with his view that it flowed *from* the west above Elephantine (ii. 31. 5); the Ethiopians are on the sea (17. 1) to the south. Hence to attack them the river is left.

## § 5

**The murder of Smerdis.** As to his brother, it is clear that he was murdered, and that before the Egyptian expedition.<sup>8</sup> How the heir-apparent disappeared without

its being generally known is hard to explain; but it is clear there were widespread suspicions in the court.<sup>9</sup> Cambyses, having tied his own hands by his crime, was an easy object of attack, and it is not improbable that H. and Ctesias are right in making his own tools turn against him. That he committed suicide in despair is likely; at all events this seems to be definitely stated in the Behistun Inscription.<sup>10</sup>

## § 6

**The Conspiracy of the Pseudo-Smerdis.** Two theories must be noticed as to this conspiracy.

(1) It has been supposed to be a Median conspiracy; for this view some support can be found in H.,<sup>11</sup> but it is inconsistent with his main narrative. Grote (iv. 301) and others adopted this view, but it is now completely given up. The arguments against it may be found in Rawlinson (ii. 454 seq.); it is sufficient to say here that the Behistun Inscription represents the Magian as coming from a Persian district (i. 11), and implies that the Medes should have resisted him as much as Persians (i. 13). The theory, however, is true to this extent that the pretender, being a Magian, belonged to a Median tribe.

(2) Rawlinson supposes that it was a religious conspiracy, an endeavour of the Magians to substitute the authority of the priestly caste for the old royalty, or at any rate to enforce the Magian system more strictly. This was certainly the view of H.'s informants and is partially true; the conspirators are always "the Magians," and their overthrow is a blow to the Magi.<sup>12</sup>

The Behistun Inscription, too, seems to speak of it as a religious movement; "the lie became abounding in the land" (i. 10); "the temples which Gomates the Magian destroyed, I [i.e., Darius] rebuilt" (i. 14). The Magians said that the gods ought not to be imprisoned within four walls (Cic. *Leg.* ii. 10 ad fin.); probably the priestly usurper was trying to force his strict creed on the Persians.

But this explanation of the conspiracy as religious is only part of the truth; the movement was also political. Everything points to <p. 397> the fact that the usurper was unpopular only with the nobles, and that the mass of the people at least acquiesced in his rule. This agrees with what has been said as to the religious character of the conspiracy; the Persian royal family and the nobles seem to have been slowest to accept the Magian creed, just as the Sadducees, the upper class among the Jews, held different religious tenets from the mass of their countrymen. Hence the temples destroyed would be those of the great Persian families, marks at once of their aversion to the strict Magian creed and of their feudal independence.<sup>13</sup>

*The overthrow of the Conspiracy.* The narrative of H. as to the overthrow of the conspiracy is very vigorous, and is confirmed in important points by the narrative of Darius; but few parts of his work illustrate better his weaknesses as well as his merits as a historian.

The points in which he is especially confirmed are: (1) That the conspiracy was at first unopposed;<sup>14</sup> (2) as to the names of the conspirators.<sup>15</sup> This is especially important; he agrees in all but one with the Behistun Inscription, while his detractor and critic Ctesias is hopelessly wrong; (3) that Darius himself killed the Magian.<sup>16</sup>

## § 7

**His inaccuracies.** But at the same time it must be pointed out that his conception of the whole story is fundamentally wrong. The conspiracy is to him the act of a number of fortuitous conspirators; it was really a national movement led by the rightful heir of the Achaemenidae.<sup>17</sup> This leads H. to accept the absurd story that Darius was chosen king by the trick of a groom (84. 1 n.). This is the more surprising as he elsewhere (vii. 11) gives rightly the genealogy of the Achaemenidae, though, it must be added, without understanding it. The explanation clearly lies in the sources from which H. derived his information; the main tradition comes from a member of the house of Otanes; hence the part of Otanes is exaggerated (cf. especially chaps. 68, 84). The story of Phaedyia, too, and of the earless Magian (chap. 69) seems to be a picturesque version derived from the story of the "man in the street."

A further result is that an impossible Hellenic colouring<sup>18</sup> is given to the deliberations of the conspirators; whatever amount of truth underlies the narrative in H., it is presented in a thoroughly non-Oriental way.<sup>19</sup> As compared with this serious misconception, which underlies H.'s whole story, his minor inaccuracies are unimportant; they are briefly: (1) He speaks of two Magi, the Behistun Inscription of only one; but he may be right in this <p. 398> point.<sup>20</sup> (2) He gives the names of the conspirators as Smerdis and Patizeithes; they were really Gaumâta and (probably) Oropastes. (3) He lays the scene of the Magians' death at Susa; it really was at a remote stronghold.<sup>21</sup>

To sum up, the whole narrative illustrates throughout the accuracy of H. as a faithful reporter of what he was told and also his lack of historical insight.

## § 8

**The Rebellion in the Persian Empire.** It is not surprising that so serious a conspiracy shook the newly-established empire of the Persians to its foundations. Revolts broke out in every region of the empire, and the greater part of the Behistun Inscription is occupied with narrating their suppression. Their story belongs neither to Greek history nor to H., for he curiously seems to be almost entirely ignorant of them: his only references to them are the mention of the revolts of the Medes (i. 130 n.) and of Babylon (iii. 150 seq.); his account of the latter does not fully agree with that of *either* of the Babylonian revolts as given by Darius (B.I., 1. 16f., 3–13f.).

It is, however, useless to speculate why H. omits so many points that might well seem more essential to his narrative than much that he includes; but it is important

to emphasize the fact that the accession of Darius is a turning-point in Oriental history. The long "struggle of the nations" had ended in an organized unity, which reaches from the Nile to the Jaxartes, from the Hellespont to the Indus. And the close of the reign of Darius was to bring forward at Marathon the new power of the West, which in the end was to break up the work of Darius.<sup>22</sup>

## § 9

But Darius was more than an organizer of what his predecessors had conquered. Like Augustus in the Roman Empire, he extended the Persian frontiers till they reached natural boundaries. H. knows a little of the expedition against the Indians (iv. 44; cf. iii. 94. 2 n.), which secured the lands on this side the Indus. He tells us, however, nothing of the great campaigns to the northwest and northeast of Persia, which Darius mentions in his inscriptions<sup>23</sup>; but no doubt these had in part the same object as the expedition against the Scyths, which is the subject of his fourth book. In all these his purpose was the same, to extend the range of Persian commerce (cf. iv. 44 n.; ii. 158 n.), and to secure his empire from the raids of the uncivilized neighbours who had caused the death of Cyrus, and who were always a danger to South and West Asia.<sup>24</sup> <p. 399>

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## Notes

1. Cf. Mahaffy, *Proleg. to Anc. Hist.* pp. 167 seq.
2. Published by the Br. Mus., 1907. The version of Sir Henry Rawlinson, to whom mainly belongs the glory of solving its riddles, will be found in Rawlinson, ii. 490 seq., and in *RP*<sup>1</sup> i.
3. For modern "critical" views cf. Maspero, iii. 656 (though he rejects them himself). Winckler, e.g., conjectures that the real Smerdis (Bardija, cf. 30. i. n.) was not murdered by Cambyses, but conspired against him, and in his turn was murdered by Darius, who was not an Achaemenid at all. The Behistun Inscription, then, and the narrative of H. are merely two versions of the same fiction, put out by Darius to justify his usurpation. This "critical" view has not a particle of evidence in its favour, and is not worth discussion.
4. 34. 4; 88. 1.
5. The date is given by Diodorus (1. 68) and Eusebius, and is usually accepted. Brugsch (ii. 313–5) puts the invasion in 527 B.C., because an Egyptian eunuch under Xerxes describes himself on his tomb as having lived "six full years" (i.e., 527–521) under Cambyses. This, however, simply shows that his reign was reckoned as beginning, even in Egypt, in 529.
6. chap. 16 n.
7. 29, 38 nn. Winckler (*A.F.* ii. 208) thinks the Babylonian monuments show that Cambyses did not follow the opportunist religious policy of his father; "he would not be a bepowdered and bewigged Babylonian."
8. H. is wrong here; cf. 30 n.
9. 33. 2 n.
10. 64. 3 n.
11. 65. 6, 73. 1, 126; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 695b.
12. 79. 3 n.
13. Cf. Maspero iii. 672, and shortly *EB*<sup>9</sup> xviii. 568.
14. chap. 61 n.
15. chap. 70 n.
16. 78. 3 n.
17. Cf. also chap. 70 n. for "the Seven."
18. 80. 1 n.
19. There are also fragments of a tradition which made Darius prominent (chap. 72), while the story of Prexaspes (chap. 74 n.) is obviously quite independent of his main authorities.
20. chap. 61 n.

21. 68. 2 n.

22. For this point cf. especially Meyer's excellent summing up (i<sup>1</sup>. 515–6).

23. Darius on his tomb counts the Karkâ (Kolchis) among his subjects (cf. iii. 97), and also the "Amyrgian" Sacae (vii. 64 n.).

24. Cf. the Cimmerian invasions (i. 15 n.), and the invasions of the Mongols in medieval times. Cf. p. 300 for an incident in Darius' campaigns.

## Appendix VI: The Persian System of Government

[This appendix mainly, though not entirely, follows the conclusions of Meyer (iii. 12–57); Rawlinson's essay (ii. 555–69; he differs on some important points from Meyer) is still worth reading.]

### § 1

The Persian Empire as organized by Darius (iii. 89) was a new departure in the world's history; in extent it exceeded all its predecessors<sup>1</sup>; it was also definitely organized in a way unknown before, and only occurring again, on a similar scale, in the Roman Empire. It lasted, with little apparent decay, for a century and a half after the death of Darius. Unfortunately, the number of Persian official inscriptions as yet discovered is small, and the Greeks, to whom mainly we owe our accounts of the empire, were more interested in its external magnificence<sup>2</sup> than in its internal organization. The most complete one which has survived, the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, is a philosophic romance, intended to impress on its author's countrymen his views of government and education, not to give a complete picture of the Persian system as it was even in his own day, much less as it was in that of Cyrus, which it professes to describe (cf. e.g., i. 136 n.). We have therefore to piece together our account of Persian administration from a few inscriptions, from the casual references in the narratives of the historians, and above all from the invaluable official documents which H. has preserved for us (iii. 89 seq.; v. 52 seq.; and vii. 61 seq., his account of the Persian army). Next to H. in importance may perhaps be placed the Bible narratives of Ezra and Nehemiah, in which several official documents are preserved<sup>3</sup> (e.g., Ezra iv. 17 seq., vi. 2 seq., etc.).

### § 2

**The Position of the King.** The king is at once the representative of the Persian nation and the centre of the government; hence all matters are decided by him, and he is the source, direct or indirect, of all authority. His life is more valuable than that of any number of his subjects (viii. 99), and the true Persian asks nothing better than to die for him (viii. 118). Hence it was no mere piece of official servility when the Persian judges "discovered a law τῶ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιέειν τὸ ἄν βούληται" (iii. 31). <p. 400>

*Limitations of the Royal Power.* But a king was expected to observe old custom, and even to the most absolute power there are limitations. Apart from the danger of assassination which confronts all rulers, especially the most despotic,<sup>4</sup> the Persian King had checks upon his power, to which as a rule he paid some attention; four of these may be mentioned.

(1) The Persian nobles, and especially the descendants of the six who aided Darius in overthrowing the Pseudo-Smerdis, had their definite privileges,<sup>5</sup> even against the king.

(2) It was usual on all important occasions to consult the whole body of Persian nobles (vii. 8).<sup>6</sup> A similar arrangement prevailed in the Macedonian monarchy. As the king's position depended ultimately on the loyalty of the Persians, he usually was guided by their feelings, expressed or unexpressed. At the same time, both in Persia and in Macedon, the increase of the royal power abroad weakened the rights of his native subjects at home.

(3) The royal judges (iii. 31 n.), who were appointed for life, were consulted on difficult points of law; their office was hereditary (v. 25).

(4) The king himself was bound by his own decisions (Dan. vi. 8, 15),<sup>7</sup>

### § 3

**Position of the Persians.** The Persians themselves were the privileged race of the empire. They were a landed aristocracy, free from taxes (iii. 97), and it was the custom of the Persian king when he came among his people to make them presents.<sup>8</sup> But their real importance lay in the fact that they were the governing race of the empire, both in civil and in military matters. In this respect only the Medes were at all on an equality with them; Media had rather deserted to Cyrus than been conquered by him (cf. app. iii, § 5); the Median empire had been changed into the Persian, but so little did the change impress distant nations that the Greeks always called the new kingdom "Median." Hence it is not surprising that from the first the Medians share the government with the Persians. Men of other nations were often employed, but in subordinate positions.<sup>9</sup> <p. 401>

### § 4

**Government of the Provinces.** The central government in some respects exercised direct control over the whole empire. The admirable organization of the army would alone be sufficient to prove that there was unity in the administration. Unfortunately, we have hardly any information as to the machinery by which this was carried on; we know, however, that from the most remote provinces there was a direct appeal to the king, and that he interfered himself in their government.<sup>10</sup> We know too that these royal rescripts were carefully preserved in the royal treasure houses (Ezra v. 17);<sup>11</sup> these were written not in Persian, but in Aramaean,<sup>12</sup> which was the official language over the whole of the western parts of the empire. In order to facilitate the action of the central government, the roads and posts were highly organized. H. gives us the official description of the royal road from Sardis

to Susa (v. 52. 4 nn.), and also describes the courier-system (ἀγγαγήιον, viii. 98 n.). Other important roads were that across Asia Minor (i. 72. 3 n.), and that from Susa to Colchis (iv. 37 n.); another went from Babylon past Ecbatana to the Indian frontier.

## § 5

**The Satrap System.** But in so vast an empire the administration was of necessity delegated; the king's representative, the "satrap" (i. 192 n.), combined in himself the civil and the military authority. Although this office existed before Darius, yet it was his organizing genius which established the system on a definite and permanent footing (iii. 89 n.); it may be added that Western Asia in the present day is governed on the principles of Darius, and that it has always been so, except during the time of the Roman Empire. Even the Roman provincial system has great resemblances to the Persian.

The satrap ruled over a large district, embracing various tribes; the Assyrian power had established itself against the local resistance of small nationalities; the Persian power had arisen when the spirit <p. 402> of many of these had been broken, and when they had already been united into large kingdoms, e.g., the Lydian and the Babylonian. The number of the satrapies,<sup>13</sup> however, was continually varying, according as the various districts were united or separated in administration, by the decisions of the king or by the energy and ambition of the local rulers.

## § 6

**The duties of the satrap.** (1) The satrap superintended the administration of his province, maintained order, and, if necessary, suppressed rebellion.

(2) He collected the royal tribute and forwarded it to the king.

(3) He acted as supreme judge in all matters.

(4) He saw to the maintenance and pay of the troops in his province; he was also to "a certain extent the general of the provincial army corps" (Meyer, iii. 44). Hence he conducted ordinary operations himself.<sup>14</sup>

(5) He entered into negotiation with neighbouring independent states (v. 73), and at times conquered them (iv. 167).

Having such wide powers it is not surprising that the position of the satrap was a semi-royal one; he had his palace<sup>15</sup> and his bodyguard like the king himself, and he could coin silver money (iv. 166 n.) under certain circumstances; the office, too, was often hereditary, e.g., in the satrapy of Dascyleum (viii. 126 n.; cf. also i. 8. 1; iii. 90. 2 nn.). Moreover, two or more satrapies were frequently united in one (v. 25 n.). Hence, even in the time of Darius, the ambition of the satraps, e.g., Oroetes (iii. 126 seq.), Aryandes (iv. 166), was a danger to the central government, and in the fourth century, many of the governors became partly or completely independent

(e.g., Evagoras in Cyprus). To check this danger many devices were adopted, which, for a time at least, were successful.

## § 7

**Checks on power of satraps.** (1) The first of these was to appoint as far as possible members of the royal house<sup>16</sup> to the most important provinces. Where a member of the blood-royal was not available, a wife was found for the satrap among the king's numerous daughters.<sup>17</sup> This check, however, was probably worse than ineffective, as the ambition of Cyrus the Younger shows.<sup>18</sup> <p, 403>

(2) The second check was much more effective, viz., division of authority. Not only had each satrap his neighbour satraps who were jealous of him; there were also numerous subordinate governors, who, though under his control and sometimes appointed by him, had considerable powers and the right of direct access to the king. Of these several classes may be mentioned:

(a) Eminent Persians, especially the royal benefactors (viii. 85. 3 n.), received grants of land from the king. Some of these, e.g., the house of Otanes in Cappadocia (iii. 83 n.) and that of Hydarnes in Armenia, were even free from the tribute.

(b) The Persians also were always inclined to favour the native rulers (iii. 15 n.). The government of the whole of Cilicia (i. 74 n.) was in the hands of a native house; but this is a unique instance. As a rule native princes were employed on a smaller scale, or among the less civilized tribes of the empire, who would submit to no other control.

The privileges given to the priests at Jerusalem (Ezra vii) had a parallel in numerous temples in Asia Minor (cf. p. 401, n. 1).

(c) In dealing with the Greek communities, the Persians recognized a certain amount of autonomy. Whether they were left as republics (vi. 43 n.), or, as was more often the case, put under a tyrant, they managed their own local affairs. So they were allowed to continue to coin silver money. All these privileged individuals and communities were likely to resent any excessive ambition in the satrap, and to denounce him to the king (Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 2. 10).

(3) A third check, and the most important of all, was the limitation of the satrap's military authority. The commanders of the royal troops, especially of the garrisons in the fortresses, were often appointed by the king<sup>19</sup> (e.g., Tabalus by Cyrus, i. 153; Otanes, v. 25 n.). These "generals" had districts of their own (νομοί, v. 102. 1 n., 116).<sup>20</sup>

The military inspection yearly<sup>21</sup> by the king or his representative, helped also to maintain the royal control over the troops. As the satrap could not as a rule leave his province,<sup>22</sup> there were <p. 404> other commanders for the local levies when employed on foreign service.

More important, however, than any of these artificial checks was the loyalty, of the Persians to the Achaemenid house, shown so clearly in the overthrow of Oroetes (iii. 128).

The king had also direct machinery by which these checks might be made operative. Every satrap had a royal "secretary" (iii. 128) attached to his court, while royal officers, e.g., "the King's Eye" (i. 114 n.), could at any time be sent to inquire.

It will be obvious, however, that the use of all this machinery depended on the personality of the king; the Achaemenid weaklings of the fourth century were unable to make it effective.

## § 8

**Duties of subjects.** The system of Darius certainly provided some securities for good government; but the main concern of the Persian kings was to draw tribute and military service from their subjects. The details as to the tribute are discussed in the notes to iii. 89 seq.; three points only can be noticed here:

(1) As the sum of money due from the province seems to have been fixed, the king had an interest in checking oppression and extortion from which he himself would gain no advantage, while his subjects would be weakened and exasperated.

(2) Beside the sums paid in actual money, there were also great contributions in kind. H. expressly mentions these in Cilicia (iii. 90) and in Egypt (iii. 91) as apart from the tribute; the corn of Babylon, which fed the king and his army for a third of the year (i. 192), was over and above the 1,000 talents paid (iii. 92); the rest of Asia supplied food for the other eight months. There were in addition all sorts of other gifts required (cf. Theoph., frag. 125 and ii. 98 n.). As the provinces had also to maintain the satraps, and to feed the armies quartered among them, the burden of the tribute in kind must have been heavy.

(3) The special revenues from royal domains and monopolies were not included in the tribute; such were the profits on the fish in Lake Moeris (ii. 149), and the water dues from the Aces (iii. 117 nn.).

As the tribute was paid in money the burden on the subjects must have been the greater, as they often would have to obtain this from usurers.

The Persian kings, however, were not afraid to trust their subjects with arms. The disarmament of the Lydians (i. 155) was an exceptional measure, even if there be any truth in the story, and the statement in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, that the subjects only served as light-armed, is contradicted by the whole narrative of H. But the supreme command over the provincial levies was always in the hands of Persians (vii. 96); and the appointment of native officers mentioned by H. seems to have ceased later, for against Alexander the satraps have sole command over the contingents of their provinces (Arr. *Anab.* i. 12; ii. 11, etc.). <p. 405>

## § 9

Speaking generally the Persian Empire was as great an advance on its predecessors in the moral qualities of justice and mercy as it was in its careful organization. The Persian court might be the scene of horrors like the story of Artaynte (ix. 109); Persian armies behaved in the conquest of Ionia (vi. 32) as victorious armies have always behaved; whole nations were sometimes deported according to the invariable custom of the East (iii. 93; vii. 80 nn.); but the Persian conquest was not marked by the wholesale destruction of great cities (except in case of rebels, e.g., vi. 19), like that of Thebes by the Assyrians or of Nineveh by the Medes. The Persians could be cruel, but they did not exercise the brutal and wholesale cruelty of the Assyrians. They allowed the countries they ruled to retain their commerce and their customs, while at the same time they greatly developed trade by their road system (see above), and by introducing a uniform gold coinage for the empire.<sup>23</sup> In this material respect, as in more important matters of thought and belief,<sup>24</sup> the Persians brought Europe into contact with the immemorial civilizations of the East. The result was the extension of knowledge and of intercourse, of which the picture has been preserved in the pages of H.

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## Notes

1. The title “King of Kings” is Persian in origin; it is not only that he has “kings” as vassals (in Cilicia, i. 74 n.; at Tyre and Sidon, viii. 68), it is rather that he alone is “King” in the strict sense; cf. the Greek use of βασιλεύς (without the article) for “the Great King.”
2. e.g., Theoph. frag. 125, i; *FHG* i. 298 as to the contributions in kind, which ends with the characteristic exaggeration that “those approaching the piles of dried meat ὑπολαμβάνειν ὄχθους εἶναι καὶ λόφους.”
3. The tale of Esther, too, even if written in the third century B.C., preserves a “lively and trustworthy account of the conditions of the realm” (Meyer, iii. 2; cf. 131).
4. Rawlinson (iii. 566) reminds us that three of the nine successors of Darius were murdered.
5. For the position of the “six” cf. iii. 70 n., for their privileges iii. 84 n.; the chief of these was that the king could marry only from their families.
6. On less important occasions the king acted with his “seven counsellors” (Ezra vii. 14).
7. “The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not” has passed into a proverb, though the king was probably not quite so powerless against it as he is represented in the Bible narrative.
8. Plut. *Alex.* 69; Thuc. ii. 97. 4, who contrasts the custom of the Thracians.
9. For Medes in command Rawlinson quotes Mazares, i. 156; Harpagus, i. 162; Datis, vi. 94; his sons, vii. 88; and B.I. ii. 14, iii. 14: but these are all commanders of armies and not satraps. Men of other nations are found in special posts, e.g., Pactyas the Lydian (i. 153, in charge of Croesus’ treasure), Xenagoras of Halicarnassus (ix. 107. 3 n.; H. seems to exaggerate the power of his countrymen when he says he “ruled all Cilicia”), and Tamos the Egyptian (admiral for Cyrus the Younger, *Xen. An.* i. 4. 2).
10. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are full of such interferences; cf. chap. vi, the decree for the building of the Temple, which orders Tatnai, the local governor “beyond the river,” not to interfere, and chap. vii, that of Artaxerxes making the law of Jehovah “the law of the king” (v. 26). An interesting parallel is the rescript of Darius to Gadatas (Hicks, 20); this local magistrate had interfered with the temple of Apollo at Magnesia; the king orders him to desist, though commending him otherwise.
11. These are the βασιλικὰ καὶ δισθέραι, which Ctesias *said* that he used for his history. (Diod. ii. 32; cf. Bähr, *Ctesias*, 17f.)
12. Aramaean inscriptions are found on the local coinage of the satraps. The character was also used in the extreme east, for some Indian scripts were affected by it (Meyer, iii. 59).

13. Cf. appendix VII.

14. So Darius (B.I. *passim*) employs the satraps to suppress the great revolt; Artaphrenes arranges for the Naxian expedition (v. 30, 32), but he has to get Darius' consent; Cyrus attacks the semi-independent Pisidians (Xen. *An.* i. 9. 14); for other instances cf. Meyer, iii. 43. Xenophon (*Oec.* iv. 9) separates the civil and the military authority in Persia; but he refutes his own statement. For the royal "generals" in the provinces see below. Rawlinson (iii. 556) and Maspero (pp. 705–6) underestimate the military power of the satraps.

15. For references cf. Meyer, iii. 34 n.

16. So Hystaspes in Parthia (iii. 70 n.), Artaphrenes at Sardis, half-brother of Darius (v. 25), Masistes, son of Darius, in Bactria (ix. 113). Cf. Rawlinson, iii. 557.

17. Cf. the proposal of Pausanias for such an alliance, Thuc. i. 128, and Rawlinson, iii. 558.

18. A similar attempt and a similar failure is seen in the relation of the Burgundian dukes to the French crown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

19. But Artaphrenes appoints Megabates (v. 32), and Aryandes (iv. 167) Amasis; no doubt the custom varied.

20. Sometimes the satrap himself was especially appointed to military office, e.g., Cyrus (Xen. *An.* i. 4. 3). For the relations of generals and satraps cf. v. 25 n. and Abbott (H. pp. 127–30), who thinks the generals were "independent." No doubt the balance of power varied from time to time and from place to place.

21. Xen. *Oec.* 4. 6 βασιλεὺς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ὠπλίσθαι προστέτακται. So Cyrus is κάρανος τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων (Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 3; cf. *An.* i. 1. 2); the rapidity of the Persian mobilization in 499 B.C. (v. 102) shows how effective the system was.

22. So in 481–480 only Achaemenes, satrap of Egypt, commands the (naval) forces of his province (vii. 97).

23. Gold coinage was a royal prerogative; but, as Babelon shows (*Les Perses Achém.*, 1893, xxi), the remoter provinces hardly used money.

24. For Eastern influence on these in Greece cf. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 8–11, 33 seq. For the Persian attitude to other religions cf. v. 102. 1.

## Appendix VII: The Persian Satrapies

### § 1

**Relation of list in H. to the Persian Inscriptions.** Darius has left us three geographical lists; on the first, that at Behistun (i. 6), 23 names are given, viz.:

1. Persia	8. Sparda (i.e.,	16. Chorasmia
2. Susiana	Lydia and lands	17. Bactria
3. Babylonia	west of Halys)	18. Sogdiana
4. Assyria	9. Ionia	19. Gandara
5. Arabia	10. Media	20. Sacae
6. Egypt	11. Armenia	21. Sattagydia
7. Those on the sea	12. Cappadocia	22. Arachosia
(i.e., islands and	13. Parthia	23. Maka
coasts of Asia	14. Drangiana	
Minor)	15. Aria	

On the second list (at Persepolis) there are 24 lands, as Sagartia and India are included and Persia is omitted. The "Ionians of the mainland, and those of the Islands" take the place of numbers 7 and 9, and the order is slightly varied. <p. 406>

Finally at Nakhsh-e-Rostam (in the last years of Darius), there are 29 names (some count 30). These include the later conquests of Darius, e.g., the "Sacae beyond the Sea," the Skudra (the Macedonians or the Thracians (cf. ix. 116 n.)), etc. But the identifications are too disputed to be given here.<sup>1</sup>

These lists, however, are not official accounts of the organization of the empire, as is proved by their inconsistencies and their incompleteness, and by the fact that they include regions certainly never conquered, e.g., the Scyths; they are therefore simply records of the king's triumphs.

## § 2

**Nature of H.'s list.** H., on the other hand, clearly intends his list to be a statistical account of the empire (cf. iii. 89. 1, 97. 1). We know (Xen. *Oec.* iv. 11) that it was part of the special duty of the satrap to look after the revenues. But some (e.g., Stein) have held that the list is purely financial (not an administrative one) for the following reasons:

(1) *Inconsistency* with the rest of H.'s narrative; vii. 64 and ix. 113 are said to show that the Sacae and the Bactrians were under *one* satrap, not two (as chaps. 92–3). But, as a matter of fact, the passages in the later books prove nothing to the point, and in any case the union of two distinct satrapies was always possible.

(2) *Impossibility*. The sixteenth satrapy, containing the Parthians, Chorasmians, Arians, and Sogdians, is far too big for one ruler. It may be answered that, as these peoples were assessed at 300 talents only, they could not have been very formidable.

The usual view now is that H. preserves here an official document of great importance.<sup>2</sup> The number of 20 satrapies seems to have been maintained later.<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted that H.'s list is open to serious criticism; after the first six satrapies there seems little attempt at geographical order, and the omission of Hyrcania is inexplicable. Whether, in his unfamiliarity with the names, he got his

notes confused, or whether the omissions and obscurities are due to his copyists, cannot be determined. It may, however, be said without hesitation that, as in other parts of his history, so here later research has tended to confirm his statements, and that these chapters are a valuable contemporary account of the organization of the great Persian Empire. <p. 407>

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## Notes

1. The lists are given in Rawlinson, on iii. 94, but not quite accurately. Cf. Spiegel, *Altpers. Keilinsch.*, 55, 119, whom I have followed in the main, comparing *Die altpers. Keilinsch.* of Weissbach and Bang (1893).
2. How he obtained it can only be conjectured; cf. *JHS* xxvii. 37 seq. The list is discussed by Bunbury (A. G. i. 235 seq.), and by P. Krumbholz (*De Asiae Minoris Satrapis*, Leipzig, 1883). It should be compared with the army list of book vii; of its 68 names all but eight occur there, while two only of the tribes (the Dorians and the Ligyns) serving in the army are omitted in book iii.
3. e.g., under Xerxes; cf. Duncker, iv. 582 seq.

## Appendix VIII: The Religion of the Ancient Persians and Herodotus

[In the following pages I have as a rule followed J. Darmesteter, the preface to whose *Zendavesta* (*SBE* iv, Oxford, 1880) contains an interesting and clear account, first of the rediscovery (1771) of this ancient religion by Duperron and of the ensuing controversy, then of its origin and main features. A shorter account of the religion by K. Geldner will be found in *EB*<sup>11</sup> xxviii. 1041–3, where Zoroaster is made the prophet of the higher form of faith, which represents the civilization of the settled tribes against that of the uncivilized nomads, their neighbours. For the development of Persian religion and its spread in the empire cf. Meyer, iii. 76–9. Rawlinson's view (i. 414–9), that the religion of the Magi was contrasted with Persian dualism and was Scythic, is now quite given up.]

### § 1

The religion of the Persians has been variously called Dualism or Mazdeism or Magism, or Zoroastrianism or Fire Worship, according as its main tenet, or its supreme god, or its priests, or its supposed founder, or its apparent object of worship, has been kept most in view. It is especially interesting as throwing light on that period in the history of religious thought when the Aryan mind came in contact with the Semitic. Its main feature is the existence of a good and an evil principle, Ormazd and Ahriman<sup>1</sup>, between whom all the world is divided; Space and Time are the scene of their constant struggle, which will end after 3,000 years with the victory of the good and the resurrection of the dead to everlasting life.

## § 2

**General character of the religion.** This religion developed out of the old Indo-Iranian religion; in that too there was a law in Nature and a war in Nature, there was a heaven god, Varana, and minor gods side by side with him; there were also evil principles; but whereas in India<sup>2</sup> the power of the minor gods developed and polytheism was established, in Persia the minor gods became subordinate to Ormazd, the bright god of heaven, the all-knowing lord, while the evil principles became embodied in a single <p. 408> power. Ormazd is light and life and all that is pure and good in the moral world—law, order, and truth; to Ahriman belong darkness, filth, death, and, in the mortal order, lawlessness and lies.

Under Ormazd are the Amesha Spentas, “the undying and well-doing ones,” six in number, with whom he himself is joined as a seventh; these are at once personified as archangels, and are also the thoughts and beneficent intentions of the deity reproduced in men. The old god of heavenly light, Mitra, now becomes Mithra, one of the creatures of Ormazd, though he is still invoked along with him in an indivisible unity.

The great aim of man is to aid the good by sacrifice and praise, and to purify himself by keeping free from pollution,<sup>3</sup> especially from anything dead, while his duty is to kill the creatures of Ahriman—serpents, frogs, and ants. In the world after death man reaps the consequences of his actions in life; if his good deeds overbalance his bad ones, he passes into Paradise, if not, the pains of hell are his portion for ever.

## § 3

**Origin of Mazdeism.** Darmesteter adopts the view that the religion took its form in Media, either Media proper or Atropatene;<sup>4</sup> this explains why the sacred books are not written in old Persian but in a kindred dialect. Whether there were a teacher called Zoroaster he doubts;<sup>5</sup> at any rate he has been invested in the myths with divine attributes. A more important question is when and how the religion became established among the Persians.

Greek tradition<sup>6</sup> said that Cyrus introduced the Magi among his countrymen, and himself sacrificed at their bidding. This evidence is worthless in itself, but the fact is not improbable (Media “capta ferum victorem cepit”), and it corresponds to what we know of the later development; moreover, the Persians were akin to the Medes, and had already those religious ideas which had in Media developed into the system. The Median priesthood, the Magi, were originally a local tribe (i. 101 n.), but they had become specialized in their religious functions; hence when a Persian wished to sacrifice, he had to employ a Magus<sup>7</sup> (i. 132); we may perhaps compare the <p. 409> influence of Etruscan augury in early Rome. Whether the Magians used “magic” is disputed; the sacred books know only of the use of the sacred twig; and Aristotle (frag. 36) says of the Magi, τὴν γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐδὲ ἔγνωσαν; but H. (vii. 43, 191) expressly speaks of sacrifices and incantations.

Probably the usage varied, and H.'s informants noted those parts of the Magian ritual which reminded them of Greek magic.

#### § 4

**Development of Mazdeism.** As was natural the new religion established itself but slowly. If H. may be trusted<sup>8</sup> Cyrus attempted to burn Croesus; Cambyses burned the body of Amasis (iii. 16. 2), but this was looked upon as an impious act. By the time of H. (i. 131 n.) himself, the respect for the element of fire was established, and in the Vendidad (Farg. vii. 25–6; *SBE* iv. 82) the burning of corpses is an “unpardonable sin”.

The respect for earth was not so soon developed; the Achaemenid kings were buried, and the custom of exposing the dead on the “Towers of Silence” (i. 140.1 n.) was the custom of the Magi alone. The Persians adopted a half-way measure by coating the body in wax before it was buried (*ibid.*). It was not until a later period that the strict law against burying the dead was enforced on all, priests and lay alike.

Another point in which we can trace development is the partial disuse of temples. In H.'s time the Persians worshipped on the hill-tops, and thought temples and altars foolish; the prohibition, however, was not strictly observed (i. 131. 1 n.), and Darius boasts that he restored the temples which the Magian Gomates<sup>9</sup> had destroyed. Xerxes is said, as a disciple of the Magians, to have destroyed the Greek temples (*Cic. Leg.* ii. 10); but this is probably untrue (v. 102 n.), and at any rate his practice was far from consistent. On this point the priestly caste had to give way; there were temples in Persia even under the Sassanian kings.

Whether Darius accepted the whole doctrine of Dualism is disputed; certainly there is no mention of Ahriman in any of his inscriptions or in those of Xerxes; but they speak of Ormazd quite in the style of the Avesta, and the omission of the name Ahriman is no proof that he was unknown<sup>10</sup>; the public documents of modern countries make no mention of Satan.

#### § 5

**Inconsistencies in Persian religion.** It seems in fact <p. 410> clear that Persian religion in the time of H. was really marked by those inconsistencies which are so conspicuous in his account of it (i. 131 nn.). The doctrines of Zoroaster were too pure and elevated for the mass of the people, and hence there was a continual tendency to revert to the old deities of the Iranian race and to introduce new deities from neighbouring peoples. A similar struggle marked the history of Israel; the doctrines of the prophets had to contend with the attraction of the “Calves” on the one hand, and of Baal and Astaroth on the other. This was especially seen in Persia in the transformation of the worship of Anaitis (i. 131. 3 n.), originally the goddess of the Oxus river; she became the Babylonian Ishtar, with prominent breasts, worshipped with impure rites, especially in Armenia.<sup>11</sup> As the Jewish worship was purified by the Captivity, so was Mazdeism by foreign conquest. Its

full triumph was gained under the Sassanian kings, when Persian national feeling replaced the native race on the throne (A.D. 226), which had been so long held first by Greeks and then by the Parthian Arsacidae. This triumph of a really Oriental cult was part of the great reaction against Western influences, which began so soon after the death of Alexander, and which culminated (under a very different form) in the rise of Islam.

## § 6

**H. and Persian religion.** Details as to the knowledge which H. had of the Persian religion are given in the notes on chaps. 131–40: we may sum up the results here.

(1) (a) H. never mentions the great principle of the religion, the Dualism of Good and Evil; and we may be sure that, even if he knew it, he would not have stated it. His religious descriptions are always of things external (contrast the full account of dualism in Plut. *De Is. et Os.* chaps. 46–7, based on s). (b) But H. mentions several usages which involve this dualism; cf. for Ormazd i. 131. 2 n., and for Ahriman i. 140. 3 and vii. 114. 2 nn.

(2) With regard to special usages he shows his usual accuracy and command of detail; cf. his accounts of the methods of sacrifice (i. 132 n.), of the sinfulness of lying (i. 138. 1 n.), of the sacredness of the dog (i. 140. 1 n.), etc.

(3) The brevity of H.'s account makes him inaccurate if taken literally (cf. i. 131 nn., where on the one hand he states the spiritual nature of the Persian creed too absolutely (§ 1), and on the other hand (§ 2) confuses the deity with his attributes).

(4) H.'s ignorance of Comparative Mythology leads him, through confusion of names, to a serious mistake as to Mithra (i. 131. 3 n.). <p. 411>

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## Notes

1. I have used these names, and not the more correct Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, because they have become familiar through English literature.

2. By a curious chance the two names for "deity" in the Vedas, "asura" and "dêva," were developed in completely different ways; in Persia "Ahura" is god, the "dêvas" are evil spirits, while in the later Vedas, the asurâs are evil, the dêvas are gods (as with the Italians, Celts, etc.).

3. The Vendidad is mainly a collection of laws of purification.

4. pp. 46 seq. Professor Mills, on the other hand, in the final volume (*SBE xxxi*) considers that the earliest form of the religion arose in the northeast, roughly speaking in Bactria (pp. 28 seq.).

5. p. 79. Mills, however, accepts him as a historic person (pp. 23 seq.), as also does Geldner. In any case he is not to be looked upon as creating a religious revolution by introducing new principles, but simply as giving definite form to tendencies

which were in existence already. Zoroaster first occurs in Greek literature in the pseudo-Plato *Alc. 1*, 122.

6. Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 1. 23.

7. This will explain why the term “Magus” hardly ever occurs in the Avesta; the Persians used it, but the priests termed themselves “Arthravan” (fireman; cf. Strabo 733, the Magi in Cappadocia are called Πύρραιθοι).

8. i. 86. 2 n.; Nicolaus Damascenes (*FHG* iii. 409) says the failure caused the Persians henceforth, according to Zoroaster’s precepts, to ordain μήτε νεκρούς καίειν μήτε ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὸς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι. This may be an old tradition, or it is more probably an attempt, to explain the difficulty in the narrative of H.

9. B.I. i. 14. Meyer, iii. 76, denies that these were “temples”; but cf. app. v, § 6.

10. On this point also Darmesteter and Mills take opposite views (*SBE* iv. 44 and xxxi. 31).

11. Cf. Strabo 532 (quoted on i. 93. 4); Meyer, iii. 78.

## Appendix IX: Herodotus in Egypt

[Throughout appendixes ix and x references to book ii are given only by the chapter. For a clever general discussion cf. Sayce, *JP*, vol. xiv; his references, however, should be verified, and his inferences are often more than doubtful; he was answered by D. D. Heath (*ibid.* vol. xv) with considerable effect but with needless personality. A shorter but better account is that of Maspero, *Annuaire des E.G.*, 1878, pp. 127 seq. The most recent discussion of the subject is Sourdille, *La Durée et l’Étendue du Voyage d’Hérodote en Égypte*, Paris, 1910—very full, but at times over-elaborate and subtle. See note H at the end of this appendix.]

### § 1

**Date of Visit.** H. furnishes some slight clues.

(1) Certain: He was there after 460 B.C., the date of the battle of Papremis (iii. 12. 4).

(2) Probable: He had already been in Chaldaea (chap. 150) and at Delos (chap. 170. 2).

(3) The Persians seem to have been in peaceful possession of Egypt (30. 3, 149. 5; iii. 91. 3); there were Persian garrisons there; the Persians look after the Memphis dikes (chap. 99. 3; cf. also chap. 98.1).

Three views may be mentioned as to the date of H.’s visit.

(1) Rawlinson’s view (i. 12) is that he was there at the time of the rebellion of Inaros, when the Greeks were assisting the Egyptians (460–455 B.C.), otherwise “he would scarcely have been allowed such free access to the temples and records.”

But it is very doubtful if the rebellion spread south of Memphis,<sup>1</sup> and this view is inconsistent with chaps. 30, 99 (ut sup.). And had H. really "free access to records," etc.?

(2) The usual view (e.g., in Stein) is that he was in Egypt between 449 B.C., when Amyrtaeus<sup>2</sup> was still holding out in the Delta (Thuc. i. 110, 112), and 443 B.C., about which date he went to Thurii.

A. Bauer<sup>3</sup> (cf. introd., p. 12) thinks that the Egyptian visit must be dated nearer to the latter date (443) than to the former, because H. mentions (ii. 41, 165) the island Prosopitis, without any reference to the Athenian disaster there of 454 B.C. As he admits, however, regard for Athenian feelings may have caused this silence.

(3) Meyer (F. i. 156) considers that H. was in Egypt after his return from Thurii (i.e., between 440 and 431 B.C.). "The land was completely pacified and the great rebellion a thing of the past."

Meyer's view is the most probable, but the evidence is too slight for certainty.

## § 2

**Extent of his travels.** H. seems to have entered Egypt from the East (iii. 5, 6) by land through Pelusium (iii. 12), not by sea <p. 411> as Sayce says (ut sup. 261; Sayce even knows it was "about July 20th"), and it is natural to suppose that he left it by sea, sailing to Tyre to make his inquiries (chap. 44). It is impossible, however (as Sayce and Sourdille do), to attempt to describe his line of route, for we do not know how long he was in Egypt. It will be convenient, however, to arrange the places he visited in three groups.

*The Delta and North Egypt.* He was clearly at Canopus (chap. 113), Naucratis (chap. 178 seq.), Buto (chap. 155 and passim), and Sais (chap. 28 and passim) in the west; at Busiris (chap. 61) in the centre, and perhaps at Mendes (chap. 46); at Bubastis (chap. 138), Papremis (iii. 12), and Daphnae (chaps. 30 and 154) on the eastern arm of the Nile. He was also at Heliopolis (chap. 3 and passim) near the south end of the Delta, but outside of it, and he had followed the line of Necho's canal by Patumus (chap. 158) on the Red Sea (chap. 159) to the docks; probably at the same time he had visited the gorge of the winged serpents (chap. 75). H. seems to have known all this region so far as it could be reached by the three great arms of the Nile, the Canopic, Sebennyitic, and Pelusiatic (cf. chap. 17 for the seven mouths).

