This book is a presentation of a bilingual text with student aids, built using open-source software. For information about how the book is intended to be used and why it's designed the way it is, go to lightandmatter.com/ransom. To read this book on a computer screen, you should set up your PDF viewer so that it displays a two-page layout, with an even page on the left and an odd one on the right.

rev. December 31, 2025

The Greek text is from the 1920 edition by Godley, via Wikisource. My additional proofreading and editorial work on the Greek text are released here under the CC0 license.

The English translation is by Macaulay, 1890, via Project Gutenberg.

Text I've written, such as notes and glosses, is CC-BY-SA 4.0. Glosses taken verbatim from Cunliffe or White and Morgan are in the public domaion, as are the LSJ dictionary entries. Glosses taken verbatim from Wiktionary are CC-BY-SA 3.0. US law does not allow copyrighting of grammatical facts such as part-of-speech tagging and does not give any additional protection to databases beyond the normal protection of copyright.

Copyright info. Text I've written, such as notes and glosses, is (c) 2025 Benjamin Crowell and CC-BY-SA 4.0. Glosses taken verbatim from Cunliffe or White and Morgan are in the public domain, as are the LSJ dictionary entries. Glosses taken verbatim from Wiktionary are CC-BY-SA 3.0. US law does not allow copyrighting of grammatical facts such as part-of-speech tagging and does not give any additional protection to databases beyond the normal protection of copyright.

vocabulary ἀγγήιον vessel ἄγχ $\iota$  near, nigh  $\sim$ angina ἀδικία injustice, offence αἴρεσις -εως (f) choice, plan ἀίσσω dart, glance αἰχμή spear point ~acute ἀμέλγω to milk  $\sim$ milk ἀνατολή a rising in the sky  $\sim$ apostle ἀνδρόω make a man ἀνθέω sprout ἀντικαθίζω place instead of; (mp) sit watching against ἀντιόω meet, fight, join ἄντρον cave ἄνω  $(\bar{\alpha})$  accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea ἀπαλλαξείω wish to get rid of ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποδημέω be absent, abroad ἀπόδοσις -τος (f) payment; definition ἀποκληίω shut out; close up ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure ἀπωθέω repel, reject ἄρθρον joint ἄροτρον plow  $\sim$ arable ἄσσω dart, glance αὐλός flute, tube, hollow ἀφανίζω do away with, make off with; (pass) disappear βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind **γάλα** milk ∼galaxy γλουτός buttock διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διάβασις -εως (f) crossing, passage  $\sim$ basis διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion δίζημαι seek ~zeal δονέω shake, agitate

εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic

εἰστίθημι put in εἰσχέω pour into ἐκδέχομαι receive; succeed to a position ἐκπλήσσω panic, be knocked out  $\sim$ plectrum **ἔλασις** -εως (f) driving out Έλλην Greek ἔνερθε beneath, below ένθεῦτεν thence ἐξελαύνω drive out, exile ∼elastic ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπεξέρχομαι sally ἐπιδιώχω chase after ἐπιλανθάνω mp: forget ~Lethe ἐπιτελής accomplished ἐπωνύμιος called, named ἔργω bound, fend off; do  $\sim$ ergonomics ἐρῆμος empty ἐύς good, brave, noble ἔχιδνα viper ζυγόν yoke, a joined pair  $\sim$ zygote ζυγός yoke, a joined pair ~zygote θηλέω abound in ∼thallium θῆλυς female; (rare) abundant  $\sim$ female θυσία sacrifice ίλάσχομαι appease καθίημι (τι) speed down upon; take down  $\sim$ jet καθυπνόω fall asleep κατακοιμάω pass: go to sleep; have καταπαύω stop, restrain ∼pause κατασβέννυμι (ō) extinguish κατατείνω stretch out κάτειμι go down, disembark ~ion κατέρχομαι come down, out from κατοικίζω colonize κατύπερθεν above, from above

κοῖλος hollow ~hollow **κρυμός** (ō) icy cold λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic μάστιξ -γος (f) whip μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μετέρχομαι seek, visit μίν him, her, it μισθός reward, wages μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired νεότης -τος (f, 3) youth  $\sim$ neon νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing ξύλινος wooden ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὁρτή holiday, feast ὀρύσσω dig οὖθαρ -τος (n) udder ὄφις ὄφεως (m) serpent ∼ophidian ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view  $\sim$ thanatopsis περιαιρέω strip off περιελαύνω drive around πλανάω lead astray; (mp) wander  $\sim$ plankton **ποίημα** -τος (n, 3) work, deed προσδοχάω expect πρόσειμι approach, draw near; add προσίημι be allowed near προσωτέρω farther **πτερόν** feather, wing ∼pterodactyl πτερόω give wings ῥέω flow ∼rheostat στήλη post, column

στράτευμα -τος (n, 3) army  $\sim$ strategy στρατιά army ~strategy συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon σύμπας (ā) all together συναγείρω gather together ~agora σύνειμι be with; have sex ~ion σ $\tilde{ω}$ σ $\tau$  $\rho$  $\alpha$  reward, offering of thanks τάφρος (f) ditch, trench ~epitaph τίμιος honored, precious τίνω (ī) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for **τοκεύς** -ος (m) parent ∼oxytocin τριφάσιος triple τρόφις -εως (n) big, swollen  $\sim$ atrophy τυφλός blind τυφλόω blind ὑπαίθριος in open air ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ∼ballistic ὑπομένω stay behind, await  $\sim$ remain ὑφίστημι promise, undertake  $\sim$ station φιάλη jar ~vial φλέψ -βός (f) vein  $\sim$ phlebotomy φοιτέω go back and forth φυσάω (ō) blow, puff, blow out χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm **χίλιοι** ( $\bar{\iota}\iota$ ) thousand  $\sim$ kiloχουσός (v) gold ὧρος year

4

## 4.1

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἴρεσιν¹ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύρας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις.² ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς ᾿Ασίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχη τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. τῆς γὰρ ἄνω ᾿Ασίης ἦρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους οὖτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἢρχον τῆς ᾿Ασίης. τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὖρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιήν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὡς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους.

# 4.2

Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι³ τοῦ γάλακτος εἴνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὧδε. ἐπεάν φυσητῆρας λάβωσι ὀστεἴνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τά ἄρθρα φυσῶσι⁴ τοῖσι στόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι.⁵ φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἴνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν· τὰς φλέβας⁶ τε πίμπλασθαι φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ³ κατίεσθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγήια κοῖλα καὶ περιστίξαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήια τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι⁰ τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμιώτερον, τό δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἡσσον τοῦ ἐτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἴνεκα ἄπαντα τὸν ὰν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι. οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες.

<sup>1</sup> choice, plan 2 driving out 3 blind 4 blow, puff, blow out 5 to milk 6 vein 7 udder 8 vessel 9 shake, agitate

4.3

Έκ τούτων δὴ ὧν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐτράφη νεότης. 10 οῦ ἐπείτε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἤντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυξάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσαν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὀρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην, τῆ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστη μετά γε πειρωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο. γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καί οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῆ μάχη, εἶς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. «οἶα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοί τε κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. νῦν ὧν μοι δοκέει αἰχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἔκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἄσσον αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρων 11 ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχοντας, οῖ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὅμοιοί τε καί ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῦν εἶναι ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνόντες τοῦτο. οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι.»

### 4.4

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε ᾿Ασίης ἡρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὖτις ὑπὸ Μήδων κατῆλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶνδε εἴνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖυς τίσασθαι βουλόμενος συνήγειρε ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

# 4.5

"Ως δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε. ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῆ γῆ ταύτη ἐούση ἐρήμῳ τῳ οὕνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὧν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεος μὲν τοιούτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λιπόξαϊν καὶ ᾿Αρπόξαϊν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαιν. ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>10</sup> youth 11 year

οὐρανοῦ φερομένα χρύσεα ποιήματα, <sup>12</sup> ἄροτρόν <sup>13</sup> τε καὶ ζυγόν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσσον ἰέναι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσόν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι. ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὖτις ταὐτὰ ποιέειν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καιόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καὶ μιν ἐκεῖνον κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνόντας τὴν βασιληίην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.

### 4.6

Άπὸ μὲν δὴ Λιποξάιος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἱ Κατίαροί τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέος οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὔνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ Ἔλληνες ἀνόμασαν.

# 4.7

Γεγονέναι μέν νυν σφέας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι, ἔτεα δὲ σφίσι ἐπείτε γεγόνασι τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσόν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλέες ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκόμενοι 14 μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πῶν ἔτος. ὃς δ᾽ ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῷ, οὖτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ διενιαυτίζειν. δίδοσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἵππω ἐν ἡμέρῃ μιῷ περιελάσῃ αὐτὸς. τῆς δὲ χώρης ἐούσης μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιληίας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι έωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαιν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν ποιῆσαι μεγίστην, ἐν τῷ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρης οὐκ οἱὰ τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρω οὖτε ὁρᾶν οὖτε διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τήν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἠέρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκληίοντα τὴν ὅψιν.

work, deed <sup>13</sup> plow <sup>14</sup> appease

4.8

Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὕπερ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρης τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι, «Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες ὧδε. Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἥντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντον, κατοικημένον τὴν Ἑλληνές λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνῦσι. ἐνθεῦτεν τόν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώρην καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνα τε καὶ κρυμὸν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντέην κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῳ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θείη τύχη.

4.9

"Ως δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, δίζησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρης έπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην καλεομένην γῆν ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εύρεῖν ἐν ἄντρω μιξοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν 15 διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν $^{16}$  εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερ $\theta$ ε $^{17}$ όφιος. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἴ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας την δε φάναι έωυτην έχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνω πρὶν ἢ οἱ μιχθῆ· τό δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. κείνην τε δη ύπερβάλλεσθαι την ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὡς πλείστον χρόνον συνείναι τῷ Ἡρακλεί, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν Ἱππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσα τοὶ ἐγώ, σῶστρά<sup>18</sup> τε σὰ παρέσχες: έγω γαρ έκ σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, <sup>19</sup> δ τι χρη ποιέειν, έξηγέο σύ, είτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω χώρης γὰρ τῆσδε έχω τὸ κράτος αὕτη εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ.» τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα έπειρωταν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν «ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας<sup>20</sup> ἴδη τοὺς παίδας, τάδε ποιεῦσα οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις τὸν μὲν ἂν ὁρᾶς

 $<sup>^{15}</sup>$  viper  $^{16}$  buttock  $^{17}$  beneath, below  $^{18}$  reward, offering of thanks  $^{19}$  big, swollen  $^{20}$  make a man

# 4

### 4.1

After Babylon had been taken, the march of Dareios himself against the Scythians took place: for now that Asia was flourishing in respect of population, and large sums were being gathered in as revenue, Dareios formed the desire to take vengeance upon the Scythians, because they had first invaded the Median land and had overcome in fight those who opposed them; and thus they had been the beginners of wrong. The Scythians in truth, as I have before said, had ruled over Upper Asia for eight and twenty years; for they had invaded Asia in their pursuit of the Kimmerians, and they had deposed the Medes from their rule, who had rule over Asia before the Scythians came. Now when the Scythians had been absent from their own land for eight and twenty years, as they were returning to it after that interval of time, they were met by a contest not less severe than that which they had had with the Medes, since they found an army of no mean size opposing them. For the wives of the Scythians, because their husbands were absent from them for a long time, had associated with the slaves.

## 4.2

Now the Scythians put out the eyes of all their slaves because of the milk which they drink; and they do as follows:— they take blow-pipes of bone just like flutes, and these they insert into the vagina of the mare and blow with their mouths, and others milk while they blow: and they say that they do this because the veins of the mare are thus filled, being blown out, and so the udder is let down. When they had drawn the milk they pour it into wooden vessels hollowed out, and they set the blind slaves in order about the vessels and agitate the milk. Then that which comes to the top they skim off, considering it the more valuable part, whereas they esteem that which settles down to be less good than the other. For this reason the Scythians put out the eyes of all whom they catch; for they are not tillers of the soil but nomads.

# 4.3

From these their slaves then, I say, and from their wives had been born and bred up a generation of young men, who having learnt the manner of their birth set themselves to oppose the Scythians as they were returning from the Medes. And first they cut off their land by digging a broad trench extending from the Tauric mountains to the Maiotian lake, at the point where this is broadest; then afterwards when the Scythians attempted to invade the land, they took up a position against them and fought; and as they fought many times, and the Scythians were not able to get any advantage in the fighting, one of them said: "What a thing is this that we are doing, Scythians! We

are fighting against our own slaves, and we are not only becoming fewer in number ourselves by being slain in battle, but also we are killing them, and so we shall have fewer to rule over in future. Now therefore to me it seems good that we leave spears and bows and that each one take his horse-whip and so go up close to them: for so long as they saw us with arms in our hands, they thought themselves equal to us and of equal birth; but when they shall see that we have whips instead of arms, they will perceive that they are our slaves, and having acknowledged this they will not await our onset."

#### 4.4

When they heard this, the Scythians proceeded to do that which he said, and the others being panic-stricken by that which was done forgot their fighting and fled. Thus the Scythians had ruled over Asia; and in such manner, when they were driven out again by the Medes, they had returned to their own land. For this Dareios wished to take vengeance upon them, and was gathering together an army to go against them.

#### 4.5

Now the Scythians say that their nation is the youngest of all nations, and that this came to pass as follows:— The first man who ever existed in this region, which then was desert, was one named Targitaos: and of this Targitaos they say, though I do not believe it for my part, however they say the parents were Zeus and the daughter of the river Borysthenes. Targitaos, they report, was produced from some such origin as this, and of him were begotten three sons, Lipoxaïs and Arpoxaïs and the youngest Colaxaïs. In the reign of these there came down from heaven certain things wrought of gold, a plough, a yoke, a battle-axe, and a cup, and fell in the Scythian land: and first the eldest saw and came near them, desiring to take them, but the gold blazed with fire when he approached it: then when he had gone away from it, the second approached, and again it did the same thing. These then the gold repelled by blazing with fire; but when the third and youngest came up to it, the flame was quenched, and he carried them to his own house. The elder brothers then, acknowledging the significance of this thing, delivered the whole of the kingly power to the youngest.

#### 4.6

From Lixopaïs, they say, are descended those Scythians who are called the race of the Auchatai; from the middle brother Arpoxaïs those who are called Catiaroi and Traspians, and from the youngest of them the "Royal" tribe, who are called Paralatai: and the whole together are called, they say, Scolotoi, after the name of their king; but the Hellenes gave them the name of Scythians.

#### 4.7

Thus the Scythians say they were produced; and from the time of their origin, that is to say from the first king Targitaos, to the passing over of Dareios against them, they say that there is a period of a thousand years and no more. Now this sacred gold is guarded by the kings with the utmost care, and they visit it every year with solemn sacrifices of propitiation: moreover if any one goes to sleep while watching in the open air over this gold during the festival, the Scythians say that he does not live out the year; and there is given him for this so much land as he shall ride round himself on his horse in one day. Now as the land was large, Colaxaïs, they say, established three kingdoms for his sons; and of these he made one larger than the rest, and in this the gold is kept. But as to the upper parts which lie on the North side of those who dwell above this land, they say one can neither see nor pass through any further by reason of feathers which are poured down; for both the earth and the air are full of feathers, and this is that which shuts off the view.

#### 4.8

Thus say the Scythians about themselves and about the region above them; but the Hellenes who dwell about the Pontus say as follows:— Heracles driving the cattle of Geryones came to this land, then desert, which the Scythians now inhabit; and Geryones, says the tale, dwelt away from the region of the Pontus, living in the island called by the Hellenes Erytheia, near Gadeira which is outside the Pillars of Heracles by the Ocean.— As to the Ocean, they say indeed that it flows round the whole earth beginning from the place of the sunrising, but they do not prove this by facts.— From thence Heracles came to the land now called Scythia; and as a storm came upon him together with icy cold, he drew over him his lion's skin and went to sleep. Meanwhile the mares harnessed in his chariot disappeared by a miraculous chance, as they were feeding.

#### 4.9

Then when Heracles woke he sought for them; and having gone over the whole land, at last he came to the region which is called Hylaia; and there he found in a cave a kind of twofold creature formed by the union of a maiden and a serpent, whose upper parts from the buttocks upwards were those of a woman, but her lower parts were those of a snake. Having seen her and marvelled at her, he asked her then whether she had seen any mares straying anywhere; and she said that she had them herself and would not give them up until he lay with her; and Heracles lay with her on condition of receiving them. She then tried to put off the giving back of the mares, desiring to have

Heracles with her as long as possible, while he on the other hand desired to get the mares and depart; and at last she gave them back and said: "These mares when they came hither I saved for thee, and thou didst give me reward for saving them; for I have by thee three sons. Tell me then, what must I do with these when they shall be grown to manhood, whether I shall settle them here, for over this land I have power alone, or send them away to thee?" She thus asked of him, and he, they say, replied: "When thou seest that the boys are grown to men, do this and thou shalt not fail of doing right:—whichsoever of them thou

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, ἀγγέλλω carry a message, announce  $\sim$ angel  $\tilde{\mathbf{\alpha}}$ θλον ἀέθλου prize  $\sim$ athlete ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ∼athlete ἀχοή hearing  $\sim$ acoustic ἄχρα at the edge, extreme  $\sim$ acute ἀλαζών -όνος (m, 3) charlatan, boaster ἀμαχητί without a fight ἀμφισβασίη dispute, controversy ἀμφισβατέω dispute άνδριάς -ντος (m, 3) portrait, statue ἀνδρόω make a man ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀράσσω smash ἀριθμός number ἀροτήρ -ος (m) plowman  $\sim$ arable ἀτρεχής precise, certain αὐτόπτης -ου (m, 1) eyewitness ἀφανίζω do away with, make off with; (pass) disappear ἀφάνισις extermination βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind βωμός altar; stand, pedestal γρύψ griffin δάφνη laurel διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαχόσιοι (ā) two hundred διαμάχομαι fight hard, contend διατείνω extend; (mp) try hard διίστημι stand apart ~stand ἕβδομος seventh εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over "Ελλην Greek ἐμπόριον immigrant, metic, trading post

έμπόριος immigrant, metic, trading ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐντεταμένως vehemently ἔντονος violent, intense έξιχνέομαι arrive at ἔξοδος (f) leaving, way out ἐξωθέω drive out ἐπασκέω finish, complete; do habitually ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπίδοξος likely; famous ἐπιστολή message, letter ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιτελής accomplished ἐπωνύμιος called, named ἐργαστήριον workshop ἐρῆμος empty ἐύς good, brave, noble ζώννυμι ( $\bar{v}$ ) gird  $\sim$ zone ζωστήρ -ος (m) belt ~zone θάπτω bury ∼epitaph ίδούω establish καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper κατακλείω enclose; shut up καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy καταμένω stay; not change κατύπερθεν above, from above κέγχρος small thing, bit **χόραξ** -χος (m) raven κρόμμυον onion **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin λογίζομαι reckon, consider μεσόγαια inland μηχανάομαι build, contrive  $\sim$ mechanism μνήμη reminder, memorial μουνόφθαλμος one-eyed

νέμω to allot, to pasture  $\sim$ nemesis **νευρή** bowstring ∼neuro νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νοτία rain shower νότιος flowing; south **ξυνός** (ō) common, shared οἴκημα -τος (n, 3) room οἰκήτωρ inhabitant ὄον οὖ type of fruit οὔκω no longer παραθαλάσσιος by the sea πέριξ all around πιέζω press, squeeze ∼piezoelectric πλησιόχωρος adjacent πρῆσις sale προδείχνυμι (ō) show by example; foreshadow πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted προσήκω belong to, it beseems προσωτέρω farther σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite σίτησις (τι) feeding σχεδάννυμι (ō) shed, disperse σκόροδον garlic σπείρω sow ∼diaspora σποδός (f) embers; ashes

στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy στρατόω be on a campaign  $\sim$ strategy συγκυρέω meet or happen by chance συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic συμβολή encounter; contribution συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen  $\sim$ bear συμφεύγω flee with; take refuge συντυγχάνω fall in with; happen τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n) astonishment ὑπεροικέω dwell above or beyond ὑποδεής inferior; fearful φάσμα phantom, apparition φιάλη jar ~vial φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)  $\sim$ heir χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull down

αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστῆρι<sup>1</sup> τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον,<sup>2</sup> τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῦ· ὃς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῦσα αὐτή τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις.

### 4.10

Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἔτερον δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσέην, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν δ', ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν ᾿Αγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τά ἐντεταλμένα. καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τόν τε ᾿Αγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἴους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, οἴχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμεῖναι ἐν τῆ χωρῆ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μοῦνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη. ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

### 4.11

Έστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὧδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτός πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῆ ἀσίη, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετέων, οἴχεσθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν ἀράξην ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων, τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων βουλεύεσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου, καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην ὡς

<sup>1</sup> belt 2 gird

ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἴη μηδὲ πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι. οὔκων δὴ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χωρῆν παραδόντας τοῖσι ἐπιοῦσι τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῆ ἑωυτῶν κεῖσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ, λογισαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνειν. ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφι ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἴσους γενομένους μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῶν θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην καί σφεων ἔτι δῆλος ἐστὶ ὁ τάφος, θάψαντας δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης ποιέεσθαι. Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώρην ἐρήμην.

# 4.12

Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμήια Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χωρῆ οὔνομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῆ νῦν Σινώπη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἴκισται. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἁμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῆ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οὖ ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὖτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς <sup>4</sup> Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἰρηται.

### 4.13

Έφη δὲ ἀριστέης ὁ Καϋστροβίου ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἰσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, Ἰσσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους ὕπερ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτους ὧν πάντας πλὴν Ὑπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> without a fight <sup>4</sup> common, shared

Άριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης Ἰσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκέοντας ἐπὶ τῆ νοτίη θαλάσση ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώρην. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὖτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης Σκύθησι.

# 4.14

Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἢν ᾿Αριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἴπας, εἴρηκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καί Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. ᾿Αριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, ἐόντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήιον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τόν κναφέα κατακληίσαντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον ὁ οἴχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐσκεδασμένου ὁ δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεώς εἴη ὁ ᾿Αριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀπικνέεσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ἤκοντα ἐξ ᾿Αρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τε οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβατέειν, τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήιον παρεῖναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ὡς ἀναιρησομένους ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος οὕτε τεθνεῶτα οὕτε ζῶντα φαίνεσθαι ᾿Αριστέην. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ᾽ Ἑλλήνων ᾿Αριμάσπεα καλέεται, ποιήσαντα δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

# 4.15

Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλιες αὖται λέγουσι, τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοισι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὕρισκον. Μεταποντῖνοι φασὶ αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανέντα σφι ἐς τὴν χώρην κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα πὰρ' αὐτὸν ἱστάναι φάναι γὰρ σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ αὐτὸς οί

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> workshop <sup>6</sup> shed, disperse <sup>7</sup> portrait, statue

ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης τότε δὲ, ὅτε εἴπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντῖνοι λέγουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὁ τι τὸ φάσμα<sup>8</sup> τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριὰς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι<sup>9</sup> ἑστᾶσι τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῷ ἵδρυται. ἀριστέω μέν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

# 4.16

Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς πέρι ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὅρμηται λέγεσθαι, οὐδεὶς οἶδε ἀτρεκέως ὃ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστί· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω<sup>10</sup> εἰδέναι φαμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὖτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῆ, φασ Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἷοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῆ εξικέσθαι, πῶν εἰρήσεται.

### 4.17

Άπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενειτέων ἐμπορίου τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης, ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιππίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες Ἑλληνές Σκύθαι, ὕπερ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οῦ ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὖτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Καλλιππίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταὐτὰ Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμυα ταὶ καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακούς καὶ κέγχρους. ταερ δὲ ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οῦ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι τοπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον ἀλλὶ ἐπὶ πρήσι. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  phantom, apparition  $^9$  laurel  $^{10}$  eyewitness  $^{11}$  onion  $^{12}$  garlic  $^{13}$  small thing, bit  $^{14}$  feeding  $^{15}$  sale

seest able to stretch this bow as I do now, and to be girded with this girdle, him cause to be the settler of this land; but whosoever of them fails in the deeds which I enjoin, send him forth out of the land: and if thou shalt do thus, thou wilt both have delight thyself and perform that which has been enjoined to thee."

#### 4.10

Upon this he drew one of his bows (for up to that time Heracles, they say, was wont to carry two) and showed her the girdle, and then he delivered to her both the bow and the girdle, which had at the end of its clasp a golden cup; and having given them he departed. She then, when her sons had been born and had grown to be men, gave them names first, calling one of them Agathyrsos and the next Gelonos and the youngest Skythes; then bearing in mind the charge given to her, she did that which was enjoined. And two of her sons, Agathyrsos and Gelonos, not having proved themselves able to attain to the task set before them, departed from the land, being cast out by her who bore them; but Skythes the youngest of them performed the task and remained in the land: and from Skythes the son of Heracles were descended, they say, the succeeding kings of the Scythians (Skythians): and they say moreover that it is by reason of the cup that the Scythians still even to this day wear cups attached to their girdles: and this alone his mother contrived for Skythes. Such is the story told by the Hellenes who dwell about the Pontus.

#### 4.11

There is however also another story, which is as follows, and to this I am most inclined myself. It is to the effect that the nomad Scythians dwelling in Asia, being hard pressed in war by the Massagetai, left their abode and crossing the river Araxes came towards the Kimmerian land (for the land which now is occupied by the Scythians is said to have been in former times the land of the Kimmerians); and the Kimmerians, when the Scythians were coming against them, took counsel together, seeing that a great host was coming to fight against them; and it proved that their opinions were divided, both opinions being vehemently maintained, but the better being that of their kings: for the opinion of the people was that it was necessary to depart and that they ought not to run the risk of fighting against so many, but that of the kings was to fight for their land with those who came against them: and as neither the people were willing by means to agree to the counsel of the kings nor the kings to that of the people, the people planned to depart without fighting and to deliver up the land to the invaders, while the kings resolved to die and to be laid in their own land, and not to flee with the mass of the people, considering the many goods of fortune which they had enjoyed,

and the many evils which it might be supposed would come upon them, if they fled from their native land. Having resolved upon this, they parted into two bodies, and making their numbers equal they fought with one another: and when these had all been killed by one another's hands, then the people of the Kimmerians buried them by the bank of the river Tyras (where their burial-place is still to be seen), and having buried them, then they made their way out from the land, and the Scythians when they came upon it found the land deserted of its inhabitants.

#### 4.12

And there are at the present time in the land of Scythia Kimmerian walls, and a Kimmerian ferry; and there is also a region which is called Kimmeria, and the so-called Kimmerian Bosphorus. It is known moreover that the Kimmerians, in their flight to Asia from the Scythians, also made a settlement on that peninsula on which now stands the Hellenic city of Sinope; and it is known too that the Scythians pursued them and invaded the land of Media, having missed their way; for while the Kimmerians kept ever along by the sea in their flight, the Scythians pursued them keeping Caucasus on their right hand, until at last they invaded Media, directing their course inland. This then which has been told is another story, and it is common both to Hellenes and Barbarians.

# 4.13

Aristeas however the son of Caÿ strobios, a man of Proconnesos, said in the verses which he composed, that he came to the land of the Issedonians being possessed by Phoebus, and that beyond the Issedonians dwelt Arimaspians, a one-eyed race, and beyond these the gold-guarding griffins, and beyond them the Hyperboreans extending as far as the sea: and all these except the Hyperboreans, beginning with the Arimaspians, were continually making war on their neighbours, and the Issedonians were gradually driven out of their country by the Arimaspians and the Scythians by the Issedonians, and so the Kimmerians, who dwelt on the Southern Sea, being pressed by the Scythians left their land. Thus neither does he agree in regard to this land with the report of the Scythians.

# 4.14

As to Aristeas who composed this, I have said already whence he was; and I will tell also the tale which I heard about him in Proconnesos and Kyzicos. They say that Aristeas, who was in birth inferior to none of the citizens, entered into a fuller's shop in Proconnesos and there died; and the fuller closed his workshop and went away to report the matter to those who were related to the dead man. And when the news had been spread abroad about

the city that Aristeas was dead, a man of Kyzicos who had come from the town of Artake entered into controversy with those who said so, and declared that he had met him going towards Kyzicos and had spoken with him: and while he was vehement in dispute, those who were related to the dead man came to the fuller's shop with the things proper in order to take up the corpse for burial; and when the house was opened, Aristeas was not found there either dead or alive. In the seventh year after this he appeared at Proconnesos and composed those verses which are now called by the Hellenes the Arimaspeia, and having composed them he disappeared the second time.

#### 4.15

So much is told by these cities; and what follows I know happened to the people of Metapontion in Italy two hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as I found by putting together the evidence at Proconnesos and Metapontion. The people of Metapontion say that Aristeas himself appeared in their land and bade them set up an altar of Apollo and place by its side a statue bearing the name of Aristeas of Proconnesos; for he told them that to their land alone of all the Italiotes Apollo had come, and he, who now was Aristeas, was accompanying him, being then a raven when he accompanied the god. Having said this he disappeared; and the Metapontines say that they sent to Delphi and asked the god what the apparition of the man meant: and the Pythian prophetess bade them obey the command of the apparition, and told them that if they obeyed, it would be the better for them. They therefore accepted this answer and performed the commands; and there stands a statue now bearing the name of Aristeas close by the side of the altar dedicated to Apollo, and round it stand laurel trees; and the altar is set up in the market-place. Let this suffice which has been said about Aristeas.

#### 4.16

Now of the land about which this account has been begun, no one knows precisely what lies beyond it: for I am not able to hear of any one who alleges that he knows as an eye-witness; and even Aristeas, the man of whom I was making mention just now, even he, I say, did not allege, although he was composing verse, that he went further than the Issedonians; but that which is beyond them he spoke of by hearsay, and reported that it was the Issedonians who said these things. So far however as we were able to arrive at certainty by hearsay, carrying inquiries as far as possible, all this shall be told.

## 4.17

Beginning with the trading station of the Borysthenites,— for of the parts along the sea this is the central point of all Scythia,— beginning with this,

the first regions are occupied by the Callipidai, who are Hellenic Scythians; and above these is another race, who are called Alazonians. These last and the Callipidai in all other respects have the same customs as the Scythians, but they both sow corn and use it as food, and also onions, leeks, lentils and millet. Above the Alazonians dwell Scythians who till the ground, and these sow their corn not for food but to sell.

18. Beyond them dwell the Neuroi; and beyond the Neuroi towards the North Wind is a region without inhabitants, as far as we know. These races

vocabulary  $\sim$ apostle ἄβατος untrodden; impassable διεξέρχομαι go through ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, δυσχείμερος ill-wintered ἐκκαθαίρω clear out statue ἄγριος wild, savage  $\sim$ agriculture ἐκχέω pour out ἄμαξα wagon Έλλην Greek ἀμφιλαφής spreading, abundant έμπόριον immigrant, metic, trading ἀνακαίω light (a fire) ∼caustic ἀναμίγνυμι mix ~mix έμπόριος immigrant, metic, trading ἀνδροφάγος man-eating ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἔνδεκα eleven ∼decimal ἄνω (ā) accomplish, pass, waste; ἐνδέχομαι accept, admit, be possible ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic upwards, out to sea ἀπηλιώτης -ου (m, 1) east wind ἐπέτειος of one year ἀποκλίνω ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) bend aside  $\sim$ incline ἐπίλοιπος remaining ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious ἀποροέω flow, fall off ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure duty ἄρειος warlike ἐπιτέλλω order ~apostle ἄτε as if; since ἐρῆμος empty έρμηνεύς -ος (m) interpreter ἀτρεχής precise, certain αὐτόθι on the spot ἐσθής clothes ∼vest ἀφηλιώτης -ου (m, 1) east wind **ἑσπέρα** evening, west ἀφοράω look away, at ∼panorama ἐύς good, brave, noble ἀφόρητος unendurable; irresistible ἐφέτειος of one year βασίλειος kingly ήμερος gentle; (animals) βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind domesticated βροντή thunder ∼brontosaurus  $\tilde{\eta}$ μος when  $(\tilde{\eta}$ μος) ..., then  $(\tau \tilde{\eta}$ μος)  $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \lambda \alpha$  milk  $\sim$ galaxy θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound γενετή birth ~genus  $\sim$ thallium γεωργέω farm, till land θέρος -εος (n, 3) summer  $\sim$ thermos γεωργός farming θήρα hunt  $\sim$ fierce γονεύς -ος (m) parent θυσία sacrifice γρύψ griffin καθεύδω lie down δένδρεον -οῦ tree καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper δένδρον tree κατατάμνω cut up δένδρος tree διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis κατατείνω stretch out διαιρέω divide, distinguish, κατατέμνω cut up distribute καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal διαπράσσω travel over, accomplish to ∼fugitive καταχουσόω (ū) gild  $\sim$ practice κατύπερθεν above, from above διατελέω accomplish; keep doing

**κρέας** -ως (n) meat  $\sim$ creatine κρημνός riverside cliff κουμός (ō) icy cold **κρύσταλλος** ice ∼crystal κύαμος bean λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic λογάω lie in wait for μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μουνόφθαλμος one-eyed μυχός recess, nook νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νομή pasture; distribution ἀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀρύσσω dig οὐδαμός not anyone πάλλω shake, brandish  $\sim$ Pallas παντοῖος all kinds of παχύς thick, stout, clotted  $\sim$ pachyderm παχύτης -τος (f, 3) thickness πεντεκαίδεκα 15 πέπων familiar, 'softie' πέραν ( $\bar{α}$ ) on the other side, across περιοιχέω dwell around πήγνυμι ( $\bar{v}$ ) stick, set, build ∼fang πηλός clay, mud πῖλος felt πλόος - $\tilde{υ}$  course, voyage ∼float προσάγω bring to a place ~demagogue προσδοχάω expect

προσήκω belong to, it beseems προτίθημι prefer, set out  $\sim$ thesis σιμός (ī) snub-nosed σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite σπουδαῖος quick, active; excellent στεγνόω plug, fix leaks συκέα -ῆς (ō) fig tree συχη fig tree συμμίγνυμι mix with  $\sim$ mix συνεχής (ō) continuously συντίθημι hearken, mark ~thesis τάφρος (f) ditch, trench  $\sim$ epitaph τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case **τοξεύω** shoot an arrow at ∼toxic τραχύς (ā) rough ∼trachea τρύξ -γός (f) wine must, lees τυφλός blind τυφλόω blind ὑπερβαίνω pass, transgress ~basis ὑπεροικέω dwell above or beyond υω (v) to rain φαλαχρός bald φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear χωρίζω divide; distinguish, pull down χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir ψιλός ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) naked, bare ~epsilon ψιλόω ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) strip bare  $\sim$ epsilon ψῦχος -εος (n, 3) coolness  $\sim$ psychology ώραῖος ripe; young adult

### 4.18

Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν "Υπανιν ποταμὸν ἐστι ἔθνεα πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἢ Ύλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς "Ελληνές οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ύπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενείτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς 'Ολβιοπολίτας. οὖτοι ὧν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὔνομα κεῖται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἡμερέων ἔνδεκα. <sup>1</sup> ἤδη δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἢ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλὸν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον 'Ανδροφάγοι<sup>2</sup> οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὸν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἤδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

### 4.19

Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμόν, νομάδες ἤδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὕτε τι σπείροντες οὐδέν οὕτε ἀροῦντες ψιλή δέ δενδρέων ἡ πᾶσα αὕτη πλήν τῆς Ὑλαίης. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὕτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν νέμονται χώρην κατατείνουσαν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον.

### 4.20

Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλεύμενα βασιλήια ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὖτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικήν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπί τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὤρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέεται Κρημνοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικὸν. μελαγχλαίνων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατ ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἵδμεν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> eleven <sup>2</sup> man-eating <sup>3</sup> riverside cliff

# 4.21

Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἐστί, οἷ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα όδόν, πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δενδρέων ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες Βουδίνοι, γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέαν ὕλη παντοίη.

# 4.22

Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἔρημος ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἑπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον· ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τούτοισι ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὕνομα κεῖται Ἰύρκαι, καὶ οὖτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζῶντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· λοχậ<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς, τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην· ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστῳ δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖσθαι ταπεινότητος εἴνεκα ἔτοιμος ἐστὶ καὶ κύων· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδῃ τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον.