H. may have come to the Delta after the Nile flood had begun (19. 2 n.), and he certainly traveled at this season to Memphis from Naucratis (chap. 97). It is worth notice that he knows little of the Northeast delta, and hence the story of the Tanite Dynasty had not reached him; the "men of the marshes" (chap. 92) were a different race, and not at all submissive to the Persian government.

*Central Egypt and the Fayûm.* H. of course knew Memphis well; it was the Cairo of ancient Egypt, and in its streets most of the tribes of Northeast Africa and Southwest Asia could be met. From Memphis he had visited the pyramids

carefully (he had measured that of Chephrên, chap. 127), and also the district (the Fayûm) of Lake Moeris,<sup>4</sup> where he explored the Labyrinth (chap. 148).

*South Egypt.* With this region it is very different; H. only mentions three places that he visited, Thebes (chap. 143 and passim), Chemmis (chap. 91), and Elephantine (chap. 29); he also names Neapolis (chap. 91) and Hermopolis (chap. 67). The reason is that very few Greeks visited these parts. The once great city of Thebes had never recovered from the Ethiopian and Assyrian conquests.

It is curious that H. does not mention Abydos, the holy city of Osiris, where there was a Greek settlement. Maspero (ut sup. p. 129) well conjectures that H.'s visit to the South was pretty much like that of the great orientalist Pococke in 1739, who spent forty-five days going from Cairo to Syene, of which only fourteen were on shore. H.'s truthfulness is indirectly confirmed by the fact that it is just in this region, where he claims least personal knowledge, that his mistakes are most frequent and his information most scanty.

### § 3

**Purpose of H.'s travels.** It is useless for us to argue <p. 413> that H. would have admired what we admire, and especially visited what is now visited: for all we know, his feelings about much of Egyptian architecture may have been those of Strabo (806), who says, speaking of a pillared hall at Memphis, "apart from the fact that the columns are big and numerous and elaborate (πολυστίχων), it has no grace, but ματαιοπονίαν ἐμφαίνει μᾶλλον." H. himself implies three motives for his travels: (1) To study religious questions,<sup>5</sup> e.g., he inquired at Thebes (chap. 55. 1, cf. 3. 2) as to the oracle of Dodona; this is the most frequent. (2) To study natural history, e.g., he went especially to Buto (75. 1) to inquire about "the winged serpents." (3) To study geography, e.g., his inquiries about the Nile (chaps. 28, 29).

### § 4

**Results of H.'s travels.** His historical information will be dealt with later. Here it is only necessary to speak of the value of what he tells us as to Egypt in his own day, i.e., especially in the second part of book ii, chaps. 35–98. This is the more necessary, because the period when he visited Egypt is one for which we have very little monumental evidence; and, moreover, the monuments at all times tell us more of the religious rites and beliefs of the people than of their daily life, although much information about this is given by them incidentally. H. is continually quoted by the best modern Egyptologists (e.g., Maspero and Erman) as evidence for the things which he himself could have seen.<sup>6</sup>

H. laboured under two most serious drawbacks:

(1) He had no knowledge of the Egyptian language; cf. notes on chaps. 104, 125, 143, and Meyer, F. i. 192f.

(2) He came in contact, apart from his own countrymen, only with the lower classes of Egypt, probably mainly with the half-castes, who acted as interpreters (chap. 154). It is not at all probable that he met the "priests," though he claims to

have done so (e.g., 143. 1), no doubt in all honesty. Maspero, a kindly critic, says this was about as likely as that a modern tourist would be shown round Notre Dame by the Archbishop of Paris (ut sup. p. 137). The limitations of H.'s <p. 414> experience are the explanation of many strange misstatements, e.g., that the Egyptians used no wheat flour (36. 2) and had only brazen cups (37. 1; see notes).

(3) To these drawbacks must be added a third, the firm belief, which H. shared with other Greeks, that everything in Egypt was the reverse of what it was elsewhere (cf. chap. 35 and notes).

In view of these points we shall continually find that H. generalizes from a few instances. But, on the other hand, H. has the merit of a careful observer, who honestly tried to describe what he saw, even though he did not understand it; so his evidence as to all the Egyptians being circumcised (36. 3) is most valuable, since the boys habitually went naked, as did also the men in the fields. Perhaps the best instances of his accuracy are in chap. 86 (see notes), his description of the process of embalming.<sup>7</sup> How difficult it is for a foreigner to be accurate may be illustrated from the strange mistakes made, even in our own day, by traders and missionaries as to the customs of the people among whom they have lived. We may sum up in the words of Erman (*E.* p. 4), "What H. himself observed gives us as trustworthy an account as it is possible to obtain from a tourist who, ignorant of the language, travels for a few months in a foreign country."

[**Additional Note H (1928): Herodotus on Egypt.** The great Egyptologist, W. Spiegelberg, has (1926) published a lecture, delivered in 1921, on *Die Glaubwürdigkeit von Herodots Bericht über Aegypten*, the conclusions of which agree on almost all points with those of app. ix; I quote him in Mr. Blackman's translation (Blackwell, 1927). Spiegelberg ingeniously compares (pp. 38 and 39) H.'s account of Egypt with the *Germania* of Tacitus; H., he says, overestimates the civilization of Egypt, e.g., as the origin of Greek religion, because he was "overpowered by the suggestion of its high antiquity," while Tacitus "conversely, as the product of a decadent age, saw the virtues of the youthful Germans in far too rosy a light"; but the "histories" of both H. and Tacitus are "of inestimable importance": H. gives us "a continuous history of Egypt for the last few centuries before his own day, a period of which we possess very scanty native records."

For the earlier periods of the history of Egypt Spiegelberg holds with Maspero that H. gives us "stories about the days of yore told by the populace" (p. 19); they are "ätiologische Denkmäler-Novellen," to be compared to the medieval stories about the "mirabilia urbis Romae." He thus explains the story in chap. 107 of the escape of Sesostris from the burning chamber over a bridge formed by the bodies of two of his sons; it is "a dragoman's tale" explaining "the frequent representations of the triumphant Pharaoh" with his feet on the heads of his enemies.

With regard to what H. saw with his own eyes, Spiegelberg says his "credibility" is "most easily demonstrated" (p. 32); "the view that he derived his accounts from books or actually invented them can only be described as ridiculous" (p. 37). He

gives as instances where H. is confirmed by the monuments, chaps. 14 and 85—the use of swine in the fields and the methods of mourning.

An ingenious interpretation of one of H.'s most elaborate descriptions (that of the Labyrinth, chap. 148) is given by Professor J. L. Myres in *Liverpool Journ. of Archaeology*, iii, pp 134f. Spiegelberg thus sums up: "H.'s picture of Ancient Egypt" is "a veiled picture; it has dominated the world for more than 2,000 years." Now the veil is removed, but H.'s picture will always retain its inestimable and distinctive character (p. 40). It is possible that H. has left a trace of his visit to Naucratis in one of the vase fragments (found 1903), on which is inscribed in fifth-century characters, Η . . . ΔΟΤΩ (JHS xxv, p. 116).]

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## Notes

1. An inscription of the year 460 B.C., found at Coptos, shows the Persians as then in possession.
2. Cf. iii. 15. 3 n. H. knows of the reduction of Amyrtaeus.
3. p. 34.
4. Heath (ut sup. p. 327) notes that H. seems to have made one of a tourist party, for here he uses the plural, chap. 148, §§ 5, 6.
5. For his knowledge of Egyptian religion cf. notes passim, especially on chaps. 43 seq. and 123. It is important to remember that H. deliberately refrained from telling us much that he knew (or thought he knew) about the subject: a treatise like the *De Iside et Osiride* of Plutarch (*Moralia*, vol. iii) would have been impossible to him (e.g., Plutarch in chap. 8 gives the λόγος which H. (chap. 47) refuses to tell; cf. chap. 62 with Plutarch, chap. 18). Hence, though quite a fourth of the chapters in book ii deal with religious subjects, the information is almost entirely as to externals.
6. As a contrast may be quoted Mr. Griffith's essay on Egypt and Assyria in *Authority and Archaeology*; after praising H. for his accurate description of the ibis, he says: "But how isolated is this gem of veracity." Hardly H. "one would say on reading its wondrous context. After all, even the most unobservant of theorists and the most irresponsible of writers may sometimes stumble into accuracy." But this was written thirteen years ago.
7. An interesting confirmation of his statements as to the methods of Pyramid building has been given lately by M. Legrain's work at Karnak; he has employed successfully in his restorations the mound and the μηχαναὶ ξύλων βραχέων (125. 2 n.).

## Appendix X: The History of Egypt in Relation to Herodotus

[To attempt to sketch, however briefly, the history of at least three thousand years in about a dozen pages may well seem absurd; the only object of this appendix is to give such an outline of Egyptian development as is necessary to place in their true relation the scanty facts mentioned by H. Breasted's *History of Egypt* (1906) has been mainly followed; Flinders Petrie's history (3 vols., 1905) gives a valuable summary of the monumental evidence, but in his chronology for the period before the Eighteenth Dynasty he follows a different system. Of course it will be remembered that the early dates can only be considered approximate.]

## § 1

**Chronology.**<sup>1</sup> The order of kings is determined in the first place by Manetho. He was a priest of Sebennytos, who wrote under Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) about 280 B.C., and arranged all the <p. 415> rulers of Egypt from Menes to the last Persian conquest (ca. 343 B.C.) in "thirty dynasties." Unfortunately his work only survives in the epitomes of the chronologers (e.g., Africanus and Eusebius) or in fragments; in any case his dates often are clearly untrustworthy, and he seems to have included many popular elements in his history.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of these lists of the kings the chronology is constructed; further, the great Turin papyrus gave in many cases the lengths of their reigns.<sup>3</sup> But the most trustworthy evidence is that of the monuments, which date events by the year of the king. Obviously there can be no certainty that the latest monument of a king found belongs to the last year of his reign, in fact, it is quite certain that this will often not be so; but an addition of the maximum monumental dates for the reigns of a dynasty will give a minimum for the duration of that dynasty. This is called the method of "dead reckoning." By this method it is calculated that the reigns of the kings from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, which ended with the Persian Conquest in 525 B.C., inclusive lasted at least 1050 years, and thus the accession of the Eighteenth Dynasty is placed by general agreement about 1580 B.C.

## § 2

**The Sothic Period.** Unfortunately there is no continuous succession of monuments for the period before this date; frequently they are lacking altogether for long spaces of time. But here astronomical science comes to our aid. The Egyptian year of 365 days was roughly a fourth of a day shorter than the real year<sup>4</sup>; hence every four years the calendar was one day in advance, and in 1460 years a whole year would be gained. This period of 1460 years is called a "Sothic Period." Now we know that such a period began in 140 A.D.; hence previous Sothic periods would have begun in 1321 B.C., 2781 B.C., and 4241 B.C.<sup>5</sup> If this is so, it is obviously <p. 416> only a matter of calculation, if we know the date on which Sothis rose in any year, to settle what that year was.<sup>6</sup> A record has been discovered at Kahun in which a priest tells us that Sothis would rise on the 15th day of the 8th month in the 7th year of Senosret III (Useratesen III) of the Twelfth Dynasty, i.e., 225 days too late. Senosret must therefore have begun to reign in 1887 B.C., and the commencement of the Twelfth Dynasty must be placed about 2000 B.C.

The dates of the dynasties previous to the Twelfth are again a matter of "dead reckoning," but there is an uncertain element in the reigns of the Ninth and Tenth Dynasties, for which we have no monumental evidence.

### § 3

**The two First Dynasties.** The history of Egypt, like that of other countries, begins with division. Perhaps the later "nomes" (chap. 164 n.) may represent early kingdoms; certainly there were the two great divisions of Upper and of Lower Egypt,<sup>7</sup> the union of which gave the later kings of the whole country their double crown and their double emblem, the hawk for the southern kingdom, the snake for the northern one. This union was carried out by Menes (chap. 99 n.), the founder of the First (Thinite) Dynasty, <p. 417> with whom H. (like Manetho) rightly begins his Egyptian history (ca. 3400 B.C.).

### § 4

**The "Old Kingdom."**<sup>8</sup> With the Third Dynasty the capital was transferred to Memphis (3. 1 n.), in the neighbourhood of which (at Gizeh) the kings of the next dynasty (Fourth, 2900–2750) erected the Pyramids, which made their names and their order familiar to H. (chaps. 124–134 nn.) and, so far as Cheops is concerned, to all future times; Sir T. Browne is hardly just to the success of Cheops, when he writes "To be but pyramidally extant is a fallacy of duration." "The great pyramid is the earliest and most impressive witness . . . to the final emergence of organized society from prehistoric chaos and local conflict" (Breasted, p. 119).

With the Sixth Dynasty (2625–2475 B.C.) the period of Egyptian foreign conquest begins; both Nubia and some districts of Arabia were reduced, at any rate partially. To this dynasty belonged Neterkara, with whom H.'s queen, Nitocris, may be connected (but see chap. 100 nn.). The centralization of Egyptian power, however, had been too rapid, and the local rulers once more asserted themselves. A period of confusion apparently followed, during which the seat of authority was gradually moved southwards, perhaps from fear of the northern tribes, who were pressing into Syria. With the Eleventh Dynasty it was fixed at Thebes, which was the capital during the greatest period of Egyptian history, that of the Twelfth Dynasty (2000–1788 B.C.).

### § 5

**The Twelfth Dynasty.** Its system was feudal, but the king had established complete control over his vassals. The conquests of the Sixth Dynasty in the South were renewed and extended; Nubia was subdued to beyond the Second Cataract. The victorious kings also carried their arms northward, and Senosret III (Usertesén) was the first Egyptian king to appear as a conqueror in Syria. The impression made by his victories earned him a place in popular tradition and so in the pages of H. (chaps. 102 seq.), as "Sesostris." But the works of peace under this dynasty were not less famous than their campaigns. The kings set themselves to control the Nile flood by utilizing the great depression of the Fayûm. Lake Moeris

(chap 149 n.) secured for Amenemhet III <p. 418> (chap. 101) the honour of being remembered, though not by his royal name. His portrait is almost as familiar in modern museums as that of the great Rameses II himself. It was he, too, who introduced the system of recording the height of the Nile at the Second Cataract, as his inscriptions still show (Lepsius, *D.* ii. 139, vol. iv). No doubt the campaigns in Nubia were in part intended to secure the control of the water system; the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty knew as well as the English in Egypt today, that the life of their country depended on the Nile. It is not surprising that such powerful rulers extended their trading connections over the sea. Vases of the Kamares type from Crete have been found at Kahun, close to a pyramid of Senosret II (1906–1887 B.C.).<sup>9</sup>

## § 6

**The Northern Invaders.** With the end of the Twelfth Dynasty the greatness of Egypt once more decayed, and the most obscure period of her history begins. Whether the Egyptian invasions had provoked the peoples of the North, or whether the weakness of the Nile valley tempted these marauders, it is impossible to say; perhaps both may have been the case. Certainly Egypt was invaded from the North, and passed for a time under foreign rule. The three dynasties of Hyksos (“Shepherd kings”) in the chronologers rule 929 years; according to the fragment (No. 42) of Manetho, preserved by the patriotic vanity of the Jew Josephus, who identified the Hyksos with Joseph and his brethren, they ruled 518 years. These figures must be greatly exaggerated; the period of foreign rule may have lasted only about a century (1680–1580 B.C.). What is certain is that the Hyksos were a people from the North, of an alien religion, and that their capital was Avaris in the east part of the Delta. Their influence, even if not their direct rule, seems to have been widely extended; the name of one of their kings, Khian, has been found from places south of Thebes to Gezer, at Bagdad (on a basalt lion now in the Br. Mus.), and among the foundations of the Cnossus palace. The invaders adopted Egyptian usages and even Egyptian names; but they were to the natives “the accursed,” and H. heard nothing of their rule in Egypt.<sup>10</sup> <p. 419>

## § 7

**The New Kingdom.** The Egypt which emerged from the confusion under the Eighteenth Dynasty was a changed country. The power of the old feudal aristocracy was broken, and the king was at the head of a well-trained army. The situation was like that in France after the final expulsion of the English by Charles VII; and as in the fifteenth century the victorious French monarchs plunged into the Italian wars, so from Egypt the Eighteenth Dynasty (1580–1350 B.C.) carried its conquests far to the north and to the south. The most important of its kings was Thothmes III (1501–1447), whose great deeds are recorded at Karnak<sup>11</sup> and elsewhere; he is the founder of the first real empire, which extended from the Euphrates far south into Nubia. The “isles of the sea” sent him tribute, as is recorded in the well-known tomb of Rekhmara,<sup>12</sup> his vizier. It is fitting that the

memorials of so great a conqueror should be widely distributed; his obelisks have been removed to Constantinople, to Rome (where the obelisk before the Lateran is the largest surviving, being 105½ feet high), to London (Cleopatra's Needle), and to the Central Park, New York. The latter pair once stood at Heliopolis.

But Greek imagination was even more impressed by a later monarch of the dynasty, Amenhotep III ("Amenophis," 1411–1375 B.C.), whose name and that of his queen, Ti, have been found at Mycenae; his colossal statue (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 61) they identified with Memnon. A wonderful record of the power of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Asia has been preserved in the Tell El-Amarna tablets found in 1887, which give the correspondence of the Egyptian kings with their vassals in Babylonia, Syria, and elsewhere.

It is curious that of the Eighteenth Dynasty H. knows nothing; its military glories have, with those of Rameses II, been combined with the name of the Twelfth Dynasty conqueror in the single figure of Sesostris (see above). The last great king of the dynasty was the strange Amenhotep IV (1375–1358 B.C.), whose new name, "Akhnaton," marked his attempt to break the power of the priesthood of Amon and to introduce a kind of solar monotheism in place of Amon worship.<sup>13</sup>

The attempt naturally ended in failure, and after the death of the king, the Eighteenth Dynasty came to an end in confusion; but order was soon restored under the Nineteenth. Decay was beginning in Egypt, but only slowly; the kingdom had never appeared <p. 420> more outwardly prosperous than under Rameses II (1292–1225 B.C.), whose long reign presents a curious resemblance to that of Louis XIV of France. Both monarchs were credited with military success<sup>14</sup> in their early days, and both were magnificent builders; but both were also too much under the influence of the priests, and the invasion of France in the last days of Louis finds a parallel in the hard struggle of Rameses' successors against the "peoples of the sea."<sup>15</sup>

Already in the lifetime of his father, Seti I, Rameses had had to repulse the Shardana (Sardinians?) and the Tursha (Tyrrhenians?), who were attacking Egypt from Libya. In his wars against the Hittites, he had against him, as allies of his chief foes, various tribes, apparently from the west of Asia Minor. Hardly was he dead, when his son Merneptah had to meet a renewed attack of these peoples, combined with new and previously unnamed foes. He succeeded in repulsing them; but the attack was renewed under Rameses III<sup>16</sup> more than once.

## § 8

**The Peoples of the Sea.** The lists of peoples are as follows:—

*Allies of Hittites:*<sup>17</sup>

Luka (Lycians?)

Pidasa (Pisidians?)

Kalakisha (Cilicians?)

Dardenni (Dardanians?)

Masa (Mysians?)  
Maunna or Yaunna (Ionians?)

*Against Merneptah:*

Ekwesh (Akaiwasha: The Achaeans?)  
Teresh (Tursha: Tyrrhenians?)  
Luka (Lycians?)  
Sherden (Sardinians)  
Shekelesh (Sicels?; Maspero, p. 301, thinks from Sagalassus in Pisidia)  
"Northerners coming from all lands" with the Libyans, who are called  
Meshwesh (sec. 589) (cf. iv. 191 "Maxyes"?)

*Against Rameses III:*

Libyans, some of whom again are called Meshwesh  
The Peleset (Philistines)  
The Thekel (Sicels?)  
The Shekelesh  
The Denyen (Danauna: Danai?)  
The Weshwesh  
The Pap. Harris (see below) adds (iv. 403) the Sherden.

<p. 421> Who these tribes were is much disputed. Meyer<sup>18</sup> doubtfully connects them with the Dorian invasion of Greece; so too Hall<sup>19</sup> synchronizes them with the break-up of Mycenaean civilization. Maspero,<sup>20</sup> however, connects them with the movement which took the Tyrrhenians to Italy (cf. p. 445). Certainty is impossible; we can only say that the raids "mark the end of a period in the history of the Mediterranean world" (Meyer).<sup>21</sup>

Egypt escaped conquest, but her own forces were becoming largely mercenary (the Shardana appear as her soldiers even under Rameses II); the warlike energy of the native Egyptians was exhausted. It is under Merneptah that the name of "Israel" first appears on the Egyptian monuments,<sup>22</sup> hence he is generally identified with the Pharaoh of the Exodus.<sup>23</sup>

## § 9

**The decline of Egypt and the Assyrian conquest.** Egypt was even more weakened by the increasing powers and wealth of the priests than by exhaustion from war. The great Papyrus Harris,<sup>24</sup> which records the good works of Rameses III, gives them 107,000 slaves, and nearly three-quarters of a million acres of land, i.e., one-seventh of the whole cultivable land of the country; all this was exempt from taxation (chap. 168). Of this the priests of Amon at Thebes had much the largest share. Hence their authority was a dangerous rival to the royal power.

The strength of Egypt now rapidly declined; it was overrun by the Ethiopians from the south and by the Assyrians from the north. The Twenty-fifth Dynasty of three Ethiopians is represented by H.'s Sabakos (chap. 137 n.).<sup>25</sup> The interest of this period lies in the rivalry between the powers of the Euphrates and of the Nile

Valleys.<sup>26</sup> Of this, however, H. is quite unconscious; he gives a confused version of the retirement of Sennacherib (141. 2, 3 nn.), but he knows nothing of the victorious invasions of the Assyrians <p. 422> under Esarhaddon (670 B.C.) and Assurbanipal, who took Thebes (661 B.C.).

The policy of the Assyrian conquerors was to encourage the native Egyptian princes of the Delta against the Ethiopian rulers of the south (chaps. 147, 152 nn.); the result of this policy was the rise of the Twenty-sixth (Saite) Dynasty (see below).

## § 10

**Summing up.** Of this long period then (nearly 3,000 years) H. really knows nothing. The following points in his narrative may be noted:

(1) His arrangement is purely artificial. After the first king, Menes, he tells us that 329 (chap. 100) kings followed, of whom there was nothing to record (except of one, the queen Nitocris); then came eleven kings, beginning with Moeris (chap. 101), of whom he thinks he knows something. These eleven kings belong to the most different periods, as has been seen, and are obviously put together according to their place in H.'s "notebook." Sayce even thinks that he can trace in their arrangement the exact course of the historian's sight-seeing (ut sup., p. 281 seq.); he "walked round it (i.e., the temple of Ptah) from east to west." The argument, if it may be so called, is that H. mentions every reign in the order in which he saw the monuments connected with it. It is not necessary to examine this point; if Sayce were consistent, he would take H. off to see the pyramids and to pay a visit to Heliopolis between two parts of his examination of the temple at Memphis. The only fact which is certain is that H. gained a large part of his information at this temple.<sup>27</sup>

If we can imagine an intelligent foreigner piecing together English history from the stories of the vergers in Westminster Abbey, and supplementing them from St. Paul's and Canterbury, we shall form a faint idea of H.'s difficulty with his sources.

(2) As might be expected, H. has no idea of chronology. His calculation of the length of Egyptian history is purely artificial (cf. chap. 142 n. and app. xiv). Hence the Pyramid builders are nearly two thousand years too late.

(3) Again, as has been said above, patriotic vanity suppressed almost all mention of Egyptian defeats. H. has never heard of the Hyksos (except perhaps in dim tradition, chap. 128 n.), and he knows nothing of Assyrian conquest.

(4) Perhaps the most striking feature of all is the influence of folk-tales on his history. Real persons, e.g., Cheops and Sesostris, are mentioned, but the stories about them are like the medieval stories <p. 423> of Arthur or Charlemagne; H. in fact gives us the history of Egypt as it was told "in the streets of Memphis."<sup>28</sup> Maspero says all this part of book ii is "better than a course of history; it is a chapter of literary history; the tales in it are as Egyptian as those preserved in the papyri."

From the point of view of the comparative study of history<sup>29</sup> and of the development of fiction, H. is valuable; for Egyptian history in the strict sense, chaps. 99 to 146 are valueless. But he himself is aware (147. 1) that his Egyptian history from the accession of Psammetichus (chaps. 147 seq.) stands on a different footing from the preceding chapters; he is now able to check native testimony by that of foreigners (154. 4). But how great the difference was H. quite failed to realize.

## § 11

**The Saite (Twenty-sixth) Dynasty.** The Saite Dynasty (663–525 B.C.) drove the Ethiopian invaders from Egypt and vindicated its independence from the now declining power of Assyria; the land once more enjoyed a century and a half of prosperity under native kings. Moreover, they brought their country into connection with the western world. Hence with the coming of the Greeks to Egypt, and the opening up to H. of real sources of evidence, the character of his history changes. His story of the Saites is (in the main at any rate) accurate in its chronology (see below); his names are right, and he brings out one great fact clearly, i.e., the rivalry between the Greek and the native elements (154. 3, 163. 2, 178 nn.). But he is still too far removed from the period to give an adequate account; his main deficiencies are:

(1) Since he is ignorant of the humiliation of Egypt in the eighth century B.C., which underlies his story (chap. 147 n.) of the dodecarchy, he does not understand the real greatness of the Saites. This is especially reflected in their sculpture and architecture, in which there is a return to old traditions (Maspero, iii. 503) with very pleasing results.

(2) Again their foreign wars are mentioned only incidentally, e.g., Azotus (chap. 157), Megiddo (chap. 159. 2). H. has no conception of their consistent attempts to secure Syria against the powers of the Northeast, still less of their clearly marked policy of resting on sea-power (158. 1 n.), and of the importance of their foreign alliances. He does know that Amasis is allied with Croesus (i. 77. 2) and with his allies, the Lacedaemonians (ibid.); but he does not see the importance of this, or even mention the connection between Gyges and Psammetichus (ii. 152. 3). <p. 424>

(3) It is natural that here, as before, no mention is made of Egyptian defeats, e.g., that of Necho at Carchenish (605 B.C.) and (perhaps) a Babylonian invasion of Egypt (161. 2 n.).

(4) There is grave exaggeration in figures (30. 2; 157 nn.).

(5) Although the influence of folk-tales is less prominent than before, it is still very present (cf. especially the stories of Amasis, chaps. 162, 172); in these the Greek element is very marked. With this point naturally goes the prominence of oracles (147. 4, 158. 5), especially that of Buto (152. 3).

In these chapters, then, we are on the borderland of history; H. is correct in his outlines, but has not information to fill up his picture accurately.

The table of the Saite kings is as follows:

Psammetichus (Psamtik)	663–609	54 yrs. (ii. 157)
Necho	609–593	16 yrs. (ii. 157. 3 n.)
Psammis (Psamtik II)	593–588	6 yrs. (ii. 161. 1)
Apries (Hophra)	588–569	25 yrs. (ii. 161. 2 n.)
Amasis (Ahmose)	569–525	44 yrs. (iii. 10. 2)
Psammenitus (Psamtik III) reigned a few months.		

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## Notes

1. For Egyptian chronology generally cf. Meyer, *Abhandl. Berl. Akad.*, 1904.
2. He wrote to correct errors of the Greeks, especially of H. (cf. frag. 42 *πολλὰ τὸν Ἡρόδοτον ἐλέγχει ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ἐψευσμένον*). Some modern Egyptologists are almost equally severe on Manetho himself; Breasted says (p. 23) his chronology is a "late, careless, and uncritical compilation"; but Meyer (i. 152) sums up more judiciously: "his results as to periods where the monuments fail us cannot be dispensed with, even if they are to be used with the utmost care."
3. This was discovered by Champollion in 1824; it seems to have been drawn up under the Eighteenth Dynasty. Unfortunately it was in a very fragmentary state, and it perished in the Turin fire of 1903. The oldest record of this kind is the Palermo Stone, a fragment of a list set up under the Fifth Dynasty. Three other lists, more or less fragmentary, survive, of which one (from Abydos) is in the Br. Mus. (*BMG*, 245). For a brief discussion of these lists cf. Petrie, i. 26 seq.
4. For the Egyptian calendar cf. chap. 4 nn.
5. Cf. 4. 1 nn. Meyer (there quoted) thinks the Sothic period was arranged in 4241 B.C.; but it is much easier to date it from 2781 B.C., and to suppose that dates were reckoned back from this. Certainly so elaborate a calculation seems to suit the third millennium better than the fifth. Meyer (*Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1904, p. 40) maintains that the inscriptions show that the distinction between the two years, the ordinary and the Sothic, was recognized long before the time of the Pyramid builders. But the monumental evidence ought to be very decisive to establish a position so difficult to accept.
6. A clear account of this method of reckoning is given in Breasted (*Ancient Records of Egypt*, i. pp. 26f.): he gives six instances from the monuments by which the month in which an event happened can be approximately fixed, and they all tend to show that a Sothic period began in 2781 B.C. The dates thus arrived at are almost universally accepted in Germany; English and French Egyptologists, however,

hesitate to accept the shortening of the earlier history which is thus involved, especially as the new system of dating allows only a little over two hundred years for the whole period from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasties (inclusive). They are inclined to hold the traditional chronology, which puts the Twelfth Dynasty, and consequently all those that precede it, some seven hundred years earlier. Petrie, however, accepting the astronomical argument, boldly assumes three Sothic periods, instead of two, before the Eighteenth Dynasty, and puts his dates 1460 years earlier than those given here. An interesting summary of the controversy is given in Burrows, *Discoveries in Crete* (pp. 67 seq., 221–6), where he discusses the bearing of Cretan evidence on Egyptian chronology.

7. Of these early pre-dynastic kingdoms we now know something from the tombs; the names of nine of the kings are preserved on the Palermo Stone. The Ashmolean collection is peculiarly rich in fine and typical specimens to illustrate this period (Guide, 75f.).

8. The period from the Third to the Sixth Dynasty (inclusive) is that of the “Old Kingdom;” the “Middle Kingdom” is that of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties (Breasted, pp. 156, 212 confines it to the Twelfth); the “New Kingdom” or “Empire” is that of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth. Maspero, however, more loosely calls the whole period from the Third to the Tenth “the Old Kingdom,” and that from the Eleventh to the Fifteenth the “Middle Kingdom.” These names are often used; their main importance is that they emphasize the fact that Egyptian history before the Saite Dynasty has three great periods, those of the Sixth, the Twelfth, and the Nineteenth Dynasties.

9. Cf. Burrows ut sup., and, for objects in the Ashmolean, illustrating the synchronization, Guide, p. 85; that Museum is particularly rich in these.

10. Cf., however, chap. 128 n. as to the “shepherd” Philitis. The Manetho fragment referred to above is given in Petrie, i. 233 seq. Meyer (i. 304) connects the Hyksos with the Hittites, and the last remnant of their empire may have been the kingdom of Kadesh, which was reduced with such difficulty by Thothmes III (see below). Their name is translated above, as it is explained by Manetho, i.e., βασιλεῖς ποιμένες; others, e.g., Breasted, make it = “rulers of countries” (p. 217; but Meyer rejects this). For the whole subject of the Hyksos cf. Breasted, pp. 214 seq., and more fully Meyer (ut sup.), who rejects the claim of Petrie (*Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1904) to have found the remains of Avaris in mounds north of Heliopolis; but the connection of Avaris with the Hyksos is supported by Jewish tradition as early as Ptolemaic times.

11. *L.D.* iii. 31 seq.

12. For the tribute of the Keftiu, “the peoples of the sea,” from Crete and elsewhere cf. Hall, *BSA* viii. 170f. The old idea that they were Phoenicians is given up completely.

13. For this, the most interesting, though not the most important, episode in Egyptian history, cf. Breasted, pp. 355 seq., and Weigall, *Life of Akhnaton* (1910). As the innovating king was branded as accursed, and as his name was erased from the monuments, H. has of course heard nothing of him.
14. The victory of Rameses over the Hittites in the early years of his reign is familiar from the pictures on the walls of the Ramesseum at Kamak, and from the poem that goes (wrongly) under the name of "Pentaur." The Hittite war was terminated by a treaty in 1272 B.C.
15. The inscriptions as to the "peoples of the sea" who fought Merneptah are at Karnak (Breasted, iii. 572–88); those of the later invasions are at Medinet Habu (the most complete Egyptian temple remaining; Breasted, iv. 35).
16. This king seems to give the framework for H.'s folk-story of the Treasure House of Rhampsinitus (chap. 121 n.; cf. also chap. 107 n.).
17. For the allies of the Hittites cf. Hall, *BSA* ut sup. pp. 175f. (the best discussion in English of the subject); but the explanation of the names here given is Breasted's. His transliteration, however, is somewhat arbitrary, and two or three of the more usual forms are given in parentheses, as well as Breasted's identifications.
18. ii. 137.
19. ut sup. p. 178.
20. p. 317.
21. Less probable is Petrie's view, iii. 110f., placing the tribes in North Africa.
22. "Israel is desolated; his seed is not" (Breasted, iii. 616–7).
23. Maspero (p. 309) more probably places the Exodus in the troubled period after his death.
24. Breasted, iv. 151–412. It was drawn up under Rameses IV, and is now in the B. M.; it is the largest papyrus extant.
25. Perhaps there is also an allusion to this period, out of all chronological order, in the "eighteen Ethiopian kings" of chap 100.
26. This is especially familiar during this period from its effect upon Jewish history (cf. 159. 2 n.).
27. The references to it are chaps. 99. 4 (its building by Menes); 110. 1 (the statues of Sesostris); 112. 1 (south τέμενος of Proteus); 121. 1 (west portico of Rhampsinitus); 136. 1 (east portico of Asychis); 141. 6 (statue of priest-king, Sethos); 147, 151. 1 (sacrifice of twelve kings); 153. 1 (south portico of Psammetichus); 176. 1 (colossus of Amasis); iii. 37. 2 (outrage of Cambyses).
28. Maspero, *C.P.E.*, 32. For parallels to H. cf. 111. 1, 121. 1, 124. 1 nn.

29. It is interesting to note that almost all the names in H. can be identified: some are real, e.g., Cheops (124. 1); some are nicknames, e.g., "Moeris," which contains the word for "lake" (101. 1), and perhaps Sesostris (102. 1, but more probably this represents Senosret); some are titles, e.g., Pheros (111. 1) and Proteus (112. 1) (Maspero, *AEG* 1878, p. 138).

## Appendix XI: Scythia and the Scyths

[In this appendix references to book iv are by chapter only. For it cf. Macan (1895), ii. 15–32, very ingenious and full; Rawlinson, iii. 201–8, interesting, but to be used with caution; Bunbury, i. 172 seq., clear and sensible, and (most recent of all) E. H. Minns, s.v. Scythia in *EB*<sup>11</sup> xxiv. 526f.; he is of opinion that the Scyths were "a horde who came down from Upper Asia, conquered an Iranian-speaking people, and in time adopted the speech of its subjects." With this view agrees Peisker (in *Camb. Mediaeval History*, i. 354–5).]

### § 1

**Divisions of Herodotean Geography.** H. is especially full on the geography of the Pontic regions, no doubt because of their great importance as the granary of Greece (17. 2 n.), and because his commercial journeys had taken him there (76. 6, 81. 2 nn.). (Intro. pp. 17, 19.)

The geography is given in four sections:

(1) chaps. 17–31. The ethnography of Scythia; the tribes are given from west to east with their hinterlands; the arrangement is emphasized by the refrain ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν at end of chaps. 17, 18, 20.

(2) chaps. 47–57. The rivers of Scythia.

(3) chaps. 99–101. A general description of the country.<sup>1</sup>

(4) chaps. 103–109. A description of the neighbouring tribes. <p. 425>

It is obvious that these sections come, in part at least, from different sources, and contain inconsistencies. Of these, that as to the length of the south coast of Scythia is the most striking.<sup>2</sup> In chap. 101 this is given as "twenty days' journey" from the Ister to the Palus Maeotis, and the Borysthenes lies half-way; in 17. 1 the town at the mouth of the Borysthenes is again the centre of the south coast; but the distance from it to the Palus Maeotis is now seventeen days + a large indefinite quantity; for there are three days from the Borysthenes to the Panticapes (18. 2), fourteen more to the Gerrhus (chap. 19), and then the "most numerous tribe" of the Scyths extends to the Palus Maeotis (chap. 20. 1).

### § 2

**H.'s general view of Scythia.** H. must, however, have had some general idea in his mind as to the shape of Scythia, even though he makes statements inconsistent

with this. It will be well therefore to determine its boundaries as conceived by him. That on the west is clearly the Ister. That on the south is given as the Black Sea (99. 2); the southeast corner (the Tauric peninsula) touches the Black Sea both on the south and on the east.<sup>3</sup>

The east boundary, then, begins with the Black Sea, and is continued by the Sindi peninsula (100. 1), the Palus Maeotis (57. 1), and the Don; that the Don is part of the east boundary and does not merely touch the north corner (as Stein's map) is clear from the description of the campaign of Darius.<sup>4</sup>

The north boundary is the frontiers of the Neuri, Androphagi, and Melanchlaeni (chaps. 17, 18, 20), while in chap. 51 a lake (the source of the Tyras) separates Scyths and Neuri.

### § 3

**Inconsistencies with his general view.** As to his boundaries, H. is fairly consistent; but his general conception of Scythia refuses to tally with his detailed facts. He describes it as <p. 426> a square of 4,000 stades of which the west and the east boundaries are at right angles to the base, the Pontus (101. 3).<sup>5</sup>

It has already been seen that the east boundary is not at a right angle, i.e., it runs northeast (not due north).<sup>6</sup> But the difficulties of the west boundary are much greater. Niebuhr long ago pointed out<sup>7</sup> that H. conceives the Ister, i.e., the west boundary of Scythia, as running north and south at the end of its course. His arguments are (1) The supposed correspondence of the Nile and the Danube (ii. 33. 2 n.). (2) In v. 9. 1 the land north of the Danube is neither Scythia nor that of the Agathyrsi, but "desert," and (by implication, v. 10) ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον. (3) Only in this way can be explained the great extent of the Thracians (v. 3. 1).<sup>8</sup>

All this agrees with the rectangular shape of Scythia. But there are other facts recorded as to the Ister which are quite inconsistent; it receives five tributaries from Scythia, each west of the other (48. 2), which implies a course not north and south, but east and west; this is confirmed by the statement in 49. 1 that its tributaries from the Haemus "run north." It must therefore be assumed either that H. did not know these facts when he wrote chap. 101, or (more probably) that his Greek love of symmetry made him ignore details inconsistent with his general scheme.

### § 4

**Herodotean Geography of Scythia: Defects.** The main defects of H.'s account are:

(1) His complete misconception of the shape of the Crimea (chap. 99 nn.); he should have compared it to the Peloponnese (as Strabo 310), not to Attica. With this goes his ignorance of the Putrid Sea (between the Northeast Crimea and the mainland), which may perhaps be referred to in the "Trench" (3. 1 n.) of the Slaves.

(2) His rivers beyond the Dnieper refuse to be identified except the Tanais, and perhaps the Oarus.<sup>9</sup> Moreover they cannot be reconciled with the elementary principles of hydrography; the Gerrhus (chap. 56 n.) leaves the Borysthenes forty days' journey from its mouth and runs across to join the Hypacyris.<sup>10</sup>

(3) H.'s lakes as the sources of his rivers are more than suspicious. Of the five that he mentions (chap. 55), the sources of Tyras (chap. 51), Hypanis (chap. 52), Panticapes (chap. 54), Hypacyris (chap. 55), and Tanais (chap. 57), only that of the Tanais can be identified, and it is a small, not a "large" lake (chaps. 46 nn., 57). <p. 427>

(4) H.'s measurements are, as usual, inaccurate. From the Borysthenes at Olbia to the Palus Maeotis is only about 150 miles, not over 200 as he gives (chap. 101. 2), and the sizes which he assigns to the Pontus and the Palus Maeotis (chaps. 85, 86 nn.) are even more extraordinary.

## § 5

**Merits.** On the other hand H.'s account of Scythia has very decided merits.<sup>11</sup>

(1) He has grasped the general features of South Russia, its great plains bare of wood as a rule (the Ὑλαίη (cf. 18.1 n.) is rightly made an exception), and its severe winters (28 n.).

(2) Especially, like a true Greek, he is strong on the river system, which he rightly makes the marvel of the country (chap. 82).

(3) H. here as elsewhere lays stress on right methods; he insists on eyewitnesses and protests against over-symmetry (36. 2), though he himself is guilty of this error in some places.

## § 6

**The Scythian People.** But it is his account of the people that is especially valuable.<sup>12</sup> He is careful to distinguish the real Scyths among the various races living in South Russia; the ancient writers<sup>13</sup> generally but wrongly applied the name to all the nomadic peoples of Central Asia and Southeast Europe. In this use of the word the Greeks were following Persian usage; H. rightly says that the Persians call all the Scyths<sup>14</sup> "Sakae" (vii. 64); so in the Behistun Inscription the name in cols. 1 and 2 is used of Asiatic peoples, in col. 5 of Europeans. (See Note I, at the end of this appendix.)

H. confines the name to the tribe who stretch (speaking roughly) from the Borysthenes to the Tanais (chaps. 17–20).

*Nationality of Scyths.* The first question as to these Scyths is: were they a distinct people at all? Macan (ii. 12 seq.) ingeniously raises again the view refuted by Niebuhr (ibid. p. 353 seq.), that the "Scyths" of H. are an "artificial product," "a combination of divers elements, determined rather by geographical than by ethnographical considerations." He suggests that they were only a "ruling class" among subject peoples. It certainly is remarkable that a race so important as H.

represents them to be, should have practically disappeared from history, leaving no trace behind.<sup>15</sup> <p. 428>

In view, however, of the express and definite testimony of H. and of his rather later contemporary, the scientist and physician, Hippocrates, it seems safer to assume, as is generally done, that the Scyths were a real people.

## § 7

**Aryan or Mongolian.** A second question then arises: were they Aryan or Mongolian? Niebuhr's view (adopted by Grote iii. 241) was that they were Mongolian; but there is much to be said against this. The evidence is of four kinds.

(1) *Physical Type.* Hippocrates (*Aer.* chap. 6. 558) describes the Scyths as "having gross and fleshy bodies," "loose joints," "only a little hair," and says "they all resemble each other"; but apart from the "scanty hair," there is nothing in this which resembles the Mongolian type with high cheek bones and turned-up nose.<sup>16</sup> The sameness of appearance is common to all uncivilized peoples; so Kinglake<sup>17</sup> says of the Bedouins "almost every man of the race closely resembles his brethren." The whole point is fully discussed by Rawlinson (iii. 188–9). H. especially notes features that seem Mongolian among the *non*-Scythian Argippaei (chap. 23). The pictures of Scyths on Greek vases (cf. Reinach, *A.R.M.*, 109, 110, 192, and Rawlinson) are certainly Aryan in type; but this may be due to the Hellenic artists.

(2) *Customs.* Here the evidence rather favours the theory of Mongolian origin<sup>18</sup>; cf. their worship of a sword (chap. 62. 2 n.), their use of hemp as an intoxicant (chap. 75. 1 n.), their impaling of horses (chap. 72. 2 n.). But customs may be borrowed, and this evidence is not decisive.

(3) *Religion.* The Scythian religion (chap. 59 nn.) seems decidedly Aryan in character; how much of this character, however, is due to H.'s colouring, it is impossible to say.

(4) *Language.* The evidence of language rather favours the Aryan hypothesis; Müllenhoff (*D. A.* iii. p. 122) says that of sixty Scyth names and words in H., one quarter completely, another quarter in part, support this. The others are either non-Scythian, or too much modified by Greek tradition to be explained. He lays special stress on the fact (p. 123) that "the Scythian names of rivers and places (e.g., 'Exampaeus,' 81. 2 n.), and of the gods, and the words expressly noted by H. as Scythian, have proved to be Aryan and Iranian."

H. says the Sauromatae spoke Scythian, though incorrectly (chap. 117); but the Sauromatae were admittedly Aryan; they are <p. 429> the ancestors of the Slavs. If then the Scyths and the Sauromatae are akin, it is natural to consider them both Aryan.

The point cannot be settled; but that it can be investigated at all is good proof of the fullness and trustworthiness of H.'s account of the race.<sup>19</sup>

### **Additional Note I (1928)**

**H.'s account of the Scyths.** Two books which have been published since 1912 on the Scyths, E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1913) and M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks* (Oxford, 1922), are indispensable for any real students of H.'s book iv. They both confirm the wonderful accuracy of H. as an observer. R. (p. 104) writes: "Some of the scenes on the vases and metal-work are like illustrations of H."; e.g., The Scythian Oath (R., p. 106 and plate xxiii); skull used as cup (M., p. 83); the impaled horses (M., p. 251); Tartar houses (M., p. 52) (this is from a later source).

R. (p. 34) even sees a basis of historic truth in some of the strangest stories of H., e.g., that about the Amazons (H. iv. 110). The Amazons, he says, are localized wherever there is the ancient cult of the mother goddess. An allusion to the same cult is found in the story of Heracles and the snake woman (R., p. 107; H. iv. 8f.). The Scyths took over the cults of their subjects; hence the importance of the goddess, Ἰοῦτή (Tabiti, H. iv. 59).

R. well points out that the great wealth of S. Russia, as shown in the tombs, was due largely to Greek trade; the Scyths—or rather their serfs—produced corn and fish, and the rulers took toll of the trade (cf. pp. 12, 44, 212); the same arrangement prevailed, after the Scyths had been overthrown, under the Sarmatians, who established a "stable" kingdom, though the ruling race was nomadic.

R. accepts the date of H. (i.e., seventh century B.C.) for the Scyth conquest of the Cimmerians. He holds that the Scyths were certainly Iranians; his arguments are partly linguistic, but still more based on the Iranian forms of Scyth arms and metal-work generally (pp. 10, 55f.). M., on the other hand (p. 100), inclines to think they were Mongolian, ruling over Aryan subjects.

The following passages may be especially recommended for illustration of H.: on tribes adjoining Scyths, M. chap. v, pp. 101f., especially p. 105 on Gelonos (cf. R., p. 213); on the geography of H., M. chap. iii, pp. 26–32; on the tomb of Kouloba, M., pp. 195f.; and R., pp. 45f. for funeral ceremonies generally.]

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### **Notes**

1. Macan (p. 20) well draws attention to the fact that this section is very general, and contains few names; it might have been written without any visit to Scythia. He lays stress on the "personal references" in it (99. 2, 5; 101. 3) as showing that it is H.'s own inference; but he is wrong in taking Borysthenes (101. 2) for "the city" (p. 19); it must be the river.
2. Cf. 18. 2 and 53. 4 for another inconsistency and also the difficulties as to the Danube (see below).
3. Both Rawlinson and Macan take the "East Sea" (99. 3, 4; 100. 1) as the "Palus Maeotis." But H. always calls this λίμνη, and the comparison of Taurice with

Attica implies that the *same* sea washes both its shores, the south and the east. Macan makes the Palus Maeotis of H. run north and south. Rawlinson (in his map and p. 204) makes it mainly east and west; the former is clearly right, but H. thinks the sea inclines northeast (120. 2 n.).

4. He crosses the Tanais (chap. 122. 3) and marches through the territories of the Sauromatae and the Budini (chap. 123. 1). These are more than fifteen days (chap. 21) in extent, yet Darius soon returns into Scythia; this is implied, though no note of time is given.

5. τὰ ὄρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα.

6. See n. 3 above.

7. *Kl. Schr.*, 156, 356, and map.

8. The statement that the Ister mouth faces southeast (99. 1) may be quoted on both sides; but it would naturally mean "while the course is north and south, the mouth turns southeast".

9. This is not mentioned in chap. 57, but in chap. 123. 3; if it is the Volga, H. is wrong in making it flow into the Maeotis.

10. But it may be noted that a tributary of the Amazon does in a somewhat similar way join the Orinoco.

11. For further evidence of H.'s familiarity with Scythia see notes *passim*; there is a good summary of the evidence in Rawlinson, iii. 206–7.

12. For its importance in literature cf. 4. 1 n., for its accuracy cf. especially chaps. 71–2 nn.

13. e.g., Ephorus in Strabo, 302 seq., and Plin. 4. 25. So, too, the Goths and Huns are called "Scyths" (Nieb. *ut sup.* 354); we may compare the modern use of "Tartars" (but Yule, *M. Polo*, i. p. 12, defends this use).

14. "Scyth" is probably itself a Greek form of "Saka." Stein connects it with the root of "schiessen" (to shoot) and explains it τoξόται; he quotes the fact that the slave-police at Athens were called both Σκύθαι and τoξόται; but this proves nothing.

15. Niebuhr (pp. 374 seq.) tries to explain their disappearance by tracing the encroachments of the Getae in the west, and of the Sauromatae in the east. The scanty later history of the Scyths can be read in *EB*<sup>9</sup> 21. 578.

16. Cf. *EB*<sup>11</sup> s.v. Calmuck. Peisker, however (*Camb. Med. Hist.* i. p. 354), confidently asserts that the Scythian type, as described by H., is Mongolian.

17. *Eothen*, chap. xvii, p. 191 (ed. of 1864).

18. Peisker (*ibid.* p. 355) lays stress on this, basing his comparison on the data of H.

19. For a brilliant account of Nomadism as the destructive force in history cf. *Camb. Med. Hist.* i, 359; although Darius failed in part in Syria (cf. app. xii), we may

certainly credit the Medo-Persian empire with having successfully repulsed the Northern hordes at a critical moment in the world's development.

## **Appendix XII: The Scythian Expedition**

[Rawlinson (iii. 112–4) defends with some hesitation the historical value of the Herodotean narrative. For a full criticism and analysis cf. Macan, ii. 33–54.]

### **§ 1**

H. has elaborated with great care his account of the first Persian invasion of Europe. He has a special personal interest in Scythia; but there is also an obvious parallel intended between the campaign of Darius and that of Xerxes; similar warnings are given, similar preparations are made, similar disasters are incurred.

In spite, however, of all the historian's pains, his success in book iv is very different from his success elsewhere; no part of his narrative, falling in times so near his own, has been the object of so many and such well-grounded criticisms; nowhere are results, that are even approximately certain, so few.

### **§ 2**

**Date of Expedition.** The date of the expedition may be fixed approximately between 514 B.C. and 508 B.C. The *terminus a quo* is given by the fact that Babylon had already been reduced (iv. 1), i.e., after its second rebellion (cf. iii. 150 n.); we can hardly date this reduction earlier than 516, and we must allow a year at least for the gathering of the whole Persian force for the attack on Europe. There had also been time for Syloson (restored to Samos about 516, iii. 139) to be succeeded by his son Aeaces (iv. 138. 2). The *terminus ante* is fixed as 508; we find Artaphrenes as satrap at Sardis about 507 (v. 73. 2) and he was appointed there a year *after* the expedition (v. 25. 1). It may further be argued that the expedition seems to have been before 510, when Hippias retired to Sigeum (v. 94. 1), and that "the influence with Darius," which won for the son of Hippoclus of Lampsacus an Athenian bride (after 514; Thuc vi. 59), was probably connected with the expedition. The most probable date then is about 512 B.C.<sup>1</sup> <p. 430>

### **§ 3**

**Motives of Expedition in H.** To determine the motive of the expedition is harder than to fix the date. H. gives two motives, which, though at first sight inconsistent, are not really so; for the first is general, i.e., it belongs to the whole of the European conquests; the second is special—for the Scythian Expedition.

The first is given picturesquely in iii. 134; Darius is exhorted to show himself a man and to keep his people employed. In this story we have a dramatic representation of a real law in Oriental history; a conquering race is bound to go on till it meets a check, and inactivity means decay. H., of course unconsciously, grasps this law; but the setting he gives to it is pure romance.

The second motive is given in book iv. The expedition was one of revenge for the Scythian invasions of Asia at the end of the seventh century. This is H.'s definite opinion (he repeats it in vii. 20. 2), but it may be doubted whether the reason has any historical reality; it corresponds suspiciously with H.'s view that history is a series of actions and reactions,<sup>2</sup> and with his fondness for definite causes.<sup>3</sup> Nor would a practical statesman like Darius be influenced by such a motive. At the best H.'s explanation is only the talk of the Persian army, not the motive of the king's council chamber.

#### § 4

**Motives suggested by modern historians.** To turn now to modern explanations.

(1) The first in two various forms attempts to give an historical meaning to the second motive assigned by H. Meyer (iii. 69) says: "Under the mistaken pragmatism of H. it is easy to see the real connection of facts." He supposes that Darius wished to secure himself against the tribes of the North, and proposed to attack them in the rear. The king knew the Northern lands were all connected, but had an insufficient conception of their extent and of the difficulties of his attempt. Gutschmidt<sup>4</sup> thinks Darius wished to unite his empire by an expedition against the hated and dreaded nomads of the North and Northwest.

(2) A more probable explanation, which is also consistent with that just given in either form, is that Darius wished to strike terror into the nomad tribes, to show that the Persian king's arm reached far. We may compare the expeditions of Germanicus against Germany, which were authorized by even the pacific Tiberius.

(3) A different colour is given to the expedition by those who make its main motive economic<sup>5</sup>, and think its aim was to make the Euxine a Persian lake. The gold which came from South Russia <p. 431> and the riches of its corn supply may well have made the conquest attractive, and have misled Darius as to the extent of the civilization of the country. Such a motive is in harmony with his character as *κάπηλος* (in. 89. 3), but it is of course unprovable.

(4) A special form has been given to this theory by Bury,<sup>6</sup> who supposes that Darius was aiming at the conquest of Transylvania and its gold mines. He argues that Darius really set up the "eight forts" of iv. 124 in West Scythia to guard his communications up the valley of (perhaps) the Buzeo (*Ἄραρος* iv. 48. 2); but that H., confusing this river with the Oarus, transported all the operations, regardless of geography, across Scythia. This theory corresponds with the fact that all the certain operations of Darius are in West Scythia, and H. may have confused the gold fields of Transylvania and of the Ural. But it really has no evidence for it, so that it can be neither proved nor disproved.

(5) Grundy (pp. 60–4) makes the ingenious suggestion that Darius was seeking an "ethnic frontier"; he wished to subdue the kinsmen in Europe of his Thracian subjects in Asia, and pushed on to the Danube, where he found an ethnic frontier between Thracians and Scyths. Grundy's general discussion of frontiers is

interesting; but it is unlikely that Darius knew or cared much about ethnology, or that a reconnaissance over the Danube could have shown him that he had found a racial line, even if he was seeking one. It may be said that this theory confuses the result of the expedition with its motive. Grundy further thinks (p. 70) that Darius was aiming at the reduction of Thrace.

In this Macan agrees with him (ii. 48). But this theory involves the complete rejection of H.'s narrative; the historian keeps Darius close to the coast of Thrace (cf. iv. 90. 2, 93); in fact, he makes the Persian advance (the reverse way) by the very route which the Russians followed in their attack on Constantinople in 1828 (cf. 89. 2 n.). H.'s facts are meaningless unless the objective of Darius was across the Danube.

## § 5

**Results of expedition.** Before an attempt is made to sum up as to the motives, something must be said as to the results of the expedition. These may be summarized as follows:

- (1) It paved the way for the complete conquest of the coastline of Thrace; Darius began what Megabazus and Otanes finished.
- (2) But it is clear the Scyths were not terrorized; H. brings them shortly after as far South as the Chersonese (vi. 40. 1 n.), though the date is uncertain<sup>7</sup> (iv. 143. 1 n.).
- (3) There seems to have been almost a general revolt among the Hellespontine Greeks after the expedition. Byzantium has to be <p. 432> retaken by Otanes (v. 26), and widespread punishment inflicted (v. 27. 2 n.).<sup>8</sup>
- (4) Hence it is clear that the expedition was on the whole a failure, and is rightly represented as a blow to Persian prestige. H. insists on this point,<sup>9</sup> and he may well have met some of those who took part in the campaign. Other accounts, too, confirm the fact that Darius suffered heavy loss.<sup>10</sup> Hence it is clearly wrong to suggest, as Macan does (ii. 49), that the story of H. is "motivated" by the desire to represent Darius as suffering disaster like his predecessors.

Perhaps the statement of Strabo (305) that Darius advanced as far as the "desert of the Getae" (i.e., that of the Dniester), and then retired for want of water, may be accepted as representing the main outline of what happened. Whether this was a guess on the part of Strabo or represents the tradition of some lost historian we cannot say; at any rate it agrees in part with the details in H., who says that the Scyths intended to fight if their ancestral tombs were threatened (chap. 127); these were on the river Dniester (Tyras). As this statement is immediately followed by the only account of actual fighting (chaps. 128 seq.), perhaps we may infer that Darius really did get near the tombs. But this is most uncertain. All we know is that Darius crossed the Danube, and retired after suffering considerable loss and running great danger.

Duncker (vi. 289 seq.) ingeniously tries to fit in the expedition in the West of Scythia; he points out that fifteen days' journey up the Pruth valley would bring

Darius near the sources of the Boug; he would then be near the Royal Tombs (cf. chap. 127) on the Dniester.

Since the result of the expedition was a failure, it does not help us to determine the motive. We can therefore only say positively that Darius aimed at carrying his arms across the Danube, and we may then go on to guess that his motive was to strike terror, and perhaps to add to his empire the goldfields of the northwest as he had already done those of the extreme southeast (iii. 94. 2 n.).

## § 6

**Difficulties in H.'s narrative.** With regard to the fortunes of the expedition, there is no doubt that H.'s account is impossible.<sup>11</sup> The most important objections against it are:

(1) It violates the laws of time and space. Darius is in Scythia a little more than sixty days (iv. 133. 2); yet in this time he marches across Scythia, and crosses the Tanais; he then marches through the Sauromatae (chap. 122) and the Budini (chap. 123), half builds eight <p. 433> large forts (chap. 124. 1), and then returns by a different route. But Scythia is over 450 miles broad; in fact H. himself makes it twenty days' journey across (chap. 101), and an army would move much more slowly than a traveler.

(2) An army of 700,000 men could not live in a ravaged land, or cross the big rivers.

(3) Such a mad march, away from all communications with his base, is as impossible as that Darius himself ordered his communications to be destroyed (chaps. 97–8).

## § 7

**Supposed inconsistencies.** Modern criticism, however, makes the narrative not only impossible, but also inconsistent. This is much more doubtful; H. is too good a literary artist to be lightly accused of self-contradiction; the following may be taken as specimens of the arguments on this point (responses are in brackets):

(1) The Scyths have no cavalry, yet they offer battle with cavalry and infantry (chap. 134). [This is a merely conventional way of describing a pitched battle.]

(2) They try to deprive the Persians of provisions, yet they allow their flocks to be captured (chap. 130). [But the proverb as to "throwing a sprat to catch a whale" applies in war as well as elsewhere.]

(3) Darius returning from the Agathyrsi (i.e., from North) comes by the road which he had traversed before (140. 3) when moving east. [But this was only near the Danube; two divergent roads often start in common.]

## § 8

**H.'s sources and methods.** The story of the Scythian expedition throws considerable light on H.'s sources and methods:

(1) It is clear that he got his information as to the Bosphorus bridge from the Samian Heraeum (88. 1; cf. introd. § 25).

(2) His story of the invasion may well come from the Pontic Greeks at Olbia. They boldly transported Darius to Northeast Scythia, the region they knew best, and H. the more readily accepted their version, because Scythia, both Northeast and Northwest, was alike in its general features.

(3) H. never attempts to introduce into the narrative his knowledge of the rivers of Scythia; this probably came to him from a different source.

(4) The story of the scenes at the Bridge is coloured by Greek hatred of tyrants, and perhaps by the family traditions of the Philadae (137. 1 n.).

## § 9

**To sum up.** The whole narrative illustrates H.'s dependence on his sources. The events were removed from his own day by the same interval as the fall of the Pisistratidae. But the latter event happened in Greece proper, where evidence was abundant, and could be tested by comparison. The Scythian expedition had taken place far away to the north, and its scene was as unfamiliar as the evidence for it was scanty. The critical powers of H. were able to work on the history of Athens before his own day; they broke down <p.434> completely across the Danube.<sup>12</sup> All we can say is that he gives us a vigorous picture of the difficulties of fighting against a light-armed foe who avoids a battle. Darius is only the first of the long series of invaders (of whom Charles XII and Napoleon are the most famous) who have found in the vast distances of Russia an invincible enemy. But as to the exact details of his failure we can only guess.

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## Notes

1. For further ingenious points cf. Duncker, vi. 270–1, but there is no reason to place (as he does) the expedition of Democedes after the Scythian expedition.
2. Cf. the opening chapters of book i.
3. Cf. introd., § 32, p. 45.
4. *EB*<sup>9</sup> s.v. Scythians.
5. e.g., Niebuhr, *Lectures on Ancient History*, i. 140.
6. *CR* xi. 277 seq.
7. With this may be connected the supposed Scyth embassy to Sparta (vi. 84. 2).
8. Strabo (591) speaks of Abydos as in revolt.
9. Cf. the speeches of Artabanus in book vii (chaps. 10. c, 52. 1).
10. Ctesias (sec. 17, p. 68) makes the king advance fifteen days with 800,000 men and lose 80,000 (cf. 131. 4 n.); this figure is also given by Justin (ii. 5).
11. The objections may be studied in Macan, ii. 43f., or in Duncker, vi. 379–86; Grote's criticism (iv. 191f.) is, as always, sensible and worth reading.
12. Duncker (p. 290) suggests there are fragments of Iranian poetry in the narratives both of H. (chaps. 131–2, the enigmatical gifts) and of Ctesias (the exchange of bows, when the Scythian is found to be the stronger). This may be so, but the stories sound suspiciously Greek.

## Appendix XIII: The Geography of Herodotus

[The great work of Rennell (published 1800) is still interesting, but quite out of date. Tozer, *Hist. Anc. Geog.* pp. 75–97, is clear and full of points; Bunbury, i. 156–317, is much longer, but less useful proportionately; Berger, *Erdk. der Griechen* (1903) is particularly full on the scientific side of the subject, but is marked by the modern tendency to write down H. and to write up his Ionian predecessors. Myres' paper (*GJ* 1896, 605 seq., "Maps used by H.") is most ingenious, but his inferences should be carefully tested.]

### § 1

"H.'s merit is that he recognized how important the description of countries is for history, but we cannot make him out a geographer without damaging the reputation of early geography and his own reputation." Whether this judgment of Berger (p. 145, edit. of 1887) be fair or not, there is no doubt that H.'s contributions to geography are only subordinate to his main subject; hence the argument from silence is especially inapplicable to this part of his writings; he knew far more than he tells us.<sup>1</sup>

In this appendix an attempt will be made to describe, not his geographical knowledge in detail, but only his general attitude to the subject.

## § 2

**H.'s attitude to Geography.** H. approaches geography strictly from the empirical point of view; his aim is to record facts, not to deal with scientific theories. Hence he criticizes sharply (iii. 115; iv. 36. 2) those who put forth general views without definite evidence. In this respect, he is characteristic of his time; in Periclean Athens there was a critical reaction against the physical speculations of the Ionian philosophers. Socrates disapproved of <p. 435> the advanced geometry and astronomy of his time, as studies tending to divert men from more profitable subjects.<sup>2</sup>

Hence it is not surprising that H. says nothing of the Pythagorean theory that the earth was a sphere, or of the zones into which Parmenides, following out the idea of Pythagoras, divided the earth's surface. This refusal on the part of H. to theorize was largely justified; Pythagoras' sphere was probably only a happy guess, based on the idea that it was the most perfect figure.

## § 3

**H.'s mistakes.** But the lack of these general views involved H. in strange mistakes when he attempted to explain unfamiliar phenomena (cf. especially his account of the climate of India, iii. 104. 2 n.). Believing, as he did, the earth to be a flat surface over which the sun moves from east to west, he is completely unable to understand the laws of temperature. It is especially to be noticed that he treats as independent facts forces like the winds or peculiarities of climate, e.g., he says that the upper parts of Libya have no cold winds, and hence are peculiarly affected by the sun, and finds in these local phenomena a strange explanation for the rise of the Nile (ii. 24, 25 nn.). In his view the winds of a country are isolated and special,<sup>3</sup> like the fertility of its soils, and he has no conception that there are general laws of atmospheric pressure.

## § 4

**His attitude to maps.** In the same way it is to be noticed that, though H. mentions maps (iv. 36. 2, v. 49. 1 nn.; this latter map is specially said to be "of the whole earth" with "all the sea and all the rivers"), he does not appeal to them for his own statements. At the same time he obviously feels the need of diagrammatic schemes on which the isolated geographical facts that he records can be arranged. He attempts to construct rough parallels,<sup>4</sup> by which to indicate the relative position of one place to another; these may be said to be of three kinds:

(1) as to special places: e.g., Pteria is κατὰ Σινώπην (i. 76. 1);

(2) for whole districts: Asia is based on a line drawn from the Erythraean Sea to the Pontus (iv. 37 n.), and Scythia is a perfect square (iv. 101 n.);

(3) for the relation of these districts to each other: so in ii. 34 nn. Asia and Europe are related to each other in a line drawn from the Danube to the Nile.

It is not surprising that parallels of this kind are inaccurate. But it is important to remember that they are not meant to be strictly <p. 436> accurate; they are early attempts at map-making, and "early maps originate in the pictorial representation of physical features as seen along a route . . . changes of direction are indicated by short bends." (Myres, p. 610, who well compares "the maps of the Southeastern Railway" as "monumental instances of the distortion incidental to the representation of a route as axis of a peninsula.")

## § 5

**The division of continents.** It was natural that H., being indifferent to theoretical geography, should treat very superficially the question of the division of the earth into continents. The earliest division was into two, Europe and Asia<sup>5</sup>; the Mediterranean seemed to provide a natural boundary, and there was a marked difference of temperature between the lands lying south and southeast of it and the opposite coasts.

The twofold division is stated with the greatest clearness by H.'s contemporary, the physician Hippocrates (*Aer.* xii), who dwells on the superiority of Asia, "that its products are finer, its soil more kindly, and its national characters less fierce."

This division always tended to remain in Greek thought; so Isocrates (*Pan.*) speaks of the Great King claiming for himself Asia, one of the two regions into which the whole world ὑπὸ τῶ κόσμῳ κειμένη was divided.<sup>6</sup> It was apparently adopted again by the great geographer Eratosthenes, on the principle that North and South were different "secundum naturam" (Varro, *Rust.* i. 2).

But popular feeling was against it; already in H.'s time the threefold division was τὰ νομιζόμενα (iv. 45. 5), and he adopts this therefore with a protest against it as unreasonable.<sup>7</sup>

## § 6

**Boundaries of continents.** (1) *Europe and Asia.* Assuming the threefold division, H. discusses the boundaries of the continents: that between Asia and Europe he fixes as the Phasis (iv. 45. 2), and the Caspian and the Araxes (iv. 40. 1), i.e., he makes the line run east and west, and gives what we now call "North Asia" to Europe. In his own day there were already some who drew the line north and south, e.g., Hecataeus (frags. 164, 165), and Hippocrates (*Aer.* xiii), as H. himself mentions (iv. 45. 2). The result of his adopting this line of demarcation is to give an enormous extension to his Europe (iv. 42. 1), which he considers to be bigger than the other two continents together.<sup>8</sup> <p. 437>

(2) *Asia and Africa.* H. is much more successful in regard to the boundary of Asia and Africa; he rightly insists that the Nile was not the dividing line, as some had maintained, for this involved the division of Egypt between two continents (ii. 16,

17 nn.). To which continent H. assigned Egypt is a little uncertain; probably he gives it, in accordance with modern ideas, to Africa (iv. 39 n.).

H.'s indifference to theory helped to save him from one mistake which his countrymen generally made. Great as is his reverence for Delphi, there is no trace in him of the view that it was the centre of the earth (ὀμφαλὸς γῆς, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 74), which lay grouped round Greece.<sup>9</sup>

## § 7

**H.'s defects and merits in general.** Apart from his lack of theoretic science, H.'s great defects as a geographer are his lack of any accurate system of measurements, and his belief in the doctrine of Symmetry, though he himself protests against it (see above and iv. 36 nn.). The former can be illustrated from every book of his History; for the latter cf. especially ii. 33. 2 n. On the other hand he has great merits. He insists again and again on the need of the evidence of eyewitnesses (cf. especially iii. 115 nn.), and his critical faculty often saves him from mistakes which were common long after his time (cf. i. 203. 1 n. as to isolation of the Caspian). He has, too, the eyes of a geographer for the main physical features of a country, he rightly appreciates the power of rivers to form deltas (ii. 10 nn.), and his remarks about Tempe (vii. 129) are a curious blending of science with theology.

If he is not a geographer, he is at all events a great collector of geographical facts. He furnished material for the geographers of the future to fit into their scientific schemes; his criticism of the science of his day was useful in the emphasis that it laid on observation as opposed to the speculations of the Ionian philosophers; above all he laid stress on the principle, too often forgotten, that history and geography must be studied together.

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## Notes

1. Though he never mentions Rome, he must have known something of that rising state. For his knowledge of North Italy cf. i. 57. 3 n.; 94. 6 n.; v. 9. 2.
2. Xen. *Mem.* iv. 7. 2 seq. Other references for this reaction are given in Berger, p. 51 (*ibid.* cf. 163).
3. This idea is, of course, not peculiar to him. Hippocrates believed in the Rhipaeian Mountains, where the north wind had its source (*Aer.*, xix; cf. iv. 32 nn.).
4. The mathematical measurement of the world and the division of its circumference into 360 degrees were the work of Eratosthenes (276–196 B.C.) and of Hipparchus (second century). H. mentions the γνώμων (ii. 109. 3 n.) with which this measurement was carried out, but says nothing of its use; he probably was acquainted with this, but regarded it with suspicion (see above).
5. For the meaning of these names cf. iv. 45 nn.
6. For other references cf. Berger, p. 78; but his list needs careful checking.
7. Pind. (*Pyth.* ix. 7 seq.) seems the oldest literary mention of the threefold division, but it must be far earlier; H. (iv. 45. 2) is quite ignorant who made it. Hecataeus is a good instance of the uncertain state of Greek opinion; his references to places in Africa are quoted sometimes from the survey of Asia (frags. 305 seq.; *FHG* i. 23), sometimes from that of "Libya" (frags. 314 seq.); probably therefore "Libya" was a subdivision of "Asia."
8. Rennell (p. 412) curiously took this the other way round, and made Europe "far inferior in breadth"; the result is a complete dislocation of his map.
9. Niebuhr, p. 137, asserts this was H.'s own view, referring to i. 142, iii. 106. 1, which prove nothing. Myres, p. 615, has a very ingenious argument as to the origin of this belief as to Delphi.

## Appendix XIV: The Chronology of Herodotus

[Most of the data and the arguments of this appendix are taken from Meyer, *Forschungen* (i. 151 seq.), but his conclusions are slightly modified (see below); for the chronology of the sixth century cf. Abbott, *Herodotus*, pp. 160–3.] <p. 438>

### § 1

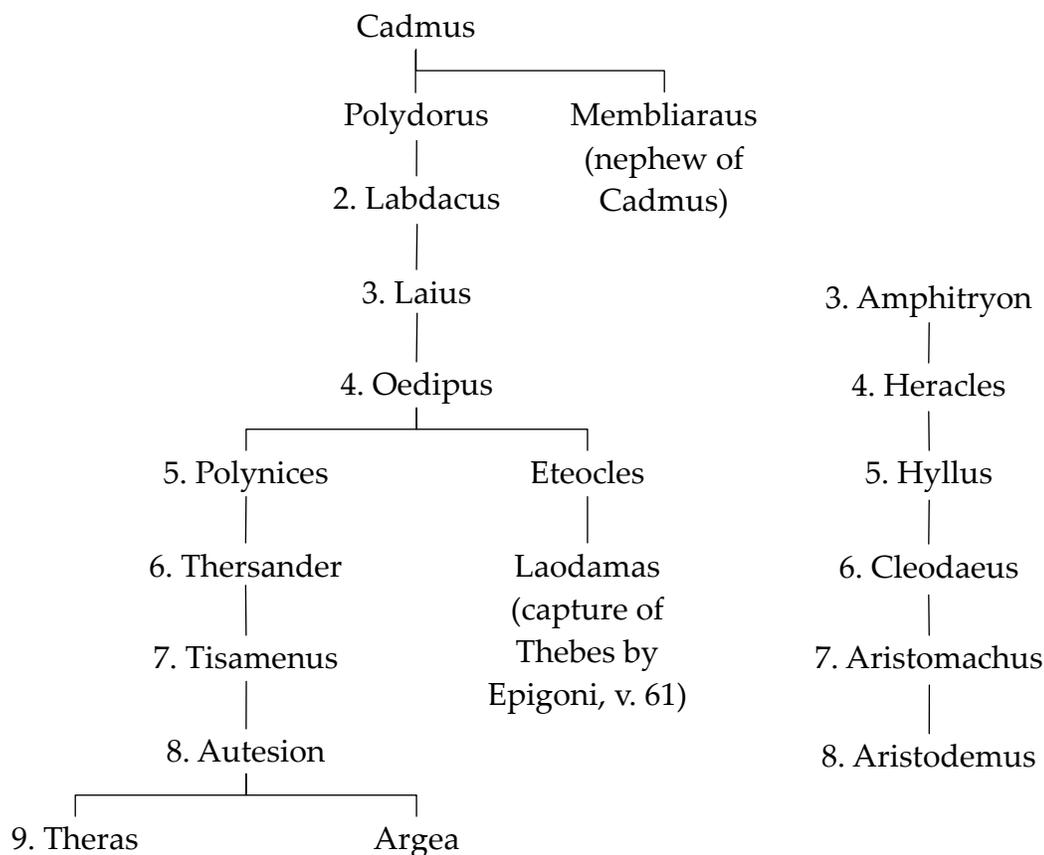
There is no evidence that H. had any fixed chronological system of his own; his dates are vague, e.g., "to my time" (ii. 145. 4), and not calculated by official lists.<sup>1</sup> Hence, though he gives many dates for the earlier parts of his history, especially for foreign nations, it is probable that he is merely reproducing these from earlier sources.<sup>2</sup> This is the more probable when his inconsistencies are noted.

As to the early history,<sup>3</sup> three main questions arise:

- (1) How far is any system traceable in H.'s dates?
- (2) What exceptions are there to this system?
- (3) How was it arrived at, or from whom did H. borrow it?

## § 2

**The Herodotean system for early period dates.** This seems to have been fairly definite, as can be seen by a comparison of the genealogy of the Theban House of Cadmus with that of Heracles in the following table:



<p. 439> The first line is given as far as Laius in v. 59, where Amphitryon is made contemporary with Laius, the rest of it, from Polynices to Argea, in vi. 52. 2, where also part of the line of Heracles is given. The table is in rough agreement with the story of the colonization of Cyrene (iv. 147. 5), where the descendants of Membliarus, the nephew of Cadmus, hold Thera (Kalliste) for "eight generations" before the coming of Theras. So, too, the sailing of Cadmus is "five generations" before the birth of Heracles (ii. 44. 4).<sup>4</sup>

From Heracles to H. is 900 years,<sup>5</sup> i.e., his date is about 1350 B.C. The early chronology of H. is based on this date, with the exceptions mentioned in the next section. Heracles is placed by him almost two generations before the Trojan war, which therefore is about 1280 B.C.; for Pan, who, as the son of Penelope, belongs to

the generation after the Trojan war, is 100 years (i.e., three generations) later than Heracles (ii. 145).<sup>6</sup>

It seems that H. has used the same system, calculated from the time of Heracles, in other Oriental dates, e.g.:

(1) In Egypt, Moeris is in the third generation before Proteus, the contemporary of the Trojan war; this corresponds roughly with the “900 years” which H. gives in ii. 13. 1.

(2) In Assyria, Nineveh is founded by Ninus, the third in descent from Heracles (i. 7), i.e., about 1250 B.C.; but H. also says that the Assyrians ruled Asia for 520 years (i. 96); this is reckoned back from the Median revolt. H. seems to place this revolt (app. iii, § 6) about 700 B.C., which gives 1220 B.C. (520 + 700) for the commencement of Assyrian empire. This would have followed shortly after the foundation of Nineveh.

(3) Again, in Lydian history, H. gives 505 years to the Heraclidae, who descend from Agron. Agron therefore is made to ascend the Lydian throne in 1221 B.C. (i.e., 505 + 716 B.C., H.’s date for the accession of Gyges). As fourth in descent from Heracles (i. 7), Agron’s date would be 1217 (i.e., 1350 minus 133).

### § 3

**Exceptions to this system.** So far it has been sought to show that H. gives a fairly consistent system. There are, however, some grave departures from it, e.g.: <p. 440>

(1) Moeris is placed by him about 1350 B.C. (ii. 13); but he is only ten generations, i.e., about 330 years, before the Dodecarchy, which immediately precedes the accession of Psammetichus (663), i.e., his date should be about 1000 B.C.

(2) He gives “more than 700 years” (ii. 140. 2) between Anysis and Amyrtaeus, i.e., Anysis would die at latest 1150 B.C.; but he belongs to the eighth century in H.’s narrative. In fact, when H. wishes to give the length of Egyptian history (ii. 142), he disregards all his own figures and makes a purely artificial calculation.

### § 4

**Origin of chronological system.** It remains to consider the third point—how is the date of Heracles arrived at?

H. gives two genealogies of the Heraclidae, to the beginning of the fifth century (that of Leonidas, vii. 204, and that of Leotyichides, viii. 131); in each there are twenty-one generations (inclusive). But it is obvious that if, as elsewhere (ii. 142. 2), he allows three generations to a century, this would give only 700 years, i.e., the date of Heracles would be ca. 1200 (i.e., 500 + 700), not 1350 B.C. If, however, 40 years be allowed for a generation, the result is 500 + 840 = 1340, which is approximately the date required.<sup>7</sup> When a *terminus a quo* was once gained, the rest was easy, for the myths, e.g., those of Troy, Thebes, etc., synchronized other heroes with Heracles or his descendants.

What writer or writers worked out Greek chronology on these bases it is impossible to say; it may have been Hecataeus<sup>8</sup> (as Meyer, F. i. 169 seq., thinks, though his arguments are naturally very slight). His main point is that the calculation is made about 500 B.C. by some one who "closed a generation with the death of Cleomenes and the deposition of Demaratus": this date would suit Hecataeus. It is possible, however, that the "900 years" for Heracles is based on calculations from Oriental and not from Greek families. H. (i. 7. 2–4 nn.) makes Agron, the first king of the Heraclidae, to be fourth in descent from Heracles (i.e., 133 years after him); the Heraclidae rule 505 years, the Mermnadae 170,<sup>9</sup> and from the fall of Croesus to the time of H. is about 100 years: 133 + 505 + 170 + 100 = 908, which is about the figure required. But in any case it would be a Greek who made the <p. 441> calculation. The main point is that H., who was not interested in chronological questions, seems to borrow his results from some predecessor.

## § 5

**Oriental dates for seventh and sixth centuries.** The same conclusion must certainly be accepted for the lengths of the reigns of the Median (p. 383), Saite (p. 424), Lydian (p. 375), and Persian kings, viz., that H. has taken the figures over from his authorities without examination; hence, while the figures for the Saites and the Persians are almost accurate, those for the Median kings and the Mermnadae are obviously inaccurate and largely based on conjecture; the most that can be said is that the figures for the later kings of these two dynasties are probably historical. But at any rate H. has a chronology for these Oriental monarchies.

## § 6

**Weakness of Greek chronology for sixth century.** It would, however, be almost true to say that H. has no chronology at all for Greece in the century before 500 B.C. He gives occasional figures, e.g., ten full years for Pisistratus' exile (i. 62. 1), thirty-six for the whole rule of the family (v. 65. 3), and roughly synchronizes events (iv. 145 n., the Scythian and the Libyan expeditions; cf. iii. 48.1 n.); but these data are exceptional. Often he leaves the date of the events he records completely uncertain (e.g., the first Athenian war with Aegina). Hence it is not surprising that some of his facts are, as he records them, quite impossible to fit into the chronological framework of the century; the figures of the later Greek chronologers, e.g., of the *Marmor Parium*,<sup>10</sup> of Eusebius in his various versions, etc., may be unsatisfactory, but they are the best material we have, and H. has to be corrected by them.

*Main difficulties in H.'s chronology for sixth century.* The most important problems for this period are:

- (1) The story of Solon and Croesus (i. 29 nn.).
- (2) The relations of Periander and Samos (iii. 48. 1 n.).
- (3) The wars of Pisistratus in the Troad (v. 94–5 nn.).
- (4) The family history of the Alcmaeonidae (vi. 125 nn. seq.).<sup>11</sup>

In these cases H. is sometimes relating mere legend (e.g., as to Solon), while in others he is blending into one account stories heard in different places and referring to different times (e.g., as to Periander).

## § 7

**The Ionian Revolt and Τὰ Μηδικά.** With regard to his own <p. 442> immediate subject, there was a chronology<sup>12</sup> in existence, though H. makes little use of it. From the outbreak of the Ionian revolt to the Battle of Plataea it is almost possible to construct an annual sequence of events. But this is rather accidental<sup>13</sup> than the definite intention of H., and even in this period the dates of important events like the expedition of Cleomenes against Argos, (unless this event belongs to the sixth century; cf. app. xvii, § 5), and the third Athenian war against Aegina (vi. 93 n.), are much disputed; it is curious that H. is more precise in the period after the Ionian revolt than anywhere else (vi. 42, 43, 46).

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## Notes

1. viii. 51. 1 is an exception. Thuc. v. 20. 2 criticizes the “official” method, though he himself uses it in ii. 2. 1; for it cf. Ἀθ. Πολ. 4 and *passim*.
2. The date given for Homer and Hesiod (ii. 53. 2), “400 years before my time,” may be an exception, based on his own calculation.
3. This expression is used for the whole period before 600 B.C.
4. It will be noticed that the reckoning is exclusive of the *terminus a quo* in iv. 147, but inclusive in ii. 44.
5. ii. 145. 4. Meyer (p. 157) calculates H.’s own date as ca. 430, because (a) in ii. 13. 1 (see n.) he speaks as if some time had elapsed between his visit to Egypt and his writing, and (b) he was in Egypt after 440 B.C.; but both points are disputable; probably H. is not writing with such exactitude. I have therefore taken H.’s *terminus a quo* as 450.
6. In this passage (ii. 145), however, there is a glaring inconsistency, for Dionysus is placed 700 years before Heracles; yet he is the grandson of Cadmus, and therefore only two generations before him (ii. 44. 4 n.). The text is generally altered, e.g., by Hude, who brackets ἐξακόσια and καὶ, and Meyer; H. could hardly have forgotten his own dates for such well-known divinities.
7. No doubt there were many other genealogies in Greece which could be (and were actually by private families) used as bases of chronology. Hecataeus himself (ii. 143) claims a god for his “sixteenth ancestor”; i.e., he traced back his descent for fifteen human generations or 600 years (if a generation = 40 years). This would give 1100 B.C. for the foundation of his family, which is approximately the date of the Ionian immigration. For a similar list cf. the list of hereditary priests to Posidon at Halicarnassus, copied from an ancient στήλη (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 608).
8. For H.’s relations to him see introd. § 20.
9. For these figures cf. i. 7. 4 n. and p. 375 respectively; they are of course worthless historically.
10. This precious inscription, which seems to have been drawn up for educational purposes, is in the Ashmolean Museum (No. 23 in Arundel Vestibule; Guide, p. 22); it is our oldest authority for Greek chronology.
11. To these might be added the Megarian exploits of Pisistratus (i. 59 n.), and the presence of a son of Phidon among the suitors of Agariste (vi. 127 n.), which would imply a *floruit* of ca. 600 B.C. for the Argive king-tyrant; but the story of Agariste has no claim to be history, while it is not certain that H. is mistaken in i. 59.
12. Cf. vi. 18. Miletus was captured in “the sixth year from the revolt of Aristagoras”; but the disputes as to the length of the siege of Miletus (v. 33 n.) show how uncertain the chronology of H.’s narrative is.

13. Thuc. iv. 102. 2 is of great assistance.

## Appendix XV: The Pelasgi

[This appendix is based mainly on Professor Myres' article, *JHS* xxvii. 170 seq. The same theory had already been put forward in part by E. Meyer, *Forsch.* i. 1–124, but he maintains that "the only real [Pelasgian] people" (p. 29) are found in the plain of Thessaly, which was called "Pelasgiotis" and had Larissa for its chief town, and in Crete].

A clear distinction can be drawn between the actual Pelasgi and the theoretic extension of the name to denote a stage in Greek civilization.

### § 1

#### The real Pelasgi.

(1) In the Catalogue (*Il.* ii. 840–3) the Pelasgi appear among the allies of Priam, and apparently in Europe<sup>1</sup> (cf. "Sestos," line 836), perhaps in the country of the later Apsinthians (vi. 34).

(2) From this region they move:

(a) to the Southeast and South,<sup>2</sup> and we find them

(i) as early as the time of Homer in Crete (*Od.* xix. 176–7), where, with the Dorians, they are contrasted with the "native Cretans";

(ii) on the South coast of the Hellespont at Placie and Scylace (*i.* 57. 7) near Cyzicus;

(iii) at Antandrus in the southwest angle of the Troad which H. calls ἡ Πελασγίς (vii. 42 n.);

(iv) in the Northeast Aegean, in Lemnos (*iv.* 145; *vi.* 137), Imbros (*v.* 26), <p. 443> Samothrace (*ii.* 51). In Homer Lemnos is inhabited by Sinties (*Il.* i. 594): H. dates its conquest by the Pelasgi about the time of the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese (*iv.* 145);

(v) possibly in Attica (but this will be discussed later).