### 4.23

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρης ἐστὶ ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέα. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέης χώρης πολλὸν οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν ὀρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς ενινόμενοι, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεαι ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοί καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἱέντες, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῆ, ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων. ποντικὸν μὲν οὔνομα τῷ δενδρέφ ἀπ' οὖ ζῶσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκέην μάλιστά

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> gentle; (animals) domesticated <sup>5</sup> lie in wait for <sup>6</sup> birth <sup>7</sup> snub-nosed

κη. καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμφ<sup>8</sup> ἴσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει. τοῦτο ἐπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἰματίοισι, ἀπορρέει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν· οὕνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχυ· τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος<sup>9</sup> αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς<sup>10</sup> παλάθας συντιθεῖσι καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται. πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλά ἐστι. οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι<sup>11</sup> αἱ νομαὶ<sup>12</sup> αὐτόθι εἰσί. ὑπὸ δενδρέφ δὲ ἔκαστος κατοίκηται, τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικαλύψη πίλφ<sup>13</sup> στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἄνευ πίλου. τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικέει ἀνθρώπων· ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι· οὐδέ τι ἀρήιον ὅπλον ἐκτέαται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖσι περιοικέουσι οὖτοι εἰσὶ οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς διαιρέοντες, τοῦτο δὲ δς ἃν φεύγων καταφύγη ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικέεται· οὔνομα δέ σφι ἐστὶ ᾿Αργιππαῖοι.

### 4.24

Μέχρι μέν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείη τῆς χώρης ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε ἐθνέων· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπόν ἐστι πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οἳ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι' ἐπτὰ ἑρμηνέων<sup>14</sup> καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται.

### 4.25

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι. ὅρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα<sup>15</sup> καὶ οὐδείς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὖτοι λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, οἰκέειν τὰ ὅρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οῖ τὴν ἐξάμηνον κατεύδουσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέκομαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἢῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεόμενον, τὸ μέντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὕτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  bean  $^9$  thickness  $^{10}$  wine must, lees  $^{11}$  quick, active; excellent  $^{12}$  pasture; distribution  $^{13}$  felt  $^{14}$  interpreter  $^{15}$  untrodden; impassable

### 4.26

Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνη πατήρ, οἱ προσήκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα, ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαῖτα προτίθενται τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλώσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες καταχρυσοῦσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἄτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελέοντες. παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιέει, κατά περ Ἑλληνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὖτοι λέγονται εἶναι, ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι.

### 4.27

Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὖτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μουνοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας εἶναι· παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαβόντες λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστὶ Ἰριμασπούς· ἄριμα γὰρ εν καλέουσι Σκύθαι, σποῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμόν.

### 4.28

Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρη οὕτω δή τι ἐστί, ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πήγνυται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου 6 οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἐών, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστί. κεχώρισται δὲ οὖτος ὁ χειμὼν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι γινομένοισι χειμῶσι, ἐν τῷ τὴν μὲν ὡραίην οὐκ ὕει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὕων 7 οὐκ ἀνιεῖ βρονταί τε ἡμος τῆ ἄλλη γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα 18 μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σοῦς και δὶς σὰνονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δερεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και τοῦς και δερεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δὲρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και σὰνονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δερεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δὶς σὰνονος και δὶς και διανονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δὶς δὶς δὰνονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δὶς διανονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δὶς δὶς δὶς δὶς δὶς διανονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και δὶς δὶς διανονος δὲνονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και διανονος δὲνονος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες σὰνονος και διανονος δὲνονος δὶς διανονος διανονος δὶς διανονος διανονος διανονος δὶς διανονος δὶς διανονος διανονος δὶς διανονος δὶς διανονος δὶς διανονος διανονος διανονος δὶς διανονος διανονος διανονος διανονος διανονος δὶς διανονος δὶς διανονος δ

<sup>16</sup> ice 17 to rain 18 at that time, in that case

are along the river Hypanis to the West of the Borysthenes; but after crossing the Borysthenes, first from the sea-coast is Hylaia, and beyond this as one goes up the river dwell agricultural Scythians, whom the Hellenes who live upon the river Hypanis call Borysthenites, calling themselves at the same time citizens of Olbia. These agricultural Scythians occupy the region which extends Eastwards for a distance of three days' journey, reaching to a river which is called Panticapes, and Northwards for a distance of eleven days' sail up the Borysthenes. Then immediately beyond these begins the desert and extends for a great distance; and on the other side of the desert dwell the Androphagoi, a race apart by themselves and having no connection with the Scythians. Beyond them begins a region which is really desert and has no race of men in it, as far as we know.

#### 4.19

The region which lies to the East of these agricultural Scythians, after one has crossed the river Panticapes, is occupied by nomad Scythians, who neither sow anything nor plough the earth; and this whole region is bare of trees except Hylaia. These nomads occupy a country which extends to the river Gerros, a distance of fourteen days' journey Eastwards.

#### 4.20

Then on the other side of the Gerros we have those parts which are called the "Royal" lands and those Scythians who are the bravest and most numerous and who esteem the other Scythians their slaves. These reach Southwards to the Tauric land, and Eastwards to the trench which those who were begotten of the blind slaves dug, and to the trading station which is called Cremnoi upon the Maiotian lake; and some parts of their country reach to the river Tanaïs. Beyond the Royal Scythians towards the North Wind dwell the Melanchlainoi, of a different race and not Scythian. The region beyond the Melanchlainoi is marshy and not inhabited by any, so far as we know.

#### 4.21

After one has crossed the river Tanaïs the country is no longer Scythia, but the first of the divisions belongs to the Sauromatai, who beginning at the corner of the Maiotian lake occupy land extending towards the North Wind fifteen days' journey, and wholly bare of trees both cultivated and wild. Above these, holding the next division of land, dwell the Budinoi, who occupy a land wholly overgrown with forest consisting of all kinds of trees.

#### 4.22

Then beyond the Budinoi towards the North, first there is desert for seven days' journey; and after the desert turning aside somewhat more towards

the East Wind we come to land occupied by the Thyssagetai, a numerous people and of separate race from the others. These live by hunting; and bordering upon them there are settled also in these same regions men who are called Irycai, who also live by hunting, which they practise in the following manner:— the hunter climbs up a tree and lies in wait there for his game (now trees are abundant in all this country), and each has a horse at hand, which has been taught to lie down upon its belly in order that it may make itself low, and also a dog: and when he sees the wild animal from the tree, he first shoots his arrow and then mounts upon his horse and pursues it, and the dog seizes hold of it. Above these in a direction towards the East dwell other Scythians, who have revolted from the Royal Scythians and so have come to this region.

#### 4.23

As far as the country of these Scythians the whole land which has been described is level plain and has a deep soil; but after this point it is stony and rugged. Then when one has passed through a great extent of this rugged country, there dwell in the skirts of lofty mountains men who are said to be all bald-headed from their birth, male and female equally, and who have flat noses and large chins and speak a language of their own, using the Scythian manner of dress, and living on the produce of trees. The tree on the fruit of which they live is called the Pontic tree, and it is about the size of a fig-tree: this bears a fruit the size of a bean, containing a stone. When the fruit has ripened, they strain it through cloths and there flows from it a thick black juice, and this juice which flows from it is called as-chy. This they either lick up or drink mixed with milk, and from its lees, that is the solid part, they make cakes and use them for food; for they have not many cattle, since the pastures there are by no means good. Each man has his dwelling under a tree, in winter covering the tree all round with close white felt-cloth, and in summer without it. These are injured by no men, for they are said to be sacred, and they possess no weapon of war. These are they also who decide the disputes rising among their neighbours; and besides this, whatever fugitive takes refuge with them is injured by no one: and they are called Argippaians.

## 4.24

Now as far as these bald-headed men there is abundantly clear information about the land and about the nations on this side of them; for not only do certain of the Scythians go to them, from whom it is not difficult to get information, but also some of the Hellenes who are at the trading-station of the Borysthenes and the other trading-places of the Pontic coast: and those of the Scythians who go to them transact their business through seven interpreters and in seven different languages.

#### 4.25

So far as these, I say, the land is known; but concerning the region to the North of the bald-headed men no one can speak with certainty, for lofty and impassable mountains divide it off, and no one passes over them. However these bald-headed men say (though I do not believe it) that the mountains are inhabited by men with goats' feet; and that after one has passed beyond these, others are found who sleep through six months of the year. This I do not admit at all as true. However, the country to the East of the bald-headed men is known with certainty, being inhabited by the Issedonians, but that which lies beyond both the bald-headed men and the Issedonians towards the North Wind is unknown, except so far as we know it from the accounts given by these nations which have just been mentioned.

### 4.26

The Issedonians are said to have these customs:— when a man's father is dead, all the relations bring cattle to the house, and then having slain them and cut up the flesh, they cut up also the dead body of the father of their entertainer, and mixing all the flesh together they set forth a banquet. His skull however they strip of the flesh and clean it out and then gild it over, and after that they deal with it as a sacred thing and perform for the dead man great sacrifices every year. This each son does for his father, just as the Hellenes keep the day of memorial for the dead. In other respects however this race also is said to live righteously, and their women have equal rights with the men.

#### 4.27

These then also are known; but as to the region beyond them, it is the Issedonians who report that there are there one-eyed men and gold-guarding griffins; and the Scythians report this having received it from them, and from the Scythians we, that is the rest of mankind, have got our belief; and we call them in Scythian language Arimaspians, for the Scythians call the number one arima and the eye spu.

## 4.28

This whole land which has been described is so exceedingly severe in climate, that for eight months of the year there is frost so hard as to be intolerable; and during these if you pour out water you will not be able to make mud, but only if you kindle a fire can you make it; and the sea is frozen and the whole of the Kimmerian Bosphorus, so that the Scythians who are settled within the trench make expeditions and drive their waggons over into the country of the Sindians. Thus it continues to be winter for eight months, and even

for the remaining four it is cold in those parts. This winter is distinguished in its character from all the winters which come in other parts of the world; for in it there is no rain to speak of at the usual season for rain, whereas in summer it rains continually; and thunder does not come at the time when it comes in other countries, but is very frequent, in the summer; and

vocabulary ἀγείρω gather ~agora ἀγχοτάτω nearest άδρός full-grown, fat ἀείδω sing ἀκτή beach; cereal grain ἀναισιμόω spend, use up ἀναπλέω sail up, through ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing  $\sim$ Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἀποδέχομαι accept ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back ἀρήν ἀρνός (m, 3) lamb, sheep; wool ἀριστερός left-hand ἀρνός lamb, sheep; wool ἀσφάλεια safeguard αὐτόθι on the spot ἄφαρ quickly βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind βροντή thunder ∼brontosaurus βωμός altar; stand, pedestal **γάμος** wedding, sex ∼bigamy γαστήρ -έρος (f) belly  $\sim$ gastric γελάω laugh, smile, laugh at διαπορεύω carry over, through διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion δίζημαι seek ~zeal διφάσιος of two kinds εἰκάζω liken; conjecture εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come to mind ∼ion έκαστάτω afar, far off ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐλαία olive, olive tree ∼olive

"Ελλην Greek ἐνδέω tie to, entangle; lack ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἔνθεν thence, whence ένθεῦτεν thence ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart  $\sim$ thesis έξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic ἐξηγέομαι lead forth; set out, describe ~hegemony ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for ~ballistic ἐπισκήπτω lay something on ἐπονομάζω to name ἑσπέρα evening, west ἐύς good, brave, noble ἡμίονος (f) mule ~hemisphere ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent θερμός warm, hot  $\sim$ thermos θέρος -εος (n, 3) summer  $\sim$ thermos θήκη chest, grave θρίξ hair  $\sim$ tresses καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper καλάμη straw, stubble καταγίζω devote, dedicate κατάρα curse κατατείνω stretch out κατύπερθεν above, from above **κείρω** shave, sever, raze; devour, use up κεραός horned ∼ceratopsia κόλος stump-horned κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf χολπόω swell, fold κουμός (ō) icy cold **κτῆνος** -ους (n, 3) herd animal κυΐσκομαι breed, reproduce, make/get pregnant (humans, animals, plants) κυκλοτερής rounded (by wear)  $\sim$ cycle

μαρτυρέω testify, bear witness μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μηρία -ου (n, 2) thigh bones wrapped in fat μόγις with difficulty, barely μουνόφθαλμος one-eyed νησιώτης -ου (m, 1) insular νίφω (ī) it snows νοτία rain shower νότιος flowing; south νότος south, south wind öθι where οἰκήτωρ inhabitant ὀιστός arrow ὄνος (f) donkey ∼onager ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture **παρθένος** (f) girl, virgin ∼Parthenon πέλας near, close πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder πέριξ all around περίοδος picket, circuit περίοιχος dwelling around περιφέρω carry around Πέρσης Persian πλησιόχωρος adjacent πλόχαμος lock of hair πομπός escort, guide ~pomp προπέμπω send, send ahead  $\sim$ pomp

προσδοχάω expect προσίημι be allowed near προσφερής similar; useful  $\pi \rho \acute{o} \sigma \omega$  forward, in the future; far **πτερόν** feather, wing ∼pterodactyl πτερόω give wings πυρά pyre ∼pyre  $\pi υ ρ \acute{o} \varsigma (\bar{\upsilon})$  wheat πυρόω burn something ¿έω flow ~rheostat σεισμός shaking σημα -τος (n, 3) mark, sign, grave mound ∼semaphore σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite σποδός (f) embers; ashes τείνω stretch, tend ∼tense τελέθω turn out, come around  $\sim$ apostle τέρας -ως (n, 3) omen, fetish ὑμνέω recite, commemorate ὕμνος song ∼hymn ὑπεροικέω dwell above or beyond φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear φόρον forum φόρος tribute, revenue φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm χιών χιόνος (f, 3) snow χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir ψῦχος -εος (n, 3) coolness ~psychology ψυχρός (v) cold ~psychology

ην δὲ χειμῶνος βροντη γένηται, ὡς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ην σεισμὸς γένηται ην τε θέρεος ην τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ, τέρας νενόμισται. ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ημίονοι δὲ οὐδὲ ὅνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν τῆ δὲ ἄλλη ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ημίονοι ἀνέχονται.

# 4.29

Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρέει δέ μοι τῆ γνώμη καὶ 'Ομήρου ἔπος ἐν 'Οδυσσείη ἔχον ὧδε, καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ ¹ τελέθουσι,² ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ³ ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρεα, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύειν κέρεα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχὴν ἡ φύοντα φύειν μόγις.

# 4.30

Ένθαῦτα μέν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται ταῦτα. θωμάζω δέ προσθήκας γὰρ δή μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο ὅτι ἐν τῆ Ἡλείῃ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὐ δυνέαται γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὕτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἐόντος οὕτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἡλεῖοι ἐκ κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσι ἡμιόνους, ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίῃ ἡ ὥρη κυΐσκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἔπειτά σφι ἐν τῆ τῶν πέλας ἐπιεῖσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὖ ἃν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρί ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

### 4.31

Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἠέρα, καὶ τούτων εἴνεκα οὐκ οἶοί τε εἶναι οὖτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἠπείρου οὖτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὤσπερ καὶ οἰκός. ἤδη ὧν ὅστις ἀγχόθεν χιόνα άδρὴν πίπτουσαν εἶδε οἶδε τὸ λέγω ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιὼν πτεροῖσι καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> horned <sup>2</sup> turn out, come around <sup>3</sup> warm, hot <sup>4</sup> curse <sup>5</sup> breed, reproduce, make/get pregnant (humans, animals, plants) <sup>6</sup> it snows <sup>7</sup> full-grown, fat

έόντα τοιοῦτον ἀνοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης. τὰ ὧν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μέν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἴρηται.

#### 4.32

Ύπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὕτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὕτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' οὖτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὡς περὶ τῶν μουνοφθάλμων λέγουσι. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Ύπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνοισι, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἐόντι γε "Ομηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

# 4.33

Πολλώ δέ τι πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δήλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱρὰ ένδεδεμένα έν καλάμη πυρών έξ Υπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι ές Σκύθας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους έκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς έσπέρης έκαστάτω ἐπὶ τὸν Άδρίην, ένθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρώτους Δωδωναίους Έλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὔβοιαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρύστου, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν Ἄνδρον Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τῆνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς άπικνέεσθαι μέν νυν οὕτω ταῦτα τὰ ἱρὰ λέγουσι ἐς Δηλον πρώτον δὲ τοὺς Υπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ίρὰ δὺο κόρας, τὰς ὀνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην άμα δὲ αὐτῆσι ἀσφαλείης εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ύπερβορέους τῶν άστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομπούς, 8 τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερέες καλέονται τιμάς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλω ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ὑπερβορέοισι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας αἰεὶ καταλάμψεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὕτω δή φέροντας ές τοὺς οὔρους τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμη τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκήπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ

<sup>8</sup> escort, guide

έωυτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοισι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιεύμενον προσφερές, τὰς Θρηικίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῆ ἀρτέμιδι τῆ βασιλείη, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχούσας τὰ ἱρά.

# 4.34

Καὶ ταῦτα μèν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας τῆσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῆσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσησι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων αἱ μèν πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός, ἐπιπέφυκε δέ οἱ ἐλαίη, ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι καὶ οὖτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα.

# 4.35

Αὖται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὖτοι καὶ τὴν Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἐούσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. ταύτας μέν νυν τῷ Εἰλειθυίῃ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἡργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἄμα αὐτοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ <sup>10</sup> τόν σφι Ὠλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας <sup>11</sup> τε καὶ Ἰωνας ὑμνέειν Ὠπίν τε καὶ Ἡργην ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας οὖτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ, καὶ τῶν μηρίων <sup>12</sup> καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν <sup>13</sup> ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὠπιός τε καὶ Ἄργης ἀναισιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἡ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὅπισθε τοῦ Ἡρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἡῶ τετραμμένη,

<sup>9</sup> lock of hair 10 song 11 insular 12 thigh bones wrapped in fat 13 embers; ashes

άγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηίων ἱστιητορίου.

# 4.36

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω τὸν γὰρ περὶ ᾿Αβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, ὡς τὸν ὀιστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσι ὑπερβόρεοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὁρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νοονεχόντως εξηγησάμενον οῖ Ὠκεανόν τε ρέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα <sup>14</sup> ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίην τῷ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύντων ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοισι γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἑκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οἵη τις ἐστὶ ἐς γραφὴν ἑκάστη.

## 4.37

Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν, Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Μῆδοι, Μήδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχοι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φᾶσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκέει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

## 4.38

Ένθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀκταὶ διφάσιαι<sup>15</sup> ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἐτέρη τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρά τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου<sup>16</sup> ἡ αὐτὴ αὕτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένου τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης. οἰκέει δὲ ἐν τῆ ἀκτῆ ταύτη ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

 $<sup>^{14}\,</sup>$  rounded (by wear)  $^{-15}\,$  of two kinds  $^{-16}\,$  south, south wind

if thunder comes in winter, it is marvelled at as a prodigy: just so, if an earthquake happens, whether in summer or in winter, it is accounted a prodigy in Scythia. Horses are able to endure this winter, but neither mules nor asses can endure it at all, whereas in other countries horses if they stand in frost lose their limbs by mortification, while asses and mules endure it.

#### 4.29

I think also that it is for this reason that the hornless breed of oxen in that country have no horns growing; and there is a verse of Homer in the Odyssey supporting my opinion, which runs this:—

"Also the Libyan land, where the sheep very quickly grow horned,"

For it is rightly said that in hot regions the horns come quickly, whereas in extreme cold the animals either have no horns growing at all, or hardly any.

### 4.30

In that land then this takes place on account of the cold; but (since my history proceeded from the first seeking occasions for digression) I feel wonder that in the whole land of Elis mules cannot be bred, though that region is not cold, nor is there any other evident cause. The Eleians themselves say that in consequence of some curse mules are not begotten in their land; but when the time approaches for the mares to conceive, they drive them out into the neighbouring lands and there in the land of their neighbours they admit to them the he-asses until the mares are pregnant, and then they drive them back.

## 4.31

As to the feathers of which the Scythians say that the air is full, and that by reason of them they are not able either to see or to pass through the further parts of the continent, the opinion which I have is this:— in the parts beyond this land it snows continually, though less in summer than in winter, as might be supposed. Now whomsoever has seen close at hand snow falling thickly, knows what I mean without further explanation, for the snow is like feathers: and on account of this wintry weather, being such as I have said, the Northern parts of this continent are uninhabitable. I think therefore that by the feathers the Scythians and those who dwell near them mean symbolically the snow. This then which has been said goes to the furthest extent of the accounts given.

### 4.32

About a Hyperborean people the Scythians report nothing, nor do any of those

who dwell in this region, unless it be the Issedonians: but in my opinion neither do these report anything; for if they did the Scythians also would report it, as they do about the one-eyed people. Hesiod however has spoken of Hyperboreans, and so also has Homer in the poem of the "Epigonoi," at least if Homer was really the composer of that Epic.

## 4.33

But much more about them is reported by the people of Delos than by any others. For these say that sacred offerings bound up in wheat straw are carried from the land of the Hyperboreans and come to the Scythians, and then from the Scythians the neighbouring nations in succession receive them and convey them Westwards, finally as far as the Adriatic: thence they are sent forward towards the South, and the people of Dodona receive them first of all the Hellenes, and from these they come down to the Malian gulf and are passed over to Euboea, where city sends them on to city till they come to Carystos. After this Andros is left out, for the Carystians are those who bring them to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos. Thus they say that these sacred offerings come to Delos; but at first, they say, the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the sacred offerings, whose names, say the Delians, were Hyperoche and Laodike, and with them for their protection the Hyperboreans sent five men of their nation to attend them, those namely who are now called Perphereës and have great honours paid to them in Delos. Since however the Hyperboreans found that those who were sent away did not return back, they were troubled to think that it would always befall them to send out and not to receive back; and so they bore the offerings to the borders of their land bound up in wheat straw, and laid a charge upon their neighbours, bidding them send these forward from themselves to another nation. These things then, they say, come to Delos being thus sent forward; and I know of my own knowledge that a thing is done which has resemblance to these offerings, namely that the women of Thrace and Paionia, when they sacrifice to Artemis "the Queen," do not make their offerings without wheat straw.

### 4.34

These I know do as I have said; and for those maidens from the Hyperboreans, who died in Delos, both the girls and the boys of the Delians cut off their hair: the former before marriage cut off a lock and having wound it round a spindle lay it upon the tomb (now the tomb is on the left hand as one goes into the temple of Artemis, and over it grows an olive-tree), and all the boys of the Delians wind some of their hair about a green shoot of some tree, and they also place it upon the tomb.

The maidens, I say, have this honour paid them by the dwellers in Delos: and the same people say that Arge and Opis also, being maidens, came to Delos, passing from the Hyperboreans by the same nations which have been mentioned, even before Hyperoche and Laodike. These last, they say, came bearing for Eileithuia the tribute which they had laid upon themselves for the speedy birth, but Arge and Opis came with the divinities themselves, and other honours have been assigned to them by the people of Delos: for the women, they say, collect for them, naming them by their names in the hymn which Olen a man of Lykia composed in their honour; and both the natives of the other islands and the Ionians have learnt from them to sing hymns naming Opis and Arge and collecting:— now this Olen came from Lukia and composed also the other ancient hymns which are sung in Delos:— and moreover they say that when the thighs of the victim are consumed upon the altar, the ashes of them are used to cast upon the grave of Opis and Arge. Now their grave is behind the temple of Artemis, turned towards the East, close to the banqueting hall of the Keïeans.

#### 4.36

Let this suffice which has been said of the Hyperboreans; for the tale of Abaris, who is reported to have been a Hyperborean, I do not tell, namely how he carried the arrow about all over the earth, eating no food. If however there are any Hyperboreans, it follows that there are also Hypernotians; and I laugh when I see that, though many before this have drawn maps of the Earth, yet no one has set the matter forth in an intelligent way; seeing that they draw Ocean flowing round the Earth, which is circular exactly as if drawn with compasses, and they make Asia equal in size to Europe. In a few words I shall declare the size of each division and of what nature it is as regards outline.

### 4.37

The Persians inhabit Asia extending to the Southern Sea, which is called the Erythraian; and above these towards the North Wind dwell the Medes, and above the Medes the Saspeirians, and above the Saspeirians the Colchians, extending to the Northern Sea, into which the river Phasis runs. These four nations inhabit from sea to sea.

## 4.38

From them Westwards two peninsulas stretch out from Asia into the sea, and these I will describe. The first peninsula on the one of its sides, that is the Northern, stretches along beginning from the Phasis and extending to

the sea, going along the Pontus and the Hellespont as far as Sigeion in the land of Troy; and on the Southern side the same peninsula stretches from the Myriandrian gulf, which lies near Phenicia, in the direction of the sea as far as the headland Triopion; and in this peninsula dwell thirty races of men.

vocabulary ἄγαμαι wonder, admire; resent, begrudge ἀδελφεή sister  $\dot{\alpha}\theta$ λον  $\dot{\alpha}$ έθλου prize  $\sim$ athlete ἄθλος ἀέθλου contest, trial ∼athlete ἀκρωτήριον cape, extremity ἀκτή beach; cereal grain ἀμαθής ignorant ἄμητος (ā) harvest ἀνασχολοπίζω impale ἀνατέλλω cause to grow ~apostle ἀνατολή a rising in the sky  $\sim$ apostle ἀνευρίσκω discover ἀνθρωπήιος human ἀνώνυμος nameless ~name ἀποδιδράσκω escape ἀποπέμπω send away  $\sim$ pomp ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off course ∼atrophy ἀποφεύγω avoid, escape, go free ἀράσσω smash ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  $\sim$ oligarch αὐτόχθων native βιάω use force against, overcome βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind βρωτός food, meat δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute διαχοέομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal διεξέρχομαι go through διέχω pass through; be apart διουρίζω delimit; determine διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal **εἰσάγω** lead in ∼demagogue εἴσειμι go in; come in range; come to mind ∼ion έχάστοτε each time

ἐκδέκομαι receive; succeed to a position ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκπλέω sail away ~float ἑκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily Έλλην Greek ἔνθεν thence, whence ἐνίσχω hold inside ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart  $\sim$ thesis ἐντός within έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἐπιλήθω mp: forget ~Lethe ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιτιμάω honor, blame ἐπωνύμιος called, named ἐρημία wilderness, solitude έρημος empty ἐσθής clothes ∼vest ἑσπέρα evening, west εὐνοῦχος eunuch εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the east wind ἐύς good, brave, noble ζημία loss, penalty ~zeal θάλλω bloom, flourish, abound  $\sim$ thallium θερίζω reap, harvest κάμπτω bend, bend in exhaustion κάρτα very much ~κράτος Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian κατάγω lead down/home; land ~demagogue καταδείκνυμι (ō) discover, make καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy

καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  $\sim$ catastrophe κατύπερθεν above, from above κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf κροκόδειλος lizard, crocodile **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin λήγω cease, (+gen+ppl) cause to cease  $\sim$ lax λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μεταλαμβάνω share in; swap μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μυριάς -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad ναύτης -ου (m, 1) sailor ~navy νοτία rain shower νότιος flowing; south ὄον οὖ type of fruit δπόθεν whence ὄργυια fathom, arm's length ∼reach ὀργυιά fathom, arm's length ὀρύσσω dig οὐδαμός not anyone οὐρίζω divide; ordain, define οὔρισμα border παντελής complete, absolute παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for; παράκειμαι be at hand, ready παραπλέω sail past ~float παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;  $(+\eta')$  or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside παρήκω lie along; of time: to be  $\pi$ αρθένος (f) girl, virgin  $\sim$ Parthenon πελάζω bring/come to, near, into contact with

περάω cross over, drive across; sell as a slave  $\sim$ pierce περιπλέω sail around ∼float περιπλώω sail around περίρουτος sea-girt  $\sim$ rheostat Πέρσης Persian πλατύς extensive, wide **πλόος** - $\tilde{v}$  course, voyage ∼float προβαίνω surpass, continue ~basis προβάλλω throw before; propose; (mp) pretend, abandon, nominate ~ballistic πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted  $\pi \rho \acute{o} \sigma \omega$  forward, in the future; far ὁέω flow ~rheostat  $\dot{\rho}$ οά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat δόος δοῦ stream, flow, current  $\sim$ rheostat σκύλαξ -κος (f) puppy σοφία skill; wisdom ∼sophistry σοφός skilled, clever, wise σπείρω sow ~diaspora στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στήλη post, column συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon συγχωρέω accede, concede συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic τριφάσιος triple φοινιχήιος of palm trees φυλή (ō) tribe, military unit φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics χίλιοι ( $\bar{\iota}\iota$ ) thousand  $\sim$ kiloχωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)  $\sim$ heir χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

Αὔτη μέν νυν ἡ ἐτέρη τῶν ἀκτέων, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἥ τε Περσικὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίης ἡ Ἀραβίη· λήγει δὲ αὕτη, οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. μέχρι μέν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χῶρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλός ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη παρά τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾳ· ἐν τῷ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μοῦνα.

### 4.40

Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς ᾿Ασίης ἔχοντα ἐστί τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περσέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σασπείρων καὶ Κόλχων, τὰ πρὸς ἤῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρήκει θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ ᾿Αράξης ποταμός, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται ᾿Ασίη τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, οὐδὲ ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἷον δή τι ἐστί.

## 4.41

Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ ἀστί, ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἐστί· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου Λιβύη ἤδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μέν νυν Αἴγυπτον ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στεινή ἐστι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυιέων, αὖται δ' ἃν εἶεν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεινοῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐοῦσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἥτις Λιβύη κέκληται.

### 4.42

Θωμάζω ὧν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστί· μήκεϊ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὕρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἀξίη φαίνεταί μοι εἶναι. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ έωυτὴν

ἐοῦσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ἸΑσίην οὐρίζει, Νεκῶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέος πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καταδέξαντος · ὃς ἐπείτε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν ἸΑράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεμψε Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ἀπίσω δι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐκπλέειν εως ἐς τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. ὁρμηθέντες ὧν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἔπλεον τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον προσσχόντες ἂν σπείρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε¹ τῆς Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοίατο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμητον ² θερίσαντες δ' ἂν τὸν σῖτον ἔπλεον, ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθόντων τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ κάμψαντες Πρακλέας στήλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἴγυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἄλλῳ δὲ δή τεῳ, ὡς περιπλώοντες τὴν Λιβύην τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.

## 4.43

Οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσὶ οί λέγοντες ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεάσπιος ἀνὴρ ἀχαιμενίδης οὐ περιέπλωσε Λιβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείς, ἀλλὰ δείσας τό τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην $^4$  ἀπῆλθε ὀπίσω, οὐδ' ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξε οἱ ἡ μήτηρ ἄεθλον. θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου έβιήσατο παρθένον ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Χέρξεω βασιλέος, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐοῦσα Δαρείου ἀδελφεὴ παραιτήσατο, φᾶσά οἱ αὐτὴ μέζω ζημίην ἐπιθήσειν ἤ περ ἐκεῖνον. Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ές δ αν απίκηται περιπλέων αὐτὴν ές τὸν Ἀράβιον συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Χέρξεω ἐπὶ τούτοισι, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαβών νέα τε καὶ ναύτας παρὰ τούτων ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπλώσας δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον $^5$  τῆς Λιβύης τῶ οὔνομα Σολόεις ἐστί, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην περήσας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μησί, ἐπείτε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἐκ δὲ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> each time <sup>2</sup> harvest <sup>3</sup> bend, bend in exhaustion <sup>4</sup> wilderness, solitude <sup>5</sup> cape, extremity

ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Χέρξεα ἔλεγε φὰς τὰ προσωτάτω ἀνθρώπους μικροὺς παραπλέειν ἐσθῆτι φοινικηίη διαχρεωμένους, οῦ ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοίατο τῆ νηὶ φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ ὅρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικέειν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μοῦνα ἐξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλώσαι Λιβύην παντελέως αἴτιον τόδε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατὸν ἔτι εἶναι προβαίνειν ἀλλ ἐνίσχεσθαι. Χέρξης δὲ οὕ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος άπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπείτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότεα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα ἑκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.

## 4.44

Τῆς δὲ ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, ὃς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ὃς κροκοδείλους 10 δεύτερος οὖτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῆ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα 11 ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. οῖ δὲ ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυικῆς γῆς ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλώειν Λιβύην. μετὰ δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας Ἰνδούς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρεῖος καὶ τῆ θαλάσση ταύτη ἐχρᾶτο. οὕτω καὶ τῆς ἀσίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὃμοια παρεχομένη τῆ Λιβύη.

## 4.45

Ή δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερή ἐστι γινωσκομένη, οὕτε τὰ πρὸς ηκον ἀνατέλλοντα οὕτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην, εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστί· μήκεϊ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> of palm trees <sup>7</sup> food, meat <sup>8</sup> complete, absolute <sup>9</sup> eunuch <sup>10</sup> lizard, crocodile <sup>11</sup> puppy

δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκουσα, οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι έπ' ὅτευ μιῆ ἐούσῃ γῆ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικών, καὶ οὐρίσματα<sup>12</sup> αὐτῆ Νειλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς έτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος οἱ δὲ Τάναιν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην καὶ πορθμήια τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι, οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἤδη γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὔνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος, ή δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Άσίεω τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκλησθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίης. ἀπ' ὅτευ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκλῆσθαι Άσιάδα. ή δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἶ περίρρυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτε ὁκόθεν 13 τὸ οὕνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο, οὕτε όστις οἱ ἢν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίης φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὔνομα τὴν χώρην πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος ώσπερ αὶ ἔτεραι. ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς ᾿Ασίης τε φαίνεται ἐοῦσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἥτις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλέεται, άλλ' όσον έκ Φοινίκης ές Κρήτην, έκ Κρήτης δὲ ές Λυκίην. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

## 4.46

Ό δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὔξεινος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρεῖος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. <sup>14</sup> οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίης πέρι οὔτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἴδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεος καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῶ γένει εν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων <sup>15</sup> πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἷον τε εἶναι. τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ἡ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἐόντες πάντες

border 13 whence 14 ignorant 15 human

This then is one of the peninsulas, and the other beginning from the land of the Persians stretches along to the Erythraian Sea, including Persia and next after it Assyria, and Arabia after Assyria: and this ends, or rather is commonly supposed to end, at the Arabian gulf, into which Dareios conducted a channel from the Nile. Now in the line stretching to Phenicia from the land of the Persians the land is broad and the space abundant, but after Phenicia this peninsula goes by the shore of our Sea along Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, where it ends; and in it there are three nations only.

#### 4.40

These are the parts of Asia which tend towards the West from the Persian land; but as to those which lie beyond the Persians and Medes and Saspeirians and Colchians towards the East and the sunrising, on one side the Erythraian Sea runs along by them, and on the North both the Caspian Sea and the river Araxes, which flows towards the rising sun: and Asia is inhabited as far as the Indian land; but from this onwards towards the East it becomes desert, nor can any one say what manner of land it is.

#### 4.41

Such and so large is Asia: and Libya is included in the second peninsula; for after Egypt Libya succeeds at once. Now about Egypt this peninsula is narrow, for from our Sea to the Erythraian Sea is a distance there of ten myriads of fathoms, which would amount to a thousand furlongs; but after this narrow part, the portion of the peninsula which is called Libya is, as it chances, extremely broad.

#### 4.42

I wonder then at those who have parted off and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe, since the difference between these is not small; for in length Europe extends along by both, while in breadth it is clear to me that it is beyond comparison larger; for Libya furnishes proofs about itself that it is surrounded by sea, except so much of it as borders upon Asia; and this fact was shown by Necos king of the Egyptians first of all those about whom we have knowledge. He when he had ceased digging the channel which goes through from the Nile to the Arabian gulf, sent Phenicians with ships, bidding them sail and come back through the Pillars of Heracles to the Northern Sea and so to Egypt. The Phenicians therefore set forth from the Erythraian Sea and sailed through the Southern Sea; and when autumn came, they would put to shore and sow the land, wherever in Libya they might happen to be as they sailed, and then they waited for the harvest: and having reaped the

corn they would sail on, so that after two years had elapsed, in the third year they turned through the Pillars of Heracles and arrived again in Egypt. And they reported a thing which I cannot believe, but another man may, namely that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right hand.

### 4.43

Thus was this country first known to be what it is, and after this it is the Carthaginians who make report of it; for as to Sataspes the son of Teaspis the Achaimenid, he did not sail round Libya, though he was sent for this very purpose, but was struck with fear by the length of the voyage and the desolate nature of the land, and so returned back and did not accomplish the task which his mother laid upon him. For this man had outraged a daughter of Zopyros the son of Megabyzos, a virgin; and then when he was about to be impaled by order of king Xerxes for this offence, the mother of Sataspes, who was a sister of Dareios, entreated for his life, saying that she would herself lay upon him a greater penalty than Xerxes; for he should be compelled (she said) to sail round Libya, until in sailing round it he came to the Arabian gulf. So then Xerxes having agreed upon these terms, Sataspes went to Egypt, and obtaining a ship and sailors from the Egyptians, he sailed to the Pillars of Heracles; and having sailed through them and turned the point of Libya which is called the promontory of Soloeis, he sailed on towards the South. Then after he had passed over much sea in many months, as there was needed ever more and more voyaging, he turned about and sailed back again to Egypt: and having come from thence into the presence of king Xerxes, he reported saying that at the furthest point which he reached he was sailing by dwarfish people, who used clothing made from the palm-tree, and who, whenever they came to land with their ship, left their towns and fled away to the mountains: and they, he said, did no injury when they entered into the towns, but took food from them only. And the cause, he said, why he had not completely sailed round Libya was that the ship could not advance any further but stuck fast. Xerxes however did not believe that he was speaking the truth, and since he had not performed the appointed task, he impaled him, inflicting upon him the penalty pronounced before. A eunuch belonging to this Sataspes ran away to Samos as soon as he heard that his master was dead, carrying with him large sums of money; and of this a man of Samos took possession, whose name I know, but I purposely pass it over without mention.

### 4.44

Of Asia the greater part was explored by Dareios, who desiring to know of the river Indus, which is a second river producing crocodiles of all the rivers in the world,— to know, I say, of this river where it runs out into the sea, sent with ships, besides others whom he trusted to speak the truth, Skylax also, a man of Caryanda. These starting from the city of Caspatyros and the land of Pactyïke, sailed down the river towards the East and the sunrising to the sea; and then sailing over the sea Westwards they came in the thirtieth month to that place from whence the king of the Egyptians had sent out the Phenicians of whom I spoke before, to sail round Libya. After these had made their voyage round the coast, Dareios both subdued the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus Asia also, excepting the parts of it which are towards the rising sun, has been found to be similar to Libya.

#### 4.45

As to Europe, however, it is clearly not known by any, either as regards the parts which are towards the rising sun or those towards the North, whether it be surrounded by sea: but in length it is known to stretch along by both the other divisions. And I am not able to understand for what reason it is that to the Earth, which is one, three different names are given derived from women, and why there were set as boundaries to divide it the river Nile of Egypt and the Phasis in Colchis (or as some say the Maiotian river Tanaïs and the Kimmerian ferry); nor can I learn who those persons were who made the boundaries, or for what reason they gave the names. Libya indeed is said by most of the Hellenes to have its name from Libya a woman of that country, and Asia from the wife of Prometheus: but this last name is claimed by the Lydians, who say that Asia has been called after Asias the son of Cotys the son of Manes, and not from Asia the wife of Prometheus; and from him too they say the Asian tribe in Sardis has its name. As to Europe however, it is neither known by any man whether it is surrounded by sea, nor does it appear whence it got this name or who he was who gave it, unless we shall say that the land received its name from Europa the Tyrian; and if so, it would appear that before this it was nameless like the rest. She however evidently belongs to Asia and did not come to this land which is now called by the Hellenes Europe, but only from Phenicia to Crete, and from Crete to Lykia. Let this suffice now which has been said about these matters; for we will adopt those which are commonly accepted of the accounts.

## 4.46

Now the region of the Euxine upon which Dareios was preparing to march has, apart from the Scythian race, the most ignorant nations within it of all lands: for we can neither put forward any nation of those who dwell within the region of Pontus as eminent in ability, nor do we know of any man of learning having arisen there, apart from the Scythian nation and Anacharsis. By the Scythian race one thing which is the most important of all human things has been found out more cleverly than by any other men of whom we

know; but in other respects I have no great admiration for them: and that most important thing which they have discovered is such that none can escape again who has come to attack them, and if they do not desire to be found, it is not possible to catch them: for they who have neither cities founded nor walls built, but all

vocabulary ἄγριος wild, savage  $\sim$ agriculture ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina ἄχρα at the edge, extreme  $\sim$ acute ἄκρη at the edge, extreme ἄκρις -ός (f) hilltop  $\sim$ acute ἀλαζών -όνος (m, 3) charlatan, boaster ἄμαχος unconquerable; noncombatant ἀμφιλαφής spreading, abundant ἀνακοινόω communicate, impart ἀνατέλλω cause to grow ~apostle ἀντιτίθημι oppose, balance ἄπεργος idle; obsolete ἄπλετος boundless, immense, abundant ἄπορος impassable, difficult ἀποστρέφω turn back, turn off course ∼atrophy ἀποσχίζω sever ἀριθμός number ἀροτήρ -ος (m) plowman  $\sim$ arable ἄροτος plowed field  $\sim$ arable αὐθιγενής native-born αὐτόματος self-willed, accidental  $\sim$ after βαθύς high, deep  $\sim$ bathysphere βασίλειος kingly βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind γεωργέω farm, till land γεωργός farming γλυχύς sweet, pleasant ~glycerine  $\gamma$ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language  $\sim$ glossary διαχριδόν without doubt ~critic διῶρυξ -χος (f) ditch, canal

δρόμος running, racing ground

εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic

εἰσδίδωμι flow in, hand in

~hippodrome

δυσμή sunset

ἕβδομος seventh

**ἐκδίδωμι** hand over ~donate ἕκτος sixth ∼hexagon Έλλην Greek **ἕλος** ἕλεος (n, 3) marsh ἔμβολος insertable peg; ram; wedge formation; porch ένιδούω establish έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka έρῆμος empty ἐρημόω raze, bereave; desert, isolate έσπέρα evening, west ἔσχατος farthest, last εὐρύνω broaden ἐύς good, brave, noble εὔυδρος well watered ἐφέλκω drag; (mid) influence ζεῦγος -ους (n, 3) team of animals  $\sim$ zygote ήδύς sweet, pleasant ~hedonism θέρος -εος (n, 3) summer  $\sim$ thermos θέρω warm up  $\sim$ thermos καθαρός clean, pure καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion κατύπερθεν above, from above **μῆτος** -εος (n, 3) whale  $\sim$ cetacean **χιρνάω** mix ∼crater χορυφή peak, crown **χοουφόω** break (of a wave), come to a head **κραίνω** accomplish; (rare) rule κρήνη well, spring **κτῆνος** -ους (n, 3) herd animal κῶας κώως (n, 3) fleece λάβρος blustering, torrential λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic μέγαθος tall, big (person) μεταξύ between μίν him, her, it νέμω to allot, to pasture  $\sim$ nemesis νιφετός snow

νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νομή pasture; distribution οἴχημα -τος (n, 3) room ὄμβρος storm ὀνομαίνω to name ∼name ονομαστός named ∼name ὄον οὖ type of fruit **ὄρος** boundary marker ∼horizon οὐρίζω divide; ordain, define οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance: limit οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill οὕτις nobody, nothing πάμπαν completely πάντοθεν from all directions παραμείβω pass by ~amoeba πέμπτος fifth ~pentagon πεντάστομος with five mouths πέραν ( $\bar{α}$ ) on the other side, across πέριξ all around πηγή headwaters, fountain πήγνυμι ( $\bar{v}$ ) stick, set, build  $\sim$ fang πηγός stout, mighty πικρός sharp, bitter  $\sim$ picric πλάγιος sideways; treacherous πλόος -ῦ course, voyage ∼float πολλαπλήσιος many times more

προσμίγνυμι reach out to, approach προσμίσγω reach out to, approach πυρετός fever  $\sim$ pyre ὁέω flow ~rheostat  $\dot{\rho}$ οά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat δόος δοῦ stream, flow, current  $\sim$ rheostat σπείρω sow ~diaspora σπόρος sowing, seed συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix σφέτερος their σχίζω split ∼schism ταρίχευσις (τι) embalming; pickling τέρμα -τος (n, 3) mark, turn-around point τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid τήχω melt τοιόσδε such υω (v) to rain φύσις -εως (f) nature (of a thing)  $\sim$ physics χειμών -ος (m, 3) winter, storm χιών χιόνος (f, 3) snow χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

ἔωσι ἱπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματα τε σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων,  $^1$  κῶς οὐκ ἃν εἴησαν οὖτοι ἄμαχοί $^2$  τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;

## 4.47

Έξεύρηται δέ σφι ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης ἐπιτηδέης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐόντων σφι συμμάχων. ἥ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς αὕτη ποιώδης τε καὶ εὕυδρος³ ἐστί, ποταμοί τε δι' αὐτῆς ῥέουσι οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῷ διωρύχων. ὅσοι δὲ ὀνομαστοί⁴ τε εἰσὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους ὀνομανέω.... Τστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ Ὑπανις καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ Ὑπάκυρις καὶ Γέρρος καὶ Τάναϊς. ῥέουσι δὲ οἵδε κατὰ τάδε.

# 4.48

Ίστρος μέν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἑωντῷ ῥέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ ῥέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων εἰσὶ δὴ οἴδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες, διὰ μέν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες, τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ἑλλήνες δὲ Πυρετόν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἄραρος τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὀρδησσός. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἡῶ ῥέων ἀνακοινοῦται τῷ Ἱστρῳ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἄραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ὁ Ὀρδησσὸς καὶ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἱστρον.

## 4.49

Οὖτοι μὲν αὐθιγενέες<sup>8</sup> Σκυθικοὶ ποταμοὶ συμπληθύουσι αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἱστρῳ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἵμου τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες πρὸς βορέην

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> team of animals <sup>2</sup> unconquerable; noncombatant <sup>3</sup> well watered <sup>4</sup> named <sup>5</sup> to name <sup>6</sup> with five mouths <sup>7</sup> fever <sup>8</sup> native-born

άνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἄτλας καὶ Αὔρας καὶ Τίβισις. διὰ δὲ Θρηίκης καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες Ἡθρυς καὶ Νόης καὶ ᾿Αρτάνης ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὸν Ἡστρον ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ ὄρεος Ῥοδόπης Κίος ποταμὸς μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἷμον ἐκδιδοῦ ἐς αὐτόν. ἐξ Ἡλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Ἡγγρος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἡστρον οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους ἐόντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἡστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης ὑμβρικῶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἡλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον καὶ οὖτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς αὐτόν ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἡστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οῖ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῆς Εὐρώπη ἡέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.

## 4.50

Τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ γίνεται ὁ Ἱστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε εν πρὸς εν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νείλος πλήθει ἀποκρατέει. ἴσος δὲ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς πλῆθός οἱ συμβάλλεται. ἴσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἐν τε θέρει καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ Ἱστρος κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐστὶ ὅσος περ ἐστι, ὀλίγῳ τε μέζων τῆς ἑωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται ὕεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ὀλίγῳ, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρᾶται τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ χιὼν ἡ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐοῦσα ἀμφιλαφής, τηκομένη πάντοθεν τὸ ἐσδιδοῦ ἐς τὸν Ἱστρον. αὕτη τε δὴ ἡ χιὼν ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὸν συμπληθύει καὶ ὅμβροι πολλοί τε καὶ λάβροι το ἀντῆ ενειμῶνος τὰ τῷ χειμῶνι, τοσούτῳ τὰ συμμισγόμενα τῷ Ἱστρῳ πολλαπλήσια τοῦ ἐς τὸν τοῦ θέρεος ἡ περ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ὥστε ἴσον μιν αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐόντα.

<sup>9</sup> snow 10 melt 11 from all directions 12 blustering, torrential 13 many times more

Εἶς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ὁ Ἰστρος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τύρης, ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω μεγάλης ἣ οὐρίζει τήν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ Νευρίδα γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοίκηνται Ἔλληνες οῦ Τυρίται καλέονται.

## 4.52

Τρίτος δὲ "Υπανις ποταμὸς ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν πέριξ νέμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί καλέεται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ Ύπάνιος. ἐκ ταύτης ὧν ἀνατέλλων ὁ "Υπανις ποταμὸς ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόον πικρὸς δεινῶς ἐκδιδοῦ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρή, οὕτω δή τι ἐοῦσα πικρή, ἡ μεγάθει σμικρὴ ἐοῦσα κιρνᾶ τὸν "Υπανιν ἐόντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὕροισι χώρης τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ ἀλαζόνων οὕνομα δὲ τῆ κρήνη καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἐξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἱραὶ όδοί. συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα<sup>14</sup> ὅ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ "Υπανις κατὰ ἀλαζόνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποστρέψας ἑκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων<sup>15</sup> τὸ μέσον.

## 4.53

Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός, ὃς ἐστί τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ἱστρον τούτων καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὔτι μοῦνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τούτῳ γὰρ οὖκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον ποταμόν τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαι τε ἥδιστος ἐστί, ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, σπόρος τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται, ποίη τε, τῆ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρη, βαθυτάτη ἄλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι

mark, turn-around point 15 broaden 16 sowing, seed

αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πήγνυνται ἄπλετοι κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν, <sup>17</sup> ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θωμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι μέν νυν Γερρέων χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστί, γινώσκεται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δι ἀν ῥέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι φαίνεται δὲ ῥέων δι ἐρήμου ἐς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώρην οὖτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόον νέμονται. μούνου δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς, δοκέω δέ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἑλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ Ύπανις ἐς τῶντὸ ἔλος <sup>18</sup> ἐκδιδούς. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἐὸν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρης, Ἱππόλεω ἄκρη καλέεται, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ, ἱρὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ύπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοίκηνται.

# 4.54

Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὕνομα Παντικάπης, ῥέει μὲν καὶ οὕτος ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδιδοῦ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑβλαίην, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθένεϊ συμμίσγεται.

## 4.55

Έκτος δὲ Ὑπάκυρις ποταμός, ὃς ὁρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ Καρκινῖτιν πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τήν τε Ὑλαίην καὶ τὸν Ἁχιλλήιον δρόμον καλεόμενον.

## 4.56

Έβδομος δὲ Γέρρος ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρης ἐς ὁ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης ἀπέσχισται μέν νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὔνομα δὲ ἔχει τό περ ὁ χῶρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, ῥέων δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν οὐρίζει τήν τε τῶν νομάδων χώρην καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὑπάκυριν.

embalming; pickling 18 marsh

carry their houses with them and are mounted archers, living not by the plough but by cattle, and whose dwellings are upon cars, these assuredly are invincible and impossible to approach.

## 4.47

This they have found out, seeing that their land is suitable to it and at the same time the rivers are their allies: for first this land is plain land and is grassy and well watered, and then there are rivers flowing through it not much less in number than the channels in Egypt. Of these as many as are noteworthy and also can be navigated from the sea, I will name: there is Ister with five mouths, and after this Tyras, Hypanis, Borysthenes, Panticapes, Kypakyris, Gerros and Tanaïs. These flow as I shall now describe.

### 4.48

The Ister, which is the greatest of all the rivers which we know, flows always with equal volume in summer and winter alike. It is the first towards the West of all the Scythian rivers, and it has become the greatest of all rivers because other rivers flow into it. And these are they which make it great: 46— five in number are those which flow through the Scythian land, namely that which the Scythians call Porata and the Hellenes Pyretos, and besides this, Tiarantos and Araros and Naparis and Ordessos. The first-mentioned of these is a great river lying towards the East, and there it joins waters with the Ister, the second Tiarantos is more to the West and smaller, and the Araros and Naparis and Ordessos flow into the Ister going between these two.

### 4.49

These are the native Scythian rivers which join to swell its stream, while from the Agathyrsians flows the Maris and joins the Ister, and from the summits of Haimos flow three other great rivers towards the North Wind and fall into it, namely Atlas and Auras and Tibisis. Through Thrace and the Thracian Crobyzians flow the rivers Athrys and Noes and Artanes, running into the Ister; and from the Paionians and Mount Rhodope the river Kios, cutting through Haimos in the midst, runs into it also. From the Illyrians the river Angros flows Northwards and runs out into the Triballian plain and into the river Brongos, and the Brongos flows into the Ister; thus the Ister receives both these, being great rivers. From the region which is above the Ombricans, the river Carpis and another river, the Alpis, flow also towards the North Wind and run into it; for the Ister flows in fact through the whole of Europe, beginning in the land of the Keltoi, who after the Kynesians dwell furthest towards the sun-setting of all the peoples of Europe; and thus flowing through all Europe it falls into the sea by the side of Scythia.

So then it is because these which have been named and many others join their waters together, that Ister becomes the greatest of rivers; since if we compare the single streams, the Nile is superior in volume of water; for into this no river or spring flows, to contribute to its volume. And the Ister flows at an equal level always both in summer and in winter for some such cause as this, as I suppose:— in winter it is of the natural size, or becomes only a little larger than its nature, seeing that this land receives very little rain in winter, but constantly has snow; whereas in summer the snow which fell in the winter, in quantity abundant, melts and runs from all parts into the Ister. This snow of which I speak, running into the river helps to swell its volume, and with it also many and violent showers of rain, for it rains during the summer: and thus the waters which mingle with the Ister are more copious in summer than they are in winter by about as much as the water which the Sun draws to himself in summer exceeds that which he draws in winter; and by the setting of these things against one another there is produced a balance; so that the river is seen to be of equal volume always.

## 4.51

One, I say, of the rivers which the Scythians have is the Ister; and after it the Tyras, which starts from the North and begins its course from a large lake which is the boundary between the land of the Scythians and that of the Neuroi. At its mouth are settled those Hellenes who are called Tyritai.

#### 4.52

The third river is the Hypanis, which starts from Scythia and flows from a great lake round which feed white wild horses; and this lake is rightly called "Mother of Hypanis." From this then the river Hypanis takes its rise and for a distance of five days' sail it flows shallow and with sweet water still; but from this point on towards the sea for four days' sail it is very bitter, for there flows into it the water of a bitter spring, which is so exceedingly bitter that, small as it is, it changes the water of the Hypanis by mingling with it, though that is a river to which few are equal in greatness. This spring is on the border between the lands of the agricultural Scythians and of the Alazonians, and the name of the spring and of the place from which it flows is in Scythian Exampaios, and in the Hellenic tongue Hierai Hodoi. Now the Tyras and the Hypanis approach one another in their windings in the land of the Alazonians, but after this each turns off and widens the space between them as they flow.

Fourth is the river Borysthenes, which is both the largest of these after the Ister, and also in our opinion the most serviceable not only of the Scythian rivers but also of all the rivers of the world besides, excepting only the Nile of Egypt, for to this it is not possible to compare any other river: of the rest however the Borysthenes is the most serviceable, seeing that it provides both pastures which are the fairest and the richest for cattle, and fish which are better by far and more numerous than those of any other river, and also it is the sweetest water to drink, and flows with clear stream, though others beside it are turbid, and along its banks crops are produced better than elsewhere, while in parts where it is not sown, grass grows deeper. Moreover at its mouth salt forms of itself in abundance, and it produces also huge fish without spines, which they call antacaioi, to be used for salting, and many other things also worthy of wonder. Now as far as the region of the Gerrians, to which it is a voyage of forty days, the Borysthenes is known as flowing from the North Wind; but above this none can tell through what nations it flows: it is certain however that it runs through desert to the land of the agricultural Scythians; for these Scythians dwell along its banks for a distance of ten days' sail. Of this river alone and of the Nile I cannot tell where the sources are, nor, I think, can any of the Hellenes. When the Borysthenes comes near the sea in its course, the Hypanis mingles with it, running out into the same marsh; and the space between these two rivers, which is as it were a beak of land, is called the point of Hippoles, and in it is placed a temple of the Mother, and opposite the temple upon the river Hypanis are settled the Borysthenites.

### 4.54

This is that which has to do with these rivers; and after these there is a fifth river besides, called Panticapes. This also flows both from the North and from a lake, and in the space between this river and the Borysthenes dwell the agricultural Scythians: it runs out into the region of Hylaia, and having passed by this it mingles with the Borysthenes.

#### 4.55

Sixth comes the river Hypakyris, which starts from a lake, and flowing through the midst of the nomad Scythians runs out into the sea by the city of Carkinitis, skirting on its right bank the region of Hylaia and the so-called racecourse of Achilles.

#### 4.56

Seventh is the Gerros, which parts off from the Borysthenes near about that part of the country where the Borysthenes ceases to be known,— it parts off, I

say, in this region and has the same name which this region itself has, namely Gerros; and as it flows to the sea it borders the country of the nomad and that of the Royal Scythians, and runs out into the Hypakyris.

vocabulary ~dermatology ἀγάλλω exalt; mp: exult in δέψω knead ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, διαχέομαι repair διατείνω extend; (mp) try hard statue ἄγγος -εος (n, 3) container διάφορος different; difference; άκινάκης -ου (m, 1) Persian short disagreeing; balance, bill sword εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἀνακαίω light (a fire) ∼caustic ἐκδέρω to skin ~dermatology ἀναφέρω bring up ∼bear ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἀναφύω grow back ἐκκαθαίρω clear out ἀνδραγαθία bravery ἐμπίνω (ī) drink from, drink one's ἀνδρόγυνος effeminate man ἀνέκαθεν from the start ἐμποδίζω fetter, hinder ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἐμπρόσθιος front, e.g., front feet ἄξυλος thickly timbered ἔνερθε beneath, below  $\sim$ xylophone **ἐξάπτω** fasten to ~haptic ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἐπέτειος of one year freed, depart ἀπάρχω cut hairs ∼oligarch ἐπιλέγω say re, say also; choose; (mid) think over ἄπεδος level, flat ἀπέργω exclude; divide; confine ἐπινέω allot ἀπέρδω end ἐπισπένδω pour over ἀποδέρω flay completely ἐπιχώριος native ἀποέργω exclude; divide; confine ξπω (mid) follow, accompany; (act, ἀποπνίγω (ī) strangle; stew; (p) uncommon) handle, take care of έτεροῖος different; diverse drown ἀποσφάζω cut the throat εὐπετής coming out well; (adv) ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure fortunately ἀπότομος cut off; severe εὔπορος easily passed; rich εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  $\sim$ bear east wind ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning ἐφέτειος of one year  $\sim$ oligarch **ἔψω** boil, be boiling ἄτε as if; since ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive ἀτιμόω (τ) punish, dishonor θεσπίζω prophecy βασιλήιος kingly βρόχος rope, noose θύον kind of tree γεύω taste ~gusto θυσία sacrifice γυμνόω strip, be defenseless ίδρύω establish  $\sim$ gymnasium ίλάσχομαι appease δάκτυλος finger, toe καλύπτρα head covering **δέρμα** -τος (n, 3) skin, hide κάρτα very much ~κράτος

κατάρχω hold ready (sacrificial materials) ∼oligarch καταχεύω pour onto καταχουσόω (ō) gild κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill χιρνάω mix ∼crater **χύλιξ** -χος (f) cup κῶλον limb λέβης -τος (m, 3) kettle, basin λευκότης -τος (f, 3) whiteness ληίη booty μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μαντικός prophetic μάντις -ος (m) seer ∼mantis μεταλαμβάνω share in; swap μίν him, her, it νόμαιος customary νομάρχης -ου (m, 1) governor νομός home, district  $\sim$ nemesis  $\ddot{o}$ γδοος eighth  $\sim$ octopus ὄγχος barb of an arrow δμός same ∼homoerotic  $\dot{\mathbf{o}}$ μ $\dot{\mathbf{o}}$ ω unite  $\sim$ homoerotic ὄνειδος -εος (n, 3) blame; insult ὄνυξ -χος (m) claw, nail, hoof, talon ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter οὐράνιος heavenly οὐρίζω divide; ordain, define οὕτις nobody, nothing όφοῦς -oς (f) eyebrow παραμίγνυμι mix in παράπαν completely

παραφέρω serve; carry past; outdo πένης -τος (m) poor περιάγω lead around περιτείνω stretch all around, over περιφέρω carry around προσδοχάω expect προσείχελος somewhat like πωλέω sell ¡ράβδος (f) rod, wand σηκός livestock pen σπλάγχνον (pl) innards, (fig) feelings στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters σταθμόομαι judge, conclude **στρόφος** rope, cord ∼atrophy σύνδυο in pairs συνειλέω crowd, bind together συννέω swim together; pile together συρράπτω stitch together σχίζω split  $\sim$ schism τετράγωνος square τοίγα divided into thirds  $\sim$ three ὑπονοστέω sink, settle ὕψος ὕψους (n, 3) height, summit φαρέτρα quiver φαρετρεών quiver φλοιός tree bark φονεύω kill φρύγανον (ō) kindling χαλινός (ī) bit for a horse χειρόμαχτρον towel, head-cloth ψιλόω (t) strip bare ~epsilon

"Ογδοος δε δη Τάναϊς ποταμός, δς ρέει τἀνέκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης όρμώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δε ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεόμενον Μαιῆτιν, ῆ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιληίους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δε Τάναϊν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ "Υργις.

## 4.58

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ὀνομαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὕτω δή τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδαται, τοῖσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἡ ποίη ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῆ ἐστι ἐπιχολωτάτη πασέων ποιέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνοιγομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι² ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

# 4.59

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὖπορα<sup>3</sup> ἐστί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἰλάσκονται, <sup>4</sup> Ἱστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους, Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην<sup>5</sup> Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἄρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἱστίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπί. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη ᾿Αργίμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγιμασάδας. ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιέειν πλὴν Ἅρεϊ. τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

## 4.60

Θυσίη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὧδε· τὸ μὲν ἱρήιον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἔστηκε, ὁ δὲ θύων ὅπισθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἑστεὼς σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου<sup>6</sup> καταβάλλει μιν, πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεὸν τῷ ὰν θύῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχω<sup>7</sup> περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> eighth <sup>2</sup> judge, conclude <sup>3</sup> easily passed; rich <sup>4</sup> appease <sup>5</sup> heavenly <sup>6</sup> rope, cord <sup>7</sup> rope, noose

σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλῶν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπνίγει, οὕτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας οὕτε καταρξάμενος οὕτ' ἐπισπείσας' ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τρέπεται πρὸς ἔψησιν.

## 4.61

Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλου<sup>8</sup> ἐούσης ὧδε σφι ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύρηται ἐπειδὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἱρήια, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν κρεῶν, ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἢν μὲν τύχωσι ἔχοντες, ἐς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι προσεικέλους, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι πολλῷ μέζονας ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες ἔψουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρηίων. ἢν δὲ μή σφι παρἢ, ὁ λέβης, οῦ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρηίων ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίζαντες ὕδωρ ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα τὰ δὲ αἴθεται κάλλιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐψιλωμένα τῶν ὀστέων καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἐωυτὸν ἐξέψει καὶ τἆλλα ἱρήια ἐωυτὸ ἔκαστον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐψηθἢ τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρξάμενος ρίπτει ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

### 4.62

Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ Ἄρεϊ ὧδε. κατὰ νομοὺς ἑκάστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυται σφι Ἄρεος ἱρὸν τοιόνδε φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννενέαται ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ ἔλασσον ἄνω δὲ τούτου τετράγωνον ἄπεδον πεποίηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κώλων 10 ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ εν ἐπιβατόν. ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου ἁμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων ὑπονοστέει γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἵδρυται ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκῃ θυσίας ἐπετείους προσάγουσι προβάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσιδ' ἔτι πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι' ὅσους ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα θύουσι

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> thickly timbered <sup>9</sup> height, summit <sup>10</sup> limb

τρόπω οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἐτεροίω. 11 ἐπεὰν γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος 12 καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνενείκαντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἶμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεω. ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο, κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἰρὸν ποιεῦσι τάδε· τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὤμους πάντας ἀποταμόντες σὺν τῆσι χερσὶ ἐς τὸν ἠέρα ἱεῖσι, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ἱρήια ἀπαλλάσσονται. χεὶρ δὲ τῆ ἂν πέση κέεται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός.

## 4.63

Θυσίαι μέν νυν αὖταί σφι κατεστᾶσι. ὑσὶ δὲ οὖτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῆ χώρη τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

# 4.64

Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὧδέ σφι διακέαται ἐπεὰν τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλη ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει, ὅσους δ' αν φονεύση ἐν τῆ μάχη, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλέι. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς ληίης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἂν λάβωσι, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ ού. ἀποδείρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπω τοιῷδε· περιταμών κύκλω περὶ τὰ ὧτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσείει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῆ δέψει<sup>13</sup> τῆσι χερσί, ὀργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ἄτε χειρόμακτρον<sup>14</sup> ἔκτηται, έκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται<sup>.15</sup> ὃς γὰρ ἂν πλεῖστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ άριστος οὖτος κέκριται. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδερμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατά περ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χεῖρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδείραντες αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας 16 τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦνται. δέρμα δὲ άνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα, σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. 17 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδείραντες καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι.

<sup>11</sup> different; diverse 12 container 13 knead 14 towel, head-cloth 15 exalt; mp: exult in 16 head covering 17 whiteness

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νενόμισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλάς, οὕτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε ἀποπρίσας ἔκαστος πᾶν τὸ ἔνερθε<sup>18</sup> τῶν ὀφρύων ἐκκαθαίρει καὶ ἢν μὲν ἢ πένης, ὁ δὲ ἔξωθεν ἀμοβοέην μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται, ἢν δὲ ἢ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ἀμοβοέην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίω. ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκηίων ἤν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται καὶ ἢν ἐπικρατήση αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέι, ξείνων δέ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὡς οἱ ἐόντες οἰκήιοι πόλεμον προσεθήκαντο καί σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην ἀνδραγαθίην β λέγοντες.

## 4.66

Ἄπαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου ὁ νομάρχης  $^{20}$  ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ νομῷ κιρνᾳ κρητῆρα οἴνου, ἀπ' οὖ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖσι ἂν ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι. τοῖσι δ' ἂν μὴ κατεργασμένον ἢ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται  $^{21}$  τοῦ οἴνου τούτου, ἀλλ' ἠτιμωμένοι  $^{22}$  ἀποκατέαται ὄνειδος δέ σφι ἐστὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὖτοι δὲ σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουσι ὁμοῦ.

## 4.67

Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἱ μαντεύονται<sup>23</sup> ῥάβδοισι ἰτείνησι πολλῆσι ὧδε· ἐπεὰν φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξειλίσσουσι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἑκάστην ῥάβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι,<sup>24</sup> ἄμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω καὶ αὖτις κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι. αὕτη μὲν σφι ἡ μαντικὴ<sup>25</sup> πατρωίη ἐστί. οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἱ ἀνδρόγυνοι<sup>26</sup> τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι· φιλύρης δ' ὧν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται· ἐπεὰν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίση, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύλοισι τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ

 $<sup>\</sup>overline{\ }^{18}$  beneath, below  $\overline{\ }^{19}$  bravery  $\overline{\ }^{20}$  governor  $\overline{\ }^{21}$  taste  $\overline{\ }^{22}$  punish, dishonor  $\overline{\ }^{23}$  to divine  $\overline{\ }^{24}$  prophecy  $\overline{\ }^{25}$  prophetic  $\overline{\ }^{26}$  effeminate man

The eighth is the river Tanaïs, which starts in its flow at first from a large lake, and runs out into a still larger lake called Maiotis, which is the boundary between the Royal Scythians and the Sauromatai. Into this Tanaïs falls another river, whose name is Hyrgis.

### 4.58

So many are the rivers of note with which the Scythians are provided: and for cattle the grass which comes up in the land of Scythia is the most productive of bile of any grass which we know; and that this is so you may judge when you open the bodies of the cattle.

### 4.59

Thus abundant supply have they of that which is most important; and as for the rest their customs are as follows. The gods whom they propitiate by worship are these only:— Hestia most of all, then Zeus and the Earth, supposing that Earth is the wife of Zeus, and after these Apollo, and Aphrodite Urania, and Heracles, and Ares. Of these all the Scythians have the worship established, and the so-called Royal Scythians sacrifice also to Poseidon. Now Hestia is called in Scythian Tabiti, and Zeus, being most rightly named in my opinion, is called Papaios, and Earth Api, and Apollo Oitosyros, and Aphrodite Urania is called Argimpasa, and Poseidon Thagimasidas. It is not their custom however to make images, altars or temples to any except Ares, but to him it is their custom to make them.

### 4.60

They have all the same manner of sacrifice established for all their religious rites equally, and it is thus performed:— the victim stands with its fore-feet tied, and the sacrificing priest stands behind the victim, and by pulling the end of the cord he throws the beast down; and as the victim falls, he calls upon the god to whom he is sacrificing, and then at once throws a noose round its neck, and putting a small stick into it he turns it round and so strangles the animal, without either lighting a fire or making any first offering from the victim or pouring any libation over it: and when he has strangled it and flayed off the skin, he proceeds to boil it.

### 4.61

Now as the land of Scythia is exceedingly ill wooded, this contrivance has been invented for the boiling of the flesh:— having flayed the victims, they strip the flesh off the bones and then put it into caldrons, if they happen to have any, of native make, which very much resemble Lesbian mixing-bowls

except that they are much larger,— into these they put the flesh and boil it by lighting under it the bones of the victim: if however thy have not at hand the caldron, they put all the flesh into the stomachs of the victims and adding water they light the bones under them; and these blaze up beautifully, and the stomachs easily hold the flesh when it has been stripped off the bones: thus an ox is made to boil itself, and the other kinds of victims each boil themselves also. Then when the flesh is boiled, the sacrificer takes a first offering of the flesh and of the vital organs and casts it in front of him. And they sacrifice various kinds of cattle, but especially horses.

### 4.62

To the others of the gods they sacrifice thus and these kinds of beasts, but to Ares as follows:— In each district of the several governments they have a temple of Ares set up in this way:— bundles of brushwood are heaped up for about three furlongs in length and in breadth, but less in height; and on the top of this there is a level square made, and three of the sides rise sheer but by the remaining one side the pile may be ascended. Every year they pile on a hundred and fifty waggon-loads of brushwood, for it is constantly settling down by reason of the weather. Upon this pile of which I speak each people has an ancient iron sword set up, and this is the sacred symbol of Ares. To this sword they bring yearly offerings of cattle and of horses; and they have the following sacrifice in addition, beyond what they make to the other gods, that is to say, of all the enemies whom they take captive in war they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not in the same manner as they sacrifice cattle, but in a different manner: for they first pour wine over their heads, and after that they cut the throats of the men, so that the blood runs into a bowl; and then they carry this up to the top of the pile of brushwood and pour the blood over the sword. This, I say, they carry up; and meanwhile below by the side of the temple they are doing thus:— they cut off all the right arms of the slaughtered men with the hands and throw them up into the air, and then when they have finished offering the other victims, they go away; and the arm lies wheresoever it has chanced to fall, and the corpse apart from it.

## 4.63

Such are the sacrifices which are established among them; but of swine these make no use, nor indeed are they wont to keep them at all in their land.

### 4.64

That which relates to war is thus ordered with them:— When a Scythian has slain his first man, he drinks some of his blood: and of all those whom he slays in the battle he bears the heads to the king; for if he has brought a head he shares in the spoil which they have taken, but otherwise not. And

he takes off the skin of the head by cutting it round about the ears and then taking hold of the scalp and shaking it off; afterwards he scrapes off the flesh with the rib of an ox, and works the skin about with his hands; and when he has thus tempered it, he keeps it as a napkin to wipe the hands upon, and hangs it from the bridle of the horse on which he himself rides, and takes pride in it; for whosoever has the greatest number of skins to wipe the hands upon, he is judged to be the bravest man. Many also make cloaks to wear of the skins stripped off, sewing them together like shepherds' cloaks of skins; and many take the skin together with the finger-nails off the right hands of their enemies when they are dead, and make them into covers for their quivers: now human skin it seems is both thick and glossy in appearance, more brilliantly white than any other skin. Many also take the skins off the whole bodies of men and stretch them on pieces of wood and carry them about on their horses.

### 4.65

Such are their established customs about these things; and to the skulls themselves, not of all but of their greatest enemies, they do thus:— the man saws off all below the eyebrows and clears out the inside; and if he is a poor man he only stretches ox-hide round it and then makes use of it; but if he be rich, besides stretching the ox-hide he gilds it over within, and makes use of it as a drinking-cup. They do this also if any of their own family have been at variance with them and the man gets the better of his adversary in trial before the king; and when strangers come to him whom he highly esteems, he sets these skulls before them, and adds the comment that they being of his own family had made war against him, and that he had got the better of them; and this they hold to be a proof of manly virtue.

### 4.66

Once every year each ruler of a district mixes in his own district a bowl of wine, from which those of the Scythians drink by whom enemies have been slain; but those by whom this has not been done do not taste of the wine, but sit apart dishonoured; and this is the greatest of all disgraces among them: but those of them who have slain a very great number of men, drink with two cups together at the same time.