(b) To the West. H. puts them "in Creston," i.e., between the rivers Strymon and Axios (cf. *i.* 57.4 n.), Thucydides (*iv.* 109) among the "mixed populations" in the peninsula of Acte; the latter definitely connects them with "those who occupied Lemnos and Athens."

So far all is consistent. With both H. and Thucydides they are βάρβαροι, and their geographical extension is limited in extent and quite probable.

## § 2

**The Pelasgic Theory.** But even as early as the time of Homer, though the Pelasgi are a definite people with local habitations, the *adjective* "Pelasgic" seems to have been used in a quite different sense. In *Il.* ii. 681 "Pelasgic Argos" is inhabited by "Myrmidons, Hellenes, and Achaeans"; in *Il.* xvi. 233–4 those who "dwell round" the shrine of "Pelasgic Zeus" at Dodona are the Selli.

Myres (pp. 182–3) suggests that in the struggle between Greek and native in the region of the Hellespont after the Trojan war, the Greeks came especially into collision with the real Pelasgi, and so began to use their name = "uncivilized": "Pelasgic Zeus" then would be a reference to the "uncouth ritual" of his worshippers, ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιεῦναι (line 235). This is most ingenious and also very doubtful, but, whatever the cause, the point seems clear that "Pelasgic" had already come to mean something else than race-distinction.

From this sense are developed the *Theoretical Pelasgians*.

(1) Hesiod speaks of Dodona as Πελασγῶν ἔδρανον (Strabo 327), and makes Pelasgus, the son of Lycaon, the Arcadian hero (ibid. 221).<sup>3</sup> So the poet Asius (ca. 700 B.C.) makes Pelasgus "earth-born."

(2) The genealogists improved on this. Acusilaus<sup>4</sup> introduced Pelasgus into the Argive mythology, and makes him the son of Niobe and Zeus, while Pherecydes<sup>5</sup> developed the Arcadian genealogy. This transference to the Peloponnese was aided by the mistake which identified Homer's "Pelasgic Argos" (which was really in Thessaly) with the more familiar city in the Argolid.

(3) Perhaps it was Hecataeus who carried the process out thoroughly, and made the Pelasgians the "original race" (*Urvoik*)<sup>6</sup> everywhere, except where other supposed primitive races, e.g., the Leleges (cf. i. 171 n.), were already introduced.

This conclusion was rendered easier by (a) the mistaken <p. 444> etymology which connected "Pelasgian" and πάλαι, (b) the wide diffusion of the names "Larissa"<sup>7</sup> and "Argos."

## § 3

**The theoretical Pelasgians in H.** H. certainly believed that the Pelasgians were the early inhabitants of Greece, i.e., all who claimed to be autochthonous or to be connected with pre-Hellenic populations: the only true Hellenes are the Dorians (i. 56).

So we find: (1) The following peoples are Pelasgian: Aeolians (vii. 95), Arcadians (i. 146; viii. 73), Argives (ii. 171), Athenians (i. 56–7; viii. 44), Dodonaean (ii. 56). It will be seen that these are the peoples which, according to tradition, had changed least.

(2) So all Greece is Pelasgic (ii. 56; viii. 44).

(3) It is specially in connection with religion, the most conservative of institutions, that H. brings in the name (ii. 56, 171).

But it is clear that H. only meant by these "Pelasgi" the Greeks in an undeveloped stage; this may be seen especially in viii. 44, where he traces the changes of name, not of race, among the "unchanged" Attic population.

Unfortunately, H. confuses these "theoretical Pelasgi" with the real people of that name, when he argues that all the Pelasgi were "barbarians" in speech<sup>8</sup> because those on the Hellespont were so (i. 57).

#### § 4

**Later extensions of the Pelasgian theory.** Ephorus, the great systematizer of Greek history in the fourth century, seems to have developed a theory that the "Pelasgians originated in Arcadia and nowhere else, and spread thence, all over Greece and beyond," as conquerors and colonists (Myres, p. 209). This theory apparently was based on the passage in Hesiod, and on the "comparative method" of Thucydides (i. 6), by which he infers that all Greece had once been in the same state of civilization as the least advanced parts of it in his own day. As the Arcadians alone in South Greece had, in some districts, failed to adopt the πόλις system, it was a natural inference that the most primitive people had their home there.

But the theoretical Pelasgians were extended outside Greece into Italy, for there also some prehistoric people was needed to make a beginning and to account for the archaic fortifications which still existed (cf. § 6).

#### § 5

**The Pelasgians in Attica** (vi. 137–40; cf. ii. 51. 7 and Thuc. iv. 109). So far all seems fairly clear. A real tribe belonging to the North Aegean had their name extended to signify <p. 445> pre-historic peoples everywhere. But it remains a question whether the Pelasgians in Attica were a real barbarian people or a special development of the prehistoric theory. The question is complicated by the fact that the prehistoric wall round the Acropolis, which was in all probability properly called τὸ Πελαργικόν,<sup>9</sup> had its name altered into τὸ Πελασγικόν (cf. v. 64 n.).

It is argued that the whole story is unhistorical because (1) it is not found in any of the early local records, e.g., the drama, Plato, and Aristotle; (2) it has no names connected with it in H.<sup>10</sup>; (3) it is based on a mistaken etymology (see above); (4) it is also based on early custom, i.e., marriage by capture (vi. 138. 5); (5) it is supposed to have been developed by the Athenians to justify their seizure of Lemnos.

It is at any rate a curious coincidence that the conqueror of Lemnos as a Philaid was locally connected with Brauron (cf. H. vi. 35. 1 with Plut. *Sol.* 10). There is nothing improbable in the story itself, and it may be compared to the legends of Thracian settlements in Attica and Boeotia; but these legends do not go back beyond the fifth century, and are themselves open to grave suspicion (cf. Busolt, ii. pp. 78–9).

## § 6

**The Pelasgi and the Tyrseni.** One special development in ancient times of the Pelasgian theory must be mentioned separately; they were identified<sup>11</sup> with the Tyrrhenians or Tyrsenians, and so with the Etruscans. This combination appears first in Hellanicus (frag. 1, *FHG* i. 45), who states that the Pelasgi, being expelled by the Greeks, settled in Italy, changed their name to Tyrseni,<sup>12</sup> and founded Etruria. That the Etruscans came from the East is very probable (cf. i. 94 n. and app. i, § 13). Perhaps we may go further and connect the migration of the Tyrseni with the great attacks of the "peoples of the sea" on Egypt in the thirteenth century B.C., which, being repulsed, recoiled westward (cf. pp. 420–1). But this is largely conjecture. What may be taken as certain is that barbarian tribes called Tyrrhenians and Pelasgians were neighbours in the northwest Aegean. <p. 446>

## § 7

**Modern Racial Theories.** Other theories as to the Pelasgians may be briefly mentioned, most of which agree in making the name "racial."<sup>13</sup>

(1) Kiepert (*Lehrb. der alt. Geog.* 241) champions the old view which makes them Semitic.

(2) Thumser (*Hermann, Lehrbuch der griech. Antiq.* i. 41) makes them probably Illyrian.

(3) Especially interesting is the theory of Professor Ridgeway (*Early Age of Greece*, vol. i; it is well summarized in *QR*, No. 387, 1901, "The Dawn of Greece"), which makes them the authors of the Mycenaean civilization. His main reasons are: (a) legends place Pelasgi in all places where archaeology finds "Mycenaean" remains; (b) the Pelasgians are the dark dolichocephalic race, who formed the primitive population of the Mediterranean basin.

It may be convenient in this way to call the early inhabitants of Greece "Pelasgi"; but it is not likely that these all formed one race, and it is most unlikely the Greeks had any definite tradition as to these earlier peoples.

It must be remembered that:

(1) Similarity of culture does not prove identity of race.

(2) The coincidence of Pelasgic tradition and Mycenaean finds is by no means complete.

(3) The Greek legends are clearly known to us in a developed literary form, and it is difficult to decide what elements in them are real tradition, and what are later accretions.

(4) Professor Ridgeway rightly lays stress on the value of tradition. How then does he account for the strange unimportance of the Pelasgi in Homer, and for the fact that the Greeks (who, according to his theory, were mainly Pelasgi) always clearly distinguished themselves from the Pelasgi?

But with regard to racial theories of the Pelasgi, the words of Grote (ii. 263–4) are as true now as when they were written: “If any man is inclined to call the unknown ante-Hellenic period of Greece by the name of Pelasgic, it is open for him to do so. But this is a name . . . no way enlarging our insight into real history. We may without impropriety apply the remark of H. . . . that ‘the man who carries his story into the invisible world, passes out of the range of criticism’ [H. ii. 23].”

[**Additional Note J (1928): The Pelasgi and the Etruscans.** Professor Myres’ theory as to the Pelasgi adopted in app. xv is severely criticized by W. Leaf (*Troy*, p. 332), who puts forward a new theory of his own (chap 7). “Pelasgi,” he says, “is not the name of any one tribe, but is applied successively to each race with whom the Hellenes came into contact,” i.e., it means “neighbours” (cf. πέλας). Hence its application was continually changed, and it only has a footing permanently in history in regions where resistance to the Hellenes had been prolonged, e.g., on the south slope of the northern ranges, i.e., Pelasgiotis, and farther west, in Dodona, and also in Attica. Leaf compares the German use of “Welsh” = “Marchmen” for all non-Teutonic neighbours. But in spite of Leaf’s criticism, it is best to assume, as Myres does, the double sense of Pelasgi: only it must be admitted that the survivals of pre-Hellenic population were more numerous and important than used to be believed. This is especially true of the Etruscans, the story of whose Lydian origin (cf. app. i, at end, p. 376) is being more and more accepted by scholars; the question is admirably discussed (and H.’s account vindicated<sup>14</sup>) in W. Randall Maciver’s book, *The Etruscans* (Oxford, 1927). He points out (pp. 7f.) that archaeological evidence decisively refutes the view of Niebuhr and Mommsen, that the Etruscans came into Italy by land from the northeast, for:

(1) Felsina (i.e., Bologna), the oldest Etruscan town north of the Apennines, is proved by exploration to have been founded only at the end of the sixth century B.C.

(2) All the oldest Etruscan cities are on the sea coast.

He dates the Etruscan immigration about the end of the ninth century B.C., and well compares it with the descents of the Norsemen on Scotland, as told in the Sagas. They were attracted especially by the wealth of copper in Etruria and of iron in Elba, and owed their victory, like the Normans, to their superior arms. They formed a small oligarchy in each city, the native Italians being serfs, as were most of the Saxons in the Anglo-Norman period.

Maciver is prepared to accept the identity of the Tyrsenoi with the Tursha of the Egyptian monuments (cf. p. 420); if this is so, they were a formidable seafaring people centuries before they appeared in the west (p. 17).

The linguistic evidence for the connection of the Etruscans with Lydia is summarized by E. Littman (*American Exploration*, Sardis vi, pp. 80–2), who thinks the “relationship cannot be denied.”]

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## Notes

1. In *Il.* x. 428–9 they appear with the Carians, Paeonians, Leleges, and Caucones. From this Busolt, i. 165, infers they were “Asiatic”; but the passage, unlike that in the Catalogue, obviously is not geographical (as is shown by the mention of the “Paeonians”).
2. Cf. vii. 75 for a similar move on the part of their Thracian neighbours; also vii. 73.
3. This passage is especially important, as giving a full account of the later Pelasgian theory, as developed (perhaps) by Ephorus (Myres, pp. 209 seq.).
4. Frag. 11, *FHG* i. 101.
5. Frag. 85, *FHG* i. 92.
6. E. Meyer, *G. des A.* ii. 465; cf. frag. 356 σχεδόν καὶ ἡ σύμπασα Ἑλλάς κατοικία βαρβάρων ὑπῆρξε τὸ παλαιόν (*FHG* i. 28).
7. There were three in Thessaly, two in Peloponnese, four on the coast of Asia Minor; Stephanas of Byzantium (s.v.) mentions at least twelve.
8. He himself assumes the contrary in ii. 59, where he makes θεός a Pelasgian word. How easy the confusion was may be seen by the fact that Thucydides also uses “Pelasgian” in two quite different senses: (a) for the primitive inhabitants of Greece, i. 3; (b) for contemporary barbarians, iv. 109.
9. Cf. Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, 27–9, and the pictures there of early representations of “storks” from the Acropolis.
10. The names in Pausanias i. 28. 3, Hyperbius and Agrolas, are obviously inventions based on H.’s story.
11. For the identification cf. Sophocles frag. 256, who speaks of Τυρσηνοῖσι Πελασγοῖς in Argos.
12. The Tyrseni first appear in Greek literature in the hymn to Dionysus (line 8), which may be dated about 600 B.C.; there they figure as pirates. In H. i. 57 and Thuc. iv. 109 they are a people in the northwest corner of the Aegean, in the neighbourhood of the Pelasgi; Thucydides also connects them with Lemnos. In 1886 a sixth-century inscription was found at Lemnos (*BCH* x. 1), which is supposed to show affinities to Etruscan. So too the Pelasgian place-name “Larissa” has been conjectured to be connected with the Etruscan “Lar.” But this is as uncertain as everything concerning the Etruscans.
13. Perhaps we may especially mention the amusing theory of Wilamowitz (*Philol. Unters.* i. 144), who makes them an imaginary background, “they are there only to be driven out.”
14. But many archaeologists, especially in Italy, still refuse to accept the account of H. Cf. *Year’s Work in Class. Stud.* pp. 38-39.

## Appendix XVI: Herodotus on Tyranny

### § 1

**The tyrants in Greek literature.** The picture of tyranny and tyrants given by H. is one of almost unrelieved blackness. Tyranny is the negation of law and order, the arbitrary rule of an individual, puffed up with pride yet racked with suspicions, who sacrifices the lives of men and the honour of women to gratify the caprice of the moment (iii. 80). This judgment is borne out by the long catalogue of crimes attributed to Polycrates (iii. 39–47, 54–60, 120–6) and to the Corinthian tyrants (iii. 48–53; v. 92). The Ionian tyrants are willing slaves of their Persian master (iv. 136–42), traitors to the cause of Hellas and of freedom. The lords of Syracuse, damned with faint praise by Thucydides (i. 17), were at least champions of Hellas against the barbarian (vii. 153–67), and meet with kindlier treatment, as do Cleisthenes of Sicyon (v. 67, 68; vi. 126–30), perhaps on account of his connection with the Alcmaeonids and the rulers of Athens itself, Pisistratus and his sons (i. 59–64; v. 55, 56, 62–5, 94–6).

In this censure of despotism H. is followed by other Greek writers. Possibly his Periander served as a model for their pictures; certainly Xenophon in the *Hiero* and Plato in the *Republic* dwell on the misery of the tyrant's life, friendless in the midst of foes. Finally, the plain and prosaic account in the *Politics* of Aristotle is as effective an indictment as the dramatic sketches of Plato and H.

We can easily account for these dark pictures of tyranny. The private vices of a tyrant in a small Greek state came home as personal matters to his subjects: his brutality and debauchery, unlike that of a Nero or a Napoleon, could not be unknown. The smallness of the Greek state also made the danger of tyranny ever present, and the oligarchic leanings which mark all branches of Greek literature except oratory rendered it inevitable that the tyrant, whose hand was especially heavy on the aristocratic class, should be evil spoken of. It can hardly be accidental that the tyrants of Syracuse, who paid scant regard to the people (vii. 156), <p. 339> but enlisted in their service famous literary men, were on the whole more favourably judged than most of their class.

Allowing for all these causes of prejudice, we can form for ourselves a truer picture of tyranny than that current in Greece. We see that it was a necessary stage in the progress of the state: politically it was the transition from an oligarchy of birth to a more popular form of government, socially it broke down the barrier between the propertied and the unpropertied. And tyranny was not wholly selfish. The despots of Sicily saved the Western Mediterranean for Graeco-Roman civilization; the despots of older Greece, by their dynastic alliances and diplomatic intercourse, and by the reverence they showed for the national temples, Delphi and Olympia, and their encouragement of the great festivals, did much for the

unification of Hellas. Above all, the tyrants' patronage of art and literature developed that culture which was the chief glory of Hellas.

## § 2

**Tyranny at Sicyon and Megara.** The first home of tyranny would seem to have been the coastlands of Asia Minor,<sup>1</sup> where Lydian influence was strong, but it spread rapidly among the wealthier and more progressive states (cf. Thuc. i. 13), particularly in the cities near that great avenue of trade, the Isthmus of Corinth. In these states the tyranny embodied a reaction against oligarchy, a rising of the original inhabitants against their Dorian conquerors. This aspect is most clearly seen at Sicyon. The Orthagoridae are said to have sprung from the people (Andreas = Orthagoras was a cook, Diod. viii. 24), and to have preserved their power for a century by their moderation and justice in their dealings with their subjects (Arist. *Pol.* 1315b 12). This must refer to the conquered race, the peasants and husbandmen, who formed the bulk of the population. For on the Dorian nobility the hand of Cleisthenes fell heavily. Even though we need not take the nicknames given the three Dorian tribes as official titles (cf. v. 68 n.), nevertheless the <p. 340> supremacy of the non-Dorian element seems implied in their new name "Archelaoi." The attempt to stamp out Dorianism reappears in the attack on Argive influence. The recitation of the epics, in which Argos is glorified, is forbidden; Argive Adrastus is to be driven out by the welcome given to his Theban foe Melanippus, and the choruses which had been held in his honour are transferred to the popular wine-god Dionysus (v. 67 n.).

That Cleisthenes was a magnificent monarch with wide connections may be seen from the tale of his daughter's betrothal (vi. 126f.), from his victories in the chariot-race at Olympia (vi. 126) and at Delphi (Paus. x. 7. 6), and above all from the part he played in the Sacred War against Crisa and in the reorganization of the Pythian festival (v. 67 n.).

The tyranny of Theagenes in Megara (Arist. *Pol.* 1305a 24), unmentioned by H., derives its chief interest from the light thrown by the poems of Theognis on the social and economic condition of the people after its fall. The struggles between the oppressed peasantry and their lords are there vividly depicted; but of the Megarian tyranny we know little or nothing.

## § 3

**Tyranny at Corinth.** The case is far otherwise with the greatest of this group of tyrannies, the Corinthian. Here we have two divergent views preserved in tradition. H. (v. 92), though he gives us the charming tale of the preservation of the infant Cypselus, is clearly inspired with oligarchic hate of the Cypselids. Cypselus is a harsh despot, and Periander, though at first milder, is speedily converted by the advice of his Milesian ally Thrasybulus, and becomes a tyrant, whose sad and lonely old age (iii. 50f.) is but the due punishment for his monstrous brutality (iii. 43-9, v. 92).

In later writers, who probably followed Ephorus (Aristotle, *Nic. Damasc. frags.* 58–60), Cypselus is the milder type of tyrant, rising to power by demagogic arts, and ruling Corinth without a bodyguard by tact and ability (*Arist. Pol.* 1315b 27), while Periander is an adept in the black arts of tyranny (*Arist. Pol.* 1313a 37), giving advice to Thrasybulus to lop off the tallest ears of corn (*Arist. Pol.* 1311a 20, 1284 a 26; cf. *H. v.* 92), thoroughly understanding how to break a people's spirit. Neither tradition is thoroughly trustworthy, but the probabilities are that Cypselus, like Pisistratus, tempered despotism by seeking to retain popularity, and that Periander relied more on naked force and military ability. Both would seem to have been great rulers.

Like other tyrants they acquired wealth by confiscating the property of the banished nobles; but probably the only taxes were harbour and market dues (*Ps. Heraclides* 5, *FHG* ii. 213), and there was no direct taxation, the tradition that Cypselus took tithes of all property being late and untrustworthy (*pseudo-Arist. Oecon.* ii. 2), and they spent their wealth royally in the service of art and religion. Temples were built, indeed the gable (αἰετός) of <p. 341> a temple was held to be a Corinthian invention (*Pind. Ol.* xiii. 21); a treasury was built at Delphi to which rich gifts were sent (*i.* 14. 50); the offerings at Olympia were yet more famous, a colossal golden statue of Zeus in the Heraeum (*Plato Phdr.* 236b; *Paus.* v. 2. 3), and the celebrated chest (cf. *v.* 92. 2 n.). It was probably in the days of Periander that the Isthmian games reached the rank of a national festival, for Solon (*Plut. chap.* 23; *Diog. Laert.* i. 55) instituted prizes for victors in the Isthmian as well as in the Olympic games. The popular worship of Bacchus was encouraged by Corinthian as by other despots, and the dithyramb and cyclic chorus appropriate to the festive god first perfected by Periander's court-poet Arion (*i.* 23, 24). Nor were the tyrants indifferent to the economic welfare of their subjects. To prevent too great a flow of population to the city and the neglect of agriculture, immigration was checked, while citizens were compelled to work and the number of slaves was restricted (*Diog. Laert.* i. 98; *Nic. Damasc.* 58; *FHG* iii. 391). These measures were further intended to prevent the gathering together of idlers in the market-place, characteristic of free democracy, but dangerous to tyranny (cf. *Arist. Pol.* 1292b 25, 1318b 9, 1319a 30); indeed it is the political rather than the economic purpose of these measures that impressed Aristotle.

#### § 4

**The colonial and foreign policy of the Corinthian tyrants.** It is, however, the colonial policy of the Cypselidae which most excites our admiration. Numerous colonies are founded to provide for surplus population and promote trade, so that the northwestern region is brought politically as well as commercially under the sway of Corinth. Three colonies dominating the Ambraciot gulf are ascribed to the three illegitimate sons of Cypselus (*Nic. Damasc. loc. cit.*). First Leucas is said to have been colonized by Pylades, the peninsula (*Hom. Od.* xxiv. 378) being converted into an island by cutting through the sandy isthmus which joined it to the mainland (*Strabo* 452), and its harbour protected with moles. Then

Anactorium at the mouth of the Ambraciot gulf was settled by Echiades, and Ambracia itself, with its rich lands and ready access to the trade of Epirus, by Gorgos (Strabo, loc. cit.). Corinth recovers her suzerainty over Corcyra, whither Lycophron is sent as viceroy (iii. 32), and in concert with the Corcyraeans founded Apollonia and Epidamnus (Dyrrachium) at one end of the great road across Illyria known later as the Via Egnatia. Near the place where that road reaches the Aegean, Evagoras, son of Periander, founded Potidaea (Nic. Damasc. frag. 60; *FHG* iii. 393), which secured for Corinth a hold on Chalcidice and on the trade along the great Illyrian road.

The foreign policy of the Corinthian tyrants cannot be reconstructed for lack of sufficient material, but evidently Periander had relations with the phil-Hellenic kings of Egypt (cf. the name of his nephew, Psammetichus) and of Lydia (iii. 48). He is allied with <p. 342> Thrasybulus of Miletus (i. 20; v. 92), and at enmity with Samos (iii. 48), reversing the earlier policy of Corinth, which had stood with Samos and Chalcis against Eretria and Miletus in the great Lelantine war. Periander decides in favour of Athens her dispute with Mitylene concerning Sigeum (v. 94 n.), and is evidently the most powerful ruler of his age in Hellas. He kept up a navy on both the Corinthian and the Saronic gulf, and, inspired perhaps by the success of the canal at Leucas, planned to unite the two seas by a canal through the Isthmus (Diog. Laert. i. 99). The task proved too hard for the engineers of antiquity, and has only been accomplished in our own day (1893), but the scheme shows the despot's daring and enterprise. In the days of the Tyranny, Corinth was a great imperial state, not the nation of shopkeepers seeking and fighting for commerce, and commerce only, which she became under the rule of the oligarchy.

## § 5

**Pisistratus' social and economic policy.** While to H. the Corinthian is the worst type of tyranny, the Athenian is the best. Like other authorities, he emphasizes the fact that Pisistratus did no violence to the Solonian laws and constitution (i. 59. 6; Thuc. vi. 54; *Ath. Pol.* 16). No doubt some of the law-giver's measures fell into disuse (*Ath. Pol.* 22), and care was taken that some member of the despot's family should hold office (Thuc. loc. cit.), but Pisistratus, though he strengthened himself with a mercenary bodyguard and by taking hostages from suspected foes (i. 64), observed the laws and even appeared to defend himself before the Areopagus (*Arist. Pol.* 1315b 21; *Ath. Pol.* 16). In fine he anticipated Augustus in founding a principate, a monarchy under the guise of a republic. This aspect of the rule of Pisistratus H. understands and values. But of his far-reaching foreign policy he gives us but scattered and unconnected glimpses, while he says nothing of the part tyranny played in promoting the social and economic welfare of Attica, and little of its great services to art, literature, and religion. Among the social and economic measures we may mention the lending of money to the needy peasants (chief among whom were his own supporters, the Diacrii) for the purposes of agriculture (*Ath. Pol.* 16), and probably the provision of lands for them from the

confiscated estates of the banished nobles, their former masters (cf. Busolt, ii. 327–8). After Pisistratus, the landholder in Attica is, as a rule, a peasant proprietor. Again peace and order are secured and the administration of justice in the country districts improved by the institution of local courts (κατὰ δήμους δικασταί, *Ath. Pol.* 16). Lastly, the interest shown by the Pisistratids in the road system of Attica is exemplified by the action of Hipparchus in setting up of the Hermae as sign-posts (cf. pseudo-Plato *Hipparch.* 228d), and of Hippias' son Pisistratus in dedicating the altar of the Twelve Gods (cf. vi. 108. 4; Thuc. vi. 54) the central milestone of Attica (ii. 7). <p. 343>

Clearly it was the aim of Pisistratus, as of the Corinthian tyrants (above), that his subjects should employ themselves in their own callings (*Ath. Pol.* 16) and leave politics to their ruler (op. cit. 15, ad fin.). Hence Theophrastus was led to ascribe the νόμος ἀγίος to Pisistratus, not to Solon (Plut. *Sol.* 31; cf. ii. 177 n.), and though this may be a mistake, its enforcement was probably a maxim of his policy. In any case, under the fostering care of the despot Attica prospered greatly; to the commons the rule of the tyrants was a golden age, like that of Cronos (*Ath. Pol.* 16; pseudo-Plato *Hipparch.* 229b).

## § 6

**Pisistratus' encouragement of commerce and the arts.** We must not, however, think that the city was neglected for the land nor commerce for agriculture. Pisistratus and his sons did much for the water supply of Athens, constructing the Ἐννεάκρουνος (vi. 137. 3n.), whether that be the conduit and watercourse discovered near the Agora by Dörpfeld or not. In the age of the tyrants begins the great and profitable trade in Attic pottery, which was exported wholesale to all parts of the Greek world. To this period belongs the first great style of Attic vase painting, the black figure on red ground, and the beginnings of the red figure on black ground, the style which was to culminate in Euphronios. And if we turn from a minor to the greater arts, among the buildings of Pisistratus we may name the first plan and beginnings of the largest among Athenian temples, the Olympieum by the Ilissus, which remained a torso till the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was only completed by the antiquarian emperor Hadrian. To Pisistratus, too, may be ascribed at least the peristyle of that old temple of Athena on the Acropolis so ingeniously reconstructed by Dörpfeld (Harrison, *Athens*, 503f.; D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, 43–63, 369–97; Frazer, *P.*, vol. ii, appendix), the early Hecatompedon.

To the pediment of this temple belongs in all probability a vigorous sculpture of Athena slaying a giant (E. Gardner, *G.S.* 163–4), a part no doubt of a Gigantomachy. Again, we must assign to the age of the despots most of the charming series of female draped figures, often called “priestesses of Athena,” discovered in the excavation of the Acropolis (Gardner, op. cit. 164–74). On the base of one of the latest in style among them is an inscription assigning it to Antenor, the sculptor of the first group representing the tyrannicides. In fine we

must ascribe to the age of the despots a great advance in the most characteristic Greek arts, architecture, vase-painting, and sculpture.

## § 7

**Pisistratid patronage of literature and religious festivals.** Nor were the Pisistratidae backward in the encouragement of literature. Even if the Pisistratid recension of Homer be doubted or denied (vii. 6. 3 n.), Hipparchus was a great patron of poets, such as Lasus of Hermione (vii. 6), Anacreon, and Simonides of Ceos (pseudo-Plato *Hipparch.* 228f.). More important is the connection of Pisistratus with the city Dionysia and the first beginnings <p. 344> of tragedy. The foundation of the tragic contests and the victory of Thespis is assigned (*Marm. Par.* 43) to the year 534 B.C., and we can hardly be wrong in ascribing this new literary development and the reorganization, if not the institution, of the city Dionysia to Pisistratus. In Athens, as at Sicyon and elsewhere, the tyrants favoured these popular festivals and discouraged exclusive aristocratic family worships. It is probable that the festival at Eleusis owed much to the despots. The second temple there, more than twice as large as the oldest, belongs to this period. Again, the great prominence of Dionysus-Iacchus in the Eleusinian mysteries may well be ascribed to Orphic influence favoured by the Pisistratidae. The Homeric hymn knows only of the two goddesses, mother and maid, at Eleusis; Dionysus, like Orphism, would seem to come from Thrace to Athens and thence to Eleusis. At least the spiritualization of the wine-god and earth-goddesses and their festivals is the work of Orphic mystics (Harrison, *Prolegomena*, chap. ix f.). And the connection of the Pisistratidae with Orphism is clear. Apart from their knowledge of oracles and soothsaying,<sup>2</sup> Onomacritus (vii. 6. 3 n.), the apostle of Orphism, who is said to have put the Orphic maxims into verse (Aristotle, frag. 7, Rose<sup>3</sup>) and settled the forms of purification (τελεταί), was the trusted adviser of the Pisistratidae till convicted of forgery (vii. 6). The elevation of the Eleusinian mysteries to the rank of a national festival, and their spiritualization under Orphic influence, were achieved in the age of the despots. Finally the Panathenaea, though its foundation is assigned to the year 566/565 (Pherecydes, frag. 20; *FHG* i. 73), must owe its greatness to the fostering care of the tyrants, who themselves marshalled the splendid procession of the festival (Thuc. i. 20; vi. 57). The despots must needs pay all honour to the national goddess by adding splendour to her festival as well as by decorating her temple.

## § 8

**Pisistratus' foreign policy.** Lastly, the foreign policy of Pisistratus is spirited and successful. On the great trade route to the Pontus he seized two important positions. He recovered Sigeum from the Mityleneans and established his son Hegesistratus there (v. 95 n.). He encouraged the colonization of the Thracian Chersonese under the Philaid Miltiades (I) (vi. 36f.), and supported his house in their principality, clearly as vassals of their Athenian over-lord (vi. 103). By these means he secured a hold on the great corn route.<sup>3</sup> <p. 345>

No less valuable were the goldmines of Mount Pangaeum near the Strymon (i. 64; *Ath. Pol.* 15) and the port of Rhaecelus on the Thermaic gulf, which he occupied. Hence his alliance with the kings of Macedon (v. 94 n.). In the islands of the Aegean (Cyclades) Pisistratus sought to plant his power. Naxos he held through Lygdamis (i. 61. 4 n.); further he sought to win the favour of the Delian Apollo by a purification of the land round his temple (i. 64; Thuc. iii. 104). Delos was already important as the centre of an Ionic amphictyony of islanders. But this Aegean policy of Pisistratus needed the support of a strong fleet, which at that time Athens did not possess (probably she had at most fifty ships; cf. vi. 89 n.). Indeed, before the fall of the Attic dynasty, Polycrates (iii. 125) and Lygdamis had been overthrown (Plut. *De Mal.* 21, *Mor.* 859d), while Sigeum and the Chersonese had been compelled to submit to Persia.

On the mainland Pisistratus made alliance with the chief powers of Northern and Southern Greece. His alliance with Thessaly (v. 63, 94) was proclaimed by the name given to his third son (Thessalus); the friendship of his house with Sparta (v. 63, 90) held good in spite of his close relations with Argos, whence came his wife Timonassa and a timely reinforcement of 1,000 men (i. 61; *Ath. Pol.* 17), which aided in his restoration. At the same time he received the support of the Eretrian and Theban oligarchies (i. 61 : *Ath. Pol.* 15). In fine, a far-reaching foreign policy is characteristic of the Athenian as of other tyrants, since on their success abroad depended in large measure their security from plots at home, fomented by the banished nobles.

## § 9

**Polycrates of Samos.** The tyranny of Polycrates at Samos forms a fitting pendant to that of Pisistratus by likeness and by contrast. Like Pisistratus he aimed at an Ionic suzerainty of the Aegean (iii. 122), and curried favour with Apollo of Delos by presenting him with the neighbouring island of Rhenea (Thuc. i. 13; iii. 104). Unlike Pisistratus, he increased his fleet to 100 vessels, and after defeating Miletus and her ally Lesbos in a great battle, became a dangerous pirate power like the Algerine corsairs (iii. 39). At first he would seem to have aspired to independence, and perhaps even hoped successfully to withstand the Persian power, as Thrasybulus of Miletus had the Lydian (i. 17f.). At least he made alliance and exchanged gifts with Amasis of Egypt (iii. 40; ii. 182). In the day of need, however, he deserted the Egyptian and sent a squadron to join Cambyses (iii. 44), thus acknowledging the suzerainty of Persia. Indeed, it is obvious that Samos could preserve her independence only so long as the Persian kings were occupied in suppressing revolts or extending their empire in the East.

The public works of Polycrates (*Arist. Pol.* 1313b 24) were on a magnificent scale. Besides building himself a palace, which Caligula intended to restore (Suet. *Calig.* 21), he may well have had <p. 346> a share in all the three wonders described by H. (Hi. 60). He also valued the work of the artist Theodorus (iii. 41) and patronized

the doctor Democedes (iii. 131), and at least the lighter muses, the poets of love and wine, Ibycus and Anacreon (iii. 121).

## § 10

**The fall of tyranny.** The fall of tyranny was no doubt due in the main to natural causes. Quarrels in the ruling house, or the succession of a weak ruler, gave opportunity to the undying hatred of the exiled nobles. It is, however, distinctly stated by Thucydides (i. 18) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1312b 7) that the Spartans put down most of the tyrannies.<sup>4</sup> Yet this statement is hard to justify in detail. In H. we only hear of the expulsion of the Pisistratidae (v. 63f.) and of the abortive attack on Polycrates (iii. 44, 54–6). In each of these cases the Spartans had special reasons for their action, more satisfactory than the injuries (1. 70; iii. 47) or the piety (v. 63) put forward by H. The offence of the Athenian tyrants may well have been their Argive alliance (*Ath. Pol.* 19). Against Polycrates Sparta was pushed forward by her commercial allies, especially Corinth; Aegina had an ancient but still remembered grudge against Samos (iii. 59); Corinth, apart from the motive given by H. (iii. 48f.), a more recent and more bitter hatred. Above all Corinth saw her trade in the Aegean threatened by the piratical power of Polycrates. We need not, then, follow Plutarch (*De Mal.* 21. 859 c) in ascribing to Sparta a consistent hatred of tyranny on principle. Still less can we accept without criticism his list of tyrants expelled by the Spartans (22. 859 d). Of the tyrants there enumerated the Cypselids at Corinth and Ambracia can hardly have been forcibly expelled by Sparta, since as to Corinth neither H. (v. 92) nor Ephorus (*Nic. Damasc. frag.* 60; *FHG* iii. 393) says any such thing, and as to Ambracia the account given by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1304a 31, 1311a 39), and especially the establishment of democracy, seem inconsistent with Spartan interference. Lygdamis of Naxos might well have been put down at the time of the Spartan expedition against Samos, though H. does not mention the fact.<sup>5</sup> Again, the expulsion of Aeschines from Sicyon<sup>6</sup> might well have accompanied or followed close upon that of the Pisistratidae from Athens (v. 68 n.). The others, Symmachus of Thasos, Aulis in Phocis, Aristogenes of Miletus, and two kings Aristomedes and Angelus in Thessaly, are mere names to us. Further, if the list be, as is probable, chronological, <p. 347> they are of later date. On the whole it seems best to interpret the statements of Thucydides and Aristotle as applying rather to the indirect influence than the direct interference of Sparta. The Peloponnesian league under her leadership was the natural counterpoise to tyranny. It favoured the very forces the tyrants had laboured to destroy, Dorianism and constitutional oligarchy. It substituted a rather narrow Peloponnesian policy for the wider outlook of the greater tyrants. But Sparta restored a constitutional, if aristocratic, form of government, and therefore has won the praise of philosophers and the approval of history as the friend of liberty.

In this appendix I owe most to E. Meyer, Busolt, and Abbott. For attempts to prove the commercial origin of the Tyrannis cf. Ure, *JHS* xxvi. 131f., and to identify the position of Aesymnete with that of tyrant cf. R. Nordin, *Klio* v. 392f. Ure has expanded his article into a book on the origin of tyranny, but Busolt, in his admirable

account of Greek tyrants (Griech. Staats. pp. 372f., 381–411, 859–68), rightly rejects his theory (p. 386) as well as that of Nordin (pp. 373, 383–4); cf. also Swoboda in *Klio* xii. 341–54.

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## Notes

1. The name *tyranny* as well as the thing seems to originate in Asia Minor. Its earliest use, in which it implies nothing more than absolute monarchy, is in Archilochus, frag. 25 (Bergk) Οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγῳ τοῦ πολυχρῶσσοῦ μέλει . . . μεγάλης δ' οὐκ ἐρέω τυραννίδος, and in Simonides of Amorgos, frag. 7,1. 69 ἢν μή τις ἢ τύραννος ἢ σκηπτουῆχος ἦ (cf. the use of it for gods, ἡ τύραννος, Herondas, v. 77, and Μῆν τύραννος on inscriptions). The later sense of a rule illegal in origin and character appears first in Alcaeus, frag. 37 a, Theognis 1181, and in the Attic song in praise of Harmodius. In H. both uses appear, the same person being often termed both βασιλεύς and τύραννος (cf. v. 44 n.), yet the distinction between lawful king, e.g., at Cyrene and Sparta, and lawless despot is everywhere implicit and occasionally explicit. Later, under the influence of Plato, the notion arises that the tyrant's rule is not only illegal, but also necessarily evil in its objects and in its methods. Tyranny to the philosophers is the perversion of monarchy, utterly selfish, and a curse to its subjects (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 7. 5. 1279b 5, etc.).
2. Cf. the Pisistratid collection of oracles seized by Cleomenes (v. 90), the accurate knowledge of oracles attributed to Hippias (v. 93), and also the frequent occurrence in the history of the Pisistratids of oracles (i. 62, 64) and ominous dreams (v. 56; vi. 107).
3. Further, Hippias at least was in alliance with Hippoclus, tyrant of Lampsacus (Thuc. vi. 59).
4. In Rylands papyrus 18 this is distinctly ascribed to Chilon the ephor and to king Anaxandridas.
5. Before 500 B.C. the restored oligarchs have been expelled by the democrats (v. 30 n.).
6. Rylands papyrus 18 (second century B.C.) also couples Aeschines of Sicyon and Hippias. The existence of this earlier authority gives some support to Plutarch, but it is chronologically impossible to connect Hippias with Chilon and Anaxandridas as the papyrus appears to do.

## Appendix XVII: Sparta under King Cleomenes (520–490 B.C.)

## § 1

**Cleomenes in H.** For the history of Sparta (from 520 to 490 B.C.) H. furnishes abundant materials, but they are diverse in kind and value, and disconnected in the historian's narrative. The internal history of Sparta is treated in the main as the biography of her kings.<sup>1</sup> The foreign relations of the Spartan state are either similarly treated<sup>2</sup> or are but incidentally mentioned in connection with Athenian, not Spartan, history.<sup>3</sup> It is at once obvious that H. makes no attempt to bring the various questions of foreign policy, the Athenian, the Argive, and the Persian, into connection with each other, or to estimate their influence on home policy, or on the relations of Sparta and her allies. In this confusion we have to find a clue, to discover from the facts recorded a reasonable policy which we may attribute to Sparta's great king Cleomenes. For through the mists of oblivion and calumny Cleomenes looms large as <p. 348> the one great figure of his day at Sparta. He puts down one king and sets up another, he thrice invades Attica and sets her at variance with Boeotia; he deals out war or peace, and grants or refuses alliance to Samos, to Ionia, and to Athens. To this heroic monarch H. does scant justice because Spartan tradition had declared against the man who meant not only to reign but to govern. He says expressly that Cleomenes reigned no long time (v. 48), yet he had clearly been on the throne some years before 510 B.C., when he took part in the expulsion of Hippias (v. 64–5), and his brother Dorieus in the destruction of Sybaris (v. 44, 5): indeed he is already on the throne when Maeandrius of Samos seeks aid from Sparta, ca. 515 B.C. (iii. 148), and he is still king in the year of the battle of Marathon, 490 B.C. (vi. 73). Possibly H. forgot the lapse of years and remembered only that Dorieus, had he stayed in Sparta, might have succeeded to the throne instead of his younger brother Leonidas, but the statement is curiously inaccurate. Again Cleomenes is contrasted most unfavourably with his brother Dorieus. He secures the throne simply by virtue of seniority, though he is somewhat of a madman (v. 42), while Dorieus is a prince among men, sure of the crown if merit be allowed weight. Yet Dorieus, too proud to stay in Sparta, made shipwreck of his life in vain attempts to promote the advance of Hellenism in the west, while the despised Cleomenes is beyond dispute the greatest king of the century.

Even the Medizing Demaratus is to H. a more acceptable personage than the great king who procured his deposition. Yet Cleomenes had great excuse for his unscrupulous action. At least on two most important and critical occasions Demaratus had thwarted his policy; his defection broke up the great army gathered at Eleusis to humble Athens and put down her democracy (v. 75), probably in 506 B.C., and his opposition prevented for the time the exaction of hostages from Aegina in 491 B.C. (vi. 50). In the last case, too, Demaratus might be held guilty of the Medism he afterwards openly showed. But if we refuse to be blinded by the prejudice of H. or his informants, and look at the facts for ourselves, we shall see in Cleomenes an active and energetic monarch, at once a successful warrior in his campaign against Argos (vi. 78), and an astute politician, as is shown by his politic recommendation of Plataea to the protection of Athens

(vi. 108), and by his rejection of the overtures of Aristagoras (v. 50). It is true that ambition at times made him unscrupulous, as in the deposition of Demaratus, and even led him to entertain guilty schemes of personal aggrandisement, as in his unpatriotic intrigues in Arcadia (vi. 74). It may even be true that in his old age remorse or unsatisfied ambition drove Cleomenes to frenzy and suicide, but genius, not madness, stamps the policy of his earlier years. Possibly suspicion of his unbridled ambition had blackened the fair fame of Cleomenes; certainly the <p. 349> glories of the Persian war had thrown his exploits into the shade when H. wrote his history.