### 4.67

Diviners there are many among the Scythians, and they divine with a number of willow rods in the following manner:— they bring large bundles of rods, and having laid them on the ground they unroll them, and setting each rod by itself apart they prophesy; and while speaking thus, they roll the rods together again, and after that they place them in order a second time one by

one. This manner of divination they have from their fathers: but the Enareës or "man-women" say that Aphrodite gave them the gift of divination, and they divine accordingly with the bark of the linden-tree. Having divided the linden-bark into three strips, the man twists them together in his fingers and untwists them again, and as he does

vocabulary ἄγαμαι wonder, admire; resent, begrudge ἀγγελιηφόρος messenger ἀγχοτάτω nearest αίχμή spear point ~acute ἄκανθα thorn bush; (pl) thistledown ~pyracantha άκινάκης -ου (m, 1) Persian short sword ἀκόντιον diminutive of javelin  $\dot{\alpha}$ λγέω suffer  $\sim$ analgesic ἄμαξα wagon ἄμαξα wagon άμιλλάομαι contend ἀναβιβάζω make to mount, promote ἀνασχίζω rip/open up ἀπαρχή ἀπώρχης first offering ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away  $ἀποπνίγω (<math>\bar{\iota}$ ) strangle; stew; (p) drown ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀποφεύγω avoid, escape, go free ἄργυρος silver, money ~Argentina αὐτόματος self-willed, accidental  $\sim$ after άψίς -oς (ī, f) mesh of a net βασιλήιος kingly βραχίων -ονος (m, 3) upper arm, shoulder δεινολογέομαι complain loudly δῆτα emphatic δή διάγνοια deliberation διαλαγχάνω divide, share διαλαμβάνω distribute διαλύω break up; relax, weaken διαφανής transparent διελαύνω drive through, over ~elastic διπλήσιος twofold, double ἐγγενής native, kindred; innate

ἐγχέω pour into εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic ἐκπλύνω (ō) wash dirt out; wash thoroughly ἐλέγχω shame; try, examine ἐμπίμπλημι fill with ἐμποδίζω fetter, hinder έμφερής similar ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart ἐπιορχέω swear falsely ~oath  $\dot{\epsilon}\pi i\pi\alpha\nu = \dot{\epsilon}\pi i$ ἐπιτέμνω cut into; shorten έστία hearth ∼Hestia ἐσχατάω be at the edge εὐδοχιμέω be esteemed εὐωδία sweet smell εὐωχέω fete, feed well θήκη chest, grave θρίξ hair  $\sim$ tresses θυμιάω (ō) burn for smoke θυμίημα incense ίπποχόμος horse groom καθαίοω clean κάνναβις hemp κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταδέω tie up; fall short κατακαίω burn down ∼caustic κατακηρόω cover with wax κατακρεμάννυμι hang up καταμύσσω tear, scratch καταπήγνυμι (ō) to stick, plant  $\sim$ fang κατατείνω stretch out κατεύχομαι pray, vow, curse κάτωθεν below, from below **χέδρος** (f) cedar ∼cedar κεράμινος earthen, ceramic κοιλίη belly; cavity κύλιξ -κος (f) cup κυπάρισσος (f) cypress λίνεος linen

λίνον cord, net, linen λουτρόν bathing water μάγειρος butcher μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μαντικός prophetic μάντις -ος (m) seer  $\sim$ mantis **μετέωρος** up in the air ∼meteor μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μίν him, her, it νηδύς -ος (f) belly, womb οἰνοχόος - $\tilde{v}$  cupbearer  $\sim$ wine ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄπισθεν behind, hereafter ὄοχιον oath ∼orc ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel ὀρύσσω dig παλλακή sex slave παραδείχνυμι (ō) receive, admit παράπαν completely παραχέω pour in, beside πάσσαλος hook, peg παχύτης -τος (f, 3) thickness περιάγω lead around περιέρχομαι go around; come next περιτείνω stretch all around, over περιφέρω carry around πῖλος felt προθυμέομαι (ō) be eager δίς δινός (ī, f) nose, nostrils δίψ διπεσττός (f) wicker δυμός (ō) chariot pole

σέλινον (ī) wild celery?

σκάπτω dig σκάφη trough, tray σκέλος -εος (n, 3) leg  $\sim$ scoliosis στιβάς -δος (f, 3) mattress στόμιον aperture; bit συγκατακαίω burn along with συμμίγνυμι mix with  $\sim$ mix συρράπτω stitch together ταφή burial, grave τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize  $\sim$ tonsure τετράγωνος square τράχηλος neck ~trachea τραχύς (ā) rough ∼trachea τοίβω (ī) rub; (mid) be worn out  $\sim$ tribulation ὑπερέχω be over; protect ὑπερφέρω carry over; surpass ὑπέχω promise; hold out one's hand; submit to ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer ὑποδύνω (mp) get under; play a character ὑποζεύγνυμι (υῦ) to yoke ~zygote ὑποπίμποημι set on fire; burn on a pyre ὕπτιος lying on one's back; flipped; φιάλη jar ~vial φρύγανον (ō) kindling χαλινός (ī) bit for a horse χωμα -τος (n, 3) mound of dirt

καὶ διαλύων χρậ.

## 4.68

Έπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμη, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων άνδρας τρείς τους εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπω τῶ εἰρημένω μαντεύονται καὶ λέγουσι οὖτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιληίας ίστίας έπιώρκηκε δς καὶ ὅς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἂν δη λέγωσι. τὰς δὲ βασιληίας ἱστίας νόμος Σκύθησι τὰ μάλιστα ἐστὶ όμνύναι τότε έπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον ὅρκον ἐθέλωσι ὀμνύναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται οὖτος τὸν ἂν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἀπιγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες ὡς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῆ μαντικῆ τὰς βασιληίας ἱστίας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει<sup>2</sup> ὁ βασιλεύς· ὁ δὲ άρνέεται, οὐ φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται.<sup>3</sup> άρνεομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας καὶ ην μεν καὶ οὖτοι ἐσορῶντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, τοῦ δὲ ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οί πρώτοι τών μαντίων ἢν δὲ οί ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι, ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι. ἢν ὧν οἱ πλεῦνες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλλυσθαι.

## 4.69

Άπολλῦσι δῆτα<sup>5</sup> αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βοῦς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χεῖρας ὀπίσω δήσαντες καὶ στομώσαντες κατεργνῦσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα, ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπιεῖσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῆ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένω καὶ δι ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεύς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἔρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικέει.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  hearth  $^{2}$  suffer  $^{3}$  complain loudly  $^{4}$  twofold, double  $^{5}$  emphatic δή  $^{6}$  chariot pole

# 4.70

"Ορκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιέωνται' ἐς κύλικα μεγάλην κεραμίνην<sup>7</sup> οἶνον ἐγχέαντες αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ταμνομένων, τύψαντες ὑπέατι ἡ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον' ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοί τε οἱ τὸ ὅρκιον ποιεύμενοι καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι.

#### 4.71

Ταφαί<sup>8</sup> δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ ἐς ὁ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός ενθαῦτα, ἐπεάν σφι ἀποθάνη ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅρυγμα<sup>9</sup> γης μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, έτοιμον δε τοῦτο ποιήσαντες άναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρόν, κατακεκηρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλέην κυπέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμιήματος 10 καὶ σελίνου 11 σπέρματος καὶ ἀννήσου, συνερραμμένην οπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν άμάξη ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. οῖ δὲ ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρόν, ποιεῦσι τά περ οἱ βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι τοῦ ἀτὸς ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικείρονται, βραχίονας <sup>12</sup> περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥίνα <sup>13</sup> καταμύσσονται, διὰ της αριστερης χειρός οιστούς διαβυνέονται. ένθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι έν τῆ ἀμάξη τοῦ βασιλέος τὸν νέκυν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι· οῖ δέ σφι έπονται ές τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἔν τε Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῆσι ταφῆσι. καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῆσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβάδος, 14 παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ένθεν καὶ ένθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ριψὶ<sup>15</sup> καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῆ λοιπῆ εὐρυχωρίη τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον 16 καὶ μάγειρον 17 καὶ

 <sup>7</sup> earthen, ceramic
8 burial, grave
9 trench, tunnel
10 incense
11 wild celery?
12 upper arm, shoulder
13 nose, nostrils
14 mattress
15 wicker
16 cupbearer
17 butcher

ίπποκόμον<sup>18</sup> καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον<sup>19</sup> καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα<sup>20</sup> μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.

## 4.72

Ένιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου αὖτις ποιεῦσι τοιόνδε λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεοτάτους οἱ δὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι έγγενέες οὖτοι γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύση ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσί σφι θεράποντες, τούτων ὧν τῶν διηκόνων έπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, έξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες έμπιπλᾶσι άχύρων καὶ συρράπτουσι. άψίδος 21 δὲ ήμισυ ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ύπτιον καὶ τὸ ἔτερον ήμισυ τῆς άψιδος ἐπ' ἔτερα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπω τοιούτω πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων<sup>22</sup> ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς άψιδας: τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὤμους τῶν ἵππων, αί δὲ ὅπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι σκέλε $a^{23}$  δὲ ἀμφότερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινοὺς $a^{24}$  δὲ καὶ στόμια<sup>25</sup> έμβαλόντες ές τους ἵππους κατατείνουσι ές το πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων $^{26}$  δέουσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνιγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι έπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὧδε ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἑκάστου παρὰ τὴν άκανθαν<sup>27</sup> ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσωσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου· κάτωθεν δὲ ύπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τόρμον πηγνύουσι τοῦ ἐτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλω τὸ σῆμα ἱππέας τοιούτους ἀπελαύνουσι.

# 4.73

Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπεὰν

horse groom because of a messenger because of

ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξησι κειμένους. τῶν δὲ ἔκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχέει τοὺς ἑπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι ὅσα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ιδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται. θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύψαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πίλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πίλων. <sup>28</sup>

## 4.74

Έστι δέ σφι κάνναβις<sup>29</sup> φυομένη ἐν τῆ χώρη πλὴν παχύτητος<sup>30</sup> καὶ μεγάθεος τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφερεστάτη· ταύτη δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἡ κάνναβις. αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήικες μὲν καὶ εἴματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι<sup>31</sup> ὁμοιότατα· οὐδ' ἀν, ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίη λίνου ἢ καννάβιος ἐστί· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ εἶμα.

#### 4.75

Ταύτης ὧν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πίλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί· τὸ δὲ θυμιᾶται<sup>32</sup> ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἄν μιν πυρίη ἀποκρατήσειε. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῆ πυρίη ἀρύονται. τοῦτό σφι ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ὕδωρ παραχέουσαι κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου<sup>33</sup> καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασωχόμενον τοῦτο παχὺ ἐὸν καταπλάσσονται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἄμα μὲν εὐωδίη<sup>34</sup> σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἄμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσαι τῆ δευτέρη ἡμέρη τὴν καταπλαστὺν γίνονται

 $<sup>^{28}</sup>$  felt  $^{29}$  hemp  $^{30}$  thickness  $^{31}$  linen  $^{32}$  burn for smoke  $^{33}$  cypress  $^{34}$  sweet smell

this he utters the oracle.

#### 4.68

When the king of the Scythians is sick, he sends for three of the diviners, namely those who are most in repute, who divine in the manner which has been said: and these say for the most part something like this, namely that so and so has sworn falsely by the hearth of the king, and they name one of the citizens, whosoever it may happen to be: now it is the prevailing custom of the Scythians to swear by the hearth of the king at the times when they desire to swear the most solemn oath. He then who they say has sworn falsely, is brought forthwith held fast on both sides; and when he has come the diviners charge him with this, that he is shown by their divination to have sworn falsely by the hearth of the king, and that for this reason the king is suffering pain: and he denies and says that he did not swear falsely, and complains indignantly: and when he denies it, the king sends for other diviners twice as many in number, and if these also by looking into their divination pronounce him guilty of having sworn falsely, at once they cut off the man's head, and the diviners who came first part his goods among them by lot; but if the diviners who came in afterwards acquit him, other diviners come in, and again others after them. If then the greater number acquit the man, the sentence is that the first diviners shall themselves be put to death.

#### 4.69

They put them to death accordingly in the following manner:— first they fill a waggon with brushwood and yoke oxen to it; then having bound the feet of the diviners and tied their hands behind them and stopped their mouths with gags, they fasten them down in the middle of the brushwood, and having set fire to it they scare the oxen and let them go: and often the oxen are burnt to death together with the diviners, and often they escape after being scorched, when the pole to which they are fastened has been burnt: and they burn the diviners in the manner described for other causes also, calling them false prophets. Now when the king puts any to death, he does not leave alive their sons either, but he puts to death all the males, not doing any hurt to the females.

# 4.70

In the following manner the Scythians make oaths to whomsoever they make them:— they pour wine into a great earthenware cup and mingle with it blood of those who are taking the oath to one another, either making a prick with an awl or cutting with a dagger a little way into their body, and then they dip into the cup a sword and arrows and a battle-axe and a javelin; and having done this, they invoke many curses on the breaker of the oath, and

afterwards they drink it off, both they who are making the oath and the most honourable of their company.

## 4.71

The burial-place of the kings is in the land of the Gerrians, the place up to which the Borysthenes is navigable. In this place, when their king has died, they make a large square excavation in the earth; and when they have made this ready, they take up the corpse (the body being covered over with wax and the belly ripped up and cleansed, and then sewn together again, after it has been filled with kyperos cut up and spices and parsley-seed and anise), and they convey it in a waggon to another nation. Then those who receive the corpse thus conveyed to them do the same as the Royal Scythians, that is they cut off a part of their ear and shave their hair round about and cut themselves all over the arms and tear their forehead and nose and pass arrows through their left hand. Thence they convey in the waggon the corpse of the king to another of the nations over whom they rule; and they to whom they came before accompany them: and when they have gone round to all conveying the corpse, then they are in the land of the Gerrians, who have their settlements furthest away of all the nations over whom they rule, and they have reached the spot where the burial place is. After that, having placed the corpse in the tomb upon a bed of leaves, they stick spears along on this side and that of the corpse and stretch pieces of wood over them, and then they cover the place in with matting. Then they strangle and bury in the remaining space of the tomb one of the king's mistresses, his cup-bearer, his cook, his horse-keeper, his attendant, and his bearer of messages, and also horses, and a first portion of all things else, and cups of gold; for silver they do not use at all, nor yet bronze. Having thus done they all join together to pile up a great mound, vying with one another and zealously endeavouring to make it as large as possible.

## 4.72

Afterwards, when the year comes round again, they do as follows:— they take the most capable of the remaining servants,— and these are native Scythians, for those serve him whom the king himself commands to do so, and his servants are not bought for money,— of these attendants then they strangle fifty and also fifty of the finest horses; and when they have taken out their bowels and cleansed the belly, they fill it with chaff and sew it together again. Then they set the half of a wheel upon two stakes with the hollow side upwards, and the other half of the wheel upon other two stakes, and in this manner they fix a number of these; and after this they run thick stakes through the length of the horses as far as the necks, and they mount them upon the wheels; and the front pieces of wheel support the shoulders of the

horses, while those behind bear up their bellies, going by the side of the thighs; and both front and hind legs hang in the air. On the horses they put bridles and bits, and stretch the bridles tight in front of them and then tie them up to pegs: and of the fifty young men who have been strangled they mount each one upon his horse, having first run a straight stake through each body along by the spine up to the neck; and a part of this stake projects below, which they fasten into a socket made in the other stake that runs through the horse. Having set horsemen such as I have described in a circle round the tomb, they then ride away.

#### 4.73

Thus they bury their kings; but as for the other Scythians, when they die their nearest relations carry them round laid in waggons to their friends in succession; and of them each one when he receives the body entertains those who accompany it, and before the corpse they serve up of all things about the same quantity as before the others. Thus private persons are carried about for forty days, and then they are buried: and after burying them the Scythians cleanse themselves in the following way:— they soap their heads and wash them well, and then, for their body, they set up three stakes leaning towards one another and about them they stretch woollen felt coverings, and when they have closed them as much as possible they throw stones heated red-hot into a basin placed in the middle of the stakes and the felt coverings.

## 4.74

Now they have hemp growing in their land, which is very like flax except in thickness and in height, for in these respects the hemp is much superior. This grows both of itself and with cultivation; and of it the Thracians even make garments, which are very like those made of flaxen thread, so that he who was not specially conversant with it would not be able to decide whether the garments were of flax or of hemp; and he who had not before seen stuff woven of hemp would suppose that the garment was made of flax.

#### 4.75

The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and creep under the felt coverings, and then they throw the seed upon the stones which have been heated red-hot: and it burns like incense and produces a vapour so thick that no vapour-bath in Hellas would surpass it: and the Scythians being delighted with the vapour-bath howl like wolves. This is to them instead of washing, for in fact they do not wash their bodies at all in water. Their women however pound with a rough stone the wood of the cypress and cedar and frankincense tree, pouring in water with it, and then with this pounded stuff, which is thick, they plaster over all their body and also their face; and

not only does a sweet smell attach to them by reason of this, but also when they take off the plaster on the next day, their

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, ἀγοράζω do commerce ~agora ἀδελφεή sister άμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀντιάζω meet, fight, join ἀντιάω meet, fight, join ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀπειλέω vow. threaten, boast ἀπιστέω disbelieve ~stand ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποπέμπω send away  $\sim$ pomp ἀποροέω flow, fall off ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ~tonsure ἀποτίθημι put away  $\sim$ thesis ἀποφαίνω display, declare ἄρδις arrowhead ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make amends ἀριθμέω to count ~arithmetic ἀριθμός number ἀστή inhabitant ἄσχολος busy ἀτρεχής precise, certain βασιλεύω be king  $\gamma$ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language  $\sim$ glossary γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter γρύψ griffin δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom ∼demon δάκτυλος finger, toe

δέμω build  $\sim$ domicile

δένδρεον -οῦ tree

δένδρον tree δένδρος tree διαδέχομαι be next, succeed  $\sim$ doctrine δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διατρίβω (ῑt) wear down, delay  $\sim$ tribology διάφορος different; difference; disagreeing; balance, bill διαχράομαι use habitually; lend out; reveal διαχρέομαι use habitually; lend out; δόλος trick, bait δορυφόρος spear-brearing δρόμος running, racing ground ~hippodrome **ἔθος** ἔθεος (n, 3) custom, habit ~ethology ἐκδέω attach, hang on ἐκδημέω be abroad ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκκλείω shut out; prevent Έλλην Greek ἐνάγω lead in/on; arraign ἐνδύω go into, put on ἐνσκήπτω throw, fall at ἕξ six ∼hexagon έξακόσιοι 600 έξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἐπιχηρυχεύω send a herald, ambassador ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious ἐπίτροπος agent, officer ἐπιχώριος native  $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\theta$ ής clothes  $\sim$ vest εὐπετής coming out well; (adv) fortunately ἐύς good, brave, noble εὖτε when, as, since

 $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ ος  $\tilde{\eta}\theta$ εος (n, 3) habit, habitat  $\sim$ ethos ἥκιστος least; above all **θύω** ( $\bar{v}$ ) rush; sacrifice  $\sim$ θύω **καίτοι** and yet; and in fact; although κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταγελάω laugh at, deride καταδύω enter, sink καταινέω agree, promise, grant κατακαίω burn down ∼caustic κατάρα curse καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal to ∼fugitive κρήνη well, spring κρητήρ -ος (m) mixing bowl for λάθρα secretly λαμπρός brilliant ~lamp μαίνομαι be berserk ~maenad μεγαλοπρεπής befitting greatness μεταξύ between μήτρως (m) maternal uncle  $\sim$ maternal μίν him, her, it μνήμη reminder, memorial μνημόσυνον memorial νόμαιος customary ὀιστός arrow όμιλία (τι) intercourse, company ὀνειδίζω upbraid, reproach ὄον οὖ type of fruit ορτή holiday, feast οὐδαμός not anyone ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view  $\sim$ thanatopsis παιδεύω raise; train παννυχίς night party, vigil παντοῖος all kinds of παραπλήσιος similar to πάτρων -ος (m, 3) patron

πάχος -εος (n, 3) thickness ~pachyderm πελάζω bring/come to, near, into contact with περιβολή a covering; an interior πέριξ all around περιστέλλω lay out πικρός sharp, bitter  $\sim$ picric πλάζω make to wander  $\sim$ plankton πλάσσω form ~plaster πολυτελής very expensive; (person) extravagant προάστειον suburb προίστημι put forward; (+gen) be head of, guard ∼station πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive; prediction ∼fame πύργος ramparts, tower; line of σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  $\sim$ semaphore σοφία skill; wisdom ∼sophistry στολή equipment στρατιά army ~strategy συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune συνάπτω join, partake; adjoin; consult; fight ∼haptic σφίγγω bind σώφρων sensible, prudent ∼frenzy τελετή rite, festival τοιόσδε such τοξεύω shoot an arrow at ∼toxic τοσόσδε this much ύγιής sound, profitable ~hygiene φάσμα phantom, apparition χωρέω withdraw, give way to (+dat)  $\sim$ heir χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

καθαραὶ καὶ λαμπραί.

# 4.76

Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὖτοι φεύγουσι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι, μήτε τεῶν άλλων, Έλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὡς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δεύτερα αὖτις Σκύλης, τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐπείτε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ήθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι Έλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον. καὶ εὖρε γὰρ τῆ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὁρτὴν μεγαλοπρεπέως<sup>1</sup> κάρτα, εὔξατο τῆ μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἢν σῶς καὶ ύγιὴς απονοστήση ές έωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταὐτὰ κατὰ ὥρα τοὺς Κυζικηνούς ποιεῦντας καὶ παννυχίδα<sup>3</sup> στήσειν. ώς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν καταδύς ές τὴν καλεομένην Ύλαίην ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Άχιλλήιον δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐοῦσα δενδρέων παντοίων πλέη, ές ταύτην δή καταδύς ὁ Άνάγαρσις τὴν ὁρτὴν ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τῆ θεῷ, τύμπανον τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθείς αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα ἐσήμηνε τῶ βασιλέι Σαυλίω· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὡς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ νῦν ἤν τις εἴρηται περὶ Άναχάρσιος, οὐ φασί μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ές την Έλλάδα καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ Ἀριαπείθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος πάτρων, 4 παΐδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου τοῦ Λύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ ὧν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἴστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἢν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν.

## 4.77

Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ώς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ελλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο, ὀπίσω τε ἀπονοστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἑλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους  $^5$  εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  befitting greatness  $^{2}$  sound, profitable  $^{3}$  night party, vigil  $^{4}$  patron  $^{5}$  busy

πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. ἀλλ' οὖτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δ' ὧν ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεφθάρη.

### 4.78

Οὖτος μέν νυν οὕτω δὴ ἔπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμαια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς όμιλίας. <sup>6</sup> πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπείθεος έπαθε παραπλήσια τούτω. 'Αριαπείθεϊ γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλέι γίνεται μετ' άλλων παίδων Σκύλης ' έξ Ίστριηνης δε γυναικός οδτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίης· τὸν ἡ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε Έλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε. μετὰ δὲ χρόνω ὕστερον Ἀριαπείθης μὲν τελευτὰ δόλω ὑπὸ Σπαργαπείθεος τοῦ ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέος, Σκύλης δὲ τήν τε βασιληίην παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρός, τη̂ οὔνομα ην 'Οποίη' ην δὲ αὕτη η΄ 'Οποίη ἀστη΄,  $^7$  έξ η̂ς ην "Ορικος 'Αριαπείθεϊ παῖς. βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτη οὐδαμῶς ἦρέσκετο Σκυψικῆ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ην ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος της ἐπεπαίδευτο, ἐποίεέ τε τοιοῦτο εὖτε ἀγάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Σκυθέων ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενειτέων ἄστυ οί δὲ Βορυσθενείται οὖτοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλησίους, ές τούτους ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλίπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείω, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλήσειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε ἂν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα, έχων δ' αν ταύτην ηγόραζε οὔτε δορυφόρων<sup>8</sup> έπομένων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενός τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τίς μιν Σκυθέων ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολήν καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐχρᾶτο διαίτη Ἑλληνικῆ καὶ θεοῖσι ἱρὰ ἐποίεε κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἑλλήνων. ὅτε δὲ διατρίψειε μῆνα ή πλέον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολήν. ταῦτα ποιέεσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε έδείματο<sup>9</sup> ἐν Βορυσθένεϊ καὶ γυναῖκα έγημε ές αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίην.

## 4.79

Έπείτε δὲ ἔδεέ οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> intercourse, company <sup>7</sup> inhabitant <sup>8</sup> spear-brearing <sup>9</sup> build

έπεθύμησε Διονύσω Βακχείω τελεσθηναι· μέλλοντι δέ οἱ ès χεῖραs άνεσθαι την τελετην έγένετο φάσμα<sup>10</sup> μέγιστον. Βορυσθενεϊτέων τη πόλι οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολή, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες 11 τε καὶ γρῦπες 12 ἔστασαν· ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάη πᾶσα, Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα ήσσον ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετήν. Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι Έλλησι ονειδίζουσι οὐ γὰρ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενειτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων «ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελᾶτε, ὧ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ό θεὸς λαμβάνει νῦν οὖτος ό δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι άπιστέετε, επεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω.» εἴποντο τῶν Σκύθεων οἱ προεστεώτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγών ὁ Βορυσθενείτης λάθρη<sup>13</sup> ἐπὶ πύργον κατείσε. ἐπείτε δὲ παρήιε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης καὶ εἶδόν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, έξελθόντες δὲ ἐσήμαινον πάση τῆ στρατιῆ τὰ ἴδοιεν.

## 4.80

'Ως δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλαυνε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἑωυτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ 'Οκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρός, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλη. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι' ῆν ἐποιέετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Θρηίκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ 'Οκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηίκην. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῳ ἐγένετο, ἠντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρήικες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν ἔπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν 'Οκταμασάδην λέγων τοιάδε. «τι δεῖ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἶς μέν μευ τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔχεις δέ μευ ἀδελφεόν. σὰ δέ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι στρατιῆ δὲ μήτε σὰ κινδυνεύσης μήτ' ἐγώ.» ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ 'Οκταμασάδη ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> phantom, apparition  $^{11}$  bind  $^{12}$  griffin  $^{13}$  secretly

πεφευγώς. ὁ δὲ Ὁκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μήτρωα <sup>14</sup> Σιτάλκη ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὁκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλήν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαια Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμια διδοῦσι.

## 4.81

Πληθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἷος τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφέας καὶ ὀλίγους ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν. ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένεός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χῶρος, ούνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἐξαμπαῖος· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην είχον, φάμενος έν αὐτῶ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ είναι, ἀπ' ἡς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ύπανιν ἄποτον ποιέειν, ἐν τούτω τῶ χώρω κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει καὶ έξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητήρος, τὸν Παυσανίης ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδε κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω. έξακοσίους 15 ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρέει τὸ έν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος  $^{16}$  δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήιον έστὶ δακτύλων έξ. τοῦτο ὧν έλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων 17 γενέσθαι. βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῶ οὔνομα εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πληθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μιν πάντας Σκύθας άρδιν έκαστον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀιστοῦ κομίσαι. Θς δ' ἄν μὴ κομίση, θάνατον ἀπείλεε. κομισθήναι τε δή χρήμα πολλὸν ἀρδίων καί οί δόξαι έξ αὐτέων μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τουτέων δή μιν τὸ χαλκήιον ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον.

maternal uncle 15 600 16 thickness 17 arrowhead

skin is clean and shining.

#### 4.76

This nation also is very averse to adopting strange customs, rejecting even those of other tribes among themselves, but especially those of the Hellenes, as the history of Anacharsis and also afterwards of Skyles proved. For as to Anacharsis first, when he was returning to the abodes of the Scythians, after having visited many lands and displayed in them much wisdom, as he sailed through the Hellespont he put in to Kyzicos: and since he found the people of Kyzicos celebrating a festival very magnificently in honour of the Mother of the gods, Anacharsis vowed to the Mother that if he should return safe and sound to his own land, he would both sacrifice to her with the same rites as he saw the men of Kyzicos do, and also hold a night festival. So when he came to Scythia he went down into the region called Hylaia (this is along by the side of the racecourse of Achilles and is quite full, as it happens, of trees of all kinds),— into this, I say, Anacharsis went down, and proceeded to perform all the ceremonies of the festival in honour of the goddess, with a kettle-drum and with images hung about himself. And one of the Scythians perceived him doing this and declared it to Saulios the king; and the king came himself also, and when he saw Anacharsis doing this, he shot him with an arrow and killed him. Accordingly at the present time if one asks about Anacharsis, the Scythians say that they do not know him, and for this reason, because he went out of his own country to Hellas and adopted foreign customs. And as I heard from Tymnes the steward of Ariapeithes, he was the uncle on the father's side of Idanthyrsos king of the Scythians, and the son of Gnuros, the son of Lycos, the son of Spargapeithes. If then Anacharsis was of this house, let him know that he died by the hand of his brother, for Idanthyrsos was the son of Saulios, and Saulios was he who killed Anacharsis.

#### 4.77

However I have heard also another story, told by the Peloponnesians, that Anacharsis was sent out by the king of the Scythians, and so made himself a disciple of Hellas; and that when he returned back he said to him that had sent him forth, that the Hellenes were all busied about every kind of cleverness except the Lacedemonians; but these alone knew how to exchange speech sensibly. This story however has been invented without any ground by the Hellenes themselves; and however that may be, the man was slain in the way that was related above.

#### 4.78

This man then fared thus badly by reason of foreign customs and communication with Hellenes; and very many years afterwards Skyles the

son of Ariapeithes suffered nearly the same fate as he. For Ariapeithes the king of the Scythians with other sons had Skyles born to him: and he was born of a woman who was of Istria, and certainly not a native of Scythia; and this mother taught him the language and letters of Hellas. Afterwards in course of time Ariapeithes was brought to his end by treachery at the hands of Spargapeithes the king of the Agathyrsians, and Skyles succeeded to the kingdom; and he took not only that but also the wife of his father, whose name was Opoia: this Opoia was a native Scythian and from her was born Oricos to Ariapeithes. Now when Skyles was king of the Scythians, he was by no means satisfied with the Scythian manner of life, but was much more inclined towards Hellenic ways because of the training with which he had been brought up, and he used to do somewhat as follows:— When he came with the Scythians in arms to the city of the Borysthenites (now these Borysthenites say that they are of Miletos),— when Skyles came to these, he would leave his band in the suburbs of the city and go himself within the walls and close the gates. After that he would lay aside his Scythian equipments and take Hellenic garments, and wearing them he would go about in the market-place with no guards or any other man accompanying him (and they watched the gates meanwhile, that none of the Scythians might see him wearing this dress): and while in other respects too he adopted Hellenic manners of life, he used also to perform worship to the gods according to the customs of the Hellenes. Then having stayed a month or more than that, he would put on the Scythian dress and depart. This he did many times, and he both built for himself a house in Borysthenes and also took to it a woman of the place as his wife.

# 4.79

Since however it was fated that evil should happen to him, it happened by an occasion of this kind:— he formed a desire to be initiated in the rites of Bacchus-Dionysos, and as he was just about to receive the initiation, there happened a very great portent. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a house of great size and built with large expense, of which also I made mention a little before this, and round it were placed sphinxes and griffins of white stone: on this house Zeus caused a bolt to fall; and the house was altogether burnt down, but Skyles none the less for this completed his initiation. Now the Scythians make the rites of Bacchus a reproach against the Hellenes, for they say that it is not fitting to invent a god like this, who impels men to frenzy. So when Skyles had been initiated into the rites of Bacchus, one of the Borysthenites went off to the Scythians and said: "Whereas ye laugh at us, O Scythians, because we perform the rite of Bacchus and because the god seizes us, now this divinity has seized also your king; and he is both joining in the rite of Bacchus and maddened by the influence of the god.

And if ye disbelieve me, follow and I will show you." The chief men of the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite led them secretly into the town and set them upon a tower. So when Skyles passed by with the company of revellers, and the Scythians saw him joining in the rite of Bacchus, they were exceedingly grieved at it, and they went out and declared to the whole band that which they had seen.

#### 4.80

After this when Skyles was riding out again to his own abode, the Scythians took his brother Octamasades for their leader, who was a son of the daughter of Teres, and made insurrection against Skyles. He then when he perceived that which was being done to his hurt and for what reason it was being done, fled for refuge to Thrace; and Octamasades being informed of this, proceeded to march upon Thrace. So when he had arrived at the river Ister, the Thracians met him; and as they were about to engage battle, Sitalkes sent a messenger to Octamasades and said: "Why must we make trial of one another in fight? Thou art my sister's son and thou hast in thy power my brother. Do thou give him back to me, and I will deliver to thee thy brother Skyles: and let us not either of us set our armies in peril, either thou or I." Thus Sitalkes proposed to him by a herald; for there was with Octamasades a brother of Sitalkes, who had gone into exile for fear of him. And Octamasades agreed to this, and by giving up his own mother's brother to Sitalkes he received his brother Skyles in exchange: and Sitalkes when he received his brother led him away as a prisoner, but Octamasades cut off the head of Skyles there upon the spot. Thus do the Scythians carefully guard their own customary observances, and such are the penalties which they inflict upon those who acquire foreign customs besides their own.

#### 4.81

How many the Scythians are I was not able to ascertain precisely, but I heard various reports of the number: for reports say both that they are very many in number and also that they are few, at least as regards the true Scythians. Thus far however they gave me evidence of my own eyesight:— there is between the river Borysthenes and the Hypanis a place called Exampaios, of which also I made mention somewhat before this, saying that there was in it a spring of bitter water, from which the water flows and makes the river Hypanis unfit to drink. In this place there is set a bronze bowl, in size at least six times as large as the mixing-bowl at the entrance of the Pontus, which Pausanias the son of Cleombrotos dedicated: and for him who has never seen that, I will make the matter clear by saying that the bowl in Scythia holds easily six hundred amphors, and the thickness of this Scythian bowl is six fingers. This then the natives of the place told me had been made of arrow-heads: for

their king, they said, whose name was Ariantas, wishing to know how many the Scythians were, ordered all the Scythians to bring one arrow-head, each from his own arrow, and whosoever should not bring one, he threatened with death. So a great multitude of arrow-heads was brought, and he resolved to make of them a memorial and to leave it behind him: from these then, they said, he made this bronze bowl and dedicated it in this place Exampaios.

vocabulary ἀκέομαι heal, fix ἄκος ἄκεος (n, 3) cure, remedy ἀναπλόω unfold; explain; simplify ἀναπλώω sail up, through ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach άξιοθέητος well worth seeing ἀπαρχή ἀπώρχης first offering ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck ∼pierce ἀποσφάζω cut the throat ἀριθμός number άρχιτέχτων -τος (m, 3) master, architect αὐχήν -ένος (m, 3) neck βημα -τος (n, 3) step, pace βωμός altar; stand, pedestal γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γεφυρόω (ō) dam, move earth γράμμα -τος (n, 3) writing, letter γραμματεύς -ος (m) clerk, schoolmaster διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis δίπηχυς 2 cubits long δωρέω give  $\sim$ donate έβδομήκοντα 70 ἐγγράφω engrave, enroll **εἰσβαίνω** enter, board ~basis ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκτελέω complete, bring about  $\sim$ apostle "Ελλην Greek ἔνδεκα eleven ∼decimal ἔνειμι be in  $\sim$ ion ἐνεός speechless, dumbfounded ένθαῦτα there, here ένθεῦτεν thence

ἐννέα nine ἐντέμνω engrave, cut up ἐξαριθμέω count up; recount έξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic ἐπιγράφω scratch, graze ~photograph ἐπίπαν =ἐπί ἐπιπέμπω send after, again, to, besides ἐπιτάσσω enjoin; place near ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious εὖρος -εος (n, 3) width; (caps) the east wind ἐύς good, brave, noble ζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke, join ~zygote ζῷον being, animal; picture ἥδομαι be pleased, enjoy  $\sim$ hedonism ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent θαυμάσιος wonderful θεάομαι look at, behold, consider  $\sim$ theater θερμός warm, hot  $\sim$ thermos θηέομαι look at, behold, consider  $\sim$ theater ίχθυόεις full of fish **ἴχνος** -εος (n, 3) track, trace καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion καταμένω stay; not change κατανύω accomplish, arrive,perpetrate κολωνός hill, mound χυάνεος dark ∼cyan κῦδος -εος (n, 3) glory, renown ~kudos λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea μέγαθος tall, big (person) μετρέω measure, traverse ∼metric μέτριος medium, moderate

μηδαμός no one μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μνημόσυνον memorial μυριάς -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad **μυρίος** (ō) 10,000 ~myriad νηός temple, shrine ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄργυια fathom, arm's length ∼reach ὀργυιά fathom, arm's length παραγγέλλω transmit; order, summon, recommend, encourage πάρεξ alongside, diverging from;  $(+\eta')$  or gen) except; (+acc) beyond, alongside παρέξειμι pass by; transgress πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea  $\sim$ pelagic πεντακόσιοι 500 περιμένω wait for περίοιχος dwelling around περιτίθημι put around, endow with  $\sim$ thesis περιχαρής very glad Πέρσης Persian πηγή headwaters, fountain πηγός stout, mighty πλαγκτός wandering, demented  $\sim$ plankton πλόος - $\tilde{v}$  course, voyage ∼float προεδρία pride of place ὁέω flow ~rheostat δίον summit, headland σοῦσον lily

σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στέφανος ring στήλη post, column στρατηίη expedition, campaign στρατιά army ~strategy στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ∼strategy στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ∼volunteer σχεδία raft σχεδίην at close quarters ~ischemia σχίζω split  $\sim$ schism τείνω stretch, tend ∼tense τετρακόσιοι 400 τοιόσδε such τριηχόσιοι three hundred τρισχίλιοι 3000 ~kiloφύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics χάσμα -τος (n, 3) chasm, gaping opening **χίλιοι** (ιι) thousand ~kiloχρηστός useful; brave, worthy χωρίς separately; except, other than  $\sim$ heir χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

ψυχρός (v) cold ~psychology

## 4.82

Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρη αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῶ μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθωμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται. ἴχνος¹ Ἡρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρη ἐνεόν, τὸ ἔοικε μὲν βήματι² ἀνδρός, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ,³ παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. τοῦτο μέν νυν τοιοῦτο ἐστί, ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἤια λέξων λόγον.

## 4.83

Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατόν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Θρηίκιον Βόσπορον ἀρτάβανος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐων Δαρείου, ἐχρήιζε μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατηίην ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλεύων οἱ χρηστά, ὃ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δέ, ἐπειδή οἱ τὰ ἄπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων. 5

# 4.84

Ένθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παίδων καὶ πάντων στρατευομένων ἔνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι. ὁ δὲ ἔφη ὡς φίλῳ ἐόντι καὶ μετρίων δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παίδας καταλείψειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς υίέας στρατηίης ἀπολελύσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παΐδας.

# 4.85

Καὶ οὖτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐλείποντο· Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔζευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ

 $<sup>\</sup>frac{1}{1}$  track, trace  $\frac{2}{3}$  step, pace  $\frac{3}{3}$  2 cubits long  $\frac{4}{3}$  no one  $\frac{5}{3}$  lily

τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς "Ελληνες φασὶ εἶναι, εζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ρίω <sup>7</sup> ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. <sup>8</sup> πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῷ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι 'μῆκος δὲ, τοῦ στόματος ὁ αὐχήν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὁ δὴ ἔζευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἐστι. τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος ἡ δὲ Προποντὶς ἐοῦσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐόντα στεινότητα μὲν ἑπτὰ σταδίους, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἰγαῖον καλέεται.

## 4.86

Μεμέτρηται<sup>9</sup> δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε. νηῦς ἐπίπαν μάλιστα κῃ κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυιὰς ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας. ἤδη ὧν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὖται ἔνδεκα<sup>10</sup> μυριάδες καὶ ἐκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τουτέων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσί. ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὖται δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μέν νυν Πόντος οὖτος καὶ Βόσπορός τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὖτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἐλάσσω ἑωυτοῦ, ἡ Μαιῆτίς τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

# 4.87

Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐθεήσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> wandering, demented <sup>7</sup> summit, headland <sup>8</sup> well worth seeing <sup>9</sup> measure, traverse <sup>10</sup> eleven

τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων<sup>11</sup> ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν ᾿Ασσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἢγε ἢγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἢρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεῦσι, νέες δὲ ἐξακόσιαι συνελέχθησαν. τῆσι μέν νυν στήλησι ταύτησι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τῆς ᾿Ορθωσίης ᾿Αρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου · οὖτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίω, γραμμάτων ᾿Ασσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἔζευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει συμβαλλομένω, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱροῦ.

## 4.88

Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡσθεὶς τῆ σχεδίη τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο 12 πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν ζῷα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεῦξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίη κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἔς τὸ Ἡραιον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε.

Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα  $^{13}$  γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε Μανδροκλέης "Ηρη μνημόσυνον σχεδίης, αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κῦδος, Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

## 4.89

Ταῦτα μέν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο. Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι Ἰωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμὸν δυῶν

master, architect <sup>12</sup> give <sup>13</sup> full of fish

ήμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἔκ τοῦ σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἱστρου, ἐζεύγνυε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τεάρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

## 4.90

Ό δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. <sup>14</sup> εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυῶν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσαι, καὶ αῖ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αῖ δὲ θερμαί. <sup>15</sup> ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστι ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθῳ καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, δυῶν ἡμερέων ἐκατέρη. ἐκδιδοῦ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὖτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἁγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἁγριάνης ἐς τὸν Ἔβρον, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἴνω πόλι.

# 4.91

Έπὶ τοῦτον ὧν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἡσθεῖς τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. «Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαὶ ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπὰ αὐτὰς ἀπίκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστος τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς.» ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

# 4.92

Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμηθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐπ' ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὔνομα ᾿Αρτησκός ἐστι, ὃς διὰ ᾿Οδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ἐποίησε τοιόνδε· ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῆ στρατιῆ ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἕνα παρεξιόντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς <sup>16</sup> μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν ἀπήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν.

heal, fix 15 warm, hot 16 hill, mound

#### 4.82

This is what I heard about the number of the Scythians. Now this land has no marvellous things except that it has rivers which are by far larger and more numerous than those of any other land. One thing however shall be mentioned which it has to show, and which is worthy of wonder even besides the rivers and the greatness of the plain, that is to say, they point out a footprint of Heracles in the rock by the bank of the river Tyras, which in shape is like the mark of a man's foot but in size is two cubits long. This then is such as I have said; and I will go back now to the history which I was about to tell at first.

#### 4.83

While Dareios was preparing to go against the Scythians and was sending messengers to appoint to some the furnishing of a land-army, to others that of ships, and to others the bridging over of the Thracian Bosphorus, Artabanos, the son of Hystaspes and brother of Dareios, urged him by no means to make the march against the Scythians, telling him how difficult the Scythians were to deal with. Since however he did not persuade him, though he gave him good counsel, he ceased to urge; and Dareios, when all his preparations had been made, began to march his army forth from Susa.

#### 4.84

Then one of the Persians, Oiobazos, made request to Dareios that as he had three sons and all were serving in the expedition, one might be left behind for him: and Dareios said that as he was a friend and made a reasonable request, he would leave behind all the sons. So Oiobazos was greatly rejoiced, supposing that his sons had been freed from service, but Dareios commanded those who had the charge of such things to put to death all the sons of Oiobazos.

#### 4.85

These then were left, having been slain upon the spot where they were: and Dareios meanwhile set forth from Susa and arrived at the place on the Bosphorus where the bridge of ships had been made, in the territory of Chalcedon; and there he embarked in a ship and sailed to the so-called Kyanean rocks, which the Hellenes say formerly moved backwards and forwards; and taking his seat at the temple he gazed upon the Pontus, which is a sight well worth seeing. Of all seas indeed it is the most marvellous in its nature. The length of it is eleven thousand one hundred furlongs, and the breadth, where it is broadest, three thousand three hundred: and of this great Sea the mouth is but four furlongs broad, and the length of the mouth, that is

of the neck of water which is called Bosphorus, where, as I said, the bridge of ships had been made, is not less than a hundred and twenty furlongs. This Bosphorus extends to the Propontis; and the Propontis, being in breadth five hundred furlongs and in length one thousand four hundred, has its outlet into the Hellespont, which is but seven furlongs broad at the narrowest place, though it is four hundred furlongs in length: and the Hellespont runs out into that expanse of sea which is called the Egean.

#### 4.86

These measurements I have made as follows:— a ship completes on an average in a long day a distance of seventy thousand fathoms, and in a night sixty thousand. Now we know that to the river Phasis from the mouth of the Sea (for it is here that the Pontus is longest) is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which amounts to one hundred and eleven myriads of fathoms; and these fathoms are eleven thousand one hundred furlongs. Then from the land of the Sindians to Themiskyra on the river Thermodon (for here is the broadest part of the Pontus) it is a voyage of three days and two nights, which amounts to thirty-three myriads of fathoms or three thousand three hundred furlongs. This Pontus then and also the Bosphorus and the Hellespont have been measured by me thus, and their nature is such as has been said: and this Pontus also has a lake which has its outlet into it, which lake is not much less in size than the Pontus itself, and it is called Maiotis and "Mother of the Pontus."

#### 4.87

Dareios then having gazed upon the Pontus sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles a Samian had been chief constructor; and having gazed upon the Bosphorus also, he set up two pillars by it of white stone with characters cut upon them, on the one Assyrian and on the other Hellenic, being the names of all the nations which he was leading with him: and he was leading with him all over whom he was ruler. The whole number of them without the naval force was reckoned to be seventy myriads including cavalry, and ships had been gathered together to the number of six hundred. These pillars the Byzantians conveyed to their city after the events of which I speak, and used them for the altar of Artemis Orthosia, excepting one stone, which was left standing by the side of the temple of Dionysos in Byzantion, covered over with Assyrian characters. Now the place on the Bosphorus where Dareios made his bridge is, as I conclude, midway between Byzantion and the temple at the mouth of the Pontus.

#### 4.88

After this Dareios being pleased with the floating bridge rewarded the chief

constructor of it, Mandrocles the Samian, with gifts tenfold; and as an offering from these Mandrocles had a painting made of figures to present the whole scene of the bridge over the Bosphorus and king Dareios sitting in a prominent seat and his army crossing over; this he caused to be painted and dedicated it as an offering in the temple of Hera, with the following inscription:

"Bosphorus having bridged over, the straits fish-abounding, to Hera Mandrocleës dedicates this, of his work to record; A crown on himself he set, and he brought to the Samians glory, And for Dareios performed everything after his mind."

#### 4.89

This memorial was made of him who constructed the bridge: and Dareios, after he had rewarded Mandrocles with gifts, passed over into Europe, having first commanded the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the river Ister, and when they arrived at the Ister, there to wait for him, making a bridge meanwhile over the river; for the chief of his naval force were the Ionians, the Aiolians and the Hellespontians. So the fleet sailed through between the Kyanean rocks and made straight for the Ister; and then they sailed up the river a two days' voyage from the sea and proceeded to make a bridge across the neck, as it were, of the river, where the mouths of the Ister part off. Dareios meanwhile, having crossed the Bosphorus on the floating bridge, was advancing through Thrace, and when he came to the sources of the river Tearos he encamped for three days.

#### 4.90

Now the Tearos is said by those who dwell near it to be the best of all rivers, both in other respects which tend to healing and especially for curing diseases of the skin both in men and in horses: and its springs are thirty-eight in number, flowing all from the same rock, of which some are cold and others warm. The way to them is of equal length from the city of Heraion near Perinthos and from Apollonia upon the Euxine Sea, that is to say two days' journey by each road. This Tearos runs into the river Contadesdos and the Contadesdos into the Agrianes and the Agrianes into the Hebros, which flows into the sea by the city of Ainos.

## 4.91

Dareios then, having come to this river and having encamped there, was pleased with the river and set up a pillar there also, with an inscription as follows: "The head-springs of the river Tearos give the best and fairest water of all rivers; and to them came leading an army against the Scythians the best and fairest of all men, Dareios the son of Hystaspes, of the Persians and of all

the Continent king." These were the words which were there written.

## 4.92

Dareios then set out from thence and came to another river whose name is Artescos, which flows through the land of the Odrysians. Having come to this river he did as follows:— he appointed a place for his army and bade every man as he passed out by it place one stone in this appointed place: and when the army had performed this, then he marched away his army leaving behind great mounds of these stones.

vocabulary ἀγνωμοσύνη senselessness, ignorance, folly ἀθανατίζω make immortal αἰτιάομαι blame ~etiology ἀκόντιον diminutive of javelin άλάομαι wander, rove, roam  $\sim$ Fr. ἀμαχητί without a fight ἄμμα -τος (n, 3) knot, cord ἀναδιδάσκω teach, teach better ἀναπείρω pierce on a spit  $\sim$ pierce ἀνδροφάγος man-eating ἄνω (ā) accomplish, pass, waste; upwards, out to sea ἀπειλέω vow, threaten, boast ἀπηλιώτης -ου (m, 1) east wind ἀπιστέω disbelieve ~stand ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ἀποκληίω shut out; close up ἀποπέμπω send away ∼pomp ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀρόω plow ~arable ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  $\sim$ oligarch ἀσθενής weak ἀστραπή lightning ἄτε as if; since ἀφανίζω do away with, make off with; (pass) disappear ἀφάπτω hang from, fasten to ἀφηλιώτης -ου (m, 1) east wind βαθύς high, deep  $\sim$ bathysphere **βροντή** thunder  $\sim$ brontosaurus γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γουνός fruitful terrace δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom ∼demon διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis

δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διαιτάω treat; live; arbitrate διαλαμβάνω distribute διεξέρχομαι go through δουλεύω serve, be a slave δουλόω enslave ἐκάστοτε each time ἐκδέκομαι receive; succeed to a ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐλεύθερος not enslaved Έλλην Greek ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἑξήκοντα sixty ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid) hurry ἐπιχώριος native ἑσπέρα evening, west ἐύς good, brave, noble εὐωχέω fete, feed well ζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke, join ~zygote ἥδομαι be pleased, enjoy  $\sim$ hedonism ἦθος ἤθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat  $\sim$ ethos ἠοῖος eastern, the morning ∼Eocene ἤπειρος (f) mainland, continent ίμάς -ντος (τ, m, 3) strap καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατάγαιος at ground level; underground κατάκειμαι lie down καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion καταμένω stay; not change κατασκευάζω equip, build κατύπερθεν above, from above κόλπος bosom, lap-fold; gulf

κολπόω swell, fold κτάομαι acquire, possess κῶας κώως (n, 3) fleece λαγχάνω be allotted; (esp. λελαforms) allot; receive λίην very λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic λόγχη spear point; lot μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μεσόγαια inland μεταδοχέω change one's mind μέτειμι be among, go, follow ~ion μετέωρος up in the air ∼meteor μίν him, her, it μυχός recess, nook νευρή bowstring ~neuro νότος south, south wind οἴκημα -τος (n, 3) room όμιλέω ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) associate with  $\sim$ homily ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀρεινός mountainous ὀρεύς -ος (m) mule ∼hormone **ὄρος** boundary marker ∼horizon οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance; limit οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill πάλος lot; ballot παντελής complete, absolute πάντη everywhere πάντως by all means παραπλήσιος similar to παρόμοιος closely resembling πενθέω grieve  $\sim$ Nepenthe πεντετηρίς five-year festival περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist Πέρσης Persian πιθανός persuasive ποθέω miss, long for, notice an absence; lose ∼bid **προθυμία** (ō) zeal, alacrity ∼fume πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted προσδοχάω expect πρόσω forward, in the future; far δίπτω hurl σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σοφιστής -οῦ (m, 1) expert στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy στρατόω be on a campaign  $\sim$ strategy συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμβουλίη advice; consultation συμπότης drinking companion, buddy σφέτερος their σχεδία raft σχεδίην at close quarters ~ischemia σωτηρία saving, preservation τελευταῖος last, final τέταρτος fourth ~trapezoid τετράγωνος square τοξεύω shoot an arrow at ~toxic τύραννος tyrant φυλακός guard; sentry χειρόω dominate, subdue χοηστός useful; brave, worthy χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

# 4.93

Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱστρον, πρώτους αἰρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. 1 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Κυρμιάναι καὶ Νιψαῖοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείω οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἐόντες ἀνδρηιότατοι καὶ δικαιότατοι.

# 4.94

Άθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· οὖτε ἀποθνήσκειν ἑωυτοὺς νομίζουσι ἰέναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οῖ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζουσι Γεβελέιζιν· διὰ πεντετηρίδος τὸν πάλῳ λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ ὧδε· οῦ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτὸν μετέωρον ρίπτουσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας. πὰν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἀναπαρείς, τοῖσι δὲ ἴλεος ὁ θεὸς δοκέει εἶναι ἢν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι, αἰτισάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. οὖτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήικες καὶ πρὸς βροντήν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

# 4.95

'Ως δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐόντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμω, δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρη τῷ Μνησάρχου, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. ἄτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαιτάν τε Ἰάδα

make immortal
without a fight
senselessness, ignorance, folly
five-year festival
spear point; lot
lightning

καὶ ἤθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Θρήικας, οἶα ελλησι τε ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῆ Πυθαγόρη, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὡς οὕτε αὐτὸς οὕτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὕτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἤξουσι ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιεόντες ἔξουσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά. ἐν ῷ δὲ ἐποίεε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατάγαιον οἴκημα ἐποιέετο. ὡς δὲ οἱ παντελέως ἐξε τὸ οἴκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων ἡφανίσθη, καταβὰς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον οἴκημα διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία· οῖ δὲ μιν ἐπόθεόν τε καὶ ἐπένθεον οι ὡς τεθνεῶτα. τετάρτω δὲ ἔτεϊ ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρήιξι, καὶ οὕτω πιθανά το σρί ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Σάλμοξις. ταῦτα φασί μιν ποιῆσαι.

# 4.96

Έγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκήματος οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὧν πιστεύω τι λίην, δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. εἴτε δὲ ἐγένετό τις Σάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτησι οὖτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω. οὖτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι ὡς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἴποντο τῷ ἄλλω στρατῷ.

## 4.97

Δαρείος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἄμ' αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρείος ἐκέλευσε τούς τε Ἰωνας τὴν σχεδίην λύσαντας ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἤπειρον ἑωυτῷ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων λύειν καὶ ποιέειν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κώης ὁ Ἐρξάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιληναίων ἔλεξε Δαρείῳ τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ οἱ φίλον εἴη γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι. «ὧ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὕτε ἀρηρομένον φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὕτε πόλις οἰκεομένη' σύ νυν γέφυραν ταύτὴν ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπὼν τούτους οἵπερ μιν ἔζευξαν. καὶ ἤν τε κατὰ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> expert <sup>8</sup> room <sup>9</sup> complete, absolute <sup>10</sup> grieve <sup>11</sup> persuasive

νόον πρήξωμεν εύρόντες Σκύθας, ἔστι ἄποδος ἡμῖν, ἤν τε καὶ μή σφεας εύρεῖν δυνώμεθα, ἥ γε ἄποδος ἡμῖν ἀσφαλής οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἐσσωθέωμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθέων μάχη, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ δυνάμενοι σφέας εύρεῖν πάθωμεν τι ἀλώμενοι. καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἄν με ἐμεωυτοῦ εἴνεκεν, ὡς καταμένω ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὔρισκον ἀρίστην σοί, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔψομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἄν λειφθείην.» κάρτα τε ἤσθη τῆ γνώμη Δαρεῖος καὶ μιν ἀμείψατο τοῖσιδε. «ξεῖνε Λέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνηθί μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλίης χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι ἀμείψωμαι.»

# 4.98

Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἀπάψας ἄμματα<sup>12</sup> έξήκοντα ἐν ἱμάντι καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἰώνων τυράννους ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἱμάντα τόνδε ποιέετε τάδε. ἐπεὰν ἐμὲ ἴδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἄμμα εν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἢν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αὶ ἡμέραι τῶν ἁμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν. μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπείτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίην, πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίης τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῦντες ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε.» Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπείγετο.

## 4.99

Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηίκη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἱστρος ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὖρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἱστρου ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἱστρου αὕτη ἤδη ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη ἐστί, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον αὐτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν

<sup>12</sup> knot, cord 13 south, south wind

τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐοῦσαν ὀρεινήν τε χώρην καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τρηχέης καλεομένης αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον κατήκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρεα τῶν οὕρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τήν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἦῶ, κατά περ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς χώρης καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτη καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ ᾿Αθηναῖοι νεμοίατο τὸν γουνὸν <sup>14</sup> τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι ᾿Αναφλύστου δήμου λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρική ἐστι. ὃς δὲ τῆς Ὑηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ὑήπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοίατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔοικε ἡ Ταυρική.

## 4.100

Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἤδη Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἠοίης 15 νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος μέχρι Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἤδη ὧν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἱστρου τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκληίεται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρώτων ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνδροφάγων, τελευταίων δὲ Μελαγχλαίνων.

## 4.101

Έστι ὧν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς ἐούσης τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντη ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἱστρου ἐπὶ Βορυσθένεα δέκα ἡμερέων όδός ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιῆτιν ἑτερέων δέκα καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυψέων οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερέων

fruitful terrace <sup>15</sup> eastern, the morning

#### 4.93

But before he came to the Ister he conquered first the Getai, who believe in immortality: for the Thracians who occupy Salmydessos and are settled above the cities of Apollonian and Mesambria, called the Kyrmianai and the Nipsaioi, delivered themselves over to Dareios without fighting; but the Getai, who are the bravest and the most upright in their dealings of all the Thracians, having betaken themselves to obstinacy were forthwith subdued.

#### 4.94

And their belief in immortality is of this kind, that is to say, they hold that they do not die, but that he who is killed goes to Salmoxis, a divinity, whom some of them call Gebeleizis; and at intervals of four years they send one of themselves, whomsoever the lot may select, as a messenger to Salmoxis, charging him with such requests as they have to make on each occasion; and they send him thus:— certain of them who are appointed for this have three javelins, and others meanwhile take hold on both sides of him who is being sent to Salmoxis, both by his hands and his feet, and first they swing him up, then throw him into the air so as to fall upon the spear-points: and if when he is pierced through he is killed, they think that the god is favourable to them; but if he is not killed, they find fault with the messenger himself, calling him a worthless man, and then having found fault with him they send another: and they give him the charge beforehand, while he is yet alive. These same Thracians also shoot arrows up towards the sky when thunder and lightning come, and use threats to the god, not believing that there exists any other god except their own.

#### 4.95

This Salmoxis I hear from the Hellenes who dwell about the Hellespont and the Pontus, was a man, and he became a slave in Samos, and was in fact a slave of Pythagoras the son of Mnesarchos. Then having become free he gained great wealth, and afterwards returned to his own land: and as the Thracians both live hardly and are rather simple-minded, this Salmoxis, being acquainted with the Ionian way of living and with manners more cultivated than the Thracians were used to see, since he had associated with Hellenes (and not only that but with Pythagoras, not the least able philosopher of the Hellenes), prepared a banqueting-hall, where he received and feasted the chief men of the tribe and instructed them meanwhile that neither he himself nor his guests nor their descendants in succession after them would die; but that they would come to a place where they would live for ever and have all things good. While he was doing that which has been mentioned and was saying these things, he was making for himself meanwhile a chamber

under the ground; and when his chamber was finished, he disappeared from among the Thracians and went down into the underground chamber, where he continued to live for three years: and they grieved for his loss and mourned for him as dead. Then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and in this way the things which Salmoxis said became credible to them.

# 4.96

Thus they say that he did; but as to this matter and the chamber under ground, I neither disbelieve it nor do I very strongly believe, but I think that this Salmoxis lived many years before Pythagoras. However, whether there ever lived a man Salmoxis, or whether he is simply a native deity of the Getai, let us bid farewell to him now.

#### 4.97

These, I say, having such manners as I have said, were subdued by the Persians and accompanied the rest of the army: and when Dareios and with him the land-army arrived at the Ister, then after all had passed over, Dareios commanded the Ionians to break up the floating bridge and to accompany him by land, as well as the rest of the troops which were in the ships: and when the Ionians were just about to break it up and to do that which he commanded, Coës the son of Erxander, who was commander of the Mytilenians, said thus to Dareios, having first inquired whether he was disposed to listen to an opinion from one who desired to declare it: "O king, seeing that thou art about to march upon a land where no cultivated ground will be seen nor any inhabited town, do thou therefore let this bridge remain where it is, leaving to guard it those same men who constructed it. Then, if we find the Scythians and fare as we desire, we have a way of return; and also even if we shall not be able to find them, at least our way of return is secured: for that we should be worsted by the Scythians in fight I never feared yet, but rather that we might not be able to find them, and might suffer some disaster in wandering about. Perhaps some one will say that in speaking thus I am speaking for my own advantage, in order that I may remain behind; but in truth I am bringing forward, O king, the opinion which I found best for thee, and I myself will accompany thee and not be left behind." With this opinion Dareios was very greatly pleased and made answer to him in these words: "Friend from Lesbos, when I have returned safe to my house, be sure that thou appear before me, in order that I may requite thee with good deeds for good counsel."

# 4.98

Having thus said and having tied sixty knots in a thong, he called the despots of the Ionians to speak with him and said as follows: "Men of Ionia, know

that I have given up the opinion which I formerly declared with regard to the bridge; and do ye keep this thong and do as I shall say:— so soon as ye shall have seen me go forward against the Scythians, from that time begin, and untie a knot on each day: and if within this time I am not here, and ye find that the days marked by the knots have passed by, then sail away to your own lands. Till then, since our resolve has thus been changed, guard the floating bridge, showing all diligence to keep it safe and to guard it. And thus acting, ye will do for me a very acceptable service." Thus said Dareios and hastened on his march forwards.

### 4.99

Now in front of Scythia in the direction towards the sea lies Thrace; and where a bay is formed in this land, there begins Scythia, into which the Ister flows out, the mouth of the river being turned towards the South-East Wind. Beginning at the Ister then I am about to describe the coast land of the true Scythia, with regard to measurement. At once from the Ister begins this original land of Scythia, and it lies towards the midday and the South Wind, extending as far as the city called Carkinitis. After this the part which lies on the coast of the same sea still, a country which is mountainous and runs out in the direction of the Pontus, is occupied by the Tauric race, as far as the peninsula which is called the "Rugged Chersonese"; and this extends to the sea which lies towards the East Wind: for two sides of the Scythian boundaries lie along by the sea, one by the sea on the South, and the other by that on the East, just as it is with Attica: and in truth the Tauroi occupy a part of Scythia which has much resemblance to Attica; it is as if in Attica another race and not the Athenians occupied the hill region of Sunion, supposing it to project more at the point into the sea, that region namely which is cut off by a line from Thoricos to Anaphlystos. Such I say, if we may be allowed to compare small things such as this with great, is the form of the Tauric land. For him however who has not sailed along this part of the coast of Attica I will make it clear by another comparison:— it is as if in Iapygia another race and not the Iapygians had cut off for themselves and were holding that extremity of the land which is bounded by a line beginning at the harbour of Brentesion and running to Taras. And in mentioning these two similar cases I am suggesting many other things also to which the Tauric land has resemblance.

### 4.100

After the Tauric land immediately come Scythians again, occupying the parts above the Tauroi and the coasts of the Eastern sea, that is to say the parts to the West of the Kimmerian Bosphorus and of the Maiotian lake, as far as the river Tanaïs, which runs into the corner of this lake. In the upper parts

which tend inland Scythia is bounded (as we know) by the Agathyrsians first, beginning from the Ister, and then by the Neuroi, afterwards by the Androphagoi, and lastly by the Melanchlainoi.

# 4.101

Scythia then being looked upon as a four-sided figure with two of its sides bordered by the sea, has its border lines equal to one another in each direction, that which tends inland and that which runs along by the sea: for from Ister to the Borysthenes is ten days' journey, and from the Borysthenes to the Maiotian lake ten days' more; and the distance inland to the Melanchlainoi, who are settled above the Scythians, is a journey of twenty days. Now

 $\sim$ genus

vocabulary άβρός graceful, delicate, pretty ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, statue ἄγριος wild, savage  $\sim$ agriculture ἄκος ἄκεος (n, 3) cure, remedy άλίσχομαι be captured ~helix ἀνασταυρόω impale ἀναφαίνω reveal, shine  $\sim$ phenomenon ἀνδροφάγος man-eating ἄνωθεν from above, the beginning ἄπαξ once ἀποπέμπω send away ~pomp ἀποπλέω sail away  $\sim$ float ἀποσκίδναμαι be dispersed ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  $\sim$ oligarch αὐτόθι on the spot αὐτόχθων native βωμός altar; stand, pedestal γλαυκός bright, gleaming  $\sim$ glaucoma  $\gamma$ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language  $\sim$ glossary γόης γῶτος (m, 3) sorcerer, trickster δαίμων -ονος (m, 3) a god, fate, doom ∼demon δασύς hairy, brushy δέρμα -τος (n, 3) skin, hide  $\sim$ dermatology δήλησις mischief; harm δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διαιτάω treat; live; arbitrate διαρπάζω make prey of  $\sim$ harpoon διωθέω tear, rend εἰκάζω liken; conjecture εἷμα -τος (n, 3) garment  $\sim$ vest εἰρεσία rowing  $\sim$ row

ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth

ἐκκόπτω cut out, down, off ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐλεύθερος not enslaved "Ελλην Greek **ἕλος** ἕλεος (n, 3) marsh ἐμπόριον immigrant, metic, trading post έμπόριος immigrant, metic, trading ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἔνυδρις otter ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out ἐπανάγω sit up, bring up; retreat; set sail ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic ἐπικάρσιος running headlong ἐπίκοινος in common ἐπιπίπτω fall upon, attack ἐπωνύμιος called, named **ἐργάτης** -ου (ā, m, 1) worker ἐρῆμος empty ἐσθής clothes ∼vest εὐμάρεια ease, opportunity ἐύς good, brave, noble ἔχθος -εος (n, 3) hatred  $\sim$ external ζωγρέω capture, give quarter; revive ήθος ήθεος (n, 3) habit, habitat  $\sim$ ethos ήλιχία time of life, contemporaries θηρεύω hunt, fish ~fierce θύω ( $\bar{v}$ ) rush; sacrifice  $\sim$ θύω  $\theta \tilde{\omega} \mu \alpha$  a wonder, feeling of surprise  $\sim$ theater ίδέα ἰδῆς semblance; kind, style ίδρύω establish ίππάζομαι drive a chariot ~hippo ίστίον sail ∼stand κάλαμος reed κασίγνητος brother, sister

καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy κατάρχω hold ready (sacrificial materials) ∼oligarch κατασκευάζω equip, build κῆπος garden, orchard κοημνός riverside cliff **κρύπτω** hide, cover ∼cryptic κῶλον limb ληίζομαι plunder ~lucre ληίη booty λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic λύχος wolf ∼lycanthropy μέγαθος tall, big (person) μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μεσόγαια inland μῖξις mixing; sex, commerce νεηνίσκος young man νευρή bowstring ~neuro νηός temple, shrine νόμαιος customary νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing **ξύλινος** wooden δδοιπορέω walk over ὄον οὖ type of fruit δπόθεν whence ὄρθιος shrill; steep, straight ὄρχις -τος (m) testicle  $\sim$ orchid ὄφις ὄφεως (m) serpent ∼ophidian παίω hit παντοῖος all kinds of  $\pi$ αρθένος (f) girl, virgin  $\sim$ Parthenon πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea  $\sim$ pelagic πηδάλιον rudder

πιέζω press, squeeze ∼piezoelectric πλησιόχωρος adjacent πολίζω build a wall, city  $\sim$ Minneapolis προσχωρέω go to, join, support  $\pi \rho \acute{o} \sigma \omega$  forward, in the future; far ὁόπαλον club, staff σιτοφάγος (τ) eating food, grain  $\sim$ parasite σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στρατηλασίη expedition, campaign στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ∼strategy στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy στρατόω be on a campaign  $\sim$ strategy συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συνέρχομαι come together τετρακισχίλιοι 4000 ~kiloτοιόσδε such ὑπερέχω be over; protect ὑποφεύγω flee before  $\sim$  fugitive φθόνος malice, envy φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear φυλαχός guard; sentry χειρόω dominate, subdue χρήσιμος useful **χρῶμα** -τος (n, 3) color ἀθέω push

όδὸς. ἡ δὲ όδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληταί μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχιλίων <sup>1</sup> σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὀρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἐτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἡ μέν νυν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

### 4.102

Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὡς οὖκ οἶοί τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίη διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ Ἁγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἁνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

# 4.103

Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται θύουσι μὲν τῆ, παρθένω τούς τε ναυηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπω τοιῷδε καταρξάμενοι ροπάλω² παίουσι τὴν κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὠθέουσι κάτω ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἴδρυται τὸ ἱρόν, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οἰκ ωθέεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῆ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἰγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἂν χειρώσωνται ποιεῦσι τάδε ἀποταμὼν ἔκαστος κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἱστᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσαν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ ληίης τε καὶ πολέμου.

# 4.104

Άγάθυρσοι δὲ άβρότατοι  $^3$  ἀνδρῶν εἰσι καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπίκοινον δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μῖξιν $^4$  ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασίγνητοι τε

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  4000  $^{\,\,2}$  club, staff  $^{\,\,3}$  graceful, delicate, pretty  $^{\,\,4}$  mixing; sex, commerce

ἀλλήλων ἔωσι καὶ οἰκήιοι ἐόντες πάντες μήτε φθόνω μήτε ἔχθεί<sup>5</sup> χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόμαια Θρήιξι προσκεχωρήκασι.

# 4.105

Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῆ δὲ μιῆ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων ὄφιας γάρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἄνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς ὁ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὖτοι γόητες εἶναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ κατοικημένων ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἄπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς τῶυτὸ κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μέν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἡσσον, καὶ ὀμνῦσι δὲ λέγοντες.

# 4.106

Άνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἤθεα, οὕτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὕτε νόμω οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι νομάδες δὲ εἰσι, ἐσθῆτά τε φορέουσι τἢ Σκυθικἢ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην, ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων.

### 4.107

Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἵματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι, νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται.

# 4.108

Βουδίνοι δὲ ἔθνος ἐὸν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλαυκόν<sup>9</sup> τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστι καὶ πυρρόν· πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται<sup>10</sup> ξυλίνη, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Γελωνός. τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κῶλον<sup>11</sup> ἔκαστον τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστί, ὑψηλὸν δὲ καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ ἱρά. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> hatred <sup>6</sup> expedition, campaign <sup>7</sup> sorcerer, trickster <sup>8</sup> wolf <sup>9</sup> bright, gleaming <sup>10</sup> build a wall, city <sup>11</sup> limb

ίρὰ Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι ξυλίνοισι, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι καὶ βακχεύουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἔλληνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες οἴκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῆ, τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῆ χρέωνται.

# 4.109

Βουδίνοι δὲ οὐ τῆ αὐτῆ γλώσση χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ δίαιτα ἡ αὐτή. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδίνοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες <sup>12</sup> νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτη, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι <sup>13</sup> καὶ κήπους <sup>14</sup> ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην <sup>15</sup> ὅμοιοι οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα. <sup>16</sup> ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδίνοι Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὀρθῶς καλεόμενοι. ἡ δὲ χώρη σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασέα <sup>17</sup> ἴδησι παντοίησι ἐν δὲ τῆ ἴδη τῆ πλείστη ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλὴ καὶ ἔλος <sup>18</sup> καὶ κάλαμος <sup>19</sup> περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτη ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται, καὶ οἱ ὄρχιες <sup>20</sup> αὐτοῖσι εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἄκεσιν.

# 4.110

Σαυροματέων δὲ πὲρι ὧδε λέγεται. ὅτε Ἔλληνες ἀμαζόσι ἐμαχέσαντο τὰς δὲ ἀμαζόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοι οἰὸρ γὰρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν, τότε λόγος τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικήσαντας τῆ ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι μάχη ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοισι τῶν ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἐδυνέατο ζωγρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι² χρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ἱστίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίη·²² ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφέροντο κατὰ κῦμα καὶ ἄνεμον, καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνούς· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ

 $<sup>^{12}</sup>$  native  $^{13}$  eating food, grain  $^{14}$  garden, orchard  $^{15}$  semblance; kind, style  $^{16}$  color  $^{17}$  hairy, brushy  $^{18}$  marsh  $^{19}$  reed  $^{20}$  testicle  $^{21}$  rudder  $^{22}$  rowing

εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ὁδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεομένην. ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρώτῳ ἱπποφορβίῳ τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἱππαζόμεναι ἐληίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

# 4.111

Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὕτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὕτε ἐσθῆτα οὕτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιεν, ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιεῦντο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγνωσαν ἐούσας γυναῖκας. βουλευομένοισι ὧν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἑωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι ἐς αὐτάς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περ ἐκεῖναι ἢσαν τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινέων καὶ ποιέειν τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέωσι. ἢν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μή, ὑποφεύγειν δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας αὖτις πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι βουλόμενοι ἐξ αὐτέων παῖδας ἐκγενήσεσθαι. ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι ἐποίευν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

# 4.112

Έπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμιῆ δηλήσι<sup>23</sup> ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν· προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρω τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστη. εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ ζόην ἔζωον τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῃσι, θηρεύοντές τε καὶ ληιζόμενοι.