## § 2

**Powers of the Kings, Ephors, and Apella.** Before turning to the external relations of Sparta in the days of Cleomenes it is necessary to discuss the position held by the kings in the Spartan state, and the extent to which they directed foreign policy. It need not be questioned that throughout historical times the formal declaration of peace or war lay with the Apella (cf. Thuc. i. 67, 72, vi. 88; Xen. Hell. vi. 4. 3, etc.). The proceedings at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. i. 79, 87) seem (but for the fact that there was an actual vote taken) typical. In H. it is clearly stated that the first two expeditions against Athens are set on foot and dispatched not by the king but by the Lacedaemonians (v. 63, 64). The congress of allies summoned to consider the project of restoring Hippias is called and addressed by the Spartiatae (v. 91). It lies with the Assembly to fix the terms of peace and alliance (i. 152; vii. 149, cf. Thuc. v. 77; Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 20). But while it may be true that the formal decision belonged of right to the Assembly at Sparta as at Rome, the real direction of affairs lay with the men to whom the Assembly looked for guidance.

In the earlier days of Sparta this guidance was given by the kings. The prerogative ascribed to them by H. of levying war, πόλεμον ἐκφέρειν, on whom they would (vi. 56), may be an archaic survival, and since it was a power depending on the unanimity of the kings, was in any case seldom asserted. Nevertheless the story of the Aeginetan hostages confirms the notion that the kings, if united, could control the foreign policy of Sparta. The Aeginetans reject with contumely the demand of Cleomenes for hostages, so long as he is unsupported by the other king (Demaratus, cf. vi. 49, 50), but yield at once when both kings, Cleomenes and Leotychides, appear (vi. 73). Similarly the Athenians refuse to surrender at the prayer of one king, Leotychides (vi. 86), the hostages entrusted to them by both. We thus reach the important conclusion that the concurrence of both kings was necessary.

This view is confirmed by the story of the attempted invasion of Attica under Cleomenes. His earlier seizure of the Acropolis (v. 72) may have been unauthorized, though it was not disavowed; but the great invasion can hardly have been a private adventure of a single king. H. tells us that the destination of this great host, assembled from all Peloponnese, was kept a secret, although the

Boeotians and Chalcidians were moving on Attica in concert with the Peloponnesians. Surely the only thing that can have been concealed was the purpose to make Isagoras tyrant, not the intention of invading Attica. Nevertheless, the implication is clear that the two kings, but for the defection of Demaratus, might have directed the further course of the campaign according to their own will and pleasure, although no doubt they would on their return home have been held <p. 350> responsible for their conduct of the war, and might have been impeached before the ephors (vi. 82), sitting with the Gerousia, as a high court of justice (vi. 85; Paus. iii. 5. 2). The dissensions which on that occasion led the Spartans to pass a law that only one king should go out with the army, were so constant (vi. 52) that it was seldom the two kings could agree on a policy. In the course of the century (550–450 B.C.) the constant feuds and frequent corruption of the kings finally discredited their authority (Plut. *Agis* 12), and the direction of foreign affairs passed to the ephors.

But in his best days Cleomenes had succeeded in asserting the royal ascendancy. It is true that Samian envoys (iii. 46), and the Athenian messenger who summoned the Spartans to Marathon, are called before the ἄρχοντες (vi. 106), but it is with Cleomenes that Maeandrius treats (iii. 148), and the Scythian envoys (vi. 84). To Cleomenes the Plataeans appeal for protection against Thebes (vi. 108), to him Aristagoras applies, and when repulsed, he does not betake himself to the ephors or the Gerousia, but throws himself as a suppliant on the mercy of the king (v. 49–51). Cleomenes and his complacent colleague (Leotychides) deal summarily with Aegina (vi. 73). The only action of the ephors recorded is their expulsion of Maeandrius at the request of Cleomenes. But a little later all this is changed. When the Athenians call on Sparta for aid before the battle of Plataea, their envoys are brought before the ephors (ix. 7, 11), who thenceforward guide the policy of the Spartan state. No doubt there are still occasional instances of independent action on the part of the kings (Thuc. viii. 5), but in general the management of foreign affairs lay with the ephors as the executive government of Sparta. They receive or refuse to receive ambassadors (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 13, 19; v. 2. 11), carry on negotiations (Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 1; v. 2. 9, 11), give the orders for mobilization (Xen. *Lac.* 11. 2), (the phrase for which is φρουρὰν φαίνειν, cf. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4. 17, etc), dispatch and recall generals (Thuc. viii. 12; i. 131), and in general act as the executive and directing force in foreign affairs.

It may be that this transference of power from the kings to the ephors found expression in the change by which the ephors superseded the kings as presidents of the Gerousia and Apella (Thuc. i. 87), since clearly the presidency of a council whose members were effete through age, and an assembly with large formal rights, but small-power of asserting them, would be a most valuable instrument of government. In any case this change in the balance of power was a real though peaceful revolution. It may have left the formal rights of kings and people untouched, but it signified the reduction of the kings to the position of hereditary generals (Arist. *Pol.* 1285a 7), and their subjection to the Ephorate.

### § 3

**Foreign policy of Sparta, 520–490 B.C.** In the foreign policy of Cleomenes the crucial point is his refusal to support the <p. 351> Ionians in their struggle for freedom. The story in H. is from a Spartan source (v. 49), and is throughout an apology for the shortsighted and selfish policy of leaving the Ionians to their fate. Accordingly Aristagoras is represented as an untrustworthy adventurer, who proposed to Cleomenes a mad scheme, a march on Susa, an idea which could not have entered any Greek's mind till after the years of victory (480–460 B.C.). Doubtless in fact Aristagoras only asked the Spartans to do what Athens attempted, to free Ionia by an attack on Sardis. And the Spartan refusal to aid their brethren overseas was of a piece with their later abandonment of the extra-Peloponnesian Greeks to the armies of Xerxes and Mardonius. For in view of the Persian conquest of Thrace (bk. iv; v. 1–15) and the recent attack on Naxos (v. 30–5) European Greece could not expect long to escape a Persian invasion.

Yet Sparta had real and cogent grounds for her refusal. Not only was her temper and polity ill suited for distant enterprises, but her previous intervention in Asiatic affairs had been utterly futile. Her grand alliance with Lydia and Egypt had proved delusive (i. 69, etc), her diplomatic intervention (ca. 545 B.C.) on behalf of the Asiatic Greeks had been slighted by Cyrus (i. 152–3), her expedition (ca. 525) against Polycrates had proved abortive (iii. 56). Further, Sparta had pressing difficulties nearer home which claimed her immediate attention. In the earlier days of Cleomenes she had aimed at extending her hegemony north of the Isthmus in Central Greece, but her attempts to bring Athens to submission had ended in discomfiture and dishonour. Spartan infantry had been cut up by Thessalian horse in the Phaleric plain (v. 63); the attempt to embroil Athens and Thebes about Plataea only led to an Athenian victory (vi. 108); the democracy established at Athens proved more stiff-necked than the expelled tyrant, shutting up the Spartan king in the Acropolis, and punishing the philo-Laconian aristocrats of Athens (v. 72). Last and worst of all, the allies of Sparta rebel against her high-handed proceedings. Corinth, the second state in the confederacy, took the lead in the desertion of Cleomenes at Eleusis (v. 75–6), and induced the congress of allies assembled at Sparta to reject the proposal to restore Hippias (v. 93). Clearly the Peloponnesians were afraid that the burdens of the league would be increased and their own autonomy endangered, if Sparta succeeded in extending her hegemony beyond the Isthmus, while Corinth, already hemmed in on the south by a ring of smaller cities devoted to Sparta's interests, feared that, if Attica should become the servile vassal of Sparta, her own trade might be strangled and her very independence menaced.

Sparta, therefore, was fully occupied in setting her own house in order, since she had to restore her Peloponnesian hegemony, discredited by her frequent failures and undermined by the discontent of her allies. To secure this end, Argos, her old rival, must be <p. 352> overthrown. Argos had now recovered from her defeat in the struggle for the Thyreatis half a century before (ca. 550 B.C.), and would have

taken the opportunity, had Sparta been involved in war in Ionia, to renew the fight for the headship of the Peloponnese. For her own security as well as from ambition, Sparta must crush Argos.

This task Cleomenes undertook, probably during the Ionian revolt (vi. 76f.). The synchronism between the Argive war and the approaching fall of Miletus is implied in the double oracle (vi. 19, 77), whether genuine or not, and supported by the fact that the Argives as late as 481 B.C. can plead as their excuse (vii. 148) for neutrality in the Persian war their recent losses in the war with Cleomenes. Of course the plea may have been unreal, since in 479 B.C. the Argives promise Mardonius to prevent the Spartans going forth against him (ix. 12), though they utterly fail to do so, but surely its absurdity would have been too glaring if the defeat in question had taken place, as Pausanias states (iii. 4. 1) at the very beginning of Cleomenes' reign, forty years before (ca. 520 B.C.). No doubt there are one or two difficulties in placing the Argive war ca. 500–495 B.C. In the third Aeginetan war with Athens (i.e., probably in 488–487 (cf. vi. 93 n.) but possibly in 490 B.C.) a thousand volunteers came from Argos to help Aegina (vi. 92); but since we are expressly told they came without the sanction of the state, we may perhaps conclude that they were attracted by the hope of pay or plunder, and that the existence of such soldiers of fortune is a sign rather of disorder than of restored prosperity in Argos. Again, the capture of Tiryns and the attempt to overthrow the Spartan hegemony at Tegea (H. ix. 35 n.) ca. 472 B.C. would no doubt be more probable fifty years after the defeat by Cleomenes than twenty-five, but there is nothing impossible in such a recovery in the course of a single generation. On the whole the double oracle, which has been ingeniously conjectured by Bury (cf. vi. 19 n.) to be Delphi's response to an inquiry from Argos whether she should accede to a request of Aristagoras and aid Miletus, and the excuse proffered by Argos in 481 B.C. seem decisive in favour of a later date. If so, no better reason can be found for Spartan inaction in 500 B.C. Sparta must leave Ionia to her fate that she may secure undisputed supremacy in the Peloponnese.

The success of Cleomenes in his Argive campaign was complete, except that he failed to take the town (vi. 80–2; cf. vi. 77, 80 nn.). He so utterly broke the power of Argos that her subjects rose up against her and revolutionized the government (vi. 83). Even when order had been restored in Argos, Tiryns and Mycenae asserted their independence by joining the Greeks who resisted the Persian invasion, though Argos remained neutral.

Sparta, having now disabled Argos for at least a generation, could afford again to indulge in wider ambitions and to re-assert <p. 353> her claim to be champion and leader of the Greek race. Further, the re-conquest of Ionia, the recovery of the coasts of Thrace and Macedon by Mardonius, and the appearance in Greece of Persian heralds demanding earth and water, at last convinced her that the advance of the barbarian was a serious menace to European Hellas. Athens, compromised by her share in the Ionic revolt and more immediately threatened, took the prudent and patriotic course of recognizing the leadership of Sparta over all loyal

Hellenes (cf. vi. 61. 1; vii. 145. 1) by appealing to Sparta against the treachery of Aegina to Greece in giving earth and water to Darius (vi. 49). No doubt Aegina, as a member of the Peloponnesian league, owed allegiance to Sparta (vi. 50, 73, 92), but the recognition by Athens of Spartan hegemony and of the essential unity of Hellas are noteworthy signs of advance. The Persian invasion tends already to unite Greece by bringing together its two leading states. Whether Sparta and Athens sealed the compact by a common crime, the murder of the Persian heralds (vii. 133. 9), has been doubted (cf. vii. 137. 3 n.); in any case the alliance finds prompt expression in the summons of Philippides (vi. 106) and the dispatch of 2,000 Spartiates to Marathon (vi. 120), and paves the way for yet more zealous and active cooperation ten years later.

Note. — The Argive campaign, as well as the dealings with Plataea, are placed by Wells (*JHS* xxv. 193–6) at the beginning of the reign of Cleomenes. He is regarded as a meteor-like prince whose reign begins with success and ends with gloom. The arguments for reverting to the older view and dating the Argive war with Pausanias ca. 520 B.C. have been briefly considered above, nor has any other recent writer adopted this date. E. Meyer and others prefer the date given by our texts of Thucydides (519 B.C.) for the Athenian alliance with Plataea, arguing that such action on the part of Athens is far more probable in the days of Hippias than after his expulsion. While an error in a number is likely enough in Thucydides' texts, the reasons urged by Grote (and given in the notes on vi. 108) against the date 519 B.C. are not conclusive. In this appendix I owe much to Macan, especially to his appendix vii, and, on the relation of kings and ephors, to Gilbert, *G.C.A.*, 20f., and Dum, *Entstehung des Ephorats*. Wells has revised and republished his article in *Studies in Herodotus* (pp. 74–94); cf. also E. M. Walker in *CAH* iv. 137–9, 163–7, 259–63.

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## Notes

1. e.g., (1) the story of Cleomenes and Dorieus (v. 39–48); (2) the birth, deposition, and exile of Demaratus (vi. 61–70), with excursus on the Spartan kingship (vi. 52–60); and (3) the end of king Cleomenes, with a parenthetical account of his war with Argos (vi. 74–84).
2. As, e.g., the supposed Scythic embassy (vi. 84), the visit of Aristagoras to Sparta (v. 49–54), and the question of the Aeginetan hostages (vi. 49, 50, 73, 85, 86).
3. e.g., the hostile relations of Sparta and Athens (v. 63–5, 70–6, 90–3), the important part played by Cleomenes in promoting the alliance of Plataea with Athens (vi. 108), and the summons to Marathon conveyed by Philippides, with the late arrival of the Spartans there (vi. 106, 120).

## Appendix XVIII: Marathon

## § 1

**Marathon. Fifth-century accounts.** H.'s account of Marathon is beyond dispute our principal authority. Except the picture in the Stoa Poikile, none of the other accounts can be shown to be drawn from contemporary tradition. And from the description of the picture by Pausanias (i. 15. 3), careful as it is, little historical material can be taken. There were clearly three scenes depicted; on the left the struggle between Greek and Persian is still equal, in the centre the barbarians in full flight are thrusting one another into the marsh, and on the right the Greeks are slaughtering the barbarians as they strive to get on board Phoenician ships. The picture then, while agreeing in the main with H., adds the losses of the Persians in the marsh and other details omitted by him (cf. vi. 114 n. and below), but, on the other hand, H. cannot have derived from the picture his description of the tactics by which the battle was won (cf. vi. 111, 113 and below).

Yet if H. be our best authority, his account is in many points defective and in some positively misleading. Compared with his descriptions of Thermopylae and Artemisium, of Salamis and of Plataea, it is meagre and lacking in detail, though the tactics employed are more clearly indicated. The slightness of the narrative shows itself in the omission of the numbers engaged on either side, an omission emphasized by the record of the numbers of the Athenians and Persians slain (chap. 117 n.). It shows itself also in the omission of all reference to the monuments on the field of battle, described by Pausanias (i. 32), the tombs of the Athenians (cf. Thuc. ii. 34. 5) and of the Plataeans and slaves, the trophy of white marble (cf. *Ar. Eq.* 1333, *Vesp.* 711), and the memorial of Miltiades. It is seen in the vagueness of the historian's topography, which makes it unlikely that he ever visited the field of Marathon. H. knows, indeed, that "Marathon looks on the sea," but he says nothing of the "mountains that look on Marathon," nothing of the water-course (*χαράδρα*) dividing the little plain, or of the marshes at either end (cf. Paus. i. 32). It is probable that H., like Thucydides and Theopompus, deliberately rejected a good deal of patriotic fiction with which Athenian, and above all Philaid, tradition had already overlaid the plain facts, and so found himself unable to construct from his materials a detailed history.

The element of the supernatural is less prominent than might be expected in the tale of a great deliverance. Apart from the unimportant dreams of Hippias (vi. 107) and Datis (vi. 118), there are but the waking visions which cheered Philippides on his way to Sparta (vi. 105), and which blinded Epizelus at Marathon<sup>1</sup> (vi. 117). And H. omits the supernatural aid given to the Athenians, according to the picture in the Stoa Poikile (Paus. i. 15), by Athena, Heracles, and Theseus, and by the local heroes, Marathon and Echetlus.

There are, however, in H.'s account of Marathon at least four crucial problems (as pointed out by Macan) which must be solved or at least faced by any critical student of history. These are (1) the double exaggeration that the Athenians were "the first to charge the enemy at speed" (*δρόμῳ*) and "the first to endure the sight of men clad in Median dress" (vi. 112 n.); (2) the anachronism or confusion as to

the command at Marathon (vi. 109, 110 and below); (3) the absence of any reference to the Persian cavalry in the battle, an omission made the more striking by the fact that their presence on board the transports and their disembarkation at Eretria have been carefully noted (vi. 95, 101), by the statement that Marathon was selected as a landing-place because it was suitable for cavalry (vi. 102 n.), and by the reported surprise of the Persians at the absence of cavalry from the Athenian ranks (vi. 112 n.); (4) the problem of the purpose and time of the shield-signal (vi. 121, 124 and below).

## § 2

**Marathon. Fourth-century accounts.** These difficulties in the narrative of H. force us to inquire whether we can supplement or correct his account from other sources. Unfortunately little help is forthcoming. Attic poets sing the spears and shields (Aesch. *Pers.* 240) or the hearts of oak (Ar. *Ach.* 180f., 692) that won Marathon; Plato and the Attic orators, beginning with those reported by H. (ix. 27) and by Thucydides (i. 73) grossly exaggerate the services of their fathers to Hellas, ignoring the help of the Plataeans. By their rhodomontade they drove Thucydides (i. 73, 74) and Theopompus (frag. 167; *FHG* i. 306) to depreciate the traditional glories of Marathon. Aristotle, however, throws some light on the subject, giving us a rational account of the relation between the Polemarch and generals (*Ath. Pol.* 22), dating the battle in the archonship of Phaenippus (cf. also *Marm. Par.* 48. line 62, and Plutarch, *Arist.* chap. 5), and above all recording (*Rhetoric* iii. 10. 1411 a; cf. Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* § 303) that the decree which sent the Athenians forth to meet the Persians in the field was proposed by Miltiades. The supposed deaths of Datis (Ctesias, *Persica* 18. 21, p. 69) and of Hippias (Justin ii. 9; Cicero, ad *Att.* ix. 10. 3) are negatived in the first case by the express testimony of H. (vi. 136), in the other by the silence of H. and Thucydides (cf. vi. 59). Nor can the account drawn by Cornelius Nepos (*Milt.* 4–6) from Ephorus be regarded as of independent value, though historic rationalism has made it comparatively plausible and coherent. It ignores the polemarch, and ascribes the decision to take the field not to a resolution of the people (cf. above) but to a decision of the generals, encouraged by the arrival at Athens of the Plataeans. In both cases Ephorus would seem to have answered the constitutional questions wrongly. We might be more inclined to believe in the story of a defensive battle, accepted by the Athenians in a position covered by the hills and strengthened with a barricade of tree trunks, and forced on by Datis for fear of the arrival of the Spartans, were it not for the complete absence of any real description of movements in the battle and the direct contradiction involved of some of the clearest points in H., e.g. the long delay at Marathon, and the final assumption of the offensive by Miltiades. Further, Polybius, no mean judge, while generally favourable to Ephorus (xii. 23), expressly says that his accounts of battles on land are rendered worthless by his lack of military experience (Polyb. xii. 25 g).<sup>2</sup>

### § 3

**Marathon. Later writers.** The many allusions and criticisms in Plutarch are unfortunately for the most part written with the purpose of magnifying his hero Aristides (in his life chap. 5) or Callimachus and the tribe Aeantis, *Quaest. Conviv.* i. 10. 3, *Mor.* 628e) or of discrediting H. (*De Mal.* chap. 26f.). From the life we get the tradition that the tribes Leontis and Antiochis, commanded by Aristides and Themistocles, were in the centre; from the convivial questions the fact guaranteed by an elegy of Aeschylus that the tribe Aeantis, to which Callimachus belonged, led the right wing in the battle (chap. 111. 1 n.). Thrice does Plutarch (*De Mal.* 26, *Mor.* 861e; *Cam.* 19; *De Glor. Ath.* 7, *Mor.* 349f) fix a definite day for the battle, Boedromion 6th, but the date seems to rest on a confusion between the day of the battle and that of the commemorative feast to Artemis (chap. 106 n.). If this date be rejected, one criticism of H. breaks down. Plutarch's (*De Mal.* 26) censures of the account of the shield signal as improbable, and of the defence of the Alcmaeonids as hollow, are shrewder, and indicate not malignity but some incompleteness and inconsequence in the historian; but his objection that H., by minimizing the number of the slain and the glory of the victory, played into the hands of those who belittled the battle as a mere skirmish, shows only how little the critic could judge of historic truth and probability.

Pausanias, in his notes on Marathon, shows all his usual merits. His record of memorials set up at Athens (i. 15; cf. above) or at Delphi (x. 11. 5; cf. Hicks, 13) is interesting; still more valuable is his account of the monuments on the spot and of the topographical features of the field of battle (i. 32; cf. above). He also tells us of the local cult of the dead as heroes (cf. *CIA* ii. 471), the local tradition of the part played by the rustic hero, Echetlus, in the battle, and of the neighing of horses and clashing of arms that might still be heard at night on the field of battle. Finally, the late Byzantine grammarian, Suidas, traces the origin of the proverb *χωρίς ἰππεῖσ* to a tradition that, as Datis was retreating, the Ionians in his force signaled from trees to the Athenians that "the horse were away," whereupon Miltiades attacked and triumphed. Though its source is suspect (cf. vi. 134 n.), the story, if true, at once records the absence of the Persian cavalry and supplies a motive for Miltiades' sudden attack.

### § 4

**The command at Marathon.** When a modern writer attempts to weave together a consistent account out of materials so diverse, so inconsistent, and so incomplete, he is confronted by numerous difficulties. Before entering into the problems of strategy and tactics, it may be well first to discuss the question of the command at Marathon. It can hardly be doubted that the alleged election of the polemarch by lot (vi. 109 ὁ τῶν κυάμῳ λαχῶν Ἀθηναίων πολεμαρχεῖν) is an anachronism. The use of the lot is most unlikely while the polemarch has still the important functions of leading the right wing (vi. 111) and of sitting, perhaps, as president in the council of war (chap. 109). Further, its introduction is definitely placed three years later (487 B.C.) in the Athenaion Politeia (chap. 22). Finally, the point

emphasized by H. is that the polemarch still sat in council with the generals, while the statement that he held his office by lot is a casual *obiter dictum*, introduced perhaps for effect; the fate of Athens hung on the decision of an official appointed by the chance of the lot (109 n.). The account given of the command in the field is confused and misleading. We need not doubt H.'s view that the supreme control rested with a board composed of the ten strategi and the polemarch, but we cannot accept either his express, or his implied, views on the actual command. Explicitly (vi. 110) the command (πρυτανίη) is said to circulate among the ten generals, each holding it for a day.<sup>3</sup> Miltiades holds the command for several days by grace of his colleagues, who cede their days to him, and yet, though convinced that the interests of Athens demand instant battle for fear of internal sedition (vi. 109), he will not engage till his own day comes round (chap. 110). But there is a latent tendency to look on Miltiades (as is done by Nepos, Justin, etc.) as commander-in-chief throughout, for the phrase τῶν ὀκτατοῦ ἢ Μιλτιάδης would suggest to the historian's contemporaries that Miltiades was not last and least, but first and foremost, of the generals (cf. vi. 103. 1 n.); and the actual direction of the Athenian movements is throughout ascribed to him. On the other hand the Athenian Politeia (chap. 22) distinctly declares that the στρατηγοί at Marathon were only colonels of the tribal regiments, while the polemarch was still commander of the whole host. This statement (even if it be only a conjecture founded on a careful and critical consideration of the conflicting materials supplied by H.<sup>4</sup> (Macan, ii. p. 198f.)) is strongly supported by incidental points in the historian's narrative. The Polemarch leads the right wing (vi. 111; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* i. 10. 3), the post of honour and of danger naturally taken by the general (vi. 111. 1 n.; Xen. *Hell.* ii. iv. 30; Lugebil, *op. cit.*, pp. 604–24); he has at least an equal vote in the council of strategi (chap. 109 ὁμόψηφον τοῖσι στρατηγοῖσι), and, both from his possession of the casting vote (vi. 110) and from the language of Miltiades' appeal to him (vi. 109), would seem to have been president of the council.<sup>5</sup> We can also see why in the popular tradition Miltiades ousted the polemarch from his rightful position. A grateful people with a true instinct recognized in Miltiades, who carried the decree for battle in the field (cf. above), the true author both of the strategy and of the tactics which won Marathon; in its anxiety to emphasize this truth it insisted that Miltiades must have been commander-in-chief.<sup>6</sup>

## § 5

**Object of the Persian generals.** In attempting a reconstruction of the campaign it is necessary to consider first the aims and objects of the Persian expedition. Whatever wider views of conquest may be implied in the mission of the heralds to demand earth and water (vi. 49), its immediate object seems to have been the punishment of the Eretrians and Athenians for their part in the Ionic revolt (vi. 94). The reduction of the Ionian cities beyond the Aegean was the natural sequel and completion of the pacification of Ionia; and Athens at least might well be regarded as a subject which had broken the oath of fealty taken by her envoys (v. 73). Eretria

was first attacked as the easier prey, that by its fate waverers at Athens might be frightened into submission, but Athens was throughout the true objective of the Persian leaders. But if Athens was their goal, why did they land in a distant corner of Attica twenty-four miles' march from the city? The reasons alleged by H. (vi. 102) that it was near Eretria and good ground for cavalry are inadequate. Nearness to Eretria would not compensate the Persians for remoteness from Athens, and the plain of Athens (not to speak of the Thriasian plain) is more suitable for the operations of cavalry; nor is it likely that the Persian leaders doubted their power to force a landing on the open coast near Phalerum. Modern writers have suggested that in leading the Persians to Athens by way of Marathon. Hippias was following the example of his father's return from Eretria (i. 62). But the circumstances were entirely different. It was good policy for the exiled adventurer to land far from Athens and near his adherents in the rugged country of Diacria; he might and did gain time to mature his plans and gather his partisans before moving on Athens. But Hippias could never have expected the Athenians to view with supine indifference the landing of a barbarian host on their shores. Indeed, the idea that the Persians intended to march from Marathon on Athens is decisively negated by the fact that they made no attempt to seize the passes leading from the plain of Marathon towards Athens, though they must have had at least a day in which to do so before the Athenians could come up. The purpose of the Persian generals therefore clearly was to lure the Athenian forces to Marathon. But their object in so doing was not simply to finish the campaign by a single battle in the field. They can hardly have expected the Athenians to risk a pitched battle against superior numbers on ground favourable to cavalry; and to force on a battle would have been far easier in the plain near Athens, an ideal site for Persian tactics. Finally, had that been their object, they would not have waited quietly day after day, watching the Athenians in their strong position. but would either have attacked at once or, more probably, would have sailed away to find another and a better opening. There is, however, one suggestion that explains the choice of a remote corner of Attica and the long delay before the battle: the object of the Persians was to draw and keep the Athenian army as far as possible from Athens, in order that in its absence traitors might betray the city into their hands.

## § 6

**Existence of traitors at Athens.** There is quite enough evidence to show that Athens was at this time honeycombed with intrigue, and that a faction within her walls was in communication with Hippias. The shield signal is by itself a proof (vi. 121). Not only the old adherents of the Pisistratid house. but also the Alcmaeonidae were suspected. probably with justice, of treachery. H.'s defence, by its manifest weakness, condemns them. The Alcmaeonid plea in their own defence, their constant hatred of tyranny (cf. Alcibiades ap. Thuc. vi. 89), is but weakly supported by the expulsion of Hippias as of his father before him (vi. 123; i. 61), for it ignores the restoration of Pisistratus by Alcmaeonid aid (i. 60) and the friendly relations of the great Attic family with the tyrant of Sicyon (vi. 126f.) and

with the barbarian monarchs of Lydia (vi. 125). The submission made (ca. 508 B.C.) by the envoys to Artaphrenes at Sardis (v. 73), the unexplained recall of the Attic squadron (498–497 B.C.) from Ionia (v. 103 n.), and the punishment of Phrynichus (vi. 21 n.) must surely have been the work of a Medizing party at Athens. In spite of the refusal of Athens to receive back Hippias at the bidding of Artaphrenes (v. 96), the Pisistratidae were not without friends in Athens, as is shown by the election of the leader of their faction, Hipparchus (*Ath. Pol.* 22), to the archonship in 496 (Dion. Hal. v. 77, vi. 1). May we not fairly suppose that just as the aristocratic party of the Plain relied on Sparta, so the Alcmaeonids looked to Persia for aid in the strife of factions? The charge of treason would seem to be confirmed by the dark allusion in Pindar (*Pyth.* vii. 18 τὸ δ' ἄχθυμαι φθόνον ἀμειβόμενον καλὰ ἔργα, the victory celebrated was either in 490 B.C. (Boeckh) or in 486, Wilamowitz, A. and A. ii. 32f.) to the sinister reputation of the Alcmaeonidae, and by the express statement in Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 22) that Megacles, son of Hippocrates the Alcmaeonid (ostracized 487–486; cf. Hicks, 14), was regarded like Hipparchus as implicated in schemes of tyranny. Neither Medism nor tyranny had become as yet utterly abominable; many Greek cities remained prosperous and happy under the easy yoke of the Great King, and the Athenian commons remembered the principate of Pisistratus as an age of gold (*Ath. Pol.* 16). Miltiades, the aristocratic leader, had triumphantly refuted the charge of tyranny made against him on his return from the Chersonese to Athens 493 B.C. (vi. 104), and was now clearly in power resting on the support of Sparta. Was it not better from an Alcmaeonid point of view to make terms with Hippias and with Persia, than to risk an aristocratic reaction backed by Sparta, which might well endanger the institutions of Cleisthenes? The political situation, the existence of traitors within the walls expressly attested by H. (vi. 109), and the identification of those traitors as the Alcmaeonids, confirmed by the historian's reluctant admissions (vi. 124), illuminate the strategy of both the Persian and the Athenian generals.

## § 7

**Probable division of the Persian forces.** The scheme of the Persian leaders was to keep the Athenian field force at Marathon, while traitors within the city, supported by a Persian detachment, delivered Athens into the hands of Hippias. As long as the whole Persian army remained at Marathon, the Athenians were secure in their strong position near Vrana; if the whole army attempted to move on Athens either by sea or land it incurred serious risks. If it went by the only open road, that along the coast towards Pallene, it exposed its flank and rear to Athenian attack, if by sea, it exposed its rearguard to destruction during the long process of embarkation; and in either case it was open to the Athenians to return to Athens by the shorter if rougher mountain-road past Kephisia, and to defer the decisive encounter.

But if the Persians made use of their numerical superiority, perhaps 40,000 against 20,000 (cf. vi. 117 n.), to leave a containing force at Marathon and send a detachment to capture Athens, the whole position was altered. Miltiades could not

afford to divide his inferior forces. If he retreated over the hills towards Athens, he would be harassed and delayed by the pursuit of the Persians from Marathon; if he decided to attack the containing force, he must venture out into the plain and expose his hoplites to a flank attack. In either case the city might be betrayed before he could return thither. The reasons which determined Miltiades to run these great risks by going to meet the Persians at Marathon were, however, weighty. With the fate of Eretria before his eyes, he dare not stand a siege, lest Athens too should be betrayed to the Mede (vi. 109; cf. 100). And it would seem probable that Athens could only call on her allies for help if her own forces were prepared to take the field. It is at Marathon that the Plataeans join them (vi. 108) and to Marathon that the Spartans march (vi. 120), while the Athenian cleruchs from Chalcis leave the Eretrians to their fate when they find they will not fight outside their walls (vi. 100, 101). Miltiades had therefore the strongest motives for facing the Persians at Marathon, but so long as the whole Persian army remained there, he need not force on battle. The Persian generals at Marathon might long look in vain for the expected signal from traitors at Athens, unwilling finally to commit themselves by open sedition. Meanwhile Miltiades did well to wait for the promised Spartan succour as well as for the anticipated separation of the Persian forces.

The change in the strategy of Miltiades from the defensive to the offensive, implied obscurely in H.'s account of the debate in the council of war at Marathon (vi. 109, 110), must have been occasioned by some more serious motive than the supposed "Prytany" of Miltiades (cf. above), which explains neither the previous delay nor the assumption of the offensive. It has been substituted for the true motive, the division of the Persian forces. Of that division faint vestiges remain in the tradition, preserved by Suidas and confirmed by H.'s silence, of the absence the Persian horse from the battle, and perhaps in Nepos' statement that only 100,000 out of 200,000 Persian footmen fought at Marathon. But the division of the Persian forces is exactly the kind of point that national vanity would omit or obscure. It is at least the only hypothesis which supplies an adequate motive for an Athenian attack.

## § 8

**The shield signal and the absence of the horse.** As to the shield signal its main purpose is clear. When the conspiracy in Athens was ripe, some traitor was to signal the news from Mount Pentelicus to the expectant Persians at Marathon. The only difficulty is that, according to H.'s express statement, the Persians were already on board when the signal was made. It is possible that H. has misunderstood his informant. The historian, not realizing the division of the Persian forces, may have confused the embarkation of the Persian detachment for Phalerum before the battle, with the embarkation of the survivors after the battle. But it is more probable that the plot in the city hung fire, and that the Persian generals anticipated the signal from fear that the imminent arrival of the Spartans might frustrate their well-laid plans. In any case the landing at Marathon, the

delay there, the division of the Persian forces, and the shield signal are all explained by an understanding between the Persians and traitors at Athens, while the division of the Persian forces explains Miltiades' assumption of the offensive.

Lastly, it is clear that the move on Athens was to have been made by sea. If the Persians had been attacked while filing past the Athenian position, how could they have escaped and re-embarked with so slight a loss of men? Above all, how is it that the cavalry take no part in the battle? It is absurd to suppose that the cavalry was re-embarked "because on the march to Athens it would have been a useless encumbrance" (Bury). The road to Athens through Pallene had been traversed by Pisistratus and his Eretrian horsemen and presents no difficulties for cavalry. If any part of the Persian force was to go by land it would be the cavalry; the fact that they were re-embarked (Suidas) is the strongest evidence that the move on Athens was to be made by sea. But if it be supposed that the cavalry, with the rest of the brigade for Athens, was already on board, all is clear. Their absence would give an opportunity for an Athenian attack, while at the same time it would make embarkation easier, and explain the slight loss on either side. The horsemen useless at Marathon while the Athenians clung to their position on the hills, might be most valuable for a dash on Athens or a battle on the Phaleric plain (cf. v. 63).

## § 9

**The victory and its effects.** When the dreaded horsemen and a part of the infantry were safe aboard, Miltiades at once resolved to attack. Taking post near the entrance of the valley of Vrana, he lengthened his line so as to make it equal to that of the Persians, by weakening his centre. He found the Persians ranged in battle array parallel to the sea-shore. Their position is indicated by the situation of the "Soros," which would naturally be placed where the Athenians had fallen thickest, and by the facts that the Athenian centre was driven inland (vi. 113) and that the defeated barbarians reach their ships without difficulty. Miltiades first routed the Persian wings, and then, while they escaped to their ships, wheeled inwards to crush the Persian centre. Few of the Persians and Sacae who had victoriously advanced inland can have escaped death. The seven ships captured were doubtless some of those waiting to rescue the fugitives from this second fight, while most of the squadron had already put out to sea. The victory was not won without a struggle, nor were the Persian losses overwhelming. Hence there is no real difficulty in H.'s statement (vi. 115, 116) that the fleet sailed round Sunium,<sup>7</sup> hoping to reach Athens before the Athenian army. The detachment originally destined for that purpose was still unbeaten and may well have been willing, even if treachery failed to do their work, to put their fortunes to the hazard of battle; the rest of the fleet and army, after picking up the captive Eretrians, would naturally follow, in the hope that they might even yet retrieve their defeat. But when the Persian generals found that the demonstration did not lead to internal sedition at Athens, they recognized that another struggle with the victors of Marathon, who had now hurried back to defend their homes, could only lead to further disaster.

But if the material results of Marathon were small, the moral effect was tremendous. The Greek hoplite had proved his superiority to the best warriors of the east. But the victory was a political as well as a military triumph. Marathon made tyranny and Medism henceforth impossible at Athens. The blood of the heroes buried there was the seed of Greek liberty.

*Note.*—In the latter part of this appendix I have but repeated or summarized the arguments put forward by J. A. R. Munro in favour of his convincing reconstruction (*JHS* xix. 185–97), with which G. B. Grundy (*Great Persian War*) is in substantial agreement. Busolt, who, like Schilling (*Philologus*, 1895, 253–73), had anticipated some points (*Die Lakedaimonier*, 355–69), has since (ii. 585f.) been converted by H. Delbrück (*Die Perserkriege und die Burgunderkriege*, 52–85; cf. *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, 41–59), and follows Nepos (Ephorus) in making the Persians attack the Athenian position on the hills, while the Athenian charge of eight stades becomes a pursuit for that distance, a view unsupported by good evidence.

[**Additional note (1928).** I have shown the untrustworthiness of Ephorus' account of Marathon (*JHS* xxxix. 48f.). Lehmann-Haupt (*Klio* xviii. 65f., 309–35) rightly rejects Delbrück's renewed attempt (*Klio* xvii. 221–9) to justify his view of the battle, as well as Kromayer's strange suggestion that the Persian cavalry was stationed in the centre (*Antike Schlachtfelder* iv, pp. 1f., etc.). But he does not reach any new conclusions of value from his elaborate but arbitrary analysis of Herodotus. I cannot accept Munro's new hypothesis (*CAH* iv. 235–8) that Miltiades was marching to aid Eretria, as the evidence is very slight, and I cannot believe that a fact so much to the credit of Athens would have so completely disappeared from the traditions, or that the Athenians would have ventured to send their small fleet to guard the passage to Euboea.]

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## Notes

1. Curiously enough in this case a phantom hoplite fights for Persia against Athens.
2. For justification of this criticism cf. Busolt. ii. 685; iii. 147, 315, 720f.; and Holm, G. iii. 18.
3. As at Arginusae and Aegospotami if we may believe Diodorus xiii. 97, 106.
4. Before the discovery of Aristotle's treatise this inference had been already made by K. Lugebil, *Zur Geschichte der Staatsverfassung von Athen*, 1871 (v<sup>ter</sup> Supplementband des Jahrbuchs für klassische Philologie) and by Macan (cf. his Herod. i. 365).
5. Cf. the language used by Themistocles to Eurybiades, viii. 60.
6. In this section on the command at Marathon, as in the criticism of H. and the older literary authorities, I owe most to Macan, appendix x.
7. Plutarch (*Arist.* chap. 5) alleges they were driven thither by wind and sea, but admits the Athenians hurried back for fear of them.

## Appendix XIX: Numbers of the Armies and Fleets 480–479 B.C.

### § 1

**The Greek forces.** Any attempt at a rational reconstruction of the campaigns which culminated at Salamis and Plataea must be preceded by a criticism of the estimates or records of the numbers on both sides. Clearly those of the Greek forces are the more trustworthy; and of these the number of triremes would be more easily ascertainable than that of hoplites. There are three early reckonings of the Greek fleet:

- (1) The muster-roll of ships at Artemisium, 271 triremes and 9 penteconters (H. viii. 1–2), or, if the reinforcement of 53 Athenian ships be added (H. viii. 14), 324 triremes and 9 penteconters.
- (2) The figure given by Aeschylus for Salamis, 310, including a special squadron of 10. Pers. 339 Ἑλλησιν μὲν ἦν / ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα / ναῶν, δεκάς δ' ἦν τῶδε χωρὶς ἔκκροτος.
- (3) The muster-roll of Salamis in H. (viii. 43–8), where the items amount to 366 triremes (besides 7 penteconters), but the total is given as 378<sup>1</sup> (viii. 48, 82).

The lists in H. (summarized in ix. 81 n.) look like official muster-rolls, and so have a *prima facie* claim to acceptance. The high total at Salamis, however, not only contradicts Aeschylus, but further makes no allowance at all for losses in the hard fighting at Artemisium. I would therefore suggest that the list of the fleet at Artemisium may well be a genuine muster-roll; that the figure given by Aeschylus for Salamis may be taken, after allowing for losses and reinforcements, as

approximately correct, and that H.'s <p. 364> total of 380 for Salamis includes all who fought for Greece at any time during the campaign, making no allowance for losses in the previous battles<sup>2</sup> (Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 219–21).

Turning to the numbers of the Greek army at Plataea, there is nothing incredible in the total of hoplites, 38,700, or even in the details given of the contingents<sup>3</sup> (ix. 28). In spite of sceptical critics, the list may probably be accepted as a real muster-roll of troops in the field, but of course the actual number of effectives would fall somewhat short of the official estimates, and the “morning strength” of the army, even at the beginning of the campaign, must have been under 35,000 hoplites. H.'s repeated assertion (ix. 10. 1, 28. 2, 29. 1) shows that he had some reason to believe that a specially large proportion of Helots served in this campaign. Yet since there is no record of effective service on their part as light troops (cf. ix. 60), either their number (40,000 in all) has been exaggerated or many of them were little more than camp followers, at best an army service corps (cf. Macan on ix. 28). In all there may have been forty or fifty thousand light-armed on the Greek side, but many of them would be ill-trained and inefficient.

## § 2

**The fleet of Xerxes.** There can be little doubt that both the army and fleet of Xerxes largely outnumbered the Greek forces.<sup>4</sup> Yet the enormous disproportion alleged by H. can be traced in part to a misunderstanding of the data contained in the official Persian records, and in part to an extravagant overestimate deliberately adopted by the historian (vii. 184 n.). Here, again, the number given for the fleet is far more credible than that for the army. Indeed, the traditional number of the king's navy (1,000 or 1,207<sup>5</sup>) has been accepted by the majority of modern critics as probable or at least possible (cf. *JHS* xxviii. 202). It would seem, however, that it rests on a single passage in Aeschylus referring to Salamis (*Pers.* 342–5) *Ξέρξης δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χελιάς μὲν ἦ / ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέροκοποι τάχει / ἕκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτὰ θ'.* Some writers, believing the main body to be exclusive of the <p. 365> special squadron, make the total 1,200 or 1,207,<sup>6</sup> while others hold<sup>7</sup> that the 207 fast sailers are included in the total of 1,000. No doubt the numbers given by H. for the various contingents support his total, but there is no proof that these come from any official list, and in the catalogue of the land forces numbers are conspicuous by their absence. It may further be admitted that a grand total of 1,200 is possible for the complete muster-roll of the king's navy, since half that amount (600) seems to be a conventional estimate for an important expedition.<sup>8</sup>

But there are some grounds for questioning the figure taken from Aeschylus. According to H. (vii. 97) there were four Persian admirals. Of these two have definite local squadrons<sup>9</sup> assigned to them, Achaemenes the Egyptian, and Ariabignes the Iono-Carian (doubtless including the thirty Dorian ships), amounting in each case (vii. 89 and 93–4) to 200 ships. Again, the only detached squadrons mentioned, that sent round Euboea (H. viii. 7) and that sent round Salamis (Diod. xi. 17; cf. xi. 3), consist of 200 ships. Surely this points to four

divisions, each 200 vessels strong, giving a total of 800 (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 299). Again, if we accept H.'s figures, the Persian armada had lost half its numbers before it reached Salamis; of his original total of 1,200, 400 perished on the Sepiad strand (vii. 190) and 200 more on the rocks of Euboea (viii. 13); taking then the losses in battle as balanced by reinforcements, we should make the Persian fleet at Salamis approximately 600 strong. This may well be near the truth, since the advice of Achaemenes (vii. 236) implies that the Persian fleet after Artemisium would lose its numerical superiority if 300 ships were detached to assail the Peloponnese; and H. himself (viii. 13) states that it had been by divine intervention brought down nearly to the level of the Greek. A total of 600 at Salamis would be sufficient to explain Persian enveloping tactics and the prevalent impression among the Greeks that they were enormously outnumbered, and it is borne out by the statement that only 300 were left to muster next <p. 366> spring at Samos (viii. 130). But a total of 600 at Salamis is inconsistent with Aeschylus, and even with the original estimate in H., since his assumption that half the fleet was lost in storms is most improbable (cf. vii. 188 n.; app. xx, §6. 4). It would, however, accord admirably with an original paper strength of 800.