# 4.113

Έποίευν δὲ αἱ ᾿Αμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοιόνδε· ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ᾽ ἀλληλέων ἐς εὐμαρείην²⁴ ἀποσκιδνάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> mischief; harm <sup>24</sup> ease, opportunity

I have reckoned the day's journey at two hundred furlongs: and by this reckoning the cross lines of Scythia would be four thousand furlongs in length, and the perpendiculars which tend inland would be the same number of furlongs. Such is the size of this land.

#### 4.102

The Scythians meanwhile having considered with themselves that they were not able to repel the army of Dareios alone by a pitched battle, proceeded to send messengers to those who dwelt near them: and already the kings of these nations had come together and were taking counsel with one another, since so great an army was marching towards them. Now those who had come together were the kings of the Tauroi, Agathyrsians, Neuroi, Androphagoi, Melanchlainoi, Gelonians, Budinoi and Sauromatai.

#### 4.103

Of these the Tauroi have the following customs:— they sacrifice to the "Maiden" both ship-wrecked persons and also those Hellenes whom they can capture by putting out to sea against them; and their manner of sacrifice is this:— when they have made the first offering from the victim they strike his head with a club: and some say that they push the body down from the top of the cliff (for it is upon a cliff that the temple is placed) and set the head up on a stake; but others, while agreeing as to the heads, say nevertheless that the body is not pushed down from the top of the cliff, but buried in the earth. This divinity to whom they sacrifice, the Tauroi themselves say is Iphigeneia the daughter of Agamemnon. Whatsoever enemies they have conquered they treat in this fashion:— each man cuts off a head and bears it away to his house; then he impales it on a long stake and sets it up above his house raised to a great height, generally above the chimney; and they say that these are suspended above as guards to preserve the whole house. This people has its living by plunder and war.

# 4.104

The Agathyrsians are the most luxurious of men and wear gold ornaments for the most part: also they have promiscuous intercourse with their women, in order that they may be brethren to one another and being all nearly related may not feel envy or malice one against another. In their other customs they have come to resemble the Thracians.

#### 4.105

The Neuroi practise the Scythian customs: and one generation before the expedition of Dareios it so befell them that they were forced to quit their land altogether by reason of serpents: for their land produced serpents in

vast numbers, and they fell upon them in still larger numbers from the desert country above their borders; until at last being hard pressed they left their own land and settled among the Budinoi. These men it would seem are wizards; for it is said of them by the Scythians and by the Hellenes who are settled in the Scythian land that once in every year each of the Neuroi becomes a wolf for a few days and then returns again to his original form. For my part I do not believe them when they say this, but they say it nevertheless, and swear it moreover.

### 4.106

The Androphagoi have the most savage manners of all human beings, and they neither acknowledge any rule of right nor observe any customary law. They are nomads and wear clothing like that of the Scythians, but have a language of their own; and alone of all these nations they are man-eaters.

### 4.107

The Melanchlainoi wear all of them black clothing, whence also they have their name; and they practise the customs of the Scythians.

### 4.108

The Budinoi are a very great and numerous race, and are all very blue-eyed and fair of skin: and in their land is built a city of wood, the name of which is Gelonos, and each side of the wall is thirty furlongs in length and lofty at the same time, all being of wood; and the houses are of wood also and the temples; for there are in it temples of Hellenic gods furnished after Hellenic fashion with sacred images and altars and cells, all of wood; and they keep festivals every other year to Dionysos and celebrate the rites of Bacchus: for the Gelonians are originally Hellenes, and they removed from the trading stations on the coast and settled among the Budinoi; and they use partly the Scythian language and partly the Hellenic. The Budinoi however do not use the same language as the Gelonians, nor is their manner of living the same:

# 4.109

For the Budinoi are natives of the soil and a nomad people, and alone of the nations in these parts feed on fir-cones; but the Gelonians are tillers of the ground and feed on corn and have gardens, and resemble them not at all either in appearance or in complexion of skin. However by the Hellenes the Budinoi also are called Gelonians, not being rightly so called. Their land is all thickly overgrown with forests of all kinds of trees, and in the thickest forest there is a large and deep lake, and round it marshy ground and reeds. In this are caught otters and beavers and certainly other wild animals with square-shaped faces. The fur of these is sewn as a fringe round their coats

of skin, and the testicles are made use of by them for curing diseases of the womb.

### 4.110

About the Sauromatai the following tale is told:— When the Hellenes had fought with the Amazons,— now the Amazons are called by the Scythians Oiorpata, which name means in the Hellenic tongue "slayers of men," for "man" they call oior, and pata means "to slay,"— then, as the story goes, the Hellenes, having conquered them in the battle at the Thermodon, were sailing away and conveying with them in three ships as many Amazons as they were able to take prisoners. These in the open sea set upon the men and cast them out of the ships; but they knew nothing about ships, nor how to use rudders or sails or oars, and after they had cast out the men they were driven about by wave and wind and came to that part of the Maiotian lake where Cremnoi stands; now Cremnoi is in the land of the free Scythians. There the Amazons disembarked from their ships and made their way into the country, and having met first with a troop of horses feeding they seized them, and mounted upon these they plundered the property of the Scythians.

### 4.111

The Scythians meanwhile were not able to understand the matter, for they did not know either their speech or their dress or the race to which they belonged, but were in wonder as to whence they had come and thought that they were men, of an age corresponding to their appearance: and finally they fought a battle against them, and after the battle the Scythians got possession of the bodies of the dead, and thus they discovered that they were women. They took counsel therefore and resolved by no means to go on trying to kill them, but to send against them the youngest men from among themselves, making conjecture of the number so as to send just as many men as there were women. These were told to encamp near them, and do whatsoever they should do; if however the women should come after them, they were not to fight but to retire before them, and when the women stopped, they were to approach near and encamp. This plan was adopted by the Scythians because they desired to have children born from them.

# 4.112

The young men accordingly were sent out and did that which had been commanded them: and when the Amazons perceived that they had not come to do them any harm, they let them alone; and the two camps approached nearer to one another every day: and the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing except their arms and their horses, and got their living, as the Amazons did, by hunting and by taking booty.

# 4.113

Now the Amazons at midday used to scatter abroad either one by one or by two together, dispersing to a distance from one another to ease themselves; and the Scythians also having perceived this did the same thing: and one of the Scythians came near

vocabulary ἀδικία injustice, offence ἀέκων unwilling ἀκοντίζω throw, (+gen) at ∼acute άλίζω gather, assemble ἄμαξα wagon ἀνδροφάγος man-eating ἄνευ away from; not having; not needing ~Sp. sin ἀνίημι urge, impel; release  $\sim$ jet ἀντιάζω meet, fight, join ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise ∼angel ἀπεῖπον refuse, renounce, declare ἀπελαύνω expel, exclude, ward off; (intrans) ride away ἀπολαγχάνω get by lot ἀποστερέω despoil, defraud ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  $\sim$ bear ἀπωθέω repel, reject ἀρχαῖος ancient, from the beginning  $\sim$ oligarch αὐχήν -ένος (m, 3) neck βασίλειος kingly βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind γάμος wedding, sex ~bigamy γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γεφυρόω (ō) dam, move earth γηραιός old γυναικήιος of women **δέος** fear ∼Deimos δηλέομαι hurt, spoil, steal ~delenda διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute δίαιτα way of life; home; arbitration διαιτάω treat; live; arbitrate διαχέομαι repair δουλοσύνη slavery ἐγχρίμπτω to near, bring near to εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic

ἐκδιδάσκω teach, explain ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐμμανθάνω know by heart ἐκπλέω sail away ~float ἐκπολεμόω antagonize to war ἐκτρίβω (ī) rub out ἐκφοιτάω habitually go out έκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily ἐλαφρός nimble, light on one's feet; light, bearable ∼elevator ἐμποδών getting in the way ἐμφανής visible ἐντέλλω (mp) command ἐξανίστημι raise, bring/send out ἐπιβάλλω throw upon, head for ~ballistic ἐπικρατέω rule over ἐπιχειρέω do, try, attack ∼chiral ἐύς good, brave, noble ζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke, join ~zygote ήμερόω tame ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent θήρα hunt  $\sim$ fierce ίππάζομαι drive a chariot ∼hippo καταλέγω relate in detail, choose; enroll ∼legion καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  $\sim$ catastrophe καταχράομαι (mp) abuse, use up; (act) be enough κραίνω accomplish; (rare) rule κρήνη well, spring κτῆμα -τος (n, 3) possession κτῆσις -ος (f) chattels λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic μαρτύριον testimony, proof μηκέτι no more νεηνίσκος young man νόμαιος customary δδοιπορέω walk over

δδόω lead well ὁμολογίη agreement, consent **ὁμός** same ~homoerotic ὁμοῦ together **ὁμόω** unite ∼homoerotic **ὄον** οὖ type of fruit οὐδαμῆ nowhere οὐδαμός not anyone **παρθένος** (f) girl, virgin ∼Parthenon περάω cross over, drive across; sell as a slave ∼pierce πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περίοιδα have great, greater skill περιοράω look around; watch; permit Πέρσης Persian  $\pi$ ιέζω press, squeeze  $\sim$ piezoelectric πλησιόχωρος adjacent πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds πρόδρομος running ahead προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προπέμπω send, send ahead  $\sim$ pomp προσγίγνομαι become ally to προσδοχάω expect προσχωρέω go to, join, support σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore στολή equipment στρατηλατέω lead an army στρατιά army ~strategy συγχέω entangle, destroy, confound συλλαμβάνω seize, capture; understand ∼epilepsy συμμαχία alliance συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen συνέρχομαι come together

συνίημι send together; hear, notice, understand ∼jet σχίζω split ~schism τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked τίνω (t) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for τοιόσδε such τοχεύς -ος (m) parent ~oxytocin τοξεύω shoot an arrow at ~toxic ὑπαχούω listen, reply ~acoustic ὑπαντιάζω take a stand against ὕπειμι be under ὑπεξάγω lead to safety ~demagogue ὑπέξειμι withdraw; go out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer ὑποδύω (mp) get under; play a character ὑποκρίνομαι (ī) answer; pretend ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse ὑπομένω stay behind, await  $\sim$ remain ὑποστρέφω turn around, go back  $\sim$ atrophy ὑποφεύγω flee before  $\sim$ fugitive ύστεραῖος the next; later φοιτάω go back and forth φορβή food, pasture  $\sim$ euphorbia φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear χοηστός useful; brave, worthy **χωρέω** withdraw, give way to (+dat)  $\sim$ heir χωρίς separately; except, other than χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

τώντὸ τοῦτο. καί τις μουνωθεισέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ ᾿Αμαζὼν οὐκ ἀπωθέετο ἀλλὰ περιείδε χρήσασθαι. καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῆ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τωὐτὸ χωρίον καὶ ἔτερον ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὴ ἑτέρην ἄζειν. ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς τῆ δὲ δευτεραίη ἡλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὖτος καὶ ἔτερον ἡγε, καὶ τὴν ᾿Αμαζόνα εὖρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἅμαζόνων.

### 4.114

Μετὰ δὲ συμμίξαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων έκαστος ταύτην τῆ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνέατο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αί γυναίκες συνέλαβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήκαν ἀλλήλων, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Άμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες. «ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσιες νῦν ὦν μηκέτι πλεῦνα χρόνον ζόην τοιήνδε ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ πλήθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναίκας δὲ ἔξομεν ὑμέας καὶ οὐδαμὰς ἄλλας.» αΐ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε. «ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετερέων γυναικῶν οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαια ἡμῖν τε κἀκείνησι έστί. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομέν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἱππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικήια οὐκ ἐμάθομεν· αἱ δὲ ὑμέτεραι γυναῖκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν ποιεῦσι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικήια ἐργάζονται μένουσαι έν τῆσι άμάξησι, οὖτ' ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι οὖτε ἄλλη οὐδαμῆ. 1 οὐκ ἂν ὧν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνῃσι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας έχειν ήμέας καὶ δοκέειν εἶναι δίκαιοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας άπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν έπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν.» ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι.

### 4.115

Έπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἡμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. «ἡμέας

<sup>1</sup> nowhere

ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος ὅκως χρὴ οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρην δηλησαμένας² πολλά. ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιέετε ἄμα ἡμῖν φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε καὶ περήσαντες Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἰκέωμεν.»

# 4.116

Έπείθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι, διαβάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν όδοιπόρεον πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάιδος όδόν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ νυν κατοίκηνται, οἴκησαν τοῦτον. καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρὲωνται τῆ παλαιῆ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπ᾽ ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἄμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσαι.

# 4.117

Φωνῆ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῆ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἰλμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδέ σφι διακέεται. οὐ γαμὲεται παρθένος οὐδεμία πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνη αἳ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι,

# 4.118

Έπὶ τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας άλισμένους ἀπικόμενος τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδή οἱ τὰ ἐν τῆ ἠπείρῳ τῆ ἐτέρη πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἤπειρον, διαβὰς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήικας γεφυροῖ ποταμὸν Ἱστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. «ὑμεῖς ὧν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιίδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τὼυτὸ νοήσαντες

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> hurt, spoil, steal <sup>3</sup> old

ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὔκων ποιήσετε ταῦτα; ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώρην ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρησόμεθα. τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμέων τιμωρέειν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλαφρότερον. ἡκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένω ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηλάτεε ὁ ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἰέναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδὼν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντας τούς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ Θρήικας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας.»

# 4.119

Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλέες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἥκοντες, καί σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνῶμαι ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς καὶ ὁ Βουδίνος καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης κατὰ τώυτὸ γενόμενοι ύπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσειν, ό δὲ Άγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρὸς καὶ Άνδροφάγος καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθησι ύπεκρίναντο. «εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότεροι ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε αν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὀρθά, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες τώυτὸ αν ὑμῖν έπρήσσομεν. νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν ἄνευ ήμέων ἐπεκρατέετε Περσέων ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου, καὶ έκεινοι, έπει σφεας ώυτος θεος έγειρει, την όμοιην ύμιν αποδιδούσι. ήμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἠδικήσαμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα άδικέειν. ἢν μέντοι ἐπίῃ καὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην ἄρξῃ τε ἀδικέων, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, μενέομεν παρ' ήμιν αὐτοίσι' ήκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ' ήμέας Πέρσας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίης γενομενους.»

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> nimble, light on one's feet; light, bearable <sup>5</sup> lead an army <sup>6</sup> tame

# 4.120

Ταῦτα ώς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιέεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτε δὴ σφι οὖτοι γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίοιεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσχωρέειν Σαυρομάτας τούτους μεν δη ύπάγειν, ην έπι τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης ἰθυ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην ὑποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντος τε τοῦ Πέρσεω<sup>7</sup> ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αὕτη μέν σφι μία ην μοῖρα της βασιληίης, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν όδὸν ἥ περ εἴρηται τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιληίων, τήν τε μεγάλην τῆς ἦρχε Ἰδάνθυρσος καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξακις, συνελθούσας ἐς τώυτὸ καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγενομένων, ήμέρης καὶ τούτους όδῶ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ύπεξάγειν, ύπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα: πρώτα μέν νυν ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι εἰ γὰρ μὴ έκόντες γε ύπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἀέκοντας έκπολεμώσειν μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην καὶ έπιχειρέειν, ην δη βουλευομένοισι δοκέη.

# 4.121

Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ὑπηντίαζον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους. τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῆσι σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πάσας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἄμα τῆσι ἁμάξησι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐλαύνειν.

# 4.122

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο. τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὡς εὖρον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερέων όδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Persian <sup>8</sup> food, pasture

to one of those Amazons who were apart by themselves, and she did not repulse him but allowed him to lie with her: and she could not speak to him, for they did not understand one another's speech, but she made signs to him with her hand to come on the following day to the same place and to bring another with him, signifying to him that there should be two of them, and that she would bring another with her. The young man therefore, when he returned, reported this to the others; and on the next day he came himself to the place and also brought another, and he found the Amazon awaiting him with another in her company. Then hearing this the rest of the young men also in their turn tamed for themselves the remainder of the Amazons:

### 4.114

And after this they joined their camps and lived together, each man having for his wife her with whom he had had dealings at first; and the men were not able to learn the speech of the women, but the women came to comprehend that of the men. So when they understood one another, the men spoke to the Amazons as follows: "We have parents and we have possessions; now therefore let us no longer lead a life of this kind, but let us go away to the main body of our people and dwell with them; and we will have you for wives and no others." They however spoke thus in reply: "We should not be able to live with your women, for we and they have not the same customs. We shoot with bows and hurl javelins and ride horses, but the works of women we never learnt; whereas your women do none of these things which we said, but stay in the waggons and work at the works of women, neither going out to the chase nor anywhither else. We therefore should not be able to live in agreement with them: but if ye desire to keep us for your wives and to be thought honest men, go to your parents and obtain from them your share of the goods, and then let us go and dwell by ourselves."

### 4.115

The young men agreed and did this; and when they had obtained the share of the goods which belonged to them and had returned back to the Amazons, the women spoke to them as follows: "We are possessed by fear and trembling to think that we must dwell in this place, having not only separated you from your fathers, but also done great damage to your land. Since then ye think it right to have us as your wives, do this together with us,— come and let us remove from this land and pass over the river Tanaïs and there dwell."

### 4.116

The young men agreed to this also, and they crossed over the Tanaïs and made their way towards the rising sun for three days' journey from Tanaïs, and also towards the North Wind for three days' journey from the Maiotian lake: and having arrived at the place where they are now settled, they took up their abode there: and from thenceforward the women of the Sauromatai practise their ancient way of living, going out regularly on horseback to the chase both in company with the men and apart from them, and going regularly to war, and wearing the same dress as the men.

### 4.117

And the Sauromatai make use of the Scythian tongue, speaking it barbarously however from the first, since the Amazons did not learn it thoroughly well. As regards marriages their rule is this, that no maiden is married until she has slain a man of their enemies; and some of them even grow old and die before they are married, because they are not able to fulfil the requirement of the law.

### 4.118

To the kings of these nations then, which have been mentioned in order, the messengers of the Scythians came, finding them gathered together, and spoke declaring to them how the Persian king, after having subdued all things to himself in the other continent, had laid a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus and had crossed over to that continent, and having crossed over and subdued the Thracians, was making a bridge over the river Ister, desiring to bring under his power all these regions also. "Do ye therefore," they said, "by no means stand aloof and allow us to be destroyed, but let us become all of one mind and oppose him who is coming against us. If ye shall not do so, we on our part shall either be forced by necessity to leave our land, or we shall stay in it and make a treaty with the invader; for what else can we do if ye are not willing to help us? and for you after this it will be in no respect easier; for the Persian has come not at all less against you than against us, nor will it content him to subdue us and abstain from you. And of the truth of that which we say we will mention a strong evidence: if the Persian had been making his expedition against us alone, because he desired to take vengeance for the former servitude, he ought to have abstained from all the rest and to have come at once to invade our land, and he would thus have made it clear to all that he was marching to fight against the Scythians and not against the rest. In fact however, ever since he crossed over to this continent, he has compelled all who came in his way to submit to him, and he holds under him now not only the other Thracians but also the Getai, who are our nearest neighbours."

### 4.119

When the Scythians proposed this, the kings who had come from the various nations took counsel together, and their opinions were divided. The kings

of the Gelonians, of the Budinoi and of the Sauromatai agreed together and accepted the proposal that they should help the Scythians, but those of the Agathyrsians, Neuroi, Androphagoi, Melanchlainoi and Tauroi returned answer to the Scythians as follows: "If ye had not been the first to do wrong to the Persians and to begin war, then we should have surely thought that ye were speaking justly in asking for those things for which ye now ask, and we should have yielded to your request and shared your fortunes. As it is however, ye on the one hand made invasion without us into their land, and bare rule over the Persians for so long a time as God permitted you; and they in their turn, since the same God stirs them up, are repaying you with the like. As for us however, neither at that time did we do any wrong to these men nor now shall we attempt to do any wrong to them unprovoked: if however the Persians shall come against our land also, and do wrong first to us, we also shall refuse to submit 111: but until we shall see this, we shall remain by ourselves, for we are of opinion that the Persians have come not against us, but against those who were the authors of the wrong."

# 4.120

When the Scythians heard this answer reported, they planned not to fight a pitched battle openly, since these did not join them as allies, but to retire before the Persians and to drive away their cattle from before them, choking up with earth the wells and the springs of water by which they passed and destroying the grass from off the ground, having parted themselves for this into two bodies; and they resolved that the Sauromatai should be added to one of their divisions, namely that over which Scopasis was king, and that these should move on, if the Persians turned in that direction, straight towards the river Tanaïs, retreating before him by the shore of the Maiotian lake; and when the Persian marched back again, they should come after and pursue him. This was one division of their kingdom, appointed to go by the way which has been said; and the other two of the kingdoms, the large one over which Idanthyrsos was king, and the third of which Taxakis was king, were to join together in one, with the Gelonians and the Budinoi added to them, and they also were to retire before the Persians one day's march in front of them, going on out of their way and doing that which had been planned. First they were to move on straight for the countries which had refused to give their alliance, in order that they might involve these also in the war, and though these had not voluntarily undertaken the war with the Persians, they were to involve them in it nevertheless against their will; and after that they were to return to their own land and attack the enemy, if it should seem good to them in council so to do.

# 4.121

Having formed this plan the Scythians went to meet the army of Dareios, sending off the best of their horsemen before them as scouts; but all the waggons in which their children and their women lived they sent on, and with them all their cattle (leaving only so much as was sufficient to supply them with food), and charged them that they should proceed continually towards the North Wind. These, I say, were being carried on before:

### 4.122

But when the scouts who went in front of the Scythians discovered the Persians distant about three days' march from Ister, then the Scythians having discovered them continued to pitch vocabulary ἀλκή prowess, defense, victory  $\sim$ Alexander ἀνδροφάγος man-eating ἀνευρίσκω discover άνιάω (ī) vex ἀνίημι urge, impel; release ~jet ἀντίξοος opposed to ἀντιόω meet, fight, join ἀπαγορεύω forbid; fail, be worn out ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀπειλή boast, threat ἀπεῖπον refuse, renounce, declare ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck  $\sim$ pierce ἄτε as if; since ἀφανίζω do away with, make off with; (pass) disappear βασίλεια noblewoman βάτραχος frog βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind δαιμόνιος voc: you crazy guy δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαμάχομαι fight hard, contend διεξέρχομαι go through δουλοσύνη slavery δρόμος running, racing ground ~hippodrome ἐγκύρω (ō) encounter εἰσβάλλω throw into ~ballistic εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in ἑκάστοτε each time ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ∼pyre ἐμπρήθω burn up ἔξειμι go forth; is possible  $\sim$ ion ἐπαείρω raise, place on ∼aorta ἐπελαύνω beat out ~elastic ἐπιδευής needy, lacking (+gen) ἐπιχουρέω fight in another's cause

 $\sim$ cereal ἐπιλανθάνω mp: forget ~Lethe ἐπιστέλλω send to, order ἐπιφαίνω display ~photon ἐρείπιον ruin, wreckage ἐρείπιος wrecked, ruined έρημος empty **ἐρημόω** raze, bereave; desert, isolate ἐρύκω (Ū) hold back ∼serve ἑσπέρα evening, west ἐύς good, brave, noble  $\xi\omega\theta\alpha$  be accustomed, in the habit ζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke, join ~zygote ήμίονος (f) mule ~hemisphere ἡσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat ἡττάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat θορυβέω roar, cheer; disturb θωμα a wonder, feeling of surprise  $\sim$ theater ίδρύω establish iθύω ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) charge at, head for  $\sim$ justice ίππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman  $\sim$ hippo καθηγέομαι lead κατύπερθεν above, from above **κείρω** shave, sever, raze; devour, use κενόω make empty λεαίνω to smooth, polish λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic μεθίημι let go, cease; (mid) speed off  $\sim$ jet μῦς mouse νωμάω give out; wield ξύλινος wooden ὄαρ wife ὀιστός arrow ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄμουρος bordering

ὀνίνημι help, please, be available ονομαι blame  $\sim$ name ὄνος (f) donkey ∼onager ὄον οὖ type of fruit  $\dot{o}$ ρεύς -ος (m) mule  $\sim$ hormone **ὄρος** boundary marker ∼horizon οὐδαμός not anyone οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance: limit οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill πάντως by all means παραμένω stay with ~remain παράπαν completely παραπλήσιος similar to πατρώιος of the father(s), ancestral  $\sim$ paternal πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder περιέρχομαι go around; come next Πέρσης Persian πλανάω lead astray; (mp) wander  $\sim$ plankton πλάνη wandering πλάνης -τος (m, 3) wanderer πρέπω be conspicuous, preeminent  $\sim$ refurbish  $\pi$ ρόγονος elder, ancestor  $\sim$ genus προεῖπον foretell, proclaim, order προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προλέγω prophecy, proclaim; preselect ∼legion προσβολή application, attack πρόσω forward, in the future; far ὁῆσις -ος (f) conversation, talk  $\sim$ rhetoric σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark  $\sim$ semaphore

σίνομαι (ī) rob, damage σοφός skilled, clever, wise στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στίβος trail στρατιά army ~strategy στρατοπεδεύω encamp or take up station ∼strategy στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy συγγιγνώσκω acknowledge; pardon συγχέω entangle, destroy, confound συμμαχία alliance συμμίγνυμι mix with  $\sim$ mix  $σ\tilde{\omega}$ ς safe, alive ταράσσω mess things up ∼trachea τάφος (m) funeral, grave; (n) astonishment τάχος -ους (n, 3) speed ∼tachometer τέθηπα be confused τειχέω build ὑβρίζω insult, treat outrageously ὑπεκφέρω move out, outward, onward ∼bear ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse ὑποστρέφω turn around, go back  $\sim$ atrophy ὑποφεύγω flee before  $\sim$ fugitive ύφαίνω weave φαντάζω make visible; imagine φρουρέω keep watch φυτεύω plant, grow, cause, prepare  $\sim$ physics χέρσος (f) dry land χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir ψῦχος -εος (n, 3) coolness ~psychology

τοῦ Ἱστρου, οὖτοι μὲν τούτους εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῷ προέχοντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεαίνοντες, ¹ οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον ἐπιφανεῖσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήισαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων καὶ ἔπειτα πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων ἴθυσαν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἰθὺ Τανάιδος. διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς ὅ τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώρην διεξελθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

# 4.123

"Όσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἤισαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρης, οἷ δὲ εἶχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι² ἄτε τῆς χώρης ἐούσης χέρσου· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώρην ἐσέβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχεϊ, ἐκλελοιπότων τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκενωμένου³ τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἴποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς δ διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἡ δὲ ἔρημος αὕτη ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρης ἐοῦσα πλῆθος ἐπτὰ ἡμερέων όδοῦ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκέουσι, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ῥέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος "Όαρος Τάναις Σύργις.

# 4.124

Έπεὶ ὧν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἢλθε ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἵδρυσε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὀάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἴσον ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἐξήκοντα μάλιστά κῃ τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σόα ἢν. ἐν ῷ δὲ οὖτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντό⁴ σφι, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμίεργα μετῆκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἤιε πρὸς ἑσπέρην,

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  to smooth, polish  $^{2}$  rob, damage  $^{3}$  make empty  $^{4}$  make visible; imagine

δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς έσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

# 4.125

Έλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκετο, ένέκυρσε άμφοτέρησι τησι μοίρησι των Σκυθέων, έντυχων δε έδίωκε ύπεκφέροντας ήμέρης όδώ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει ἐπιὼν ὁ Δαρεῖος, οί Σκύθαι κατά τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων την σφετέρην συμμαχίην, πρώτην δε ές τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων την ώς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἵ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οί Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οί Σκύθαι ές τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα: ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ἤισαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Άγαθύρσους. Άγαθύρσοι δὲ ὁρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους  $^5$  φεύγοντας ύπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἤ σφι ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Σκύθας πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευον Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὔρων, προλέγοντες ώς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Άγάθυρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς ούρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νόω ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Άνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἄμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοί τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐς τὴν ἔρημον τεταραγμένοι. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Άγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρης ές τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσησι.

# 4.126

'Ως δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρεῖος ἵππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον ἔλεγε τάδε. «δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεί, ἐξεόν τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἔτερα ποιέειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιόχρεος δοκέεις εἶναι σεωυτῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὰ δὲ τάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκεαι εἶναι ἤσσων, σὰ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῶ σῶ

<sup>5</sup> bordering

δώρα φέρων γην τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους.»

# 4.127

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. «οὕτω τὸ έμον έχει, ὧ Πέρσα. έγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὖτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδέ τι νεώτερον εἰμὶ ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη ἐώθεα ποιέειν. ὅ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἐστί, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ άλῷ, ἢ καρῆ ταχύτερον ἂν ὑμῖν συμμίσγοιμεν ές μάχην. εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ές τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ἡμιν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώιοι φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγχέειν πειρασθε αὐτούς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δέ, ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αίρέη, οὐ συμμίζομεν τοι. ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχη τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότας δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἱστίην την Σκυθέων βασίλειαν μούνους είναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γης τε καὶ ὕδατος δώρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα οἶα σοὶ πρέπει ἐλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ότι δεσπότης έφησας είναι έμός, κλαίειν λέγω.» τοῦτο έστὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ρησις.6

# 4.128

Ό μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρείω, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέες ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τὸ οὔνομα ὀργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν. τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς ἦρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσι Ἰωσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τούτοισι οῦ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐζευγμένον ἐφρούρεον· αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοισι ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νωμῶντες ὧν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίευν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τράπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππόται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζὸν, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρεε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζὸν φοβεόμενοι. ἐποιέοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> conversation, talk

παραπλησίας προσβολάς οἱ Σκύθαι.

# 4.129

Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίξοον ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον ἐρέω, τῶν τε ὅνων ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὸ εἶδος. οὕτε γὰρ ὅνον οὕτε ἡμίονον γῆ ἡ Σκυθικὴ φέρει, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, οὐδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῷ Σκυθικὴ πάση χώρη τὸ παράπαν οὕτε ὄνος οὕτε ἡμίονος διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. τὸβρίζοντες ὧν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων. πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντο τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον, ὀρθὰ ἱστάντες τὰ ὧτα, ἄτε οὕτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης οὕτε ἰδόντες τὸ εἶδος.

# 4.130

Ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημένους,<sup>8</sup> ἵνα παραμένοιεν τε ἐπὶ πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῆ Σκυθικῆ καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνιώατο τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἐόντες, ἐποίεον τοιάδε· ὅκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιεν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἂν ὑπεξήλαυνον ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον. οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες ἐπηείροντο ἂν τῷ πεποιημένῳ.

# 4.131

Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρεῖος τε ἐν ἀπορίῃσι εἴχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλέες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἔπεμπον κήρυκα δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὅρνιθά τε καὶ μῦν<sup>9</sup> καὶ βάτραχον<sup>10</sup> καὶ ὀιστοὺς πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν. ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκέλευε, εἰ σοφοί εἰσι, γνῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν.

<sup>7</sup> coolness 8 roar, cheer; disturb 9 mouse 10 frog

their camp one day's march in front, destroying utterly that which grew from the ground: and when the Persians saw that the horsemen of the Scythians had made their appearance, they came after them following in their track, while the Scythians continually moved on. After this, since they had directed their march towards the first of the divisions, the Persians continued to pursue towards the East and the river Tanaïs; and when the Scythians crossed over the river Tanaïs, the Persians crossed over after them and continued still to pursue, until they had passed quite through the land of the Sauromatai and had come to that of the Budinoi.

### 4.123

Now so long as the Persians were passing through Scythia and the land of the Sauromatai, they had nothing to destroy, seeing that the land was bare, but when they invaded the land of the Budinoi, then they fell in with the wooden wall, which had been deserted by the Budinoi and left wholly unoccupied, and this they destroyed by fire. Having done so they continued to follow on further in the tracks of the enemy, until they had passed through the whole of this land and had arrived at the desert. This desert region is occupied by no men, and it lies above the land of the Budinoi, extending for a seven days' journey; and above this desert dwell the Thyssagetai, and four large rivers flow from them through the land of the Maiotians and run into that which is called the Maiotian lake, their names being as follows,— Lycos, Oaros, Tanaïs, Syrgis.

### 4.124

When therefore Dareios came to the desert region, he ceased from his course and halted his army upon the river Oaros. Having so done he began to build eight large fortifications at equal distances from one another, that is to say about sixty furlongs, of which the ruins still existed down to my time; and while he was occupied in this, the Scythians whom he was pursuing came round by the upper parts and returned back to Scythia. Accordingly, since these had altogether disappeared and were no longer seen by the Persians at all, Dareios left those fortifications half finished, and turning back himself began to go towards the West, supposing that these were the whole body of the Scythians and that they were flying towards the West.

# 4.125

And marching his army as quickly as possible, when he came to Scythia he met with the two divisions of the Scythians together, and having fallen in with these he continued to pursue them, while they retired out of his way one day's journey in advance: and as Dareios did not cease to come after them, the Scythians according to the plan which they had made continued

to retire before him towards the land of those who had refused to give their alliance, and first towards that of the Melanchlainoi; and when Scythians and Persians both together had invaded and disturbed these, the Scythians led the way to the country of the Androphagoi; and when these had also been disturbed, they proceeded to the land of the Neuroi; and while these too were being disturbed, the Scythians went on retiring before the enemy to the Agathyrsians. The Agathyrsians however, seeing that their next neighbours also were flying from the Scythians and had been disturbed, sent a herald before the Scythians invaded their land and proclaimed to the Scythians not to set foot upon their confines, warning them that if they should attempt to invade the country, they would first have to fight with them. The Agathyrsians then having given this warning came out in arms to their borders, meaning to drive off those who were coming upon them; but the Melanchlainoi and Androphagoi and Neuroi, when the Persians and Scythians together invaded them, did not betake themselves to brave defence but forgot their former threat and fled in confusion ever further towards the North to the desert region. The Scythians however, when the Agathyrsians had warned them off, did not attempt any more to come to these, but led the Persians from the country of the Neuroi back to their own land.

### 4.126

Now as this went on for a long time and did not cease, Dareios sent a horseman to Idanthyrsos king of the Scythians and said as follows: "Thou most wondrous man, why dost thou fly for ever, when thou mightest do of these two things one?— if thou thinkest thyself able to make opposition to my power, stand thou still and cease from wandering abroad, and fight; but if thou dost acknowledge thyself too weak, cease then in that case also from thy course, and come to speech with thy master, bringing to him gifts of earth and water."

### 4.127

To this the king of the Scythians Idanthyrsos made answer thus: "My case, O Persian, stands thus:— Never yet did I fly because I was afraid, either before this time from any other man, or now from thee; nor have I done anything different now from that which I was wont to do also in time of peace: and as to the cause why I do not fight with thee at once, this also I will declare to thee. We have neither cities nor land sown with crops, about which we should fear lest they should be captured or laid waste, and so join battle more speedily with you; but if it be necessary by all means to come to this speedily, know that we have sepulchres in which our fathers are buried; therefore come now, find out these and attempt to destroy them, and ye shall know then whether we shall fight with you for the sepulchres or whether we shall

not fight. Before that however, unless the motion comes upon us, we shall not join battle with thee. About fighting let so much as has been said suffice; but as to masters, I acknowledge none over me but Zeus my ancestor and Hestia the queen of the Scythians. To thee then in place of gifts of earth and water I shall send such things as it is fitting that thou shouldest receive; and in return for thy saying that thou art my master, for that I say, woe betide thee." This is the proverbial "saying of the Scythians."

# 4.128

The herald then had departed to report this to Dareios; and the kings of the Scythians, having heard mention of subjection to a master, were filled with wrath. They sent accordingly the division which was appointed to be joined with the Sauromatai, that division of which Scopasis was in command, bidding them come to speech with the Ionians, namely those who were guarding the bridge of the Ister, and meanwhile they who were left behind resolved not to lead the Persians wandering about any more, but to attack them constantly as they were getting provisions. Therefore they observed the soldiers of Dareios as they got provisions, and did that which they had determined: and the cavalry of the Scythians always routed that of the enemy, but the Persian horsemen as they fled fell back upon the men on foot, and these would come up to their assistance; and meanwhile the Scythians when they had driven in the cavalry turned back, fearing the men on foot. Also by night the Scythians used to make similar attacks:

### 4.129

And the thing which, strange to say, most helped the Persians and hindered the Scythians in their attacks upon the camp of Dareios, I will mention, namely the voice of the asses and the appearance of the mules; for Scythia produces neither ass nor mule, as I have declared before, nor is there at all in the Scythian country either ass or mule on account of the cold. The asses accordingly by riotously braying used to throw into confusion the cavalry of the Scythians; and often, as they were in the middle of riding against the Persians, when the horses heard the voice of the asses they turned back in confusion and were possessed with wonder, pricking up their ears, because they had never heard such a voice nor seen the form of the creature before.

# 4.130

So far then the Persians had the advantage for a small part of the war. But the Scythians, whenever they saw that the Persians were disquieted, then in order that they might remain a longer time in Scythia and in remaining might suffer by being in want of everything, would leave some of their own cattle behind with the herdsmen, while they themselves rode out of the way to another place, and the Persians would come upon the cattle and take them, and having taken them they were elated at what they had done.

# 4.131

As this happened often, at length Dareios began to be in straits; and the kings of the Scythians perceiving this sent a herald bearing as gifts to Dareios a bird and a mouse and a frog and five arrows. The Persians accordingly asked the bearer of the gifts as to the meaning of the gifts which were offered; but he said that nothing more had been commanded to him but to give them and get away as speedily as possible; and he bade the Persians find out for themselves, if they had wisdom, that which the gifts were meant to express.

vocabulary ἐντέλλω (mp) command αἰόλος gleaming, fast-moving **ἐξαπατάω** trick, cheat ∼apatosaurus ἀλκή prowess, defense, victory έξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo;  $\sim$ Alexander destroy someone ἄλλοτε at another time ~alien έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἀναπέτομαι fly away έξήκοντα sixty ἀντιπολέμιος warring against έξιχνέομαι arrive at ἀντιτάσσω set against ἐπείγω weigh upon, drive; (mid) ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be ἐπίσταμαι know how, understand freed, depart ἀποδείχνυμι (ō) show, point out;  $\sim$ station appoint; (mid) declare ἐπιτηδέως usefully, conveniently ἀπονοστέω go home **ἐρημόω** raze, bereave; desert, isolate ἀπορία difficulty, bottleneck ∼pierce εὐπετής coming out well; (adv) ἀριθμέω to count ~arithmetic fortunately ἀριθμός number ἐύς good, brave, noble ἀσθένεια weakness  $\xi\omega\theta\alpha$  be accustomed, in the habit ἀσθενής weak ζήτησις -εως (f) search, inquiry ἄτε as if; since ήδονή pleasure βάτραχος frog θόρυβος noise, clamor  $i\theta \dot{\omega}$  (τ) charge at, head for  $\sim$ justice βιάω use force against, overcome βιόω live; (mp) make a living iππότης -ου (m, 1) horseman ~biology  $\sim$ hippo βoά din, a shout καθαιρέω take down, close ∼heresy γέφυρα (ū) dam, dike; bridge καθαρός clean, pure καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, δειμαίνω be afraid δεσπότης -ου (m, 1) master, despot arrive; be proper δηλαδή clearly καταδέω tie up; fall short διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis καταδύω enter, sink διέξοδος διαξόδου (f) outlet, path; καταφρονέω scorn; think of narrative **κομιδή** care, tending, providing for δίζημαι seek ~zeal  $\lambda \alpha \gamma \delta \varsigma$  hare  $\sim$ lagomorph εἰκάζω liken; conjecture λαγών -όνος (f, 3) flank εἰσαχούω hearken ~acoustic λαγώς -ω (m, 2) hare  $\sim$ lagomorph λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea εἰσπηδάω burst in, rush in  $\sim$ pedal  $\sim$ limnic ἐκκαίω set on fire ἐκμανθάνω know by heart λόγιμος notable ἐκτός outside μηδαμός no one ἐλάχιστος smallest, shortest, fewest μῦς mouse έλευθερία freedom μύω close ἐλεύθερος not enslaved νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing έλευθερόω set free νομή pasture; distribution

δδόω lead well οιστός arrow ὄμιλος ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) crowd, throng  $\sim$ homily ὄνομαι blame ∼name ὄνος (f) donkey ∼onager ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρνις -θος ( $\bar{\iota}$ , f) bird ∼ornithology οὐδαμός not anyone οὔκω no longer πάγχυ entirely παραγίγνομαι be beside, attend παραμένω stay with ∼remain πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder Πέρσης Persian **πόρος** way, bridge  $\sim$ fare πόρω aor. give, pf. be fated  $\pi \rho \epsilon \pi \omega$  be conspicuous, preeminent  $\sim$ refurbish προδίδωμι betray **προθυμία** ( $\bar{v}$ ) zeal, alacrity  $\sim$ fume πρόχειμαι be placed by; be devoted προτείνω hold out, offer πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive; prediction ∼fame πυρά pyre ∼pyre σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite στρατηγέω be a general στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy στρατόω be on a campaign  $\sim$ strategy συγχόω cover with dirt

συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ~ballistic συμβουλεύω give advice; (mid) consult ∼volunteer σύντομος truncated, concise συστρέφω get together; condense ταλαιπωρία hard work, hardship ταράσσω mess things up ∼trachea τέμνω cut, sacrifice, solemnize  $\sim$ tonsure τίνω (t) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for τόξευμα -τος (n, 3) arrow τυραννεύω be an absolute ruler τύραννος tyrant ὑπηρετέω serve ὑποδείχνυμι (υō) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer  $\sim$ doctrine ὑποκρίνομαι (ī) answer; pretend ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse ὑποστρέφω turn around, go back  $\sim$ atrophy ὑποτίθημι suggest, advise ~hypothesis φθάνω (ā) do first, outstrip φρουρέω keep watch χρηστός useful; brave, worthy ψῆφος (f) pebble, vote, decree, sentence ώθέω push ὧρος year

# 4.132

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μέν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἢν Σκύθας ἑωυτῷ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰκάζων τῆδε, ὡς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῆ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεόμενος, βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ, τοὺς δὲ ὀιστοὺς ὡς τὴν ἑωυτῶν ἀλκὴν παραδιδοῦσι. αὕτη μὲν Δαρείῳ ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γνώμη. συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτῃ τῆ γνώμη ἡ Γοβρύεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἑνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δῶρα λέγειν «ἢν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτῆσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὧ Πέρσαι, ἢ μύες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἢ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι.»

### 4.133

Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δῶρα εἴκαζον. ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην φρουρέειν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον Ἰωσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τάδε. «ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, ἐλευθερίην ἥκομεν ὑμῖν φέροντες, ἤν πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν. πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν ἑξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. νῦν ὧν ὑμεῖς τάδε πολεῦντες ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμείναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε.» οὖτοι μέν νυν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰώνων ποιήσειν ταῦτα ὀπίσω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγοντο.

# 4.134

Πέρσησι δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρείῳ ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῷ καὶ ἵπποισι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διήιξε. τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ὥρων¹ τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῆ χρεωμένων, εἴρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων

<sup>1</sup> year

τὸν θόρυβον πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τούς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν «οὖτοι ὧνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρονέουσι, καί μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύης εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὀρθῶς. ὡς ὧν οὕτω ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὅκως ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ² ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω.» πρὸς ταῦτα Γοβρύης εἶπε «ὧ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἠπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῖν. νῦν ὧν μοι δοκέει, ἐπεὰν τάχιστα νὺξ ἐπέλθη, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐώθαμεν καὶ ἄλλοτε ποιέειν, τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας³ ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱστρον ἰθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καί τι Ἰωσι δόξας τὸ ἡμέας οἷον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι.»

## 4.135

Γοβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῆ γνώμη ταὐτη· τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἢν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω. κατέλιπε δὲ τούς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι βοὴν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενείης μὲν εἴνεκεν κατελείποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε δηλαδή, <sup>4</sup> ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθήσεσθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθησι, οὖτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ρυοίατο. ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολελεμμένοισι ὑποθέμενος οἱ δὰ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὁμίλου οὕτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἵεσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χώρην ἤλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> care, tending, providing for
<sup>3</sup> hard work, hardship
<sup>4</sup> clearly
<sup>5</sup> raze, bereave: desert, isolate

#### 4.136

Ήμέρης δὲ γενομένης γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδεδομένοι εἶεν ύπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προετείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἴ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μία καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδίνοι καὶ Γελωνοί, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἄτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς όδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ὤστε οὐ τετμημενέων τῶν όδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἱππότεω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς όδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἁμαρτόντες άλλήλων, ἔφθησαν πολλῷ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔκω ἀπιγμένους ἔλεγον πρὸς τους Ἰωνας ἐόντας ἐν τῆσι νηυσί «ἄνδρες Ἰωνες, αἴ τε ἡμέραι ὑμιν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχηνται καὶ οὐ ποιέετε δίκαια ἔτι παραμένοντες. ἀλλ' έπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἄπιτε χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσί τε καὶ Σκύθησι εἰδότες χάριν. τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἐόντα ὑμέων δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστησόμεθα οὕτω ὤστε ἐπὶ μηδαμοὺς ετι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν στρατεύσασθαι.»

# 4.137

Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος <sup>7</sup> Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντω, ἢν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίην, Ἱστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτη, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρεῖον ἔκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος καταιρεθείσης οὕτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἰος τε ἔσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὕτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν. βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἑκάστην τῶν πολίων δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. Ἰστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἢσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἰρεόμενοι.

# 4.138

Ήσαν δὲ οὖτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἐόντες λόγου πρὸς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> no one <sup>7</sup> be an absolute ruler

βασιλέος, Έλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἡποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παριηνὸς καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. οὖτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράττις τε Χῖος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαιεὺς καὶ Ἱστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἦν γνώμη ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῆ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρῆν λόγιμος μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης, Κυμαῖος.

# 4.139

Οὖτοι ὧν ἐπείτε τὴν Ἱστιαίου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξε σφι πρὸς ταύτη τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξικνέεται, ἵνα καὶ ποιέειν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειρώατο βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἱστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ἡδονῆ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῆ γνώμη. μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἱστιαῖος τάδε λέγων. ἄνδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἥκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καιρὸν, ἐπείγεσθε· καὶ τά τε ἀπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν, χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετέεται. ὡς γὰρ ὁρᾶτε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἔξομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ἐν ῷ δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρός ἐστι δίζησθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρόντας δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτω ὡς κείνους πρέπει.»

## 4.140

Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν<sup>10</sup> τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτη διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως 11 ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τά σφι ἐδόκεε

 $<sup>^{8}</sup>$  notable  $^{9}$  lead well  $^{10}$  search, inquiry  $^{11}$  coming out well; (adv) fortunately

#### 4.132

Having heard this the Persians took counsel with one another; and the opinion of Dareios was that the Scythians were giving to him both themselves and also earth and water, making his conjecture by this, namely that a mouse is produced in the earth and feeds on the same produce of the earth as man, and a frog in the water, while a bird has great resemblance to a horse; and moreover that in giving the arrows they were delivering up their own might in battle. This was the opinion expressed by Dareios; but the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven men who killed the Magian, was at variance with it, for he conjectured that the gifts expressed this: "Unless ye become birds and fly up into the heaven, O Persians, or become mice and sink down under the earth, or become frogs and leap into the lakes, ye shall not return back home, but shall be smitten by these arrows."

### 4.133

The Persians then, I say, were making conjecture of the gifts: and meanwhile the single division of the Scythians, that which had been appointed at first to keep guard along the Maiotian lake and then to go to the Ister and come to speech with the Ionians, when they arrived at the bridge spoke as follows: "Ionians, we have come bringing you freedom, if at least ye are willing to listen to us; for we are informed that Dareios gave you command to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and then, if he had not arrived within that time, to get you away to your own land. Now therefore, if ye do as we say, ye will be without blame from his part and without blame also from ours: stay the appointed days and then after that get you away." They then, when the Ionians had engaged themselves to do this, hastened back again by the quickest way:

#### 4.134

And meanwhile, after the coming of the gifts to Dareios, the Scythians who were left had arrayed themselves against the Persians with both foot and horse, meaning to engage battle. Now when the Scythians had been placed in battle-array, a hare darted through them into the space between the two armies, and each company of them, as they saw the hare, began to run after it. When the Scythians were thus thrown into disorder and were raising loud cries, Dareios asked what was this clamour arising from the enemy; and hearing that they were running after the hare, he said to those men to whom he was wont to say things at other times: "These men have very slight regard for us, and I perceive now that Gobryas spoke rightly about the Scythian gifts. Seeing then that now I myself too think that things are so, we have need of good counsel, in order that our retreat homewards may be safely made." To

this replied Gobryas and said: "O king, even by report I was almost assured of the difficulty of dealing with these men; and when I came I learnt it still more thoroughly, since I saw that they were mocking us. Now therefore my opinion is, that as soon as night comes on, we kindle the camp-fires as we are wont to do at other times also, and deceive with a false tale those of our men who are weakest to endure hardships, and tie up all the asses and get us away, before either the Scythians make for the Ister to destroy the bridge or something be resolved by the Ionians which may be our ruin."

#### 4.135

Thus Gobryas advised; and after this, when night came on, Dareios acted on this opinion. Those of his men who were weakened by fatigue and whose loss was of least account, these he left behind in the camp, and the asses also tied up: and for the following reasons he left behind the asses and the weaker men of his army,— the asses in order that they might make a noise which should be heard, and the men really because of their weakness, but on a pretence stated openly that he was about to attack the Scythians with the effective part of the army, and that they meanwhile were to be defenders of the camp. Having thus instructed those who were left behind, and having kindled camp-fires, Dareios hastened by the quickest way towards the Ister: and the asses, having no longer about them the usual throng, very much more for that reason caused their voice to be heard; so the Scythians, hearing the asses, supposed surely that the Persians were remaining in their former place.

#### 4.136

But when it was day, those who were left behind perceived that they had been betrayed by Dareios, and they held out their hands in submission to the Scythians, telling them what their case was; and the Scythians, when they heard this, joined together as quickly as possible, that is to say the two combined divisions of the Scythians and the single division, and also the Sauromatai, Budinoi, and Gelonians, and began to pursue the Persians, making straight for the Ister: but as the Persian army for the most part consisted of men on foot, and was not acquainted with the roads (the roads not being marked with tracks), while the Scythian army consisted of horsemen and was acquainted with the shortest cuts along the way, they missed one another and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much before the Persians. Then having learnt that the Persians had not yet arrived, they said to the Ionians who were in the ships: "Ionians, the days of your number are past, and ye are not acting uprightly in that ye yet remain waiting: but as ye stayed before from fear, so now break up the passage as quickly as ye may, and depart free and unhurt, feeling thankfulness both to the gods and to the

Scythians: and him who was formerly your master we will so convince, that he shall never again march with an army upon any nation."

#### 4.137

Upon this the Ionians took counsel together; and Miltiades the Athenian on the one hand, who was commander and despot of the men of the Chersonese in Hellespont, was of opinion that they should follow the advice of the Scythians and set Ionia free: but Histiaios the Milesian was of the opposite opinion to this; for he said that at the present time it was by means of Dareios that each one of them was ruling as despot over a city; and if the power of Dareios should be destroyed, neither he himself would be able to bear rule over the Milesians, nor would any other of them be able to bear rule over any other city; for each of the cities would choose to have popular rather than despotic rule. When Histiaios declared his opinion thus, forthwith all turned to this opinion, whereas at the first they were adopting that of Miltiades.

## 4.138

Now these were they who gave the vote between the two opinions, and were men of consequence in the eyes of the king, 124— first the despots of the Hellespontians, Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclos of Lampsacos, Herophantos of Parion, Metrodoros of Proconnesos, Aristagoras of Kyzicos, and Ariston of Byzantion, these were those from the Hellespont; and from Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Aiakes of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaia, and Histiaios of Miletos, whose opinion had been proposed in opposition to that of Miltiades; and of the Aiolians the only man of consequence there present was Aristagoras of Kyme.

#### 4.139

When these adopted the opinion of Histiaios, they resolved to add to it deeds and words as follows, namely to break up that part of the bridge which was on the side towards the Scythians, to break it up, I say, for a distance equal to the range of an arrow, both in order that they might be thought to be doing something, though in fact they were doing nothing, and for fear that the Scythians might make an attempt using force and desiring to cross the Ister by the bridge: and in breaking up that part of the bridge which was towards Scythia they resolved to say that they would do all that which the Scythians desired. This they added to the opinion proposed, and then Histiaios coming forth from among them made answer to the Scythians as follows: "Scythians, ye are come bringing good news, and it is a timely haste that ye make to bring it; and ye on your part give us good guidance, while we on ours render to you suitable service. For, as ye see, we are breaking up the passage, and we shall show all zeal in our desire to be free: and while we are breaking up

the bridge, it is fitting that ye should be seeking for those of whom ye speak, and when ye have found them, that ye should take vengeance on them on behalf of us as well as of yourselves in such manner as they deserve."

#### 4.140

The Scythians then, believing for the second time that the Ionians were speaking the truth, turned back to make search for the Persians, but they missed altogether their line of march through the land. Of this the Scythians themselves were the cause, since they had destroyed the pastures for horses in that region and had choked up with earth the springs of water; for if they had not done this, it would have been possible for them easily, if they desired it, to discover the Persians: but as it was, by those things wherein they thought

vocabulary ἀδελφιδέος -οῦ nephew αἴθω set on fire  $\sim$ ether ἀνακαίω light (a fire) ∼caustic ἄνανδρος without men; not manlike ~androgynous ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism  $\dot{\alpha}$ νδρ $\dot{\alpha}$ ποδον -ς slave ~androgynous ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἀντιπολέμιος warring against ἀπηγέομαι lead; tell, relate ἀπόγονος descended from ἀποιχία colony ἀπολαγχάνω get by lot ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀπορρίπτω cast away ἀρέσκω please, satisfy; make amends ἀριθμός number άρρωδίη terror ἀστή inhabitant ἄτε as if; since γάμος wedding, sex ~bigamy γέρας -ως (n, 3) reward, honor γεύω taste ∼gusto γέφυρα (ō) dam, dike; bridge γυναικήιος of women διαβαίνω pass over, cross ~basis διαιρέω divide, distinguish, distribute διαπορθμεύω ferry, bring across διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion διεξέρχομαι go through δίζημαι seek ~zeal δόλος trick, bait ἐκδιδράσκω escape ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate **ἐκφεύγω** flee from, escape ~fugitive ἐλεύθερος not enslaved έλευθερόω set free ἐνάγω lead in/on; arraign ἐνδύω go into, put on

ένθεῦτεν thence ἕξ six ∼hexagon ἔξειμι go forth; is possible  $\sim$ ion έξελαύνω drive out, exile ~elastic ἐξυβρίζω have a violent breakout ἐπαχούω hear, listen to ~acoustic ἐπικρατέω rule over έπτακαίδεκα 17 ἐπωνύμιος called, named **ἐρέσσω** to row ∼row έρκτή prison ἐσθής clothes ∼vest ἐύς good, brave, noble ζεύγνυμι (ō) yoke, join ∼zygote θεοπρόπιον prophecy  $\sim$ theology ίδρύω establish ἵζω to seat ∼sit κάρτα very much ~κράτος καταβάλλω throw down, cast off ~ballistic καταστρέφω overturn, subdue  $\sim$ catastrophe καταχράομαι (mp) abuse, use up; (act) be enough κέλευθος (f) way, path **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin ληίζομαι plunder ~lucre λύκος wolf ∼lycanthropy μεταδίδωμι give part of ~donate μεταιτέω demand one's share; beg from μετέχω partake of μίν him, her, it μνήμη reminder, memorial μόγις with difficulty, barely **μυριάς** -δος (ō, f, 3) countless, myriad ναυτιλία sailing ~navy νεηνίσκος young man νέμω to allot, to pasture  $\sim$ nemesis οἰκηιόω adopt, adapt  $\mathring{o}$ ις sheep  $\sim$ ewe

ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄον οὖ type of fruit δπόθεν whence ὀρρωδία terror οὐδαμός not anyone οὕτις nobody, nothing παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for; decline παρήκω lie along; of time: to be παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow πέρθω sack, ravage, plunder Πέρσης Persian πορθέω sack, ravage, plunder **πόρος** way, bridge  $\sim$ fare  $\pi \acute{o} \rho \omega$  aor. give, pf. be fated πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive; prediction ∼fame πύργος ramparts, tower; line of troops δοιά pomegranate στέλλω prepare, send, furl ∼apostle στίβος trail στρατιά army ~strategy συγγενεύς inborn, kin to

συγγενής inborn, kin to συγχωρέω accede, concede συλλαμβάνω seize, capture; understand ∼epilepsy συμπλέω sail with  $\sim$ float συνοικέω live together σφάλλω overthrow, balk, stagger σφέτερος their τοιόσδε such τρώγω nibble, crop τυφλός blind ὑπήχοον -ῦ cumin ὑπήκοος heeding, subject ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse ὑπομένω stay behind, await  $\sim$ remain φυλή (ō) tribe, military unit φῦλον race, tribe, class ~phylum φυτεύω plant, grow, cause, prepare  $\sim$ physics χεῖλος -εος (n, 3) lip χιλός (ī) fodder χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

άριστα βεβουλεῦσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν. Σκύθαι μέν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρης τῆ χιλός τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ἦν, ταύτη διεξιόντες ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρησιν ποιέεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον έωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἤισαν, καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὖρον τὸν πόρον. οἶα δὲ νυκτός τε ἀπικόμενοι καὶ λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκοντο μή σφεας οἱ Ἰωνες ἔωσι ἀπολελοιπότες.

## 4.141

Ἡν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τῦ Ἱστρου ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν Ἱστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, Ἱστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τάς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἔζευξε.

## 4.142

Πέρσαι μὲν ὧν οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἤμαρτον τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἐόντας Ἰωνας ἐλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς δούλων ἐόντων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι, ἀνδράποδα² φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἄδρηστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἰωνας ἀπέρριπται.

## 4.143

Δαρείος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σηστὸν τῆς Χερσονήσου. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῆσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν ᾿Ασίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῆ Εὐρώπη Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην· τῷ Δαρείος κοτὲ ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιόνδε εἴπας ἐν Πέρσησι ἔπος. ὁρμημένου Δαρείου ῥοιὰς τρώγειν, ὡς ἄνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ῥοιέων, εἴρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἡρτάβανος ὅ τι βούλοιτ᾽ ἄν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῆ ῥοιῆ κόκκοι· Δαρείος δὲ εἶπε Μεγαβάζους

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> fodder <sup>2</sup> slave <sup>3</sup> pomegranate

ἄν οἱ τοσούτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσησι ταῦτά μιν εἶπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας.

## 4.144

Οὖτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἴπας τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἐλίπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἐπτακαίδεκα ετεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἐόντας τυφλούς οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρεόντος κτίζε χώρου τὸν αἰσχίονα ἑλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί. οὖτος δὴ ὧν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῆ χώρη Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο.

# 4.145

Οὖτος μέν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρησσε. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον έγίνετο έπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. τῶν ἐκ τῆς Άργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παίδες ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν έκ Βραυρώνος ληισαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ὑπὸ τούτων έξελασθέντες έκ, Λήμνου οἴχοντο πλέοντες ές Λακεδαίμονα, ίζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηϋγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἰδόντες ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον πευσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσί· οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτῶντι ἔλεγον ὡς εἴησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παίδες δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῆ ἀργοῖ πλεόντων ἡρώων, προσσχόντας δὲ τούτους ἐς Λῆμνον φυτεῦσαι σφέας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρώτων τί θέλοντες ἥκοιέν τε ές τὴν χώρην καὶ πῦρ αἴθοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν έκβληθέντες ήκειν ές τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιότατον γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι. δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκέειν ἄμα τούτοισι μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἶσι θέλουσι αὐτοί. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνῆγε σφέας ὥστε ποιέειν

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 17

ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἡ ναυτιλίη $^5$  ἐν τῆ Ἀργοῖ. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οῖ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμνου ἡγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι.

## 4.146

Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληίης μεταιτέοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιέοντες οὐκ ὅσια. τοῖσι ὧν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς ἐρκτήν. κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἂν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ ἡμέρην δὲ οὐδένα. ἐπεὶ ὧν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρήσασθαι, παραιτήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινυέων, ἐοῦσαι ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἐρκτὴν καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἑκάστη τῷ ἑωυτῆς ἀνδρί. οῖ δὲ σφέας παρῆκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. αῖ δὲ ἐπείτε ἐσῆλθον, ποιέουσι τοιάδε· πᾶσαν τὴν εἶχον ἐσθῆτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικηίην ἐσθῆτα ἄτε γυναῖκες ἐξήισαν ἔξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτω ἵζοντο αὖτις ἐς τὸ Τηΰγετον.

## 4.147

Τον δὲ αὐτον τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἔστελλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἢν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὖτος, γένος ἐων Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἡριστοδήμου παισὶ Εὐρυσθένεϊ καὶ Προκλές. ἐόντων δὲ ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτη βασιληίην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεύμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπείτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μένειν ἐν τῆ Λακεδαίμονι ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. ἣσαν δὲ ἐν τῆ νῦν Θήρη καλεομένη νήσω, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστη τῆ αὐτῆ ταύτη, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἡγήνορος Εὐρώπην διζήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην· προσσχόντι δὲ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> sailing <sup>6</sup> inhabitant

εἴτε δή οἱ ἡ χώρη ἤρεσε, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο· καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίαρον. οὖτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἤ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν.

## 4.148

Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὧν ὁ Θήρας λεὼν ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἔστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτοισι καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελῶν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηιούμενος. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἐρκτῆς ἵζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηΰγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραιτέεται ὁ Θήρας, ὅκως μήτε φόνος γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπεδέκετο σφέας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῆς γνώμη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβιάρου ἀπογόνους ἔπλωσε, οὖτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας ἀλλὶ ὀλίγους τινάς. οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρης σφέας αὐτοὺς εξ μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον Μάκιστον Φρίξας Πύργον Ἐπιον Νούδιον. τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπὶ ἐμέο Ἡλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν. τῆ δὲ νήσω ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἡ ἐπωνυμίη ἐγένετο.

# 4.149

Ό δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὅιν ἐν λύκοισι. ἐπὶ του ἔπεος τούτου οὔνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο, καί κως τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰολύκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγεύς, ἐπ᾽ οὖ Αἰγείδαι καλέονται ψυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτη. τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῆ φυλῆ ταύτη ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἱδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν.... τὢυτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήη τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> adopt, adapt <sup>8</sup> wolf <sup>9</sup> prophecy

they had taken their measures best, they failed of success. The Scythians then on their part were passing through those regions of their own land where there was grass for the horses and springs of water, and were seeking for the enemy there, thinking that they too were taking a course in their retreat through such country as this; while the Persians in fact marched keeping carefully to the track which they had made before, and so they found the passage of the river, though with difficulty: and as they arrived by night and found the bridge broken up, they were brought to the extreme of fear, lest the Ionians should have deserted them.

#### 4.141

Now there was with Dareios an Egyptian who had a voice louder than that of any other man on earth, and this man Dareios ordered to take his stand upon the bank of the Ister and to call Histiaios of Miletos. He accordingly proceeded to do so; and Histiaios, hearing the first hail, produced all the ships to carry the army over and also put together the bridge.

#### 4.142

Thus the Persians escaped, and the Scythians in their search missed the Persians the second time also: and their judgment of the Ionians is that on the one hand, if they be regarded as free men, they are the most worthless and cowardly of all men, but on the other hand, if regarded as slaves, they are the most attached to their master and the least disposed to run away of all slaves. This is the reproach which is cast against the Ionians by the Scythians.

#### 4.143

Dareios then marching through Thrace arrived at Sestos in the Chersonese; and from that place, he passed over himself in his ships to Asia, but to command his army in Europe he left Megabazos a Persian, to whom Dareios once gave honour by uttering in the land of Persia this saying:— Dareios was beginning to eat pomegranates, and at once when he opened the first of them, Artabanos his brother asked him of what he would desire to have as many as there were seeds in the pomegranate: and Dareios said that he would desire to have men like Megabazos as many as that in number, rather than to have Hellas subject to him. In Persia, I say, he honoured him by saying these words, and at this time he left him in command with eight myriads of his army.

### 4.144

This Megabazos uttered one saying whereby he left of himself an imperishable memory with the peoples of Hellespont: for being once at Byzantion he heard that the men of Calchedon had settled in that region seventeen years before the Byzantians, and having heard it he said that those of Calchedon at that time chanced to be blind; for assuredly they would not have chosen the worse place, when they might have settled in that which was better, if they had not been blind. This Megabazos it was who was left in command at that time in the land of the Hellespontians, and he proceeded to subdue all who did not take the side of the Medes.

#### 4.145

He then was doing thus; and at this very same time a great expedition was being made also against Libya, on an occasion which I shall relate when I have first related this which follows.— The children's children of those who voyaged in the Argo, having been driven forth by those Pelasgians who carried away at Brauron the women of the Athenians,- having been driven forth I say by these from Lemnos, had departed and sailed to Lacedemon, and sitting down on Mount Tay getos they kindled a fire. The Lacedemonians seeing this sent a messenger to inquire who they were and from whence; and they answered the question of the messenger saying that they were Minyai and children of heroes who sailed in the Argo, for these, they said, had put in to Lemnos and propagated the race of which they sprang. The Lacedemonians having heard the story of the descent of the Minyai, sent a second time and asked for what purpose they had come into the country and were causing a fire to blaze. They said that they had been cast out by the Pelasgians, and were come now to the land of their fathers, for most just it was that this should so be done; and they said that their request was to be permitted to dwell with these, having a share of civil rights and a portion allotted to them of the land. And the Lacedemonians were content to receive the Minyai upon the terms which they themselves desired, being most of all impelled to do this by the fact that the sons of Tyndareus were voyagers in the Argo. So having received the Minyai they gave them a share of land and distributed them in the tribes; and they forthwith made marriages, and gave in marriage to others the women whom they brought with them from Lemnos.

## 4.146

However, when no very long time had passed, the Minyai forthwith broke out into insolence, asking for a share of the royal power and also doing other impious things: therefore the Lacedemonians resolved to put them to death; and having seized them they cast them into a prison. Now the Lacedemonians put to death by night all those whom they put to death, but no man by day. When therefore they were just about to kill them, the wives of the Minyai, being native Spartans and daughters of the first citizens of Sparta, entreated to be allowed to enter the prison and come to speech every one with her own husband: and they let them pass in, not supposing that any craft would be

practised by them. They however, when they had entered, delivered to their husbands all the garments which they were wearing, and themselves received those of their husbands: thus the Minyai having put on the women's clothes went forth out of prison as women, and having escaped in this manner they went again to Taÿ getos and sat down there.

#### 4.147

Now at this very same time Theras the son of Autesion, the son of Tisamenos, the son of Thersander, the son of Polyneikes, was preparing to set forth from Lacedemon to found a settlement. This Theras, who was of the race of Cadmos, was mother's brother to the sons of Aristodemos, Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these sons were yet children, Theras as their guardian held the royal power in Sparta. When however his nephews were grown and had taken the power into their hands, then Theras, being grieved that he should be ruled by others after he had tasted of rule himself, said that he would not remain in Lacedemon, but would sail away to his kinsmen. Now there were in the island which is now called Thera, but formerly was called Callista, descendants of Membliaros the son of Poikiles, a Phenician: for Cadmos the son of Agenor in his search for Europa put in to land at the island which is now called Thera; and, whether it was that the country pleased him when he had put to land, or whether he chose to do so for any other reason, he left in this island, besides other Phenicians, Membliaros also, of his own kinsmen. These occupied the island called Callista for eight generations of men, before Theras came from Lacedemon.

#### 4.148

To these then, I say, Theras was preparing to set forth, taking with him people from the tribes, and intending to settle together with those who have been mentioned, not with any design to drive them out, but on the contrary claiming them very strongly as kinfolk. And when the Minyai after having escaped from the prison went and sat down on Tay getos, Theras entreated of the Lacedemonians, as they were proposing to put them to death, that no slaughter might take place, and at the same time he engaged himself to take them forth out of the land. The Lacedemonians having agreed to this proposal, he sailed away with three thirty-oared galleys to the descendants of Membliaros, not taking with him by any means all the Minyai, but a few only; for the greater number of them turned towards the land of the Paroreatai and Caucones, and having driven these out of their country, they parted themselves into six divisions and founded in their territory the following towns,— Lepreon, Makistos, Phrixai, Pyrgos, Epion, Nudion; of these the Eleians sacked the greater number within my own lifetime. The island meanwhile got its name of Thera after Theras who led the settlement.

## 4.149

And since his son said that he would not sail with him, therefore he said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; and in accordance with that saying this young man got the name of Oiolycos, and it chanced that this name prevailed over his former name: then from Oiolycos was begotten Aigeus, after whom are called the Aigeidai, a powerful clan in Sparta: and the men of this tribe, since their children did not live to grow up, established by the suggestion of an oracle a temple to the Avenging Deities of Laïos and OEdipus, and after this the same thing was continued in Thera by the descendants of these men.

vocabulary ἄγαμαι wonder, admire; resent, begrudge ἀγνοέω be ignorant of  $\sim$ gnostic ἀδύνατος unable; impossible ἀκήρατος unharmed, pure ἀλογίη disrespect, disregard; unreason ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade ἀναλαμβάνω take up, recover, resume ἀνασπάω draw again ~spatula ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach ἀνδάνω please ~hedonism ἀνδρόω make a man ἀνίη $\mu$ ι urge, impel; release  $\sim$ jet ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise ∼angel ἀπάγω lead away, back ~demagogue άπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀπάτη trick, fraud, deceit  $\sim$ apatosaurus ἀπηλιώτης -ου (m, 1) east wind ἀπόγονος descended from ἀποδημέω be absent, abroad ἀποικία colony ἀποιχίζω send away, resettle ~economics ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποπλέω sail away ~float ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  $\sim$ bear ἀτρέχεια precise certainty ἀφανής unseen, occult, obscure ἀφηλιώτης -ου (m, 1) east wind **βαρύς** heavy ∼baritone βασιλεύω be king γλίχομαι cling to, long for

 $\gamma$ λ $\tilde{\omega}$ σσα tongue, language  $\sim$ glossary γρύψ griffin δέκατος tenth ~decimal δένδρεον -οῦ tree δένδρον tree δένδρος tree διαδέω bandage, bind διαλύω break up; relax, weaken διεκπεράω pass out through δίζημαι seek ~zeal διηχονέω serve, minister to δικαιόω demand/make justice δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent ἐγγίγνομαι live in  $\sim$ genus ἑκατόμβη hecatomb ἐκγίγνομαι be born; be by birth  $\sim$ genus "Ελλην Greek ἐμπόριον immigrant, metic, trading ἐμπόριος immigrant, metic, trading ἔμπορος passenger; merchant  $\sim$ pierce ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἕξ six ∼hexagon ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ∼heresy έξορχόω swear in ἐπειρωτάω consult, ask ἐπεισέρχομαι come in also ἐπιλείπω fail, not work ~eclipse ἐπίλοιπος remaining ἐπιφέρω bestow, impute  $\sim$ bear ἑπτάπηχυς 7 cubits long ἐπωνύμιος called, named ἐρείδω press; mid: lean something against something, prop up ἐρίζω struggle, contend θεσπίζω prophecy καθηγέομαι lead κατάγω lead down/home; land

~demagogue καταποντόω throw into the sea; drown κατάσκοπος spy, inspector κερδαίνω profit, take advantage κολοσσός statue, big statue **κρητήρ** -ος (m) mixing bowl for wine **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin λαγχάνω be allotted; (esp. λελαforms) allot: receive μαχλοσύνη lust μεταξύ between μέτοιχος immigrant μετονομάζω rename μητουιά stepmother ~maternal μηχανάομαι build, contrive  $\sim$ mechanism μῆχος -εος (n, 3) means, remedy  $\sim$ mechanism μίν him, her, it μισθός reward, wages μισθόω rent out; (pass) be hired ναύκληρος ship master, landlord ξείνιος of hospitality οὐδαμός not anyone οὐχί intensified 'not' πάλος lot; ballot πέλαγος -ους (n, 3) the open sea ~pelagic πεντηκόντερος (f) ship with 50 oars περίειμι be superior to; be left over; still exist περιημεχτέω be aggrieved πέριξ all around πομπή a sending, expedition  $\sim$ pomp  $\pi \rho o \phi \acute{\epsilon} \rho \omega$  bring forth  $\sim$ bear σοφία skill; wisdom  $\sim$ sophistry στέλλω prepare, send, furl ∼apostle στήλη post, column σύγκειμαι be composed of, agreed συμμίγνυμι mix with ~mix συμφέρω bring together; be expedient; agree; (mp) happen συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune σχοινίον cord τάλαντον scale, a unit of weight  $\sim$ talent τοιόσδε such ὑφίστημι promise, undertake  $\sim$ station ὕω (Ū) to rain φιλία friendship ~philanthropy φορτίον burden, load φρόνιμος sensible, prudent χρηστήριον oracle, response χοηστός useful; brave, worthy χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

## 4.150

Μέχρι μέν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταὐτὰ λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὧδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Γρῖννος ὁ Αἰσανίου ἐὼν Ψήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ βασιλεύων Θήρης τῆς νήσου ἀπίκετο ἐς Δελφούς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκατόμβην εἴποντο δέ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιητέων καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων. χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίννῳ τῷ, βασιλέι τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρῷ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύη πόλιν. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων «ἐγὼ μὲν ὧναξ πρεσβύτερός τε ἤδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς ἀείρεσθαι σὸ δὲ τινὰ τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταῦτα ποιέειν.» ἄμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὕτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη οὕτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην.