### § 3

**Army of Xerxes. Alleged number.** Lastly, the amazing figures given for the Persian army<sup>10</sup> confront us (vii. 184f.). The doubling of the numbers for attendants is a pure conjecture (vii. 186) founded on the analogy of a Greek force, and may be regarded as worthless. Similarly, the thirty myriads of European contingents (vii. 185) are due to the historian's own imagination. But the list of forty-six nations (cf. vii. 61 n.; ix. 27. 5) distributed among twenty-nine commanders is clearly official. It is, however, a catalogue not of any particular army but of all "peoples, nations, and languages" ruled by the great king. H. (vii. 21, 56) made, as did Aeschylus (*Pers.* 12–58), the characteristically Greek assumption that Xerxes brought every man he could muster against Greece. Again, it is clear that the incredible total given (1,800,000) does not come from the official army list, which gave no numbers for the various contingents (vii. 60).<sup>11</sup> It is further noticeable that this total is just six times as great as the number said to have been left with Mardonius (viii. 113). Now, without maintaining the correctness even of this figure (300,000), we may perhaps see in it another and a more sober estimate of the host Xerxes led against Greece. It is hardly credible that Xerxes, if he were taking with him the bulk of his army (Thuc. i. 73) and leaving Mardonius only picked troops (viii. 113; Aesch. *Pers.* 804), should need to be escorted homewards by Artabazus and 60,000 of those <p. 367> troops (viii. 115 n.). Thus we may find in the forces ascribed to the Persians at Plataea (300,000) and at Mycale (60,000) a means of estimating the whole force at the disposal of Xerxes.

### § 4

**Real meaning and value of the army list.** Nevertheless a closer examination of the list as given by H. confirms the impression that it contains an official account<sup>12</sup> of

the Persian army's organization, and that H.'s impossible figures are based on a misunderstanding of or a miscalculation from the data supplied by the list. The decimal system of organization<sup>13</sup> prevails; there are decarchs, hecatontarchs, chiliarchs, myriarchs (cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 302, 314, 981, 994), and above them, twenty-nine Persian ἄρχοντες, and six generals in chief. But the ἄρχοντες in H. command not 100,000 but 60,000 men. That this was the normal strength of a Persian army corps seems proved by the fact that the separate corps actually mentioned, that of Artabazus (viii. 126) and that of Tigranes (ix. 96) are of this strength. It corresponds also with the conventional number for a Persian fleet, 600 ships (iv. 87; vi. 9, 95). But is H. right in supposing that his twenty-nine ἄρχοντες commanded such army corps? So awkward a number as twenty-nine could hardly be chosen as the basis of any scheme of organization, and a thirtieth commander is ready to our hand in Hydarnes, captain of the Immortals, but these numbered only 10,000. Here is the origin of H.'s error. The twenty-nine ἄρχοντες really, like Hydarnes, were myriarchs, while the corps of 60,000 were commanded by the six generals. Thus we should get a grand total of 360,000 men, of whom 300,000 would be infantry commanded by the thirty ἄρχοντες, while each of the six corps would also include 10,000 horse. This number agrees with those assigned to the Persian leaders in 479, Mardonius having 300,000 at Plataea (viii. 113), and Tigranes 60,000 at Mycale (ix. 96). It finds further support in the story that Cyrus (i. 189) divided his army into 360 divisions to dig as many channels for the river Gyndes.

We may then assume that 360,000 represents the total strength of the Persian field army, and that it was organized on a territorial basis. The Anatolian races, according to H., supplied the infantry for two corps but no cavalry,<sup>14</sup> the Persians and the nations of the further east perhaps three corps of infantry and five divisions of cavalry, while one corps of infantry would seem to have been drawn from very diverse regions, and accompanied, if we might believe Herodotus, by chariots and camelry. So much for the army list. But Xerxes cannot possibly have taken his whole field army to Greece. There <p. 368> are some indications that he took only three complete army corps. The army marches in three divisions, and though six generals are named they are coupled together as though two were in joint command of each column (vii. 121). Only three separate commands emerge clearly, those of Mardonius, of Artabazus, and of Tigranes. There are only three hipparchs (vii. 88), Masistius being obviously the successor of Pharnuches. Thus 180,000 may be taken as the irreducible minimum of the Persian force, apart from European contingents. It would, however, seem probable that picked troops from the other army corps accompanied the king, and produced the impression that he was followed by every tribe in his empire. Nevertheless, the total must have fallen short of the 300,000 assigned to Mardonius at Plataea (viii. 113; ix. 32).

## § 5

**The army of Mardonius.** It is not easy to determine what portion of this force remained to fight under Mardonius. Clearly he would retain his own corps, 60,000

strong. This would seem to have been composed (cf. viii. 113; ix. 31) of Immortals, other Persians, Medes, Indians and Bactrians with Sacae, each contingent consisting of a myriad of infantry, the sixth myriad consisting of cavalry. The picked men from other nations (viii. 113; ix. 32) may have only filled gaps in the ranks, though the corps of Egyptian marines (ix. 32) seems to be a separate unit. The European allies reckoned by Herodotus (ix. 32) at 50,000 may safely be reduced in 479 as in 480 B.C. to half that amount. In support there was Artabazus with 40,000 men (ix. 66, 70), that is, with so much of his army corps of 60,000 (viii. 126) as remained available for active service; but we cannot say when, if ever, he reached the field of active operations in Boeotia. Thus Mardonius may well have had 150,000 men nominally under his command, but not more than 100,000 concentrated at Plataea. Tradition, which repeatedly insists on the disproportion between the forces of Xerxes and of his opponents, gives a less certain sound as to Mardonius. The discouragement in the Persian camp (ix. 16, 42), the alternative plan of campaign (ix. 2, 41), above all the whole story of the complicated maneuvers which preceded the battle of Plataea, seem to show that the disproportion between the two forces was not very great. Marathon had proved that the Greek hoplite was more than a match for the most warlike nations in Asia, but a large part of Pausanias' force was composed of light troops inferior to Mardonius' warriors. Hence it seems likely that the total number of men engaged on each side was more nearly equal than has been commonly supposed.

*Note.*—In dealing with the Persian numbers I have followed Munro (*JHS* xxii. 294f.; xxiv. 144f.). Macan (ii. 150f., 351) has arrived at similar conclusions as to Persian armies. Munro now (*CAH* iv. 273–6, 302 n.) follows Tarn as to the number of Greek ships and the normal divisions and strength of the Persian <p. 369> navy, but holds that the total of 600 was on this occasion strengthened by an additional squadron of 60 Phoenician ships, and an uncertain number (70?) of fast cruisers.

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## Notes

1. This discrepancy may be explained by the mention of an additional Aeginetan squadron guarding their own shores (H. viii. 46 n.).
2. It has been urged that the number of the Athenian contingent is suspiciously high (Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, p. 508f.), and that the fifty-three ships mentioned in viii. 14 are not a fresh reinforcement but a detachment already counted in the main fleet. But tradition seems strongly in favour of the view that the total of the Athenian fleet really amounted, as H. repeatedly affirms (vii. 144; viii. 44, 61), to 200 vessels (cf. Thuc. i. 74; Dem. *De Sym.* § 29, *De Cor.* § 238).
3. They have been vigorously assailed by Beloch (*Bevölkerung*, 8, and especially *Klio*, vi. 52f.) and Delbrück (*Kriegskunst*, i. 11f.), but are accepted as at least probable by many recent writers, e.g., Busolt, ii. 728; Macan, ii. 352, Grundy (*JHS*

xxviii. 80; Thuc. p. 215 n.), and with more hesitation by Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 152). For a list cf. ix. 81 n.

4. *pace* Delbrück, *Perserkriege*, 160f., *Kriegskunst*, i. 39f., 69f., 82, 87.

5. H. vii. 89, 184; Diodor. xi. 3; Isocrates, *Paneg.* §§ 93, 97, 118.

6. The 130 added for European allies is admittedly conjectural (vii. 185), and beyond question an overestimate.

7. Schol. ad *Pers.* 342; Dem. *De Sym.* § 39; and apparently Ctesias, *Persica* 23, 26; Plato, *Leg.* 699b.

8. e.g., the fleet, believed to be mainly Greek, that accompanied Darius to Scythia (iv. 87–9), that drawn from Cyprus, Cilicia, Egypt, and especially Phoenicia which triumphed at Lade (vi. 6. 9), or that which took Datis to Marathon (vi. 95).

9. Macan (ii. 153) and Tarn (*JHS* xxviii. 202f.) both rightly insist on the territorial division of the fleet. With less probability Macan would reduce the squadrons to three of 400, making the fourth admiral a successor to Ariabignes (vii. 97 n.), or a joint commander of the third squadron, while Tarn, by a conjectural addition of a fifth squadron, and reduction of the strength of each to 120, reaches a total of 600.

10. They may be tabulated thus:

Army		Fleet	
Infantry from Asia	1,700,000	Crews of triremes from Asia	241,200
Cavalry (with camelry and charioteers)	100,000	Marines	36,210
		Crews of smaller vessels	240,000
Europeans	300,000	Crews of European triremes	24,000
Total	2,100,000	Total	541,610

Total fighting men, 2,641,610; add non-combatants, 2,641,610. Diodorus (xi. 3; cf. Ctesias *Persica* 33) reduces the Asiatic infantry to 800,000, and the total number of Europeans (xi. 5) to less than 200,000.

11. The story of the numbering of the host (vii. 60) by a cumbrous and childish method is an obvious folk-tale, which cannot be taken seriously. H. may have been led to increase his enormous totals (vii. 186) by the early estimate of Xerxes' land forces at three millions in the epigram of Simonides (H. vii. 228). Figures of this kind, due to popular or poetic imagination, are of course worthless. (Cf. the numbers given for the host of the great Khan in Marco Polo, bk. i, chap. iii; Yule, i. 335.)

12. Here I follow with confidence Munro (*JHS* xxii. 296f.) and Macan, ii. 158f.

13. A decimal system prevailed also among the Tartars from the days of Genghis Khan (Marco Polo, bk. i, chap. liv; bk. ii, chap. vii; Yule, i. 261, 350) and passed to the Turks.

14. Cf. Macan, ii. 164f.

## **Appendix XX: The Campaign of 480 B.C.**

### **§ 1**

**Persian plan of campaign.** There is at least clearness and consistency in the Persian plans for the campaign which ended with the battle of Salamis. The elaborate care taken in bridge building, in making roads and canals, in storing provisions, above all the steady advance of huge forces without any sign of failure in supplies, shows careful organization and competent leading. But the Persians suffered from too rigid adherence to the leading idea of their plan of campaign, the close and direct cooperation of their land and sea forces.<sup>1</sup> Possibly considerations of supply induced the Persian leaders to keep the fleet in close touch with the army; yet since Xerxes advanced from Therma to Thermopylae unsupported by his fleet, he plainly could dispense with its aid for a time. Perhaps the Persians dared not trust the fidelity of their naval allies, or at least of the Greeks among them, out of sight of the land forces. Whatever was the cause, the Persian fleet remained tied to the Persian army. It was, indeed, allowed to make a turning movement round Euboea (viii. 7, 14) and may have been used in the same way at Salamis (app. xxi. § 4f.), but no really independent action (e. g. a diversion against the Peloponnese, vii. 235–7) was sanctioned by the Persian generals.

### **§ 2**

**Possible lines of defence.** The Greek plans for defence were conditioned by the character of the Persian strategy. It was necessary to find a position where inferior forces might hope to check a double attack by land and sea. Four such lines of defence were open, three were at one time or another actually held by the Greek forces. The last line of defence, guarding the Acropolis of Hellas, the Peloponnese, was the Isthmus of Corinth, a position admirably defensible by land. Further arguments in its favour were the great dangers involved in the dispatch of any large land force far from the Peloponnese. The Helots were a constant danger, Argos was obviously disloyal (cf. vii. 148–52; viii. 73; ix. 12), Elis and Mantinea not wholly trustworthy (ix. 10 n.). Again it was necessary to garrison the Peloponnese strongly so long as the Persians held command of the sea, for fear that a detached squadron might land troops south of the Isthmus. Yet no responsible leader can have contemplated abandoning all Northern Greece to the enemy without a struggle. To do so would have been to sacrifice Athens, and to risk the loss of her fleet, without which all resistance by sea must collapse. Even if Athens proved

loyal to the last, the Greeks might be forced to face the superior Persian navy in the open waters of the Saronic gulf. The second possible line, that of Cithaeron, can hardly have been seriously contemplated in 480, except by despairing and shortsighted Athenians (viii. 40). It could not be held except by a large force, and even then might be turned by an enemy moving by Oropus and Decelea. Above all, it separated army and fleet, whether the latter took its post in the Euripus or at Salamis, and thus failed in the first and most essential point requisite for a successful defence.

### § 3

**Greek plan of campaign.** But if for these and other reasons the defence must be pushed further north, it followed that the land force must be content to play a subordinate part, merely checking the advance of Xerxes, while the Greeks struck hard with their stronger arm the navy. Further, the battle must if possible be fought in a narrow sound, where the enemy could not use their superior numbers and greater maneuvering power. In the straits of Euboea the Greek admirals might hope to defeat the enemy, as the Romans the Carthaginians, by ramming prow to prow with their stouter vessels (viii. 60 n.), and by boarding with better-armed troops. The difficulty was to induce the enemy to attack them there instead of ignoring them and sailing past. Now a Greek fleet posted at Artemisium guarded the whole stretch of coast from Tempe to Marathon (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 304). To land a large force on the rocky coast of Magnesia was impracticable, while to disembark in Euboea was useless, if the narrows by Chalcis were guarded so that the invaders could not cross to Boeotia. If, therefore, Xerxes' army could be checked either at Tempe or Thermopylae, his admirals must fight the Greek fleet at Artemisium before they could turn the position of the force defending the pass. They could not take their whole fleet outside Euboea to the Saronic gulf, since it was essential to their plans that army and fleet should reach the Peloponnese together.

The question whether Tempe or Thermopylae should be held turned on the loyalty of Thessaly. Both Xerxes and the Greek leaders seem erroneously to have reckoned on the whole-hearted support of the Thessalians. Xerxes believed that the promises of the Aleuadae held good for the whole nation (vii. 6, 130, 172), the Greeks seem to have made the same mistake about the summons received apparently in the early spring of 480 B.C. (vii. 172). In any case such a call to defend the frontiers of Greece could not be left unanswered. A force of 10,000 hoplites was taken by ship to Halus, and marched thence to Tempe; the fleet remained in the Pagasaeon gulf, but doubtless, had all gone well, it would have taken post at Artemisium. We may accept as probable H.'s suggestion that the reason for the evacuation of Thessaly was the discovery that there were other passes from Macedon by which Tempe could be turned (vii. 173. 4). If, on the contrary (*JHS* xxii. 305), the Greek leaders had any previous knowledge of the passes of Petra, and Volustana (vii. 128 n., 173 n.) they must have expected that Thessalian levies would defend them. In either case, when only cavalry appeared to support them

(vii. 173. 2) they realized the disaffection of the lower orders in Thessaly and the hopelessness of holding the passes without their cooperation.

The fiasco at Tempe seems for the time to have discouraged the Greeks utterly. The forces sent retired not to Thermopylae but to the Isthmus (vii. 173). To this time we must assign the menacing oracles given to the Athenians,<sup>2</sup> which held out no hope of a successful resistance northward of Salamis, that is close to the last possible line of defence (vii. 140, 141 n.).

#### § 4

**The interdependence of Artemisium and Thermopylae.** The resolution to return to Artemisium and to hold Thermopylae was taken only after some debate and difference of opinion (vii. 175). Yet surely this line of defence must have been contemplated earlier at least as a possible alternative (cf. vii. 177). No doubt Thermopylae like Tempe could be turned, but nowhere else could a small body of troops withstand the great barbarian host with equal hope of success, nowhere was there a better field for the naval tactics of Themistocles, nowhere could fleet and army cooperate more closely and effectively. That the role of the land force is defensive and subordinate is indicated by the small number of men who fought under Leonidas (cf. vii. 202 n.), compared with the full muster of ships at Artemisium (viii. 1); its sole object was to hold the pass long enough to enable the fleet to cripple Xerxes' navy. But the two positions are absolutely interdependent. If Thermopylae alone were held, its defenders might have been assailed with showers of missiles from the hostile fleet (cf. Paus. x. 21), or absolutely cut off by the landing of a hostile force in their rear. And, on the other hand, it was useless to hold Artemisium unless the land route were blocked at Thermopylae, since the king's fleet might in that case evade the Greeks by sailing outside Euboea, and then quietly rejoin the army when it had reached the coast of the Saronic gulf.

Herodotus does not bring out the interdependence of the two positions, and indeed ignores it in some parts of his narrative; in his work the story of Thermopylae is finished off before that of Artemisium begins; the Greek navy too beats a hasty retreat (vii. 183) and twice contemplates flight (viii. 4, 9) without a thought that thereby they imperil the heroic defenders of Thermopylae. Nevertheless in the narrative this interdependence is implicitly indicated by many signs. H. is conscious of the parallel advance of the Persian army and fleet and of the resolution of the Greeks to occupy a line of defence where army and fleet can cooperate (vii. 175f.). Further, the arrangements made for communication between Thermopylae and Artemisium (viii. 21) and the synchronism of the three days' fighting on land and sea (viii. 15) suggest the conclusion enforced by the immediate retreat of the fleet after the fall of Thermopylae, that the two positions were absolutely interdependent.

#### § 5

**Correction of the parallel diaries of the Persian fleet and army.** This interdependence, and the synchronism of the three attacks on Thermopylae with

the three sea-fights at Artemisium (viii. 15), make it certain that H.'s parallel diaries of the Persian fleet and army must be corrected. The discrepancy of two days may be removed by inserting two days in the log of the fleet, which would give the time requisite for the main fleet to refit, and for the detached squadron to sail round Euboea (Busolt, ii. 681–2; Grundy, pp. 342–3). A more attractive suggestion is to subtract two days from the journal for the army (Bury, *BSA* ii. 95.f.; Munro, *JHS* xxii. 308–11 ; Macan, ii. 272f.). As, however, it involves a serious departure from the narrative of H. the nature and the reasons of this second rearrangement must be given in detail. The omission of these two days reduces the two storms in H. (vii. 188f. and viii. 12) to one, and the general retreat of the Greek fleet to the Euripus (viii. 183) to the dispatch of a detachment to guard the strait of Chalcis. Further, it implies that the Persian squadron sent round Euboea started not from Aphetae (viii. 6) but from the Sepiad shore. It may be most conveniently exhibited in the following table.

<b>Parallel Diary of Events at:</b>		
Day	<b>Thermopylae</b>	<b>Artemisium</b>
<i>A. As given by H.</i>		
1	Persian army leaves Therma.	
12		Persian fleet sails from Therma to Sepiad shore (vii. 179f.).
13		First storm. Wreck of Persian fleet (vii. 188–91).
14	Persian army reaches Malis (vii. 196–8).	Storm continues.
15	Army remains inactive (vii. 208–10).	Storm continues. Fleet moves to Aphetae when storm is over (vii. 193); 200 ships sent round Euboea (viii. 6).
16	Ditto.	First sea-fight (viii. 9f.); second storm and wreck (viii. 12f.).
17	Ditto	Arrival of 53 Athenian ships; second sea-fight (viii. 14).
18	First attack on Thermopylae (vii. 210–1).	Third sea-fight (vii. 15–7); news of disaster at Thermopylae and retreat of the Greek fleet (viii. 21f.).
19	Second attack on Thermopylae (vii. 212).	
20	Catastrophe at Thermopylae (vii. 213–33).	

<i>B. As reconstructed by Bury</i>		
1	Persian army leaves Therma.	
12		200 Persian ships sent round Euboea and 53 Athenian to guard the Euripus.
13		Storm wrecks both Persian fleets.
14	Arrival of Xerxes in Malis.	Storm continues.
15	Xerxes before Thermopylae.	Storm continues.
16	First attack on Thermopylae.	Persian fleet moves to Aphetæ; first sea-fight.
17	Second attack on Thermopylae.	Return of 53 Athenian ships; second sea-fight.
18	Catastrophe at Thermopylae.	Third sea-fight; news of disaster at Thermopylae and retreat of Greek fleet.

Macan (ii. 275) while agreeing in general would make Xerxes enter Malis on the 12th day and reach Thermopylae on 13th.

By the less radical reconstruction of Busolt (ii. 681–2) and Grundy (pp. 342–3), the events crowded into the 16th day of the naval diary are spread over three days, viz.: 16, move to Aphetæ; 17, dispatch of squadron round Euboea; 18, first sea-fight and second storm. Thus again the three fights at Artemisium and Thermopylae correspond (viii. 15). Munro attempts a more elaborate reconstruction of the movements of the Persian fleet (*CAH* iv. 284–91) with a full diary (opposite p. 316).

## § 6

**Grounds for Bury's rearrangement.** For this rearrangement of H.'s story there are the following grounds:

(1) Chronologically the diary of the fleet does not seem open to any objection. As we might expect, Herodotus seems well informed as to its movements. On the other hand, the notice of Xerxes' march through Thessaly is vague and scanty (vii. 196), and Xerxes' four days' delay at Thermopylae is unintelligible unless the four days be that of his arrival and the three days of the storm.

(2) The repeated report that the Greeks meditated (viii. 4, 9) and in one case even effected a retreat (vii. 182), ignores the plain fact that such a retreat would have sacrificed the land force at Thermopylae. Whatever murmurings there may have been among Peloponnesian sailors or captains, Eurybiades and Themistocles cannot have thought of deserting Leonidas. Nor is it likely that a fleet, panic-stricken at the mere approach of the enemy, should afterwards have made so stout a resistance against superior numbers. These rumours illustrate a tendency in the tradition to exalt the noble failure of Thermopylae above the mean success of

Artemisium. No doubt, on the other hand, there is a basis of fact behind the statement (vii. 182) that the Greeks shifted their station from Artemisium to Chalcis to guard the Euripus.<sup>3</sup> Here, however, the crucial point is the alleged motive "to guard the Euripus" near Chalcis. The danger to be met is clearly the dispatch of a Persian squadron round Euboea, but the method of meeting it can hardly have been a general retreat. Yet the story of a retreat might well have arisen (Bury, p. 88f.) from the fact of the dispatch of a squadron "to guard the narrows of the Euripus"; and such a squadron may be found in the fifty-three Athenian vessels (viii. 14) which later drop, as it were, from the skies with the joyful tidings that the Persian ships sent round Euboea had been wrecked.

(3) H.'s account of the dispatch of the 200 Persian ships intended to circumnavigate Euboea involves two grave difficulties. If they started from Aphetæ in the afternoon, they could not that same night have reached the "Hollows" of Euboea (viii. 7, 14);<sup>4</sup> and the stratagem of sending them outside Sciathos to avoid observation becomes ludicrous, since they were in full view of the Greek fleet when they started. Both these objections are avoided if we suppose (Bury, p. 92 ; Munro, p. 309) that they parted company with the main fleet four days earlier, while it lay off the Sepiad shore. And further, the news that such a squadron had been sent to turn their position would account for the dispatch of an Athenian detachment to guard the Euripus (cf. above), and also for the panic in the Greek fleet on the first approach of the enemy. Tidings of the capture of three look-out ships seems an insufficient cause for a general flight; but a signal that a squadron had been sent to threaten their retreat would naturally alarm the sailors, and lead the admirals to take the necessary precautions. Finally, the plan of sending a squadron round Euboea must surely have been premeditated, and not a happy thought extemporized at Aphetæ. But if so, this squadron would never have put in at Aphetæ, but have passed outside Sciathos (as indeed Herodotus says) to avoid the observation of the Greek fleet.

(4) Bury's correction of the diary identifies the two storms in H., since on his hypothesis the same storm wrecks the main fleet on the Sepiad strand, and the squadron sent round Euboea. Now in one passage (viii. 66. 2) H. himself seems to recognize but a single storm.<sup>5</sup> It is suggested that its duplication may well have arisen from the variety of H.'s sources, and an undetected discrepancy in their chronology. In favour of this it may be urged that while the first storm undoubtedly did real and extensive damage to the main Persian fleet, the supposed second storm had no appreciable effect upon it (viii. 12). The account of it reads like a duplicate, with the exaggerations and graphic touches, taken perhaps from an epic poem (cf. vii. 188 n.), toned down or omitted. On the other hand, the reality of one storm is proved by the destruction of the squadron which attempted to circumnavigate Euboea. Whether it was totally destroyed by a northeaster in the open sea (viii. 13), or as seems more likely, a remnant reached the Hollows (viii. 14 n.) on the southwest coast and there met its fate, either through stress of weather or through the attacks of the Athenian detachment

(Munro, pp. 310, 311), cannot be determined; in any case the whole squadron perished utterly.

## § 7

**The sea-fights at Artemisium.** Of the actual fighting at Artemisium little can be said.<sup>6</sup> The capture of Sandoces and fifteen ships would seem to be, as H. says, an accidental success in cutting off stragglers (vii. 194–5), but the first two combats at Artemisium need rather more explanation (viii. 9–11, 14). In each case the Greeks, despite their inferior numbers, attack the barbarians late in the day, and after a partial victory retire at nightfall. On the second occasion we are definitely told that the ships attacked were Cilician. No doubt sound strategy demanded that the Greeks should attack, while the Persians naturally waited to see if the turning movement round Euboea, or the victory of their land forces, would compel the Greek to retreat without a battle. But the key to these initial successes of the Greeks is to be found in the statement of Ephorus (Diod. xi. 12) that the Persians when attacked were dispersed, as they had come from different anchorages (Grundy, p. 334; Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 217), there being in fact no single harbour in the neighbourhood large enough to hold the whole fleet. Clearly the Greeks attempted to crush one squadron before the others could come up. On the first occasion the Greeks, according to H., took thirty ships and retired in good order, when the Persians had concentrated their whole fleet; on the second they almost destroyed the Cilician squadron. On both, by attacking late in the afternoon, they gave the Persians no time to operate with their combined fleet.

The third battle was of a different character (viii. 16–8). The Persian leaders, resolved that their squadrons shall no longer be defeated in detail, themselves attack at midday. The Greek claimed a drawn battle, but admittedly they were roughly handled, and contemplated retreat even before they heard of the loss of Thermopylae. Presumably they were out-maneuvered and driven back, but escaped disaster because the lighter Persian vessels dare not ram prow to prow, or their light-armed marines board. This is confirmed by the statement that the Egyptians, whose marines were heavy armed (vii. 89), did best on this day and captured five Greek ships (viii. 17). But the strongest proof is that Themistocles was convinced that it was absolutely necessary for the Greeks to fight the decisive battle in waters where the enemy must come to close quarters (Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 218).

## § 8

**Thermopylae.** The story of Thermopylae raises a number of difficult questions. But it is clear that the main object of Leonidas in holding the pass was to give the Greek fleet an opportunity of striking an effective blow (cf. above). For this purpose a small force would suffice, since all that was necessary was to check Xerxes' march. Leonidas may have expected more support from central Greece, or even reinforcements from Peloponnese, to enable him to hold the passes by which Thermopylae could be turned; but the pretence that his force was but a vanguard,

to be followed when the Carnean and Olympian festivals were over (cf. vii. 203, 206, etc.) by the full muster of the Peloponnesians, was but dust thrown in the eyes of the extra-Peloponnesian allies. Thermopylae itself was strong enough to defy a frontal assault. The Persian leaders, whose attacks on the first two days may perhaps have been feints intended to distract attention from their real designs, evidently aimed at turning the position, first by sending their fleet round Euboea, and then by the path Anopaea. But if such were their plans, why did they not at once send a force up the Asopus into Doris, by the good hill road afterwards used in their advance into Phocis (viii. 31 n.) and perhaps by Artabazus in his final retreat (ix. 66, 89)? The only satisfactory answer is because Trachis was held by the Locrians and blocked the gorge of the Asopus (cf. vii. 203 n.). Whether Trachis surrendered and thus opened the road and the Anopaea path to the Persians, or Hydarnes, like Brennus (Paus. x. 22), went behind Trachis round the western end of the Trachinian hills through the land of Aenianes, and thus reached the Asopus above the gorge and the Anopaea path, cannot be determined (cf. vii. 216 n.). In any case the Phocians holding the path seem not to have expected an attack (vii. 218). When surprised by the enemy, they saved themselves by a hasty retreat, which left Hydarnes free to attack the Spartans from behind.

## § 9

**Leonidas' last stand and its purpose.** The most difficult problem remains, what was the purpose of Leonidas in clinging to his position at Thermopylae when it had apparently become untenable. The official explanation that Leonidas, like Decius Mus, sacrificed himself to save his country from destruction is obviously the product of later reflection embodied in a *vaticinium post eventum* (vii. 220, 221 n.). Further, it is quite inconsistent with the previous account of the expedition (vii. 202-7); nor does it supply any reason for Boeotians remaining with him to the bitter end. Leonidas was in no sense bound to immolate himself and his men at the imagined call of honour, since it was clearly no disgrace for a Spartan leader to order a retreat when sound strategy dictated such a course, as may be seen from the action of Eurybiades and Pausanias. He was no doubt at the head of a forlorn hope, but that there was some hope is shown by the conduct of the Boeotians in standing by him. The Thespians (and probably the Thebans, cf. vii. 222 n.) represent a small patriotic minority in a country at enmity with Athens and ready at the first opportunity to join in the expected triumph of the Mede. They rightly felt that if Thermopylae were lost, there was no refuge for them in their own land. If the worst came to the worst it might be better to fall into the hands of the barbarian rather than trust to the tender mercies of their own countrymen. At any rate they were in the mood to risk all on the slender chance of holding the pass longer, and there was still one chance left. The Peloponnesians who retreated, 2,800 in number, according to one account retired under orders (vii. 220f.). Most probably they were dispatched to meet Hydarnes on the Anopaea before he could debouch from the tangled forest of firs just above the modern Upper Drakospilia, and thus to prevent him from taking Leonidas in rear (Grundy, 306f., vii. 222 n.). It

is true that Greek tradition is silent on the point, merely recording their escape. But if they, like the Phocians, failed in performing the duty imposed on them and secured their own retreat at the cost of Leonidas' destruction, there might well be a conspiracy of silence to conceal their shame (cf. vii. 221 n.). Leonidas was not, on this hypothesis, sacrificing the lives of his followers to the phantom of honour, but taking a great risk for an adequate end. Even if he could no longer hope to hold the pass and save central Greece from invasion, he could still give the Greek fleet another chance of crippling the enemy, and thus might yet ensure the final triumph of his race.

[**Additional note (1928).** Munro thinks that the Phocians were posted to guard, and the Peloponnesians detached to hold, not so much the Anopaea path as the route round Mt. Callidromus by Doris to Phocis (*CAH* iv. 293f.). Hence Hydarnes, by taking the shorter Anopaea path, eluded the retiring Peloponnesians and surprised Leonidas. Kromayer (*op. cit.* iv, p. 53) posts the Phocians above old Drakospilia, and holds that Leonidas was aware of the approach of Hydarnes by the Anopaea, and intended to fight a rear-guard action in defence of his allies, but was prevented from withdrawing in time by the narrowness of the pass (pp. 60f.).]

His immediate purpose was frustrated by the faults of others, but his faithfulness unto death inspired his countrymen on many a stricken field. No victory in the Persian war, neither the first fruits at Marathon, nor the life and death struggle at Salamis, nor the crowning mercy at Plataea, stands on a level with Thermopylae in the pages of H. Nowhere else do we find so devoted a loyalty, so high a level of heroism.

In this appendix I owe most to Munro (*JHS* xxii, pp. 302–18), but I have also learned much from E. Meyer, Bury, Grundy, Macan, and Tarn (*JHS* xxviii. 210–9).

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## Notes

1. This cooperation is seen also in the campaign of Darius in Thrace (iv. 89f.) and of Mardonius in Thrace and Macedon (vi. 43–5).
2. Delphi evidently did not wish to bring itself into disfavour with the Persian by encouraging a defence of Artemisium and Thermopylae (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 306).
3. Grundy (p. 324) holds that the entire fleet ran before the storm round Cape Kenaeum, but even if the ships were not beached at Artemisium, there was safety and shelter close by at Oreus. Hence a general retreat seems improbable.
4. This objection is met equally well by the insertion of two days in the log of the fleet advocated by Grundy and Busolt; cf. above
5. Unless τοῦ χειμῶνος means simply “the foul weather.”
6. It does not seem possible to fit Sosylus’ story of Heraclides (cf. v. 121 n.) into H’s account.

## Appendix XXI: Salamis

### § I

**The councils of war.** The account of the battle of Salamis given by H. is beset with difficulties at every turn.

There are many suspicious features in the story of debates that preceded the battle. Of Xerxes’ council of war it is unlikely that H. could know more than vague gossip handed down by Halicarnassian tradition. The six Persian admirals are conspicuous by their absence, while Mardonius is unduly prominent. Above all, the advice of Artemisia (chap. 68) is a patent *vaticinium post eventum* embodying a quotation from Aeschylus (*Pers.* 728), and pitched throughout in a key inconceivable before Salamis. The most we can say is that there was a council at which various views may have been expressed, before the final decision to fight was reached: we cannot rely on any of the details.

Nor are we on much firmer ground in considering the debates of the Greek admirals, though here no doubt tradition would be copious.

1. The chronology of the councils is incoherent and erroneous, more than one council being confused together. (a) A council is sitting at Salamis debating whether to retire to the Isthmus before Xerxes reaches Athens (chap. 49); it is apparently still engaged in the same debate when news of the fall of the Acropolis, which held out some time (chap. 52), drives it to decide for immediate flight (chap. 56). (b) Next day an irregular mass meeting (chap. 74) is transformed into a council of generals still debating the same point. It is sitting when Themistocles slips away to send his message to Xerxes (chap. 75), and is still wrangling when

Aristides brings the news that the Greek fleet is completely surrounded (chap. 79f.).

2. There would seem to be prejudice against Themistocles in deferring to the second council, and ascribing to Mnesiphilus (chap. 57) cogent and obvious arguments which must surely have been used in the earlier debate.

3. The idea that the Greeks were bent on running away (cf. below), combined with Attic hatred of Corinth, accounts for the prominence of Adimantus (chaps. 59, 61, and especially 94 n.). Tradition preserved the fact that the question of retreat was debated, and duly emphasized the paramount importance of the message of Themistocles; possibly, too, it enshrined more than one famous retort, but in general the debates do but express in dramatic form the feelings believed by H. to have inspired the action of the generals.

## § 2

**Herodotus and Aeschylus.** We have seen that the story of the debates in the councils of war is coloured by the prejudices of the historian or rather of his authorities; it is equally clear that his conceptions of the strategy are vague or erroneous, while <p. 379> all real account of the tactics is conspicuously absent. The final encounter between the fleets dissolves away into a collection of isolated incidents and disconnected traditions inspired by local patriotism and local antipathies; the preliminary discussions are even more completely permeated with the thoughts and feelings of a later generation. Clearly H., here as elsewhere, relied on the gossip of the seamen as reported by tradition, and was ill-informed as to the plans and intentions of the leaders. No doubt there are precious fragments of truth scattered throughout his narrative, but his general view is vitiated by the illusion that Themistocles was telling the truth when in his message to Xerxes he represented the Greeks as bent on flight, and by a misconception of the position of the two fleets both before and during the battle.

Fortunately, we have in Aeschylus a picture from which many of the defects in H. may be corrected. The *Persae* (produced 472 B.C.) was the work of a man who in all probability himself fought in the battle (Paus. i. 14. 5; Ion in schol. to *Pers.* 431), and was acted before an audience who had themselves seen the realities of which the play was the counterfeit presentment. We may therefore accept Blakesley's (ii. 402) maxim "that when Aeschylus relates any particulars of the action of such a kind as must have come under the notice of eyewitnesses, his narrative possesses paramount authority"; but we must even in Aeschylus make allowance for a patriotic bias which may have led him to exalt the heroism of his comrades in battle, and for a dramatic purpose, which may have entailed the omission or foreshortening of events. Nevertheless, our critical canon must be that H. may be used to supplement Aeschylus but not to contradict him (Munro). With regard to the later writers, and in particular to Diodorus, there is so much doubt whether they possessed any independent evidence of first-rate value that it is more

prudent to use them merely to confirm and elucidate the narrative of our primary authorities.

### § 3

**The stratagem of Themistocles.** The first question which calls for an answer is, "What brought the Persian fleet inside the straits of Salamis, into the narrow seas favourable to the enemy?" Why did the Persian admirals play their opponents' game, instead of sailing across the Saronic gulf to take the defences of Peloponnesians in rear? The Greek fleet must needs have followed and fought in open water, if, indeed, it held together at all. This cardinal error in Persian strategy may be confidently ascribed to the message of Themistocles (chap. 75f.; Thuc. i. 74; Aesch. *Pers.* 355f.<sup>1</sup> Yet all the details of this famous stratagem are more or less <p. 380> disputed; the time, the purpose, and the exact contents of the message being differently reported by Aeschylus and H.

(1) In Aeschylus the message delivered to Xerxes towards evening (*Pers.* 357f.) seems as though it were the sole cause of the Persian movement after nightfall (377f.): in H. the messenger comes to the admirals (chap. 75) after nightfall (chaps. 70, 76), when the decision to fight had been already taken and the movement begun.

(2) In Aeschylus (*Pers.* 361) the purpose of the stratagem is simply to delude the enemy and lead him to give battle in an unfavourable position; in H. (chaps. 75, 80) Themistocles deceives his colleagues also, so as to compel the Peloponnesians to remain and fight.

(3) While both poet and historian agree that the message declared that the Greeks were bent on flight (*Pers.* 355f. above), H. alone (chap. 75) adds the assurance of Themistocles that he and many others were ready to betray their comrades and cooperate with the Medes.

It is not possible wholly to reconcile the divergent accounts of the poet and the historian, but perhaps a reasonable compromise between them may approach the truth. The dramatic purpose of Aeschylus may well explain his omission of all previous movements of the Persian fleet, so as to concentrate our attention on the fatal advance at midnight; hence the silence of Aeschylus does not on this point rule out of court the evidence of H. On the other hand, it seems most improbable that Themistocles can have hoped or intended to deceive his brother admirals as well as the great king. Here H. has with the greatest simplicity taken Themistocles at his word; that past master in deception told the enemy that the Greeks meditated flight, and the noble lie has been treated as undoubted truth (Meyer, *Forsch.* ii. 204; Munro, *JHS* xxii. 323, 324).

No doubt the Peloponnesians were nervous about the security of the Isthmus; doubtless, as at Artemisium, their seamen murmured that they were being sacrificed to the Athenians (chap. 74); perhaps even the leaders lost heart on hearing that a squadron had been sent to cut off their retreat, but they can hardly

have ignored the obvious advantages of their position in the straits of Salamis, if only the Persian could be induced to attack them there. Later Athenian prejudice was only too willing to accept as fact the fiction that the Peloponnesians, and especially the Corinthians, longed to flee, but the whole bearing of the seamen next day, as pictured by H., not to speak of Aeschylus, is not that of would-be runaways. Lastly, the supplementary clause in the message as given by H. may be accepted with confidence. If Themistocles had only told Xerxes that the Greeks were bent on flight, the king might have been well content to let them go, in the hope that they would disperse to their homes, or he might have pursued and attacked them on the high seas. Even if he decided to blockade them in Salamis, he need never have ventured inside the straits so long as he closed <p. 381> their entrances. But the full message must have sounded to the King as follows; the Peloponnesians are so completely cowed that they wish to flee, and we Athenians are so disgusted at being deserted that we are willing to Medize; attack this dispirited and divided fleet and you will end the war in a blaze of glory (Munro, p. 331; Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 223). Enticed by the tempting bait, Xerxes rushed headlong into the trap laid for him. Like the Czar Alexander at Austerlitz, he threw away the advantages gained by sound and cautious strategy in the vain hope of a brilliant victory.

#### § 4

**The position of the two fleets according to the ordinary interpretation of H.** The next great difficulty is tactical. What was the position of the two fleets on the morning of the battle, and how had they reached those positions? The older view put forward by Leake, *Topography of Athens and the Demi*, ii, appendix (1841), dominant from Grote (1849) to Rawlinson (3rd ed., 1875), and maintained still by Hauvette, Busolt (1894–5), Bauer, and Beloch (*Klio*, viii, p. 477), rests on the natural interpretation of H., though Goodwin<sup>2</sup> ingeniously attempts to bring H. into harmony with Aeschylus and Diodorus. Nevertheless H., so far as he has any general notion of the positions, would seem to have imagined the Greek fleet as ranged along the Salaminian coast, and the Persian along the Attic coast opposite it. The Persians move out from Phalerum the evening before the battle (chap. 70), and range themselves in order of battle ready for next day. Then, after the receipt of Themistocles' message, at midnight (chap. 76), they moved out the western wing, swinging round towards Salamis while those posted by Cynosura moved out and held the whole strait as far as Munychia. The natural sense of this is surely that the Persian line stretched along the Attic coast from the end of Mount Aegaleus to Munychia, and that it enveloped the Greeks by swinging round the extremity of either wing, so as to hold the narrows by the islands of Psyttaleia to the east and of St. George to the west.<sup>3</sup> <p. 382>

But if this be H.'s conception of the battle it is absolutely inadmissible, since it is inconsistent with other features in his own story and irreconcilable with topographical facts and with the description given by Aeschylus. The main objections put forward by Goodwin and sustained by Grundy, Munro, and others,

are: (1) The Persian fleet could not have slipped along the coast past the Greek fleet unperceived by the Greek admirals (chaps. 78, 81; cf. Plut. *Them.* 12; *Arist.* 8), since the passage between Aegaleus and Salamis is but 1,500 yards wide.<sup>4</sup> (2) It is incredible that the Persians, if drawn up ready for battle less than a mile away, should have remained supine while the Greeks embarked at their leisure. Surely they would have anticipated the maneuver by which Lysander destroyed the Athenians at Aegospotami (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1.27, 28). (3) All authorities (Aesch. *Pers.* 441–64; Hdt. chap. 76 n., 95; Plut. *Arist.* 9) agree that Xerxes landed troops on Psyttaleia because he thought it likely to be a central point in the coming sea-fight, yet on Leake's hypothesis it is remote from the scene of battle.<sup>5</sup> (4) Aeschylus (*Pers.* 395. 8), an eyewitness, declares that only after the Greeks had rowed forward for some time were they visible to the Persians. The statement would be ludicrous if the two fleets were drawn up on opposite sides of the straits not quite a mile apart. (5) It is also difficult to see how, if this were the case, the Greeks avoided being outflanked by the superior forces of the enemy, and how the Persians, when defeated, escaped outside the straits instead of being driven ashore (Macan, ii. 298). For all these reasons the theory of the battle founded by Leake on H. must be given up in favour of that of Goodwin,<sup>6</sup> which does justice to Aeschylus and to the topographical conditions of the problem.

## § 5

**True position of the two fleets.** What, then, can we gather from Aeschylus, and how far can his account be confirmed, explained, and supplemented from those of the later authorities? In the first place there can be no doubt, from Xerxes' orders to his admirals,<sup>7</sup> that the Greeks are to be completely hemmed in and <p. 383> every outlet closed against them. It is not necessary to discuss the exact meaning of lines 366–8, since whether the three "ranks" be three divisions guarding the channels (1) between Attica and Psyttaleia, (2) between Psyttaleia and Salamis, (3) between Salamis and the Megarid, while the other ships are a cordon of cruisers (Munro, *JHS* xxii. 327), or lines 366–7 be interpreted of the main fleet on either side of Psyttaleia, and 368 of the squadron sent to circumnavigate Salamis (Goodwin), in any case the orders and threats of the King make it clear that every way of retreat is to be barred, the passage by Megara no less than those by Psyttaleia. Now if it be admitted that the Persian fleet cannot have filed past the Greeks unperceived, the only way in which they can thus have surrounded the enemy is by sending a squadron round Salamis to close the Megara channel.

This is exactly what Diodorus (xi. 17. 2, Ephorus?) says was done (cf. Plut. *Them.* 12; *Arist.* 8). The king sends the 200 Egyptian ships (cf. xi. 3.7; H. vii. 89) round the island to block the exit by Megara; in other words he repeats the maneuver already attempted off Euboea. And there are certain phrases in H. confirmatory of this view. Though in their present context they have (*pace* Goodwin) been adapted to H.'s erroneous conception, in the source from which they came, they may well have borne a sense in harmony with Aeschylus and Ephorus. In chap. 76 the words *κυκλούμιναι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα* read like a misunderstood reference to

the circumnavigating squadron, while κατεῖχον μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμόν may well have meant blocked the whole strait on either side Psyttaleia from Cynosura to Piraeus, especially as the next sentences describe the occupation of Psyttaleia. Anyhow, even in H., the facts he records, “as distinct from his erroneous theory,” i.e., the occupation of Psyttaleia, the message of Themistocles, and the fact that the Greeks are completely surrounded by the enemy before they detect any movement on their part, demand the maneuver sketched by Aeschylus, and elucidated by Ephorus, viz., the closing of the straits of Salamis at both ends.

## § 6

**The time and purpose of the Persian movements.** The precise time and purpose of the Persian movements remain a difficult problem. If Aeschylus’ description be regarded as exact in every particular, and not as a dramatic summary, we should be obliged to believe that no Persian ship left harbour till nightfall, whereas H. clearly implies movements in the evening. Probably Aeschylus’ words are true of the main Persian fleet, but there are two movements which must surely have been planned and even begun before <p. 384> night. These are the dispatch of the Egyptian squadron round Salamis, and the occupation of Psyttaleia.

Each of these might well form part of a general plan for blockading the Greeks (Macan, ii. 306), undertaken by the Persian admirals on their own initiative, before receiving the message of Themistocles; neither can well be put after nightfall. To land troops on a rocky island in the dark would be a difficult and dangerous operation, while if the Egyptian fleet was to threaten the Greek rear at Leros, or even to block their retreat at the bay of Trupika, a start before nightfall was surely necessary. If this movement of the Egyptians was reported to the Greeks it would account for the fears of the Peloponnesians (chap. 74); in any case it was probably from these ships that Aristides escaped with difficulty on his way back from Aegina (chaps. 79–81; Plut. *Them.* 12, *Arist.* 8). If, then, the blockade of the Greeks was complete during the night, the dispatch of the circumnavigating squadron must be dated to the previous afternoon. H. would seem to be right in ascribing some movement to the Persians at that time, though he utterly misunderstood the nature of the movement.

## § 7

**The battle.** All night long the Persian seamen toiled at the oar, and in the morning their ships blocked the straits just outside Cynosura and Psyttaleia. But the Greeks had made no attempt to slip through the blockading squadrons.<sup>8</sup> After daybreak the Persians heard the paeon and signal-trumpet of their still invisible enemy ring out.<sup>9</sup> Clearly the Greeks, as they put out from the bay of Salamis, were hidden by the promontory of Cynosura. Suddenly they emerge from behind it, the right wing leading, in orderly array. They must surely have stretched across the strait, either from the town of Salamis to the ferry opposite, or from Cynosura to Keratopyrgos; perhaps (Grundy, 392–7) they advanced from the former position towards the latter. The only definite statement (Diod. xi. 18) that the Greeks held

the strait from Salamis to the Heracleum, when combined with those of Ctesias (Pers. 26) and Phanodemus (frag. 16, *FHG* i. 368; cf. 90 n.; Plut. *Them.* 13) that the Heracleum lay near the narrowest parts of the strait, points to a position near the ferry, just in front of the island of St. George.<sup>10</sup> But it is clear <p. 385> from Aeschylus<sup>11</sup> that the Greeks advanced from that position with their right wing leading. When they appeared round Cynosura close upon the enemy, the Persians on their side pushed forward with a cheer (*Pers.* 406f.). Perhaps at this point we may place the momentary retreat of the Greeks (chap. 84), devised, perhaps, to draw the enemy further into the straits. Clearly the Persians had to narrow their front (*Pers.* 412) as they streamed through the channels on either side of Psyttaleia up the straits. Thus we may account for the disorder into which they fell as soon as the battle began (*Pers.* 413f.; Diod. xi. 18). Before they could recover from their confusion the Greeks were upon them, and in spite of a stout resistance turned their initial disorder into a final rout.

Of ordered movements in the battle we hear little or nothing, Aeschylus giving (*Pers.* 412f.) only a vivid picture of the mêlée, and H. (86 n.) isolated exploits in the general scene of confusion. The Greek right wing, headed, no doubt, by the Spartans under Eurybiades, the admiral in command (so H. viii. 85 n., as against Diod. xi. 18), led the way (*Pers.* 399), encouraged by the support afforded by the troops holding the shores of Salamis. But it would seem that the Persian right wing (the Phoenician squadron) was thrown forward even more sharply, since Aeschylus declares that a Phoenician vessel was the first rammed by a Greek<sup>12</sup> (cf. Grundy, 396–7). So, too, H. (chap. 84) inclines to believe that Ameinias began the fray, where the Athenians on the Greek left faced the Phoenicians (chap. 85). Probably the Persian right, close under the eyes of the king and of the troops on shore, pushed boldly forward, while the left was delayed in wheeling round the island of Psyttaleia. Soon after the Persian columns had advanced into the straits, the Greeks attacked their leading ships. Thus at the point of contact they may well have been equal in number to the enemy (Plut. *Them.* 15), and may have seemed to surround their vanguard (Aesch. *Pers.* 418). Further, Themistocles had secured his object, a fight in the narrow seas, where the Persian numbers proved a hindrance rather than a help to them,<sup>13</sup> and where the stouter vessels of the Greeks gave them an advantage in ramming and their superior arms in boarding.

## § 8

**Behaviour of particular contingents.** Apparently both Phoenicians and Ionians (chap. 85) fought bravely in spite of their mutual recriminations (chap. 90), but the centre of the Persian fleet has left no mark on the traditions of the battle (Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 226). Perhaps in the advance into the straits it was crowded out, perhaps it was deliberately held back as of inferior quality, in any case it <p. 386> would seem to have formed those rear ranks which, by pressing on as the vanguard retreated, added to the general confusion (chap. 89). On the Greek side the Aeginetans were most prominent in the battle and gained the prize of valour (chap. 93). Probably they were posted near the Spartans on the Greek right (Diod.

xi. 18), and after breaking the Ionians took the Phoenicians in flank and rear as they, too, retired to the open sea (chaps. 91, 92). But the full lustre of their exploits is naturally obscured in the Attic tradition preserved by Aeschylus and H. Second to them, yet only second in the deliberate judgment of the combatants, came the Athenians.

A word must be said of the Corinthians. That they fought well is abundantly proved, since all Greece but Athens bore out their own tradition to that effect (chap. 94 n.); yet the spiteful Athenian story that they fled to the temple of Athene Scirias, and returned when all was over, may contain an element of truth. Probably the Corinthians were dispatched westward to block the path of the Egyptian squadron sent round Salamis to take the Greeks in rear (Grundy, p. 405; Munro, *JHS* xxii. 329). Where they met them we cannot tell, as the site of Athena's temple is unknown (chap. 94 n.); but since the legend makes them rejoin the main fleet immediately after the battle, it is more likely that they met and repulsed the enemy in the straits near the new arsenal and the isle of Leros, than in the far-off narrows near Megara (Tarn, *JHS* xxviii. 222). No doubt the Egyptians, directly they had news of the failure of the main attack, would retreat at once to secure their own safety.

Lastly, the Persian troops on Psyttaleia were annihilated. This exploit of Aristides and the Attic hoplites, who held the shore of Salamis, has been celebrated and doubtless exaggerated by Aeschylus even more than by H. Probably Persian troops had been landed there, like the Spartans on Sphacteria, with a view of making the blockade of Salamis complete. Possibly, had all gone well, they were to cross over to Salamis and complete the destruction of the Greeks by a land attack (Macan, ii. 317–8); obviously, when the Persian ships were driven back, they were at the mercy of the enemy.<sup>14</sup> Their destruction may be put late in the day when the fleet has been routed (95 n.; Aesch. *Pers.* 454f.).

## § 9

**The significance of the victory.** Clearly at first the full significance of the victory was not realized. The Greeks prepared for a renewal of the sea fight (chap. 96), and Xerxes at least pretended to make preparations for continuing the campaign (chap. 97).<sup>15</sup> Probably the Persian loss in ships was not overwhelming, though we have no trustworthy figures (chap. 97 n.). But the moral effect was decisive. The best sailors of the East, the Phoenicians, had been beaten, the <P. 387> Ionians were suspected of disloyalty, the rest of the fleet was of less reputation. It seemed hopeless to expect the beaten sailors to renew the combat at sea. But if the fleet was to go home, the army, too, must retire to its base and magazines in Thessaly, since with the fleet would go the grain-ships and transports. Naturally, too, there would be fears of revolt in the newly conquered cities on the coasts of Thrace and Macedon, not to speak of Ionia. It was also natural that the king himself should now resign the command. It might still be possible to represent the campaign as successful in its main object, the capture of Athens, and marred only by an

unfortunate incident at sea. In any case the chance of a spectacular success was now over, and the long and troublesome task of reducing the Peloponnese to subjection was more suitable for a lieutenant. Xerxes himself would be safer at Susa, and more useful at Sardis, keeping a firm hold on disaffected Ionia. How far personal cowardice or apprehension for the safety of the Hellespont bridge affected his decision, we cannot tell.

The horrors of his retreat have been much exaggerated in Greek tradition (chap. 115 n.), which, beginning with Aeschylus, treated the invasion of Xerxes as a drama in which the haughtiness of man was brought low by divine Nemesis. Was not the moral too clear to be ignored? Never again did a Persian king stand as a conqueror on the soil of Greece. The days of Persian aggression were swiftly passing away, and giving place to the new era in which the Greeks fought no longer for their own homes and liberties but to rescue from slavery their brethren in Asia.

In this account of Salamis I owe most to Goodwin (*op. cit.*), Grundy, and Munro (*JHS* xxii. 323–32). Munro (*CAH* iv. 304–12) gives a clear picture of the battle of Salamis with plans. Guratsch (*Klio* xix. 128–39) sufficiently refutes Beloch's repeated attempts (*Klio* viii. 477f., xi. 431f., xiii. 128f.; cf. *Griech. Gesch.* ii. 2. 107f.) to disprove the identity of Psyttaleia with Lipsokutali, and Judeich's placing the battle within the straits (*Klio* xii. 129f.). He inclines to accept Macan's theory of a flank attack by the Greeks on the Persians, but this, too, is open to criticism; cf. *CR* xxvii. 225.

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## Notes

1. Ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἑλλήν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ / ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ σὺ Ξέρξῃ τάδε. / ὡς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἴξεται κνέφας, / Ἑλληνες οὐ μενοῖεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν / ναῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε / δρασμῶ κρηφαίῳ βίοτον ἐκωσοῖατο.

2. In an article (*Journal of Archaeological Institute of America*, 1882–3, pp. 239f.) revised and defended in *Harvard Studies of Classical Philology* (1906, pp. 75f.) he would remove some of the principal obstacles (1) by interpreting κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα (chap. 76. 1) of the dispatch of the Egyptian squadron, then forming the left wing, to circumnavigate Salamis; cf. p. 383; (2) by showing that the west wing of chap. 85. 1 need not (and on his interpretation of chap. 76, cf. above, cannot) be identical with that of chap. 76. Indeed he is now inclined to interpret chap. 85 of the two wings of the Greek fleet in the harbour of Salamis before they put out to sea. He hardly seems to realize the many other differences between Aeschylus and H.

3. This is confirmed by the natural interpretation of chap. 85. 1. “Opposite the Athenians were arrayed the Phoenicians (for these held the wing towards Eleusis and the west) and opposite the Lacedaemonians the Ionians. These held the wing towards the east and Piraeus.”

4. Busolt (ii. 702), adhering to the old view, sees that he must get rid of the traditional full moon. But could the Persian fleet, if the night were dark, have moved without noise!

5. Beloch (*Klio*, viii. 477) would solve this and some other difficulties by identifying Psyttaleia not with Lypsokutali but with the island of St. George (cf. Strabo 395). His reasoning is attractive rather than cogent, and he ignores or evades other points, e.g., Themistocles’ message he regards as a baseless anecdote.

6. Goodwin had been anticipated in some points by Blakesley (H. exc. on viii. 76) and Loeschke (“Ephorus-Studien,” *Jahrb. Klass. Phil.* 1877). He is followed in the main by Grundy, Munro, E. Meyer, and most modern critics, and by Milchöfer even in his interpretation of H.

7. *Pers.* 361f. ὁ δ’ εὐθύς ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον / Ἑλληνος ἀνδρὸς τὸν θεῶν φθόνον, / πᾶσιν πτοφωνεῖ τούδε ναύαρχοις λόγον, / εὖτ’ ἂν φλέγων ἀκτῖσιν ἥλιος χθόνα / λήξῃ, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβε, / τάξαι νεῶν μὲν στίφος ἐν στοίχοις τρισὶν / ἕκπλους φύλασσειν καὶ πόρους ἀλιγρούθους, / ἄλλας δὲ κύκλω νήσον Αἴαντος πέριξ· \ ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοῖαθ’ Ἑλληνες κακόν, / ναυσὶν κρηφαίως δρασμὸν εὐφόντες τινά, / πᾶσιν κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον.

8. *Pers.* 382f. καὶ πάννουχοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν / ναῶν ἄνακτες πάντα ναντικὸν λεῶν. / καὶ νύξ ἐχώρει, κοῦ μάλ’ Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς / κρηφαῖον ἕκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο.

9. *Pers.* 386f. ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι λευκόπωλος ἡμέρα / πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγῆς ἰδεῖν, / πρῶτον μὲν ἠχῆ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα / μολπηδὸν

ἠὺφήμησεν . . . / σάλπιγξ δ' αὐτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν. / εὐθὺς δὲ κόπτης  
ρόθιάδος ξυνεμβολῆ / ἔπαισαν ἄλμην βρούχιον ἐκ κελεύματος, / θοῶς δὲ  
πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν.

10. Leake's identification of this Heracleum with the Ἡράκλειον τετράκωμον (Steph. Byz.), and Rhediades' attempt to localize it near the bay of Keratsini (cf. Goodwin, *op. cit.*) must apparently be given up. Cf. Milchöfer in *PW* v, p. 1911, and Beloch, *Klio*, viii. 483.

11. *Pers.* 399 τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας / ἠγεῖτο κόσμῳ.

12. *Pers.* 409 ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικῆ / ναῦς, κάποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης  
νεῶς / κόρυμβά.

13. Plutarch (*Them.* 14) adds that the early-morning sea wind common in Greek waters (Thuc. ii. 84; Grundy, p. 398 n.) helped to throw the Persians into confusion, as Themistocles had reckoned.

14 This makes Tarn's suggestion (*JHS* xxviii. 225), that they were marines landed after the fighting began, unlikely. Cf. also Caspari, *JHS* xxxi 108.

15. Minor difficulties, e.g., the mole (viii. 97 n.) and the date (viii. 65 n.), are here disregarded.

## Appendix XXII: The Campaigns of 479 B.C.

### § 1

**The character of the sources.** The general character of the history shows that it rests in the main on oral tradition drawn principally from Greek sources. We should recognize, however, in the peculiar favour shown to Artabazus (viii. 126; ix. 41, 66, 89), the influence of a family record, which came to Herodotus directly or indirectly from the satraps of Dascylium (viii. 126 n.), and in the parallel case of Alexander (viii. 136f.; ix. 44) that of a phil-Hellenic Macedonian source.

Nevertheless, the main thread in H.'s narrative of events at Thebes and in the Persian camp would seem <p. 388> to be the story told him by some Boeotian partisan of Persia; we have the account of the banquet at Thebes directly attributed to Thersander of Orchomenus (ix. 16); we may add with confidence the advice of the Thebans (chap. 2), that of Timagenidas and its success (chap. 38f.), and the siege of Thebes (chap. 86f.).

On the Greek side it is clear that the minor states except Tegea (chaps. 26–8, 59–62, 70) have failed to make their voices heard. Their levies are openly taunted with cowardice (chaps. 52, 60); they perish and are of no account (chap. 69), unworthy even of a tomb (chap. 85). It used, however, to be held (K. W. Nitzsch, *RM* xxvii (1872), p. 226f.) that the final victory at Plataea, and the whole campaign of Mycale, was told by H. after an official Spartan account. Now, although particular incidents and stories lend some support to this opinion, it seems unlikely that such an account would ascribe to the Athenians almost the whole credit at Mycale

(chap. 102f.) and the capture of the camp at Plataea (chap. 70). Doubtless we should recognize Spartan stories in the narrative of their great struggle with the Persians (chaps. 61–5) and in some of the anecdotes appended to the account of the battle (chaps. 71, 72, 82), but throughout the Attic element is predominant in H. This is obvious in the emphasis laid on their loyalty in rejecting the tempting offers of Mardonius (viii. 143f.; ix. 1–6), in spite of Sparta's failure to redeem her promise, and on their bravery in volunteering to relieve the hard-pressed Megarians and in the ensuing combat (ix. 21f.). It appears also in two incidents probably misreported or misunderstood by H., their successful assertion of their claim to the post of honour on the left (26 n., 27f.) and their supposed interchange of positions at the request of the Spartans (chaps. 46 n., 47). To Athenian sources also we may probably ascribe the depreciatory account of the retreat of the Greek centre (chaps. 52, 60) and of its part in the victory (chap. 69), as well as the malevolent anecdotes about the Aeginetans (chaps. 78–80, 85). More obviously Attic are the eulogistic legend of Sophanes (chaps. 74–5) and the account both of the battle of Mycale (chaps. 102–6) and the ensuing siege of Sestos (chap. 114f.).

In fine, in considering H.'s story of the war in 479 B.C., we must make large allowance for the bias of the Attic informants, on whom he too confidently relied.

## § 2

**Political and military problems of the campaigns.** Besides the difficulty of discovering and valuing the sources used by H., the campaigns of 479 B.C. are full of problems, partly military and partly political. Yet the purpose of Mardonius to complete the conquest of Greece is clear. So long, however, as the Greeks held the Isthmus and retained the command of the sea, the Peloponnesus was safe.

Accordingly his first plan was to regain naval superiority by detaching Athens from the Greek confederacy (viii. 136f.). Even when Alexander's mission had <p. 389> failed (winter 480–479 B.C.) he did not despair, but endeavoured to coerce where he could not persuade (ix. 1f.). Possibly he also had a promise from the Argives (ix. 12) that they in concert with other Peloponnesian malcontents (ix. 10 n.) would hinder the Spartans from marching to the Isthmus, and hoped to carry the wall before they arrived. When these schemes miscarried, he showed sound military judgment in retreating to Boeotia, and attempting to entice the Greeks to give battle on ground favourable to his cavalry.

The political and strategic problems on the Greek side were far more complicated. There can be little doubt that the Greek leaders recognized the necessity of an offensive campaign to drive Mardonius from Northern Greece. But there might well be a question whether he should be attacked directly, or whether the land operations should be confined to the occupation of some strong line of defence (e.g., the Isthmus or Mount Cithaeron) and the fleet alone be used for offensive purposes. If the Greek fleet, now supreme in the Aegean, were sent to stir up revolt in Ionia and to cut the Persian communications at the Hellespont and Bosphorus, Mardonius might be compelled to retire without a blow. Even if it were

resolved that, as in 480 B.C., both fleet and army should take part in the work, there was still a doubt whether the primary object should be the direct defeat of Mardonius, or a vigorous offensive on the coast of Asia Minor. Curiously enough it was the land power, Sparta, which was eager for maritime warfare, and the sea power, Athens, which insisted on an offensive campaign in Boeotia. Sparta, fearful of Helot revolt, of Argive hostility, and of Arcadian disaffection (ix. 10 n.), might well shrink from an encounter with Mardonius, if it could be evaded by a diversion in the Aegean. But the Athenians were not disposed again to sacrifice their land and city, still less would they risk the safety of the refugees on Salamis, by sending their whole fleet across the sea. They saw that no naval victory, however decisive, would relieve them of the constant hostility of the Boeotians and other Medizing Greeks, even if it entailed the withdrawal of Mardonius. Further, it would diminish the value of the Athenian fleet in the eyes of Sparta, since there could be no more question of a Persian attack on Peloponnese. It might, indeed, have enabled Sparta to pursue her own ends there, while she left Athens to make head against the disloyal powers of Northern Greece. Hence Athens demanded the removal of the more immediate danger before she undertook distant adventures. The result of this division of interests was that the Greeks were dilatory and backward in both spheres of action. Leotychides put out to sea, but he had only 110 ships and dared not venture beyond Delos (viii. 131f.), while on land the Peloponnesians were content with fortifying the Isthmus, and refused to meet Mardonius in the open field (ix. 7f.).

It is tempting to connect the extravagant honours paid to <p. 390> Themistocles at Sparta (viii. 124) and his disappearance from the command of the Athenian fleet and army with his advocacy of a vigorous offensive in the Aegean (viii. 100). His fleeting popularity at Sparta, and loss of position at Athens might be due to his support of a plan of campaign favoured by the Lacedaemonians but distasteful to his own countrymen. Yet since within two years Themistocles acts in concert with Aristides in hoodwinking the Spartans (479–478 B.C.), while the latter promotes Themistocles' policy of maritime expansion by the formation of the Delian league (478–477 B.C.), it is more probable that there was an understanding between the leaders. Perhaps Themistocles thought Aristides and Xanthippus better able to put pressure on Sparta, perhaps he had secured a free hand in 480 B.C. by promising them the command in 479 B.C. (Macan, ii. 331f.; Munro, *JHS* xxii. 301).

### § 3

**Connection between Plataea and Mycale.** In the end a compromise was made between the rival plans of campaign. Athenian urgency drew the Peloponnesians first to Attica and then over Mount Cithaeron, while the fleet at last advanced from Delos to Samos and thence to Mycale (ix. 90). These movements, whether simultaneous or successive, mark in each case the definite adoption of the strategic offensive. Though the campaigns of Plataea and Mycale run their separate course, since the close and constant cooperation of modern warfare was impossible owing to the slowness of communication, there is a real connection between them.

Mardonius, aware that the advance of the Greek fleet might extort his recall from the fears of Xerxes, was naturally eager to take any chance that offered of decisive victory, while Pausanias could afford to await events on the other side of the Aegean and need only accept battle on ground favourable to hoplites. On the other hand, so long as Mardonius held Athens and threatened Salamis, the Greek fleet hesitated to advance. Very possibly the Athenian contingent remained behind to protect the refugees, and only joined Leotychides just before the advance from Delos to Samos.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4

**First stage of the campaign at Plataea.** The opening stage of the Plataean campaign presents no great difficulty, though there is some incompleteness and some unconscious bias in the <p. 391> narrative of Herodotus. It is, however, unfair to convert the general statements that Mardonius pressed forward to Athens (chap. 1) and later retreated by Decelea (chap. 15) into precise declarations that he took his whole force to Athens, and retired to Boeotia by only one route. The true meaning is that Mardonius made Athens his objective and headquarters, and that he and his staff with the main column fell back by Decelea, Oropus, and Tanagra to a position on the Asopus. There Mardonius encamped, securing the passage of the river by building a fort, which doubtless commanded one of the roads from Athens to Thebes, most probably that by Dryosephalae (chap. 15 n.). The Greeks thereupon took up a strong position on Mount Cithaeron covering the road from Thebes to Athens by Eleutheræ. The simplest explanation is the best, viz., that they marched through the Dryosephalae pass (ix. 39 n.) and deployed into line of battle on the foothills of Mount Cithaeron (ix. 15, 21 n., 22; Grundy, p. 458). If so, the Megarians in the left centre must have been at the one point assailable by cavalry, on the low ground astride of the road to Thebes, as is shown by their complaint that they alone have borne the whole brunt of the charge (chap. 21). The Attic origin of H.'s account is clearly indicated by the mention of Olympiodorus, and its bias shown by the exaltation of Athenian heroism in volunteering to take the post of danger (ix. 21, 22), since it was the plain duty of the Athenians to succour the hard-pressed Megarians, if, as is probable, they were already arrayed next them in the line of battle (cf. ix. 28). The Persian cavalry was sharply taught the lesson that horsemen cannot on rough ground break steady infantry, while the Greeks may have been led to exaggerate the superiority of hoplites to the light armed troops opposed to them. They had secured the command of the passes and driven the Persians back to the plain of the Asopus.

In this situation both sides were admirably posted for defence but weak for attack. Secure on Mount Cithaeron, the Greeks, who were receiving and expecting (ix. 41, 77) reinforcements from Peloponnese, covered Attica and threatened Boeotia. Mardonius, now on good cavalry ground, with his front protected by the Asopus and an admirable base for supplies behind him in Thebes, naturally refused to repeat the error of a frontal attack on well posted infantry. Thus for some days<sup>2</sup>

both sides were content to remain on the defensive: perhaps each general hoped that the other would be foolish enough to attack recklessly.

## § 5

**Second stage in the Plataean campaign.** The second stage in the campaign begins with an unsolved riddle, the advance <p. 392> of the Greeks to their second position on the Asopus Ridge. H. has no conception of the importance of this offensive movement, ascribing it to wholly inadequate motives, a good supply of water and convenience of camping (chap. 25). Modern critics (Grundy, p. 473; Munro, *JHS* xxiv. 158; Woodhouse, *JHS* xviii. 41, 45) tend to rush into the other extreme, and attribute to Pausanias an elaborate maneuver designed to turn the enemy's right and drive him off his line of communications. Such a scheme, which would involve crossing the Asopus and fighting in the open plain, would surely have been too rash in face of the unchallenged superiority of the Persian cavalry. However much Pausanias had been encouraged by the repulse of Masistius, he can hardly have ignored the difference between the defence of a well-chosen position and an attack on the open plain. The object of the advance was doubtless to bring on a battle, but most probably the Greek general hoped by threatening the Persian right to draw the enemy across the Asopus. He had found Mardonius too wary to attack him again on the bastions of Mount Cithaeron, but might he not be tempted to assault the comparatively low and exposed ridge close to the Asopus? (cf. Macan ii. 379). On this hypothesis the Greek general has indeed assumed the offensive strategically, but his object is still to fight a defensive battle on ground suitable to hoplites.

Mardonius refused to be drawn or driven into battle on the ridge. According to H. (chap. 41 n.) he left the Greeks unmolested for eight or ten days. No doubt there is evidence in the advice of the soothsayers (chaps. 36, 37) of the unwillingness of both generals to cross the Asopus, and it is clear that Mardonius would secure an enormous tactical advantage by fighting on the plain. Hence he may have delayed in the hope of drawing Pausanias across the river, or to give time for the arrival of Artabazus and his corps.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, it is hard to believe that a Persian general needed to be taught by a Boeotian the use of cavalry in cutting the enemy's communications (chap. 39), and that he refrained for eight days from sending his horsemen to seize the low ground between the Greeks and Mount Cithaeron. Only so long as he was thus unaccountably supine could Pausanias maintain himself on the exposed Asopus ridge. Further, many of the stories with which H. fills this eight days' interval, the dispute between Athens and Tegea (chaps. 26 n., 27), the marching and countermarching of the Spartans and Athenians (chaps. 46 n., 47), the Persian council (chap. 41f.), and the challenge of Mardonius (chap. 47), are justly open to suspicion. In fact if the Greeks really held their second position for ten to twelve days, we <p. 393> know little or nothing of their doings or motives,<sup>4</sup> while Mardonius' long inaction remains unexplained. It is easier to believe that through

some error in H.'s diary two or three days have been converted into ten or twelve (chap. 41 n.).

Whether, however, the Greeks held the Asopus ridge for few or many days, it is clear that in the end the Persian archers and cavalry made the position untenable. By cutting the communications they prevented the arrival of supplies and reinforcements (chaps. 39, 50), they swept through the trough in the hills round the Greek rear, and they drove them from Gargaphia and the other sources of their water supply (chap. 49). Retreat was inevitable, and as the Greeks had to cross a mile or more of level ground before they reached the shelter of Mount Cithaeron, the movement must be made by night to escape the attacks of the Persian horse.

## § 6

**The Greek retreat.** This retreat, which led immediately to the final battle, forms the third and last stage of the operations. Confused and uncertain as are many of the details in the traditional account, there can be little doubt of its purpose and objective. The Greek army was clearly intended to ensconce itself on the foothills of Mount Cithaeron between Plataea and Hysiae, but some blunder in the execution of a complicated maneuver resulted in the isolation of the three divisions at dawn next day. In H. the failure is ascribed to the precipitate flight of the centre (chap. 52), and to the delay in the retreat of Pausanias caused by the obstinate insubordination of Amompharetus (chaps. 53 n., 55, 57); but it would seem that the historian's eyes have been blinded by the prejudices of his Attic informants and his own ignorance of war. He believes that the whole Greek army was to withdraw to the "Island." But so large a force could not be cooped up in a position only "three stades wide" (chap. 51), or even in the somewhat larger area rightly identified by Grundy (p. 480f.) with the "Island" of H. (51 n.). Further, it would seem that the centre, now become the left wing, was always intended to take its station, where it actually did, in front of Plataea (52 n.). A mob of fugitives would surely have fled to the one pass left open (Grundy, p. 490), but this division not only halted and piled arms regularly in its new position, but was ready next morning on receiving tidings of the fighting (or perhaps orders from Pausanias, chap. 69 n.) to march in two brigades to the aid of the Spartans and Athenians. Indeed Plutarch (*De Mal.* 42, *Mor.* 872f) declares that H. stood alone in regarding their absence from the field of battle as a proof that they were traitors. Again Pausanias himself seems to have nearly reached his appointed station.

Unfortunately we cannot locate with certainty the Moloeis or the temple of Demeter (chap. 57 n.), while the "Argiopian land" is wholly unknown. <p. 394> But it is significant that H. gives the distance from Gargaphia to the Island as ten stades (chap. 51), and the distance the Spartans retreated as also ten stades (chap. 57).<sup>5</sup> Pausanias neither reached nor probably ever intended to reach the Island, but presumably was well on his way to a position in line with it to the right, in front of Grundy's second pass (chap. 59 n.), since one great object of the retreat was to secure the passes (chap. 51). In the morning the Spartans and Tegeans awaited

attack in perfect order, though they had become separated from the other divisions of the Greek army.

The greatest difficulty is the position and conduct of the Athenians. Clearly by failing to reach their appointed station, "the Island," they were largely responsible for the gap in the Greek line. But there may well have been a better reason for their failure than distrust of the Spartans (chap. 54 n.). The maneuver ordered was complicated if, as seems probable, the contingents in the Greek centre were first to retire southwest on Plataea to form the new left wing, and afterwards the Athenians were to move southeast across their track to the Island in the centre of the new line.<sup>6</sup> How easily in a night march might an unexpected obstacle delay the first movement, and thus render the second impossible. We cannot definitely apportion the blame to the different Greek army corps, but on their own admission the Athenians were late in starting, and at dawn next day were still on the open plain, not in position on the Island.

## § 7

**The battle of Plataea.** When day dawned the Greek army had split up into three separate corps, which were apparently in full retreat. Mardonius naturally thought he had the opportunity of striking a decisive blow, and that he (cf. above) need no longer run the risks involved in waiting for his cavalry to compel the Greeks to withdraw. But though the symmetry of the Greek order was gone, the position was by no means desperate. The Spartans and Tegeans steadily bore the brunt of the main attack; the Athenians, though caught on the plain, fought bravely with the Greek allies of the Persian, while the other contingents hastened to the support of the corps actually engaged. And on the Persian side the left wing alone under Mardonius pressed the attack with its whole heart. Of the Medizing Greeks on the right only the Boeotians made any serious effort to turn the fortunes of the day. Artabazus, presumably in the centre, failed miserably to support Mardonius, and apparently beat a retreat with his corps intact. In fact the fate of the battle hung on the encounter between the protagonists on either side, the <p. 395> Spartans and the Persians. In this combat Pausanias showed high qualities as a commander. He kept his men well in hand while the Persians stormed rashly up the slope against him, showering darts and arrows upon the Spartan ranks (chap. 64 n.). Only when the enemy's infantry was irretrievably committed to a battle at close quarters, did the Spartan hoplites charge, crash through the shield-wall, and engage the Persians in stubborn if unequal combat. Mardonius, after vainly striving to rally his broken ranks, fell fighting; with him disappeared the Persians' last faint hope of victory. Though still covered by their cavalry, the barbarians fled in hopeless disorder to their fortified camp, to make a last stand within its walls. Meanwhile the Athenians had driven off the Boeotians, a task which may well have been rendered easier by the diversion of the Theban cavalry. Probably the rout of the men of Megara and Phlius took place while they were hurrying to the help of the Athenians in their struggle with the Boeotians, and thus contributed to the eventual victory of the Athenians. The last act of all was the junction of the

Greek forces in the attack on the Persian fort, the storming of its wall, and the indiscriminate massacre of the barbarians who had taken refuge there.

It is clear that Plataea is in the main a soldier's battle. The plans of the Greek leaders seem to have been well laid, but, like many another elaborate scheme of operations, they had been marred by faults in their execution. Nevertheless, the retreat by its very faults secured its main object, since it drew Mardonius across the Asopus to fight at close quarters on ground favourable to infantry. Under these conditions the courage and steadiness of the hoplite plucked victory out of strategic failure. The highest meed of praise (and, if we might believe Diodorus (xi. 33), the actual *aristeia*) was given of right to Pausanias and his Spartans, but whatever may have been the errors of the Greek left and centre during the night march, on the actual day of battle all did their best. The smaller contingents, slight as was their share in the victory, at least hurried to join their more successful comrades, while the Athenians by sheer hard fighting drove back the Medizing Greeks opposed to them. The crowning victory of the Persian war was no heaven-sent miracle, but the natural result of better arms, better discipline, and better tactics.

## § 8

**Mycale.** The story of Mycale given in H. evades detailed criticism by its slightness. As has been already suggested, the squadron of 110 ships gathered at Aegina may have been doubled when Leotychides sailed to Samos and Mycale. Such a reinforcement would explain his assumption of the offensive and the abandonment by the Persians of all resistance at sea. Further, the marines from 110 ships would have numbered at most some 3,300 men, a force surely inadequate for the storming of the Persian camp. It is true that H. may well be mistaken in assigning <p. 396> a whole Persian army corps (60,000 men) to its defence, and may also have undervalued the aid given to the Greeks by their Ionian kinsmen (Diod. xi. 36; chap. 103 n.); still it would seem more probable that the Greek marines at Mycale were some 6,000 strong, and that the total of their ships should be raised proportionally. The assurance of victory given by the supernatural "Rumour" and the herald's staff would seem to be a genuine tradition, however we explain it (chap. 100 n.). Nor do the other details of the action on which suspicion has been thrown really discredit the story of the fighting. The separation of the two wings, the shield-wall and its breach, the last struggle in the fortified camp, and its close on the arrival of the other wing of the Greek force, have been regarded as vain repetitions of incidents properly belonging to Plataea. But these events being for the most part natural consequences of the Persian methods of fighting and of fortification must of necessity recur. And there are important differences. At Mycale the Greeks were throughout the attacking party, hence the station on the level, which at Plataea was a hindrance, was at Mycale a distinct advantage to the Athenians; at Mycale also the left wing in general, and in particular the Athenians, were adjudged worthy of the prize of valour. Tradition here is supported by the subsequent course of events, since the high repute of

Athens among the Greeks of Asia after the war, though no doubt due in part to the sentiment of kinship (chap. 106) and to the perseverance shown by her generals in the siege of Sestos (chap. 117) is best explained, if the Athenians displayed at Mycale a courage and skill comparable with that which had already won the greater triumph of Salamis.

In this appendix my thanks are specially due to Grundy (*Great Persian War*) for the survey and topography of Plataea, and to Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 33–59), Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 144–65), and Macan (especially vol. ii. 326–97) for their criticism of H. Munro (*CAH* iv. 317–46) restates his views on the campaigns of 479 B.C., while Wells (*Stud. Herod.* 158–63) defends the narrative of Herodotus; cf. also Kromayer (op. cit. p. 209).

**Additional Note on Plataea.** The account of Plataea here given depends on the analysis of H.'s sources and on the recognition of an Athenian bias in the historian's narrative derived from them. It is, however, right to say that this view is not accepted by some modern critics, e.g., by Grundy. In favour of H.'s account it may be urged:

(1) It is in the main supported by the secondary authorities, Diodorus and Plutarch in the life of Aristides. It is of course attacked in the *De Malignitate Herodoti* (chaps. 41–3), but even there the only fresh evidence consists in some rather vague inscriptions.

(2) It is at any rate not inconsistent with the topography of the battlefield.

(3) The atmosphere of mutual suspicion between the Spartans and Athenians (chap. 54 n.) is that which Thucydides describes as prevailing shortly after the victory (i. 98), and is curiously like that in the allied armies at Waterloo. Cf. for Gneisenau's suspicion of Wellington, Müffling, *Passages from my Life*, p. 212. and Pflugk-Hartung, *Aus den Tagen des 17–18 Juni 1815*, 188–90.

(4) Though there are improbabilities, little or nothing that is actually impossible is related as fact by the historian.

The story of the night march is a test case. Here the direct evidence, except that of the *de Malignitate*, is for the misconduct of the minor contingents and of Amompharetus; the failure of the Athenians is a matter of inference.

In fine, while every one would admit that H.'s ignorance of strategy and tactics has prevented him from understanding the plans and motives of the generals, and has made his account incomplete even as a record of fact, many would still deny that it is misleading.

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## Notes

1. Munro (*JHS* xxiv. 147, cf. Macan ii. 336) suggests that the 110 ships of Leotyichides at Aegina (viii. 131) are a purely Peloponnesian squadron, the number being reached by subtracting the 200 Attic triremes from Aeschylus' total for

Salamis, 310. The 250 assigned by Diodorus (xi. 34) to Leotychides at Delos he holds are these 110 Peloponnesians, together with an Athenian contingent of 140, the strength Diodorus (xi. 12) attributes to them at Artemisium. His manipulation of the figures is ingenious rather than convincing; but the arrival of an Athenian reinforcement at Delos would explain the assumption of the offensive. For this the invitation of the Samians (ix. 90) is by itself an insufficient motive, since the similar request of the Chians had been refused (viii. 132).

2. We have no means of determining the number of days spent by the Greeks in position on the slopes of Cithaeron, unless, with Woodhouse (*JHS* xviii. 58) and Macan (ii. 369, 376, 392), we boldly transfer the 8–12 days said to have been spent in the advanced second position on the Asopus to the first stage of the operations.

3. Artabazus, though he is said to have joined Mardonius in Thessaly (viii. 129), does not appear again in the story till his final conference with Mardonius (ix. 41f.).

4. Grundy's hypothesis (p. 479 n.) of a threefold development of this second position rests on very slight foundations.

5. All MSS. and all editors before Hude read δέκα, τέσσερα is an emendation by Pingel.

6. This may be inferred from the actual position of the centre (chap. 52) and from the declared intention to retreat to the Island (chap. 51), but the absence of any direct statement that the Athenians were to be moved from the left wing is remarkable. Possibly it is due to the bias of H.'s Attic source.

### **Appendix XXIII: Arms, Tactics, And Strategy In The Persian War**

At all times arms, tactics, and strategy must be in one sense or another interdependent. But in modern warfare I imagine it would be generally agreed that strategy was less mutable and more important than tactics or armament. Even here there are obvious and notable exceptions to the general rule. In the Austro-Prussian War it was the superiority of the Prussian breech-loading needle-gun to the Austrian muzzle-loader which won the battle of Königgratz and so justified the bold strategy of Moltke. In the late war the heavy German and Austrian howitzers broke down with unexpected rapidity the resistance of the elaborate Belgian fortresses, and thus compelled the retreat from Mons; again, the use of tanks, both heavy and light, on a large scale was a decisive factor in more than one of the great struggles that led up to the final defeat of the Germans. Nevertheless in modern warfare such differences are in the main temporary and accidental; if, for instance, the Germans began the war with superior heavy artillery, before its close they were surpassed by the Allies; if they secured an initial advantage by the use of poison gas, here too the Allies in the end showed themselves superior to the inventors of this deadly instrument of war. The advantage gained by inventors is

mainly that of surprise, and is therefore evanescent, not permanent. In <p. 398> the main the fleets and armies on either side are equipped in the same way, and (if we leave out of account the morale, numbers, and resources of the nations engaged) victories are gained and wars decided most of all by strategy, the massing of troops at the right time and place, and secondarily by tactics, the best use of them in actual battle.

But in many ancient and medieval campaigns, and in particular, as I shall hope to show, in the Persian War, the case is quite different. The wars I mean are those fought between two widely separated races accustomed to a different physical environment. Then it may naturally happen that each race or nation has developed an armament and a style of fighting suitable to the nature of the country in which it dwells, and is practically unable to alter its national arms and tactics. In such cases it will be the rule rather than the exception that the nature and character of the arms used by the two nations will determine the tactics, and the tactics in turn the strategy of the campaign. The reason for this is that the issue of a battle may often depend entirely on the nature of the ground on which it is fought; hence it will often be the main object of a general's strategy to compel or induce the enemy to fight on ground which decisively favours one method of fighting or fatally handicaps another.

The best examples which history offers of this are the great struggles in ancient or medieval times between East and West. Here as a rule the opposing armies differ entirely in character. The Western nation is apt to rely on solid masses of heavy-armed warriors, the Eastern on cavalry and archers skirmishing in open order. This contrast is nowhere better seen than in the Persian War, but something like the same difference meets us again in later history, in the wars of Rome with Parthia, or in the Crusades, though in them, while the Orientals still trust to light horse and archers, the men of the West rely no longer solely or mainly on infantry, but on heavy-armed horsemen, supported by infantry armed with missiles. But the conditions of victory and defeat as outlined by Sir C. Oman<sup>1</sup> are highly significant. He notes that "against the Turk the Crusaders were generally successful if they took care (1) to combine their cavalry with a solid body of infantry armed with missile weapons, (2) to fight on ground where the infidel could not employ his usual Parthian tactics of surrounding and harassing the enemy" (e.g., at the battle of Antioch, A.D. 1098). "If, on the other hand, the Frank chose to advance recklessly into unknown ground in desolate regions, where he could be surrounded, harassed, and finally worn out" (as at Carrhae, A.D. 1104), "he was liable to suffer terrible disasters." Yet more instructive are the wars between Rome and Parthia. The Parthians relied in the main on cavalry, <p. 399> their infantry being practically worthless. But they had not only mounted archers, but also heavy cavalry, armed with lances and protected, both man and horse, with coats of mail.<sup>2</sup> The strength of Rome, at least till Diocletian, was the legionary infantry, which, though it was far more mobile than the hoplite-phalanx and possessed in the *pilum* some means of reply to attack from a distance, was yet

quite unable to close with a cavalry force on open ground. The legion remained invincible in the hilly and broken country suitable for its arms and tactics, but on the sandy plains of Mesopotamia it was at a hopeless disadvantage. The Parthian horse-archers could swarm round the Romans, shooting them down from a safe distance; then, if the Roman horse and light-armed were ordered to drive them off, they would retreat before them, and as soon as the Roman horse and auxiliaries got separated from the legions, they were again harassed and shot down by the Parthian horse-bowmen and finally overwhelmed by the mail-clad lancers. Such was the fate of young Crassus near Carrhae; and after his fall the main body of infantry was a yet more helpless prey to the encircling foe. No doubt the ineptitude of the Roman commander contributed to the appalling disaster of Carrhae; but even Antony, a leader of great resolution and resource in adversity, seems to have been only saved from a similar fate in 36 B.C. during his retreat from Media because he was able to reach in time the shelter of the hills.

In this dependence of the relative efficiency of the two armies on the nature of the ground the Persian War resembles the Parthian campaigns of the Romans. Indeed, though neither army is so well equipped, the contrast between the two is even greater. The Roman legion was far more mobile than the hoplite-phalanx; it had a missile, though but of short range, in the *pilum*, and was better, though still inadequately, supported by light troops and horse. And, on the other side, the Parthian had efficient heavy cavalry, fit for a decisive charge, while the Persian eschewed shock tactics and relied entirely on shooting or throwing missiles. In consequence, the unsupported Greek hoplite is even more helpless than the legionary on the plain, the Persian cavalry far less fitted than the Parthian to engage in hand-to-hand fighting.

It may perhaps seem that an even closer parallel might be found in the campaigns and battles of Alexander. But further examination does not confirm this view. For in these battles both sides possessed efficient cavalry and a hoplite-phalanx. Darius and his lieutenants strove to make good their acknowledged deficiency in solid infantry by enlisting large numbers of Greek mercenaries. At Issus he is said to have mustered 30,000, a number greater than that of the heavy-armed infantry on the other side, and both at the <p. 400> Granicus and at Arbela the Persians put great faith in these foreign mercenaries. And, on the other side, though the Macedonian phalanx proved itself a strong tower of defence, superior in quality to the hoplites opposed to it, its notorious defects as an attacking force, so fatal to it when opposed to the legion at Cynoscephalae and Pydna, might already have been discerned at Issus and Arbela. In point of fact Alexander always used his heavy cavalry to make the decisive attack, and it was in this arm even more than in infantry that he excelled the Persians, who still failed to grasp the superiority of shock tactics. His task might have been rendered more difficult had Darius understood how to use the open plain of Arbela to the best advantage. He should have exhausted the Western army by surrounding and harassing it with swarms of archers and light horsemen, instead of trying to crush it by mere weight of

numbers. The incompetence of the Persian king and the inferiority of his troops make these battles resemble rather "the early English battles in India, where the few striking boldly at the many were so often victorious in spite of every disadvantage." As the Crusading knights were certain to defeat the undisciplined masses of Egyptian lancers, "provided they had infantry with them to serve as a support and rallying point for the cavalry,"<sup>3</sup> so Alexander's Macedonian horsemen, supported by the phalanx, could face with confidence the hosts of Darius. His victories are essentially the triumph of quality over quantity, not of infantry over cavalry.

Now doubtless the Persian War too was in a sense a triumph of the same kind, nor do I mean to deny that the greatest lesson of the struggle is the superiority of the ordered and disciplined freedom of the city state to the vast but amorphous empires of the East. But from a purely military point of view the superiority is not altogether on one side. The grossly exaggerated numbers given by Herodotus,<sup>4</sup> and his vivid picture of all the peoples, nations, and languages believed by him to have been mustered under the banners of Xerxes,<sup>5</sup> have made an ineffaceable but rather misleading impression on history. I do not doubt that the Persian fleet and army was immensely superior in numbers,<sup>6</sup> but its inferiority in quality is largely a question of the particular circumstances of the fighting. In organization and in the technical side of war there is some ground for believing that the Persian was actually superior. Although Dr. Delbrück's<sup>7</sup> contrast between the Persians as "professional soldiers" (*Berufskrieger*) and the Greeks as a citizen militia (*Bürgeraufgebote*) is exaggerated, yet the proportion of professional soldiers on the Greek side (the Spartiates) must have been smaller than that on the Persian, where at least the Immortals, and probably the other Persians, the Medes, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians were regular <p. 401> soldiers. Again, there is good evidence<sup>8</sup> of a complete system of officering and organization on a decimal basis in the Persian army, while it may well be doubted if the citizen militia of the ordinary Greek state were as well found in this respect. Clearly even in 418 B.C. the elaborate Spartan system of officers remained a bright exception to the general lack of organization in Greek armies.<sup>9</sup> Further, the technical branches in the army of Xerxes seem to have been excellent. If we take engineering, the royal road through Thrace inspired the barbarous tribes with awe<sup>10</sup> and remained in use for at least two centuries,<sup>11</sup> while the bridge over the Hellespont<sup>12</sup> and the canal through the Athos<sup>13</sup> peninsula have served ever since "to point a moral and adorn a tale." Yet we should not allow the fertile imaginations or the perverse misinterpretations of Greek and Roman writers to blind us to the boldness of design and skill in execution shown in these great engineering works. Again, the extensive and successful commissariat of the Persian host appears in Herodotus (vii. 118f.) disguised in the garb of the ruinous cost of feeding the great king. Yet the foresight shown in accumulating large stores of provisions at various points on the route,<sup>14</sup> and the fact that there is no hint of a failure in the commissariat at least during the advance of Xerxes, surely indicate considerable prudence and power of organization in the higher command of the army. Lastly, if the use of fire-signals is

as familiar to the Greek as to the Persian,<sup>15</sup> the care taken by the Persians to mark a dangerous reef,<sup>16</sup> or, again, the appliances used by them in the treatment of wounds,<sup>17</sup> evidently excite the surprise as well as the admiration of the Greek historian.

We must now consider more in detail the arms and tactics of the forces which confronted each other at Marathon, Thermopylae, and Plataea. The Greek army admits of a simple description; it was throughout a hoplite-phalanx composed of infantry heavily armed with helmet, shield, cuirass, and greaves, having short swords, but trusting for offensive purposes most to the thrusting spear (seven to eight feet long) and to the weight and solidity of their serried ranks of shields and breastplates. In no battle had the Greeks any cavalry; indeed at Plataea the best horsemen in Greece, the Boeotians and Thessalians, were fighting in the Persian ranks.<sup>18</sup> Light-armed men were present in large numbers at Plataea<sup>19</sup> (and possibly at Marathon and Thermopylae<sup>20</sup>), but their military value must have been small, since the only corps to whom effective service <p. 402> is ascribed, or of whom it is expected, is that of Athenian archers.<sup>21</sup> It may be that the Greeks still looked with contempt on light troops. Instances of their effective use are practically unknown before the Peloponnesian War, and even then light troops can only defeat hoplites when the ground is too rough and broken for the hoplite-phalanx, as in Aetolia<sup>22</sup> or on Sphacteria,<sup>23</sup> or when working in combination with cavalry, as before Spartolus,<sup>24</sup> Amphipolis,<sup>25</sup> and Syracuse.<sup>26</sup> Probably, however, none of the loyal Greek states possessed as early as 480 B.C. any organized force of peltasts, so that the absence of effective light troops at Plataea was not due to choice but, like that of cavalry, to necessity.

The hoplite-phalanx advanced into battle in close order. Not only was it of supreme importance to keep the line unbroken, but, further, each man naturally tried to shelter his unprotected right side under the shield of the man next him.<sup>27</sup> Hence the Greeks fought in compact masses without marked intervals. The desire to throw the full weight of their force into the first charge led them to neglect the use of reserves. The depth of their formation varied, but I think we are justified in taking eight as the normal depth in the fifth century. It is true that Xenophon (*An.* i. 2. 4) calls a depth of four the "customary order" of the Ten Thousand, 401 B.C., but this is clearly a minimum.<sup>28</sup> It was the depth of the English dismounted men-at-arms at Agincourt, where their numbers were scanty. Even the thin red British line was never less than two deep, nor could such a line hope to resist the shock of cavalry or the weight of a column before the days of firearms. Indeed it may well be doubted whether a formation only four deep, possible though it was for the practised mercenaries of Cyrus, could have been successfully employed by the citizen militias of the fifth century. At any rate the Athenians are eight deep at Delium<sup>29</sup> in 424 B.C., and again at Peiraeus<sup>30</sup> in 403 B.C., while before Syracuse, in 415 B.C., they fight in two divisions, each of which is eight deep.<sup>31</sup> Again, the average though not the uniform depth of the Spartans at Mantinea in 418 B.C. is eight,<sup>32</sup> and Dercyllidas marshals the rather mixed force with which in 397 B.C. he

faced Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus eight deep.<sup>33</sup> And even when an army is drawn up in deeper formation there seems to be some tendency to keep to a multiple of four or eight; for instance, the Spartans at Leuctra <p. 403> were twelve deep,<sup>34</sup> and the Syracusans before Syracuse sixteen.<sup>35</sup> Most significant, too, is the agreement among the allies in the Corinthian War in 394 B.C. that no contingent should be drawn up more than sixteen deep,<sup>36</sup> since it shows that the Greeks were well aware that each state might selfishly try to secure for its own contingent the advantages of depth and weight in a column, even at the cost of allowing the enemy to outflank the allied forces. It is even more significant that it was the Boeotians who in the battle of Corinth broke this agreement and deepened their column,<sup>37</sup> since the deep column was characteristic of Theban tactics<sup>38</sup> long before its supreme development by Epaminondas, whose ranks at Leuctra were fifty deep.<sup>39</sup> Such a depth in any other Greek force is always due to lack of space to deploy, as when the troops of the Thirty Tyrants form in a column fifty deep on the road to Munychia.<sup>40</sup> Possibly these high figures are round numbers and really represent depths of twenty-four and forty-eight; in any case we are justified in regarding eight as the normal depth of a Greek phalanx, and probably in taking a depth of four as the irreducible minimum and one of twelve or sixteen as the deepened or double phalanx.

The tactics of the hoplite-phalanx were of the simplest kind. It advanced in a compact mass and relied for success on the weight of its onset, the thrust of its spears, and the push of its shields.<sup>41</sup> Where both sides fought with determination superior weight triumphed, as at Sellasia.<sup>42</sup> But the Greek leaders had to face a new problem in the Persian War. The phalanx, whether Greek or Macedonian, could only act to the best advantage on level ground<sup>43</sup> and was apt to lose cohesion in rough and broken country, as at Cynoscephalae.<sup>44</sup> But to risk envelopment by the Persian cavalry on the open plain was manifestly absurd for a purely hoplite force. Alexander could do so, because his phalanx was flanked and covered by light troops and cavalry. But in the Persian War the Greek leaders needed a position easily defensible against cavalry, which yet allowed them, if opportunity offered, to turn defence into attack. The mere blocking of passes might be useful, as at Thermopylae, for defence, but gave no opportunity of counter-attack. What was needed was a line of hills looking down upon a plain, as at Marathon and Plataea. If the Persian could only be induced to attack the Greek army while its flanks and rear were securely covered by the hills, the superiority of the hoplite in <p. 404> hand-to-hand fighting would ensure his victory. And even if the barbarian avoided this error, some happy chance, such as the temporary absence of the Persian horse, might enable the Greek general to leave the shelter of the hills and strike a decisive blow without any serious risk of being outflanked and encircled. In any case such a position, difficult enough to find, offered the Greek leaders their one and only chance of combining secure defence with the hope of a victorious and decisive counter-offensive.

It is much more difficult to form any clear and consistent idea of Persian arms and tactics. In the great host so vividly pictured by Herodotus (vii. 61–99) there are some seventeen styles of armament.<sup>45</sup> Even if we disregard the picturesque but utterly useless outlying barbarians, such as the Indians, Ethiopians, Libyans, and Arabians, we must recognize at least four widely divergent types. These are:

(1) The light-armed footmen from Anatolia, whose characteristic weapons are the small round targe and the javelin.<sup>46</sup>

(2) The heavy-armed infantry, with metal helmets, large shields, and some form of cuirass, and for offence spear and sword or dagger. To this type belong the Asiatic Greeks and their neighbours, the Lydians,<sup>47</sup> Carians, Pamphylians, and Cypriots,<sup>48</sup> and with minor variations, the Assyrians,<sup>49</sup> Egyptians, and Phoenicians.<sup>50</sup> It should, however, be noted that all of these except the Lydians and Assyrians fight exclusively or principally as marines.

In broad contrast with these two types are the nations who fight both on foot and on horseback and who rely principally or exclusively on the bow.

(3) The pure Iranian type, if we may believe Herodotus (vii. 64–8), had no defensive armour, and for hand-to-hand work relied mainly on the dagger, though the Bactrians have short spears and the Scyths axes.

(4) The Medo-Persic,<sup>51</sup> which besides the bow and dagger includes a spear, a wicker shield, and in some cases a corselet.<sup>52</sup>

It is obvious that the proper use of such very diverse forces is a far more difficult problem than that of a hoplite-phalanx. Possibly if the Persian king had been a military genius, he might have perceived that his chief need was to develop and improve his heavy infantry so as to hold the Greek hoplites in front, while his archers, javelin-men, and horsemen assailed their flanks and rear. The English combination of dismounted men-at-arms with flanking forces of archers proved just as fatal to the solid columns of Scottish spearmen from the days of Dupplin Muir and Halidon Hill<sup>53</sup> (A.D. 1332–3) <p. 405> to the more famous field of Flodden (A.D. 1513) as it did to the chivalry of France at Crécy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. But in 480 B.C. the heavy infantry were mainly used as marines; and the Persian vainly trusted to overwhelm the hoplite with horsemen and archers only, on ground little suited to them. As things were, the masses of inferior infantry proved rather a hindrance than a help, since their comparative immobility made it possible for the Greeks to close with them, whereas the cavalry unhampered might perhaps have pursued with success the Parthian tactics of drawing the enemy on to open ground, where he could be surrounded, harassed, and finally worn out.

On their side the Greeks must surely have realized the decisive advantages they possessed for fighting hand to hand in their longer spears and more complete panoply. These are the simple military lessons drawn from Thermopylae and Plataea by Herodotus (vii. 211; ix. 62–3). Whether they had been anticipated by Aristagoras<sup>54</sup> may well be doubted; but Marathon at least had demonstrated the

superiority of the Greek hoplite on his own ground to the best warriors of the East. I cannot, however, take Marathon as an instance of my thesis that tactics dominate strategy, because I still hold that the strategy of that campaign was dictated by political motives.<sup>55</sup> On this theory the Persians were anxious to draw the field army as far as possible from Athens, so that their partisans within the walls might have a chance of betraying the city to them; while Miltiades felt bound to face them in the field, because to remain within the walls would have been to forfeit any claim on the succour of Sparta<sup>56</sup> and to expose Athens to the fate of Eretria.<sup>57</sup> But so long as the whole Persian force lay inactive at Marathon he could safely remain on the defensive; when a part was re-embarked to sail round to Athens and stir up sedition there he seized the chance of attacking the remnant left at Marathon, probably in the absence of their formidable cavalry.<sup>58</sup>

The tactics of course depend on the weapons of the two armies. The whole object of the Athenian charge is to get to close quarters with as little loss as possible from the Persian archers. It is worth observing that a charge at the double when within bowshot of the enemy, preceded by a steady slow advance, is exactly the maneuver attributed to Clearchus at Cunaxa both by Diodorus (xiv. 23. 1) and by Polyaeus (ii. 2. 3). The statement is probably untrue, since it contradicts the eyewitness Xenophon (*An.* i. 8. 18), but as it would appear to come from Ephorus, it shows that in the fourth century this was recognized as the proper way to attack archers.<sup>59</sup> <p. 406> The other noticeable point in the tactics of Miltiades, the weakening of the centre<sup>60</sup> while the wings are kept strong, admits of a simple explanation. No doubt he may have been taking advantage of accidental peculiarities in the ground, but this hypothesis is not necessary. The fear of being outflanked would lead him to diminish the depth of his centre, perhaps from eight to four, so as to increase perhaps to double its length; while he would keep his wings in deeper formation, probably the normal eight deep, so that if after all he was outflanked, he might be strong at the exposed points. Miltiades was certainly not anticipating the tactics of Epaminondas, since the essence of that general's dispositions was to attack in heavy column on the one wing, his own left, while he refused battle with the other; Miltiades, on the other hand, was strong on both wings, weak only in the centre. Finally, we may remark that bold as was Miltiades' advance, it was not, assuming the absence of cavalry, rash or ill-advised. Owing to the smallness of the plain at Marathon, it was impossible for the Persians to avoid the shock of the charging hoplites, even if they wished to do so, because they were pinned between the mountains, the marshes, and the sea. Probably they did not yet recognize the superiority of the hoplite in close fighting; indeed on this occasion their best troops broke the thin Greek lines in the centre. It was only the triumph of the united Greek wings over the Persian centre which finally decided the fate of the battle.<sup>61</sup>

The Greeks who had to face the hosts of Xerxes must have learnt from Marathon their superiority to the Persians at close quarters; but they must also have been aware of the weakness of their heavy infantry on open ground, where the archers

and horsemen of the enemy could evade the shock of the hoplites' charge and assail the unprotected flanks and rear of the phalanx. Even if they still despised light troops (cf. above), they would have feared to face the cavalry. Thessalian horsemen had some thirty years before cut up Spartan infantry on the plain near Athens,<sup>62</sup> just as thirty years later they were able to confine an invading Athenian army to the immediate neighbourhood of its camp.<sup>63</sup> The later experiences of the Athenians before Syracuse<sup>64</sup> do but confirm the rather obvious lesson of the effectiveness of cavalry both in cutting off stragglers and in a flank attack on hoplites. On an open plain the hoplites, unable to come to close quarters, with cavalry sweeping round their flanks and archers shooting them down from a distance, would have been in a desperate position. One case quoted to the contrary, the successful retreat of the Ten Thousand, does not, I think, hold good. The Greek leaders were at first utterly depressed by their lack of <p. 407> horsemen and the inferiority of the Cretan archers to the Persian.<sup>65</sup> They meet their difficulties partially by improvising a little troop of horse and by discovering some two hundred Rhodian slingers whose range exceeded that of their opponents. Clearly, unsupported hoplites would have been a helpless prey. For once I think Dr. Delbrück<sup>66</sup> is right in suggesting that Tissaphernes was not really bent on the immediate destruction of the Ten Thousand, a feat which must have cost much Persian blood, but was content to shepherd them into the Carduchian mountains, in the belief that the fierce tribesmen and severe winters of that inhospitable region would surely make an end of them. It is also true that on one later occasion the Ten Thousand venture to attack the cavalry of Pharnabazus with only infantry supports,<sup>67</sup> their own few horsemen being on the other wing<sup>68</sup>; but this is just the exception that proves the rule, since Xenophon's chief reason for attacking was that to retreat with the enemy so close at hand was to court disaster.<sup>69</sup> At any rate his hero Agesilaus fully recognized in 395 B.C. that without cavalry he could not venture to meet the Persians on the plains, and set to work to raise an adequate force.<sup>70</sup>

We may be absolutely certain that a feat to which the trained mercenaries of the fourth century were unequal could not have been attempted by the citizen militia a century earlier. This at once rules out the suggestion that the Greeks might have used the ranges round Thessaly as would a modern strategist, i.e., have made no attempt to hold the numerous actual passes, but concentrated a strong force behind, to fall on the enemy's isolated columns as they straggled down from the passes.<sup>71</sup> For if once the Persians got down into the plain, the Greeks must have known they would lose their tactical superiority, unless they were under the delusion that the Thessalian horse was strong enough to meet the Persian. On the other hand, in a narrow pass the well-armed hoplites, trained to act in masses, could and did repulse large numbers of enemies less fully armed and not accustomed to shock tactics. Thus the occupation in succession of Tempe and Thermopylae was clearly the best measure possible. This is true even if their hope and purpose was absolutely to repel the invading host; but if their immediate object, as is probable, was to fight a delaying action which might give their fleet

time and opportunity to strike a decisive blow, then obviously it was better to block the actual passes. And if the utmost that the Peloponnesians in 480 B.C. would attempt north of the Isthmus was to hold up the Persian army for a time and give the Greek fleet a chance, we may understand how they came to entrust the defence of Thermopylae to a really insignificant number of hoplites. In any <p. 408> case, till the Persian fleet lost the command of the sea the Greeks limited themselves on land to the most passive form of defence, the holding of the passes and the fortifying of the Isthmus.

But the effect of arms and tactics on strategy comes out most clearly after the defeat of the Persian navy, in the campaign of Plataea. The Greeks were now by no means overwhelmingly outnumbered.<sup>72</sup> Indeed if we include in the reckoning the ineffective light-armed Greeks, the totals may have been approximately equal, though the number of hoplites was but a third at most of Mardonius' forces. Yet the Peloponnesians were only driven into action by the open threats of the Athenians,<sup>73</sup> and when they come in contact with the enemy remain at first strictly on the defensive on the bastions of Mount Cithaeron. Pausanias had strong motives for taking the offensive. The need for freeing Greek soil from the barbarian by driving Mardonius from Central Greece was urgent. The Greek citizen militias, like the feudal levies of the Middle Ages, were at all times ill-fitted for a prolonged campaign, forty days being regarded as almost a limit.<sup>74</sup> In this case the difficulty of keeping them together for any length of time was increased by the composition of the Greek army. In its ranks there were contingents from some two dozen states, eight of whom contributed substantial forces, a thousand or more hoplites.<sup>75</sup> Since Pausanias resisted these inducements to attack, he must have been convinced of the necessity of avoiding action on ground suitable for the operations of cavalry. Mardonius on his side was eager to fight, since he must have known that the advance of the Greek fleet across the Aegean might cause Xerxes to recall him to defend Ionia. But Mardonius too, after the first repulse of his cavalry,<sup>76</sup> was only willing to fight on ground of his own choosing. The position was almost a stalemate. Both sides were in the strongest position for defence. Pausanias, well posted on the slopes of Mount Cithaeron, covered the ways to the Isthmus, from which he drew his supplies, and from which reinforcements were coming in<sup>77</sup> or might still be expected.<sup>78</sup> Mardonius similarly covered his fortified camp and his base of supplies, Thebes, while the plain of the Asopus furnished him with a suitable field for the action of horsemen. These clear facts explain the intelligent (and probably inspired) advice given by the soothsayers on both sides, that the omens were favourable for a defensive battle, unfavourable for attack.<sup>79</sup> It may seem fantastic to say that some of the best of our modern critics have shown in this matter less grasp <p. 409> of the military situation than these ancient seers; yet it is to me utterly incredible that even after his success in repulsing the Persian cavalry and killing their leader Masistius, Pausanias can ever have conceived the idea of turning the Persian right and marching ten miles across the open plain to Thebes. Every one admits that this striking maneuver was never carried out; in my opinion it is the child of the imagination of critics dominated by modern notions of

strategy. No one can value more highly than I do the contributions of Dr. Grundy and Professor Woodhouse to the understanding of the Persian War, but here their reconstruction<sup>80</sup> is based on an unsound theory. Any such movement must have inevitably and immediately transferred the whole of the tactical advantages to the enemy. The Persian cavalry, which even on the Asopus ridge harassed the Greeks beyond all bearing,<sup>81</sup> would have assailed them on the open plain at an overwhelming advantage. Nor does it seem in the least likely that the Greeks can have hoped with their slow-moving, heavy-armed infantry to take their far more mobile enemies by surprise. Indeed in this matter modern experience confirms ancient; the futility of any such movement, unless made by horsemen only, against the Boer mounted infantry, is a crucial example. It is surely far more probable that Pausanias deliberately advanced to the Asopus ridge and no farther, because his object was to provoke Mardonius to attack him there. He saw that the Persian had become too wary again to assail unbroken hoplites on the bastions of Cithaeron, but hoped to induce him to attack them on the lower hills near the Asopus, which were far more open to assault.<sup>82</sup> Strategically, he has taken the offensive, and throughout his object is to fight, but only on his own terms, that is, on ground more favourable to hoplites than to cavalry. Tactically, his object is to tempt the enemy to attack him in a strong defensive position, as Bruce drew on the English at Bannockburn.

Mardonius was too prudent to fall into the trap and preferred to make the position of the Greeks untenable by cutting off their supplies<sup>83</sup> and reinforcements, and eventually by sending his cavalry to sweep through the trough in the hills and seize the spring, Gargaphia.<sup>84</sup> The inevitable retreat by night with its chapter of accidents brought about the desired result where elaborate design had failed. When Mardonius saw the Greeks in full retreat, split up into three separate corps, he naturally thought the moment had come for a decisive blow. At the head of the best Persian troops he dashed across the Asopus straight at the Spartans.<sup>85</sup> Pausanias, despite the hail of darts and arrows, kept his men well in hand till <p. 410> the Persian infantry was irretrievably committed;<sup>86</sup> then at last the Tegean and Spartan hoplites charged, and after crashing through the shield wall, naturally had all the best of the hand-to-hand combat that followed.<sup>87</sup> Superior arms, discipline, and tactics brilliantly redeemed the strategic failure of the Greek retreat.

It may be thought that in thus tracing the influence of arms on tactics and of tactics on strategy in land warfare I have been traversing ground already too familiar. I shall now try to show that in the naval warfare, too, the same rule holds good.

In the naval tactics of the rowing ships of antiquity there were of necessity only two different modes of attack:

- (1) Boarding, preceded by the use of missiles; the men on board are the attacking force.
- (2) Ramming, the prow of the ship itself being the weapon of offence.

Either method may be facilitated or modified by some new invention, such as the specially strengthened beak and prow-to-prow attack used by the Corinthians and Syracusans,<sup>88</sup> or the *corvus* employed by Duilius at Mylae against the Carthaginians,<sup>89</sup> but these do not concern us, as we hear of no such devices in the Persian War.

It may be well to illustrate briefly the two methods from Thucydides, whose accounts of sea-fights are far clearer than those in Herodotus. He scorns as out of date the boarding tactics still used in 433 B.C. by the Corinthians and Corcyreans,<sup>90</sup> and holds up to admiration the bold maneuvers of Phormio in the Corinthian Gulf.<sup>91</sup> But he never clearly states the conditions necessary for the successful employment of the *διέκπλους* and *περίπλους*. These were: (1) as the efficient cause, great superiority on the part of the Athenian triremes both in speed and handiness. Such superiority could only be won and kept by building lighter ships and by a more thorough and efficient system of training for the crews. (2) As a necessary condition, plenty of sea-room in which to maneuver. Inadequate sea-room, indeed, nearly cost Phormio his second victory,<sup>92</sup> just as later it fatally handicapped the Athenians in the harbour of Syracuse.<sup>93</sup> Indeed in the final battle there the Athenians are obliged to fight the old-fashioned land-battle on shipboard, using archers, javelin-men, and boarders,<sup>94</sup> and naturally fail in this unaccustomed form of warfare.<sup>95</sup>

In the Persian War it is, I think, clear that the Greeks of the <p. 411> mother-country had no such superiority in seamanship as would have enabled them to make effective use of the *διέκπλους*, still less of the *περίπλους*. It is true that Herodotus (viii, 9) ascribes to them at least the intention to use the former before the battle of Artemisium, and more definitely describes the Ionians as practising the maneuver before the battle of Lade (vi. 12). He may mean that the Chians employed it in the actual fighting (vi. 15), but the large numbers of marines carried on their ships<sup>96</sup> and their *capture* of many ships from the enemy point rather to the use of boarding tactics. Most probably, then, Herodotus was guilty of an anachronism, but if this be not so, then it is most likely that the Ionians had learnt the maneuver from the best sailors of the East, the Phoenicians. It is certain that the Carthaginians used it against the Romans, and Sosylus, Hannibal's Greek tutor, alleges that Heraclides of Mylasa at Artemisium foiled the *Phoenician* device of *διέκπλους* by keeping a second line in reserve ready to attack them when they had penetrated the first line.<sup>97</sup> The objection that this story cannot be fitted into Herodotus' narrative of the engagements is not necessarily fatal to its truth. In any case the Greeks of the mother-country cannot have been in a position to use the maneuver. Not only were they outnumbered, but their ships were heavier in build and worse sailers than those of the enemy.<sup>98</sup>

No doubt Plutarch (*Them.* 14) differs on this point from Herodotus, but Plutarch's notices of the development of the Athenian fleet do not carry conviction. His main point at Salamis is that the Eastern ships were loftier and less handy than the lower and lighter Greek vessels, a trait that he may have erroneously transferred

from some later battle, such as Actium. And when he comes to Cimon (chap. 12), he makes that admiral widen the light ships built by Themistocles and join the fore and aft decks with gangways, plainly with a view to boarding tactics. This tradition about Cimon seems the most authentic record in Plutarch's story, and yet it is most unlikely that he would have gone back to heavier ships and boarding tactics if the Athenians had already adopted ramming with light and handy vessels. I think, then, we may fairly regard the light ships ascribed to Themistocles as an anachronism,<sup>99</sup> and place the evolution of the new tactics in the years of the empire of Athens, when her fleet had become a standing force, not as early as the Persian War. <p. 412>

It would, indeed, have been almost a miracle if the Greek fleet at Artemisium and Salamis had been capable of such maneuvers. Far the strongest contingent in it, the Attic navy, was in the main the creation of the last year or two, so that its crews could not possibly have had the long practice necessary for skillful maneuvering, while the best Peloponnesian sailors were half a century later still content with the now old-fashioned boarding tactics.<sup>100</sup> Further, if we may trust the rather vague description of Herodotus (viii. 11), the Greeks on the first day at Artemisium try to guard against an encircling movement on the part of the enemy by forming in a moon, or more probably half-moon, with prows outwards. Unlike the Corinthians in 429 B.C.,<sup>101</sup> however, they do not allow themselves to be encircled and thrown into disorder, but successfully charge the enemy prow to prow. Possibly they hoped to break the enemy's line; more probably they aimed only at boarding in the ensuing *mêlée*. For it is significant that on that day the successful Greeks *capture* thirty barbarian ships, while in the third day's fighting, the most successful of the enemy, the Egyptians, *capture* five Greek ships with their crews.<sup>102</sup> The inference is clear that boarding was the chief method of attack, and for this the Egyptians were well equipped, as their marines were heavy-armed and carried boarding-pikes.<sup>103</sup> Further, since each ship in the king's fleet had on board thirty Persians, Medes, or Sacae as marines besides the native levies,<sup>104</sup> boarding must surely have been regarded as the regular mode of attack.

At Salamis the general confusion was great, and it is rather difficult to determine the exact nature of the fighting. But there cannot have been room to maneuver in the narrow straits, so that the presumption is all in favour of boarding tactics. On the other hand, if there be any truth in the statement of Ephorus that no less than forty Greek ships and two hundred Persian ships were sunk,<sup>105</sup> ramming must have been freely used. Even the early accounts, though they give no such figures, clearly describe ramming<sup>106</sup> and imply that it was not uncommon. But it is noticeable that ramming is in some cases simply preliminary to boarding,<sup>107</sup> and is in general regarded rather as the result of the confusion reigning among the barbarians<sup>108</sup> than of any special Greek maneuver. And there are quite definite instances of capture by boarding both by Greeks who fought for Hellas<sup>109</sup> and by their kinsmen in the Persian ranks, in <p. 413> particular by two Samians.<sup>110</sup> The most remarkable feat is that of the Samothracian javelin-men, who, when their

own ship was sinking after being rammed, first cleared the decks of hostile marines and afterwards captured the Aeginetan ship which had sunk their own.<sup>111</sup> At Mycale, too, the Greeks made ready to use boarding tactics,<sup>112</sup> but found the Persian fleet beached and protected by a stockade. This general survey of the relevant incidents in the battles leads, it would seem, to the conclusions that at Salamis in particular, and in the Persian War in general, boarding was still the principal, though not the only, method of attack and that a naval battle still resembled a land battle in essentials, that is, it depended in the main on the armament and efficiency of the marines.

Lastly we have to consider how far Greek strategy was dictated by tactics, that is, ultimately by the numbers and nature of the opposing fleets and by the armament of the marines. The enemy, *pace* Dr. Delbrück, were superior not only in numbers (perhaps two to one), but also in the speed and handiness of their ships.<sup>113</sup> Hence the plan which he suggests,<sup>114</sup> and, relying on a rather vague passage in Plutarch (*Them.* 7), attributes to Themistocles, that of sailing off towards the Hellespont and fighting an independent naval battle in the open sea as far from Greece as possible, is utterly absurd. On the contrary, the one chance was to compel or induce the enemy to fight in a confined space, where numbers were an encumbrance and superior sailing powers useless. Accordingly the one object of Themistocles is either, as at Artemisium, to force, or, as at Salamis, to entice the enemy into a strait or sound suitable for his purpose.<sup>115</sup> In such narrow seas the ramming would usually be prow to prow and would be followed by boarding. And in such a battle the stouter ships of the Greeks and the heavier armour of their marines would give them a decisive advantage. To meet such tactics as those of the Samothracian javelin-men (cf. above) and of the Medo-Persian marines, who doubtless carried bows,<sup>116</sup> the Athenians are said to have sent to Crete for archers,<sup>117</sup> presumably to supplement the four Attic bowmen allowed to each ship.<sup>118</sup> But in the main the Greeks doubtless trusted to the superiority of the hoplite over Oriental marines in boarding, and this superiority in quality, combined with numerical inferiority, made it a prime object of their strategy to fight in narrow seas.

Is it fanciful to see in this strategic necessity a convincing argument for the truth<sup>119</sup> and importance of the message of Themistocles <p. 414> to Xerxes?<sup>120</sup> Even after reading and hearing Sir Reginald Custance's arguments, I still feel it is the only adequate explanation of the fatal advance within the straits of Salamis. It would be presumptuous to criticize the crucial importance attached by the Admiral to the flanking position held by the Greek fleet if Xerxes attempted to advance to the Isthmus.<sup>121</sup> But one may well doubt if the Greek leaders were aware of the strength of their position, or if even a Themistocles could have kept the Peloponnesians together, had Xerxes dispatched a force across the Saronic Gulf to the Argolid, where it might reasonably expect a friendly reception.<sup>122</sup> As he had advanced without apparent difficulty from Therma to Thermopylae unsupported by his fleet, it does not appear that he was so immediately dependent on his ships for

supplies as to make it impossible to detach them on a separate mission. Again, Xerxes in his attack on Thermopylae was in advance of his fleet at Aphetae almost as much as he would have been had he marched to the Isthmus, while the fleets still lay off Salamis. No doubt Xerxes may have been led to attack merely by overweening confidence in his own strength, but is it not more likely that he was enticed into the trap by the craft of Themistocles?

Whatever be the view taken on this minor question, I hope I have made my main thesis clear and acceptable. It is that, where the armament of two opposing forces differs radically in character, arms determine tactics and tactics strategy. This axiom holds in the Persian War both on sea and on land, at Artemisium and Salamis, as well as at Thermopylae and Plataea. Finally, while it invalidates some of the theories taken from modern strategists by recent critics and historians of the Persian War, in the main it confirms as well as elucidates the ancient authorities.

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## Notes

1. *History of the Art of War* i. 296.
2. Cf. Dio Cass. xl. 15; Plutarch *Crass.* 24f.
3. Oman, loc. cit.
4. vii. 184–6.
5. vii. 61–99.
6. Cf. app. xix.
7. *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 48.
8. P. 367 and H. vii. 81.
9. Thuc. v. 66.
10. H. vii. 115.
11. Livy xxxix. 27.
12. H. vii. 36.
13. H. vii. 22f., 37.
14. H. vii. 25.
15. H. vii. 183; ix. 3.
16. H. vii. 183.
17. H. vii. 181.
18. H. ix. 31, 68.
19. H. ix. 28, 29.
20. H. vii. 229 n.; viii. 25.
21. H. ix. 22, 60.
22. Thuc. iii. 97f.
23. Thuc. iv. 33f.
24. Thuc. ii. 79.
25. Thuc. v. 10.
26. Thuc. vii. 6.
27. Thuc. v. 71.
28. The story that the Spartans fought at Dipaea in a single unsupported line (Isoc. *Arch.* §99) may be confidently regarded as a fiction of rhetoric.
29. Thuc. iv. 94.
30. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4, 34.

31. Thuc. vi. 67.
32. Thuc. v. 68.
33. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 2, 16.
34. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4, 12.
35. Thuc. vi. 67.
36. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2, 13 and 18.
37. Xen. *Hell.* iv. 2, 18.
38. The Thebans were twenty-five deep at Delium in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 93).
39. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 4, 12.
40. Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4, 11.
41. H. vii. 225, ix. 62; Thuc. iv. 96.
42. Polyb. ii. 69.
43. Thuc. iv. 33f.
44. Polyb. xviii. 14.
45. Cf. p. 151 and Macan, H. vii–ix, vol. ii, pp. 167–76.
46. H. vii. 72–9, 91–2.
47. H. vii. 74.
48. H. vii. 90, 93–5.
49. H. vii. 63.
50. H. vii. 89.
51. H. vii. 61–2.
52. H. viii. 113; ix. 22.
53. Oman, *op.cit.*, ii. 101–8.
54. H. v. 49 and 97.
55. Cf. pp. 358f., 419, and Munro in *JHS* xix. 188f.
56. Cf. *JHS* xxxix. 53.
57. H. vi. 109; cf. 100–1.
58. Cf. Suidas, χωρὶς ἰππεῖς.
59. Cf. C. Q. xiii. 42.
60. H. vi. 111 n. and Munro in *CAH* iv. 246–7.
61. H. vi. 113.
62. H. v. 63.

63. Thuc. i. 111.
64. Thuc. vii. 4, 6, 13.
65. Xen. *Anab.* iii. 3 and 4.
66. *Gesch. der Kriegskunst*, i<sup>2</sup>, p. 144.
67. Xen. *Anab.* vi. 5, 30; cf. § 9.
68. loc. cit. § 28.
69. loc. cit. § 14f.
70. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, 15.
71. Delbrück, op. cit., p. 73.
72. Cf. pp. 298f., 364, 368 and Munro in *JHS* xxiv. 144, 152 and in *CAH* iv. 317, 323–4.
73. H. ix. 6f.
74. Thuc ii. 57; cf. i. 141.
75. H. ix. 28.
76. H. ix. 20f.
77. H. ix. 41.
78. e.g., the men of Elis and Mantinea (H. ix. 77).
79. H. ix. 36–8.
80. Grundy, *Great Persian War*, p. 473. Woodhouse in *JHS* xviii. 41, 45.
81. H. ix. 40, 49.
82. Macan, H. vii–ix, vol. ii, p. 379.
83. H. ix. 39.
84. H. ix. 49.
85. H. ix. 59.
86. Cf. the tactics of Richard Coeur de Lion at the battle of Arsouf, A.D. 1191 (Oman, op. cit., i. 311f.).
87. H. ix. 61–3.
88. Thuc vii. 34, 36.
89. Polyb. i. 22.
90. Thuc. i. 49.
91. Thuc. ii. 83, 84.
92. Thuc. ii. 90.
93. Thuc. vii. 36–41, 52, 70.

94. Thuc. vii. 60, 62, 67.
95. Cf. Grundy, *Thuc.*, 308.
96. Forty on each ship (H. vi. 15), while ten was the normal number on Athenian ships in the Peloponnesian War. Cf. Thuc. ii. 23; iii. 94, 95; iv. 76 compared with iv. 101.
97. Cf. Wilcken in *Hermes* xli. 103f.; Tarn in *JHS* xxviii. 216; Munro in *CAH* iv. 289; and for a like precaution Xen. *Hell.* i. 6, 29–31.
98. H. viii. 10 and 60.
99. Perhaps a mistaken inference from the fact that these early triremes had not decks all over (Thuc. i. 14).
100. Thuc. i. 49 and above.
101. Thuc. ii. 83.
102. H. viii. 17.
103. H. vii. 89.
104. H. vii. 184. Even if we doubt the statement as it stands, we can hardly reduce the *total* number of marines below thirty. Cf. Macan, *H.* vii–ix, vol. ii, 154.
105. Diod. xi. 19, 3.
106. Aesch. *Pers.* 410; H. viii. 87, 90.
107. H. viii. 84, 92.
108. Aesch. *Pers.* 415; H. viii. 87–90.
109. H. viii. 92; Simon, frag. 13, ap. Plut. *De Mal.* 36.
110. H. viii. 85.
111. H. viii. 90.
112. H. ix. 98.
113. H. viii. 10 and 60.
114. *Gesch. der Kriegskunst*, i<sup>2</sup>. 75–6.
115. H. viii. 60. Thuc. i. 74.
116. H. vii. 184; cf. 61f.
117. Ctesias 26.
118. Plutarch, *Them.* 14; cf. Munro in *JHS* xxiv. 147.
119. As against Beloch, *Klio*, viii. 485. "Obst. Der Feldzug des Xerxes," p. 142.
120. Aesch. *Pers.* 355f.; H. viii. 75.
121. Custance, *War at Sea*, pp. 26, 27.
122. H. vii. 150–2.

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