### 4.151

Έπτὰ δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ῧε τὴν Θήρην, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῆ νήσῳ πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐξαυάνθη. χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. ἐπείτε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἢν σφι μῆχος,² πέμπουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διζημένους εἴ τις Κρητῶν ἢ μετοίκων ἀπιγμένος εἴη ἐς Λιβύην. περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὖτοι ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἱτανον πόλιν, ἐν ταύτη δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἀνδρὶ πορφυρέι τῷ οὕνομα ἢν Κορώβιος, ὃς ἔφη ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Πλατέαν νῆσον. μισθῷ, δὲ τοῦτον πείσαντες ἢγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοί κατηγησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μέν Κορώβιον λείπουσι, σιτία καταλιπόντες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι περὶ τῆς νήσου.

disrespect, disregard; unreason <sup>2</sup> means, remedy

## 4.152

Άποδημεόντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νηῦς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος<sup>3</sup> ην Κωλαίος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες έκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμω καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ές Ταρτησσόν, θείη πομπή χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἢν ἀκήρατον 5 τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὥστε άπονοστήσαντες οδτοι όπίσω μέγιστα δή Έλλήνων πάντων τῶν ήμε $\hat{s}$  ἀτρεκείην ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων $^6$  ἐκέρδησαν, μετά γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινήτην τούτω γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οί δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες εξ τάλαντα έποιήσαντο χαλκήιον κρητήρος Άργολικοῦ τρόπον πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοί εἰσι. καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον, ύποστήσαντες αὐτῶ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς<sup>7</sup> έπταπήχεας<sup>8</sup> τοῖσι γούνασι έρηρεισμένους. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλίαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν.

## 4.153

Οί δὲ Θηραῖοι ἐπείτε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τἢ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελλον ὥς σφι εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλῳ λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἑπτὰ ἐόντων ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὴ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

#### 4.154

Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι, τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ἤδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> ship master, landlord <sup>4</sup> cling to, long for <sup>5</sup> unharmed, pure <sup>6</sup> burden, load <sup>7</sup> statue, big statue <sup>8</sup> 7 cubits long

όμολογέουσι Θηραίοισι λέγουσι γάρ οὕτω. ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης 'Οαξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῆ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς, δς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῆ οὔνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτη ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα. έπεσελθοῦσα έδικαίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρυιή<sup>9</sup> τῆ Φρονίμη, παρέχουσα τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῆ μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχλοσύνην 10 ἐπενείκασά οἱ πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμηχανᾶτο ἐπὶ τῆ; θυγατρί. ἢν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων ἀνὴρ Θηραῖος ἔμπορος ἐν τῆ 'Οαξώ· τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβών ἐπὶ ξείνια ἐξορκοῖ ἡ μέν οί διηκονήσειν ὅ τι ἂν δεηθῆ. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐξώρκωσε, ἀγαγών οί παραδιδοί τὴν έωυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντώσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῆ ἀπάτη τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην ἐποίεε τοιάδε παραλαβὼν τὴν παίδα ἀπέπλεε ώς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῶ πελάγεϊ, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτεάρχου, σχοινίοισι<sup>11</sup> αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατῆκε ές τὸ πέλαγος, άνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

# 4.155

Ένθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο. χρόνου δὲ περιιόντος ἐξεγένετό οἱ παῖς ἰσχόφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὕνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὡς Θηραῖοι τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὡς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι· Βάττος δὲ μετωνομάσθη, ἐπείτε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπό τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεύμενος. Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου εἴνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσαν τὰν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῆ γλώσση, εἰδυῖαν ὡς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύη. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἠνδρώθη τάδε.

Βάττ' ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες. ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα, ὤσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσση χρεωμένη «ὧ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> stepmother <sup>10</sup> lust <sup>11</sup> cord <sup>12</sup> prophecy <sup>13</sup> make a man

βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες.» ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. «ὧναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὰ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέῳ δυνάμι, κοίη χειρί;» ταῦτα λέγων οὐκὶ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν ὡς δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐθέσπιζέ οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἴχετο μεταξὰ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

## 4.156

Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως. ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὖτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι ποιέωσι ἄλλο, ὀπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῆ γῆ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω πλώειν ἐκέλευον. οῖ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεον καὶ ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύη κειμένην, τῆ οὔνομα, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Βλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῆ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλι.

#### 4.157

Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἔνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι πρὸς ταῦτα χρῷ τάδε.

Αἰ τὰ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον, μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σευρ'.

Άκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλωον ὀπίσω· οὐ γὰρ δή σφεας ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου τῷ οὔνομα ἦν

### 4.150

Up to this point of the story the Lacedemonians agree in their report with the men of Thera; but in what is to come it is those of Thera alone who report that it happened as follows. Grinnos the son of Aisanios, a descendant of the Theras who has been mentioned, and king of the island of Thera, came to Delphi bringing the offering of a hecatomb from his State; and there were accompanying him, besides others of the citizens, also Battos the son of Polymnestos, who was by descent of the family of Euphemos of the race of the Minyai. Now when Grinnos the king of the Theraians was consulting the Oracle about other matters, the Pythian prophetess gave answer bidding him found a city in Libya; and he made reply saying: "Lord, I am by this time somewhat old and heavy to stir, but do thou bid some one of these younger ones do this." As he thus said he pointed towards Battos. So far at that time: but afterwards when he had come away they were in difficulty about the saying of the Oracle, neither having any knowledge of Libya, in what part of the earth it was, nor venturing to send a colony to the unknown.

#### 4.151

Then after this for seven years there was no rain in Thera, and in these years all the trees in their island were withered up excepting one: and when the Theraians consulted the Oracle, the Pythian prophetess alleged this matter of colonising Libya to be the cause. As then they had no remedy for their evil, they sent messengers to Crete, to find out whether any of the Cretans or of the sojourners in Crete had ever come to Libya. These as they wandered round about the country came also the city of Itanos, and there they met with a fisher for purple named Corobios, who said that he had been carried away by winds and had come to Libya, and in Libya to the island of Platea. This man they persuaded by payment of money and took him to Thera, and from Thera there set sail men to explore, at first not many in number; and Corobios having guided them to this same island of Platea, they left Corobios there, leaving behind with him provisions for a certain number of months, and sailed themselves as quickly as possible to make report about the island to the men of Thera.

#### 4.152

Since however these stayed away longer than the time appointed, Corobios found himself destitute; and after this a ship of Samos, of which the master was Colaios, while sailing to Egypt was carried out of its course and came to this island of Platea; and the Samians hearing from Corobios the whole story left him provisions for a year. They themselves then put out to sea from the island and sailed on, endeavouring to reach Egypt but carried away

continually by the East Wind; and as the wind did not cease to blow, they passed through the Pillars of Heracles and came to Tartessos, guided by divine providence. Now this trading-place was at that time untouched by any, so that when these returned back home they made profit from their cargo greater than any other Hellenes of whom we have certain knowledge, with the exception at least of Sostratos the son of Laodamas the Eginetan, for with him it is not possible for any other man to contend. And the Samians set apart six talents, the tenth part of their gains, and had a bronze vessel made like an Argolic mixing-bowl with round it heads of griffins projecting in a row; and this they dedicated as an offering in the temple of Hera, setting as supports under it three colossal statues of bronze seven cubits in height, resting upon their knees. By reason first of this deed great friendship was formed by those of Kyrene and Thera with the Samians.

#### 4.153

The Theraians meanwhile, when they arrived at Thera after having left Corobios in the island, reported that they had colonised an island on the coast of Libya: and the men of Thera resolved to send one of every two brothers selected by lot and men besides taken from all the regions of the island, which are seven in number; and further that Battos should be both their leader and their king. Thus then they sent forth two fifty-oared galleys to Platea.

### 4.154

This is the report of the Theraians; and for the remainder of the account from this point onwards the Theraians are in agreement with the men of Kyrene: from this point onwards, I say, since in what concerns Battos the Kyrenians tell by no means the same tale as those of Thera; for their account is this:— There is in Crete a city called Oäxos in which one Etearchos became king, who when he had a daughter, whose mother was dead, named Phronime, took to wife another woman notwithstanding. She having come in afterwards, thought fit to be a stepmother to Phronime in deed as well as in name, giving her evil treatment and devising everything possible to her hurt; and at last she brings against her a charge of lewdness and persuades her husband that the truth is so. He then being convinced by his wife, devised an unholy deed against the daughter: for there was in Oäxos one Themison, a merchant of Thera, whom Etearchos took to himself as a guest-friend and caused him to swear that he would surely serve him in whatsoever he should require: and when he had caused him to swear this, he brought and delivered to him his daughter and bade him take her away and cast her into the sea. Themison then was very greatly vexed at the deceit practised in the matter of the oath, and he dissolved his guest-friendship and did as follows, that is to say, he

received the girl and sailed away, and when he got out into the open sea, to free himself from blame as regards the oath which Etearchos had made him swear, he tied her on each side with ropes and let her down into the sea, and then drew her up and came to Thera.

#### 4.155

After that, Polymnestos, a man of repute among the Theraians, received Phronime from him and kept her as his concubine; and in course of time there was born to him from her a son with an impediment in his voice and lisping, to whom, as both Theraians and Kyrenians say, was given the name Battos, but I think that some other name was then given, and he was named Battos instead of this after he came to Libya, taking for himself this surname from the oracle which was given to him at Delphi and from the rank which he had obtained; for the Libyans call a king battos: and for this reason, I think, the Pythian prophetess in her prophesying called him so, using the Libyan tongue, because she knew that he would be a king in Libya. For when he had grown to be a man, he came to Delphi to inquire about his voice; and when he asked, the prophetess thus answered him:

"For a voice thou camest, O Battos, but thee lord Phoebus Apollo Sendeth as settler forth to the Libyan land sheep-abounding,"

Just as if she should say using the Hellenic tongue, "For a voice thou camest, O king." He thus made answer: "Lord, I came to thee to inquire concerning my voice, but thou answerest me other things which are not possible, bidding me go as a settler to Libya; but with what power, or with what force of men should I go?" Thus saying he did not at all persuade her to give him any other reply; and as she was prophesying to him again the same things as before, Battos departed while she was yet speaking, and went away to Thera.

#### 4.156

After this there came evil fortune both to himself and to the other men of Thera; and the Theraians, not understanding that which befell them, sent to Delphi to inquire about the evils which they were suffering: and the Pythian prophetess gave them reply that if they joined with Battos in founding Kyrene in Libya, they would fare the better. After this the Theraians sent Battos with two fifty-oared galleys; and these sailed to Libya, and then came away back to Thera, for they did not know what else to do: and the Theraians pelted them with missiles when they endeavoured to land, and would not allow them to put to shore, but bade them sail back again. They accordingly being compelled sailed away back, and they made a settlement in an island lying near the coast of Libya, called, as was said before, Platea. This island is said to be of the same size as the now existing city of Kyrene.

#### 4.157

In this they continued to dwell two years; but as they had no prosperity, they left one of their number behind and all the rest sailed away to Delphi, and having come to the Oracle they consulted it, saying that they were dwelling in Libya and that, though they were dwelling there, they fared none the better: and the Pythian prophetess made answer to them thus:

"Better than I if thou knowest the Libyan land sheep-abounding, Not having been there than I who have been, at thy wisdom I wonder."

Having heard this Battos and his companions sailed away back again; for in fact the god would not let them off from the task of settlement till they had come to Libya itself: and having arrived at the island and taken up him whom they had left, they made a settlement in Libya itself at a spot opposite the island, called Aziris.

vocabulary ἀγοράζω do commerce ~agora ἀέκων unwilling ἀμφίρυτος flow-girt ~rheostat ἀμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora ἀναγιγνώσκω recognize, read, understand, persuade ἀναδασμός redistribution ἀναέξω enlarge, increase ἀνατίθημι consecrate, lay on, impute; (mp) reproach άντιστασιώτης -ου (m, 1) partisan adversary ἀξιοθέητος well worth seeing ἀπαιτέω demand to have returned ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποιχία colony ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποπέμπω send away ∼pomp  $ἀποπνίγω (<math>\bar{\iota}$ ) strangle; stew; (p) ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  $\sim$ bear ἀρτίπος swift-footed ~pedal ἄτε as if; since βασιλεύω be king δειμαίνω be afraid διαδέχομαι be next, succeed  $\sim$ doctrine διαιτάω treat; live; arbitrate διατελέω accomplish; keep doing  $\sim$ apostle διάω blow through διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion δόχιμος trustworthy; excellent δόλος trick, bait δωρέω give ∼donate ἕβδομος seventh εἴριον wool ~Eriogonum έχχαίδεχα 16 ἐκλείπω leave out, pass over

ἐκπίμπλημι fulfil, accomplish ἐκστρατεύω march out; (mp) take the field έκών willingly, on purpose; giving in too easily "Ελλην Greek ἐμπίμπρημι burn up ∼pyre ἐμπρήθω burn up ἐνθαῦτα there, here ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἕξ six ∼hexagon ἐξαιρέω pick, steal; dedicate; destroy ∼heresy ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo; destroy someone ἐξοπτάω bake well ἐπεῖπον say besides or afterwards ἐπείρομαι ask as well; ask then ἐπιδιώχω chase after ἐπικαλέω call upon ἐπικρατέω rule over ἐπιμέμφομαι blame **ἔργω** bound, fend off; do ~ergonomics ἑσπέρα evening, west εὐδαίμων blessed with a good genius εὐεργεσία good deed, public service ~ergonomics ἐύς good, brave, noble ήλακάτη distaff, spindle  $\eta$ οῖος eastern, the morning  $\sim$ Eocene ήσσάομαι (pass) be weaker, be overcome; (active) defeat ἥσυχος quiet θησαυρός treasury  $\sim$ treasure ίδιωτικός private, amateurish ίρωσύνη priesthood, ceremonies καλλιστεύ $\omega$  be the best κάμινος (ī, f) oven, furnace κάμνω toil, be tired, acquire by toil; be troubled; be sick

κατάγνυμι (ō) break up, shatter κατάγω lead down/home; land ~demagogue καταλαμβάνω seize, understand, catch, overtake; (mp) happen ~epilepsy καταμανθάνω examine, observe καταφεύγω resort to, flee to, appeal to ∼fugitive κατέρχομαι come down, out from κάτοδος descent, return, cycle κρήνη well, spring **κτίζω** found, populate ~oxytocin μαντεῖον prophetic warning  $\sim$ mantis μίν him, her, it νάπη valley **νησιώτης** -ου (m, 1) insular ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄμιλος ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) crowd, throng  $\sim$ homily ὄον οὖ type of fruit **ὄρος** boundary marker ∼horizon οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance; limit οὖρος fair wind; guardian; hill παράγω deflect; bring forward παραινέω recommend, exhort, warn παραιτέομαι entreat; beg for; decline παράπαν completely  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\rho\epsilon\omega$  flow past, slip by παρίζω sit beside ∼sit πελάζω bring/come to, near, into contact with πενθερός father in law  $\sim$ Nepenthe περινέω swim around; pile around περίοιχος dwelling around περιτάμνω surround to steal περιυβρίζω insult wantonly πολυήρατος charming, desirable  $\sim$ erotic  $\pi$ ρόγονος elder, ancestor  $\sim$ genus

πρόσειμι approach, draw near; add πύργος ramparts, tower; line of troops στασιάζω revolt, be divided στέλλω prepare, send, furl  $\sim$ apostle στερέω steal, take στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy στρατόω be on a campaign  $\sim$ strategy συγγενεύς inborn, kin to συγγενής inborn, kin to συλλέγω collect, assemble ~legion συμβάλλω pit against; compare; mp: meet, fall in with ∼ballistic συμβολή encounter; contribution συμφορά collecting; accident, misfortune συναγείρω gather together ~agora συνοικέω live together ταραχή upsetness, confusion ταῦρος bull ∼steer τελευταῖος last, final τέμενος -εος (n, 3) non-common land τετραίνω pierce ~tribulation ὑποδείχνυμι (υō) show, trace out ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer  $\sim$ doctrine φάρμαχον drug, potion ~pharmacy φυγάς -δος (m, 3) exile, refugee ~fugitive φυγή flight, means of escape ~fugitive χειρόω dominate, subdue χρησμός oracular response χρηστήριον oracle, response χωλός lame χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

'Άζιρις' τὸν νάπαι<sup>1</sup> τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφότερα συγκληίουσι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

## 4.158

Τοῦτον οἴκεον τὸν χῶρον εξ ἔτεα, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σφέας ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Λίβυες ὡς ἐς ἀμείνονα χῶρον ἄξουσι, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. ἢγον δὲ σφέας ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἵνα διεξιόντες οἱ Ἑλληνες μὴ ἴδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὤρην τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρῆγον. ἔστι δὲ τῷ χώρῳ τούτω οὕνομα Ἱρασα. ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν «ἄνδρες Ἑλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν. ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται.»²

## 4.159

Έπὶ μέν νυν Βάττου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζόης, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ᾿Αρκεσίλεω ἄρξαντος ἐκκαίδεκα³ ἔτεα, οἴκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἔλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα.

"Ος δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθη γᾶς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἶ ποκα φαμὶ μελήσειν.

συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὔνομα ἢν ᾿Αδικράν, οἶα τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι ⁵ καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ᾿Απρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέι. ὁ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὸν ἔπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς Ἡρασα χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῆ συμβολῆ. ἄτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  valley  $^{2}$  pierce  $^{3}$  16  $^{4}$  blessed with a good genius  $^{5}$  steal, take

Έλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρησαν οὕτω ἄστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπρίῃ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

## 4.160

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται ᾿Αρκεσίλεως. ὁς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὅ μιν οὖτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἴχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἢ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη κλέεται κτίζοντες δὲ ἄμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾶσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. μετὰ δὲ ᾿Αρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες δείσαντες αὐτὸν οἴχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἠοίους τῶν Λιβύων. ὁ δὲ ᾿Αρκεσίλεως εἴπετο φεύγουσι, ἐς οὖ ἐν Λεύκωνί τε τῆς Λιβύης ἐγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ. συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο ὥστε ἐπτακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρῶμα τοῦτο Ἡρκεσίλεων μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἡλίαρχος ἀποπνίγει, Ἡλίαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἡρκεσίλεω δόλω κτείνει, τῆ οὔνομα ἢν ὙΕρυξώ.

## 4.161

Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληίην τοῦ ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλός τε ἐῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. τοἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὅντινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἃν οἰκέοιεν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἴτεον ὧν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὕνομα ἢν Δημῶναξ. οὖτος ὧν ώνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφεας, τῆδε διαθείς. Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων θπάντων. τοῦτο

 $<sup>^{6}</sup>$  eastern, the morning  $^{7}$  swift-footed  $^{8}$  blow through  $^{9}$  insular

δὲ τῷ βασιλέι Βάττῳ τεμένεα<sup>10</sup> ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρωσύνας, <sup>11</sup> τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

# 4.162

Έπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττου οὕτω διετέλεε ἐόντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Άρκεσίλεω πολλή ταραχή 12 περὶ τῶν τιμέων ἐγένετο. Άρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεῦτεν στασιάζων ἐσσώθη καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμον, ή δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμῖνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. τῆς δὲ Σαλαμίνος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, δς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμιητήριον, έὸν ἀξιοθέητον 13 ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ Φερετίμη ἐδέετο στρατιῆς η κατάξει σφέας ές την Κυρήνην. ὁ δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον η στρατιήν οἱ ἐδίδου· ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναί οἱ δεομένη στρατιήν. τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῶ διδομένω ἔλεγε, τελευταῖόν οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δώρον ὁ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσεον καὶ ἠλακάτην, 14 προσῆν δὲ καὶ είριον. 15 επειπάσης δε αὖτις τῆς Φερετίμης τωντὸ ἔπος, ὁ Εὐέλθων έφη τοιούτοισι γυναῖκας δωρέεσθαι<sup>16</sup> ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιῆ.

# 4.163

Ό δὲ ἀρκεσίλεως τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐων ἐν Σάμω συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίω περὶ κατόδου. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾳ τάδε. «ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βᾶττους καὶ ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὰ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοῖ ὑμῦν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης,163.3 πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὰ μέντοι ἤσυχος το ἐναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἢν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εἴρης πλέην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον· εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσεις τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθης

non-common land 11 priesthood, ceremonies 12 upsetness, confusion 13 well worth seeing 14 distaff, spindle 15 wool 16 give 17 quiet 18 oven, furnace

ές τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανέαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων.» ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεω χρῷ.

## 4.164

'Ο δὲ παραλαβών τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντηίου 19 οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, άλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἴτες τῆς ξωυτοῦ φυγῆς. τῶν δὲ οῦ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ Άρκεσίλεως ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῆ. τούτους μέν νυν Κνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην ἐρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν ἐτέρους δὲ τινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Άγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ίδιωτικον<sup>20</sup> ύλην περινήσας ό Άρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε, μαθών δὲ ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήιον ἐὸν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὑρόντα ἐν τῆ καμίνω τοὺς ἀμφορέας έξοπτήσαι, έργετο έκων τής των Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην είναι. είχε δὲ γυναίκα συγγενέα έωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ βασιλέος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀλάζειρ παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται, καί μιν Βαρκαῖοί τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων<sup>21</sup> τινὲς καταμαθόντες άγοράζοντα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν<sup>22</sup> αὐτοῦ Ἀλάζειρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μέν νυν εἴτε έκὼν εἴτε ἀέκων ἁμαρτὼν τοῦ χρησμοῦ έξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν έωυτοῦ.

## 4.165

Η δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, ἔως μὲν ὁ ᾿Αρκεσίλεως ἐν τῷ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακόν, ἡ δὲ εἶχε αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ τἆλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῷ παρίζουσα. ἐπείτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῷ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ᾿Αρκεσίλεω εὐεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεα

 $<sup>^{19}</sup>$  prophetic warning  $^{20}$  private, amateurish  $^{21}$  exile, refugee  $^{22}$  father in law

which is enclosed by most fair woods on both sides and a river flows by it on one side.

## 4.158

In this spot they dwelt for six years; and in the seventh year the Libyans persuaded them to leave it, making request and saying that they would conduct them to a better region. So the Libyans led them from that place making them start towards evening; and in order that the Hellenes might not see the fairest of all the regions as they passed through it, they led them past it by night, having calculated the time of daylight: and this region is called Irasa. Then having conducted them to the so-called spring of Apollo, they said, "Hellenes, here is a fit place for you to dwell, for here the heaven is pierced with holes."

#### 4.159

Now during the lifetime of the first settler Battos, who reigned forty years, and of his son Arkesilaos, who reigned sixteen years, the Kyrenians continued to dwell there with the same number as when they first set forth to the colony; but in the time of the third king, called Battos the Prosperous, the Pythian prophetess gave an oracle wherein she urged the Hellenes in general to sail and join with the Kyrenians in colonising Libya. For the Kyrenians invited them, giving promise of a division of land; and the oracle which she uttered was as follows:

"Who to the land much desired, to Libya, afterwards cometh, After the land be divided, I say he shall some day repent it."

Then great numbers were gathered at Kyrene, and the Libyans who dwelt round had much land cut off from their possessions; therefore they with their king whose name was Adicran, as they were not only deprived of their country but also were dealt with very insolently by the Kyrenians, sent to Egypt and delivered themselves over to Apries king of Egypt. He then having gathered a great army of Egyptians, sent it against Kyrene; and the men of Kyrene marched out to the region of Irasa and to the spring Theste, and there both joined battle with the Egyptians and defeated them in the battle: for since the Egyptians had not before made trial of the Hellenes in fight and therefore despised them, they were so slaughtered that but few of them returned back to Egypt. In consequence of this and because they laid the blame of it upon Apries, the Egyptians revolted from him.

# 4.160

This Battos had a son called Arkesilaos, who first when he became king made a quarrel with his own brothers, until they finally departed to another region

of Libya, and making the venture for themselves founded that city which was then and is now called Barca; and at the same time as they founded this, they induced the Libyans to revolt from the Kyrenians. After this, Arkesilaos made an expedition against those Libyans who had received them and who had also revolted from Kyrene, and the Libyans fearing him departed and fled towards the Eastern tribes of Libyans: and Arkesilaos followed after them as they fled, until he arrived in his pursuit at Leucon in Libya, and there the Libyans resolved to attack him. Accordingly they engaged battle and defeated the Kyrenians so utterly that seven thousand hoplites of the Kyrenians fell there. After this disaster Arkesilaos, being sick and having swallowed a potion, was strangled by his brother Haliarchos, and Haliarchos was killed treacherously by the wife of Arkesilaos, whose name was Eryxo.

#### 4.161

Then Battos the son of Arkesilaos succeeded to the kingdom, who was lame and not sound in his feet: and the Kyrenians with a view to the misfortune which had befallen them sent men to Delphi to ask what form of rule they should adopt, in order to live in the best way possible; and the Pythian prophetess bade them take to themselves a reformer of their State from Mantineia of the Arcadians. The men of Kyrene accordingly made request, and those of Mantineia gave them the man of most repute among their citizens, whose name was Demonax. This man therefore having come to Kyrene and having ascertained all things exactly, in the first place caused them to have three tribes, distributing them thus:— one division he made of the Theraians and their dependants, another of the Peloponnesians and Cretans, and a third of all the islanders. Then secondly for the king Battos he set apart domains of land and priesthoods, but all the other powers which the kings used to possess before, he assigned as of public right to the people.

#### 4.162

During the reign of this Battos things continued to be thus, but in the reign of his son Arkesilaos there arose much disturbance about the offices of the State: for Arkesilaos son of Battos the Lame and of Pheretime said that he would not suffer it to be according as the Mantineian Demonax had arranged, but asked to have back the royal rights of his forefathers. After this, stirring up strife he was worsted and went as an exile to Samos, and his mother to Salamis in Cyprus. Now at that time the ruler of Salamis was Euelthon, the same who dedicated as an offering the censer at Delphi, a work well worth seeing, which is placed in the treasury of the Corinthians. To him having come, Pheretime asked him for an army to restore herself and her son to Kyrene. Euelthon however was ready to give her anything else rather than that; and she when she received that which he gave her said that this too was

a fair gift, but fairer still would be that other gift of an army for which she was asking. As she kept saying this to every thing which was given, at last Euelthon sent out to her a present of a golden spindle and distaff, with wool also upon it: and when Pheretime uttered again the same saying about this present, Euelthon said that such things as this were given as gifts to women and not an army.

#### 4.163

Arkesilaos meanwhile, being in Samos, was gathering every one together by a promise of dividing land; and while a great host was being collected, Arkesilaos set out to Delphi to inquire of the Oracle about returning from exile: and the Pythian prophetess gave him this answer: "For four named Battos and four named Arkesilaos, eight generations of men, Loxias grants to you to be kings of Kyrene, but beyond this he counsels you not even to attempt it. Thou however must keep quiet when thou hast come back to thy land; and if thou findest the furnace full of jars, heat not the jars fiercely, but let them go with a fair wind: if however thou heat the furnace fiercely, enter not thou into the place flowed round by water; for if thou dost thou shalt die, both thou and the bull which is fairer than all the rest."

#### 4.164

Thus the Pythian prophetess gave answer to Arkesilaos; and he, having taken to him those in Samos, made his return to Kyrene; and when he had got possession of the power, he did not remember the saying of the Oracle but endeavoured to exact penalties from those of the opposite faction for having driven him out. Of these some escaped out of the country altogether, but some Arkesilaos got into his power and sent them away to Cyprus to be put to death. These were driven out of their course to Cnidos, and the men of Cnidos rescued them and sent them away to Thera. Some others however of the Kyrenians fled to a great tower belonging to Aglomachos a private citizen, and Arkesilaos burnt them by piling up brushwood round. Then after he had done the deed he perceived that the Oracle meant this, in that the Pythian prophetess forbade him, if he found the jars in the furnace, to heat them fiercely; and he voluntarily kept away from the city of the Kyrenians, fearing the death which had been prophesied by the Oracle and supposing that Kyrene was flowed round by water. Now he had to wife a kinswoman of his own, the daughter of the king of Barca whose name was Alazeir: to him he came, and men of Barca together with certain of the exiles from Kyrene, perceiving him going about in the market-place, killed him, and also besides him his father in law Alazeir. Arkesilaos accordingly, having missed the meaning of the oracle, whether with his will or against his will, fulfilled his own destiny.

### 4.165

His mother Pheretime meanwhile, so long as Arkesilaos having worked evil for himself dwelt at Barca, herself held the royal power of her son at Kyrene, both exercising his other rights and also sitting in council: but when she heard that her son had been slain in Barca, she departed and fled to Egypt: for she had on her side services done for Cambyses the

vocabulary ἀκτή beach; cereal grain ἀμφιλαφής spreading, abundant ἀνίημι urge, impel; release  $\sim$ jet ἄνυδρος waterless ἀποδείκνυμι (ō) show, point out; appoint; (mid) declare ἀποδέχομαι accept ~doctrine ἀποπέμπω send away ∼pomp ἀργύριον small coin ἄρειος warlike ἀρεστός satisfactory, pleasing αὐαίνω to dry; (mp) wither ἀφέψω purify by boiling **γάλα** milk ∼galaxy δαιτυμών -όνος (m, 3) dinner guest  $\sim$ demon δασύς hairy, brushy δέρμα -τος (n, 3) skin, hide ~dermatology διαχόσιοι (ā) two hundred διεξέρχομαι go through δορά hide, flaying ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἔλυτρον covering, case; reservoir ἔνθεν thence, whence ἐντίθημι load; mp: take to heart  $\sim$ thesis ἐντός within ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams ἐξαπόλλυμι (ō) disappear from ἐπανίστημι rise up ∼station ἐπιδείκνυμι (ῦ) display, exhibit ἐπίχειμαι impose; shut a door ἐπίκοινος in common ἐπιτηδεύω practice, pursue έπιφέρω bestow, impute  $\sim$ bear ἐσθής clothes ∼vest έσπέρα evening, west ἥκιστος least; above all ἥπειρος (f) mainland, continent θέρος -εος (n, 3) summer  $\sim$ thermos

θηρεύω hunt, fish  $\sim$ fierce θηριώδης savage, wild θρίξ hair  $\sim$ tresses ἵζω to seat ∼sit ίχέτις female suppliant καθάλλομαι rush down ~sally καθαρός clean, pure καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper καρποφόρος fruit-bearing κατάγαιος at ground level; underground καταστροφή end, conclusion καταχώννυμι (ō) bury κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; get; kill κατεύχομαι pray, vow, curse κατοικτείρω have mercy, compassion κατοικτίρω have mercy, compassion κατύπερθεν above, from above **κείρω** shave, sever, raze; devour, use up κνήμη lower leg κνημός shoulder of a mountain χομάω have long hair **χόπτω** beat, cut, strike **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin λόφος neck, crest on a helmet, hilltop λωτός clover? lotus? μαντεύομαι to divine ~mantis μαντικός prophetic μεταξύ between μιμέομαι (ī) imitate, represent μίν him, her, it μῖξις mixing; sex, commerce μισθός reward, wages μνημόσυνον memorial νέμω to allot, to pasture  $\sim$ nemesis νόμισμα -τος (n, 3) institution; coin νότος south, south wind

νύμφα nymph; bride ὁμιλία (τι) intercourse, company ὄρχιον oath ∼orc ὄψις ὄψεως (f) sight, view  $\sim$ thanatopsis παντοῖος all kinds of παράχειμαι be at hand, ready παραπλήσιος similar to παρήκω lie along; of time: to be past παρθένος (f) girl, virgin ~Parthenon πελάζω bring/come to, near, into contact with περιδέω tie around, on πλατύς extensive, wide πλυνός washing trough πνέω breathe, blow  $\sim$ apnea πρόβατον cattle, flocks, herds  $\pi$ ρόγονος elder, ancestor  $\sim$ genus προέχω be ahead, jut forward; mid: have before one προσείχελος somewhat like πρόσχημα -τος (n, 3) screen, pretext, appearance, ornament πρόφασις -εως (f) pretext; motive; prediction ∼fame δέω flow ~rheostat διπτέω hurl δίπτω hurl  $\dot{\phi}$ οά pl: waters of a river ~rheostat ῥόος ῥοῦ stream, flow, current  $\sim$ rheostat σῆμα -τος (n, 3) mark, sign, grave mound ∼semaphore σίλφιον a medicinal fennel σποδός (f) embers; ashes

στάδιον 200 meters (pl also masc) στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στρατιά army ~strategy στρατός common people/soldiers  $\sim$ strategy στρουθός (f) sparrow  $\sim$ struthiomimus συνοικέω live together τιμωρέω (ī) (+dat) take vengeance, punish; aid one who has been attacked τοιόσδε such τρώγω nibble, crop τύμβος grave mound ∼tomb ύγρός wet ὕπαρχος subordinate ὑπήκοον -ῦ cumin ὑπήχοος heeding, subject ὑποδέχομαι welcome, accept, suffer φθείρω destroy, ruin φοῖνιξ -χος (m) red or purple dye or color; bay (horse); palm tree φοιτέω go back and forth φορέω frequentative of φέρω, to carry ∼bear φόρον forum φόρος tribute, revenue φροντίζω consider, ponder φύω produce, beget; clasp ~physics χαμᾶθεν from the ground χουσίον (ō) gold coin χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir ψάμμος (f) sand ψέλιον armlet, anklet ψιλός ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) naked, bare ~epsilon

τὸν Κύρου πεποιημέναι· οὖτος γὰρ ἢν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αίγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη Ἀρυάνδεω ἰκέτις¹ ἴζετο, τιμωρῆσαι έωυτῆ κελεύουσα, προισχομένη πρόφασιν ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθνηκε.

## 4.166

Ό δὲ ἀρυάνδης ἢν οὖτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὕπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω κατεστεώς, ος ὑστέρω χρόνω τούτων παρισούμενος Δαρείω διεφθάρη, πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον ἐπιθυμέοντα μνημόσυνον ἐωυτοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἴη βασιλέι κατεργασμένον, ἐμιμέετο τοῦτον, ἐς οὖ ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν. Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο, ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου ἀργύριον τὼυτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίεε, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ ἀρυανδικόν. μαθὼν δέ μιν Δαρεῖος ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἰτίην οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκας ὡς οἱ ἐπανίσταιτο, ἀπέκτεινε.

### 4.167

Τότε δὲ οὖτος ὁ Ἀρυάνδης κατοικτείρας Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῆ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἄπαντα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικόν· στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἅμασιν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἐόντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιήν, ὁ Ἡρυάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα ἐπυνθάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἡρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες· πολλά τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἡρυάνδης οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπέστειλε ἄμα τῆ Φερετίμη. αὕτη μέν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα τοῦ στόλου ἐγίνετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῆ. Λιβύων γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐστι, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείου οὐδέν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> female suppliant <sup>2</sup> memorial

### 4.168

Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι ἀδυρμαχίδαι Λιβύων κατοίκηνται, οῦ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλέω Αἰγυπτίοισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἵην περ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον³ περὶ ἑκατέρη τῶν κνημέων φορέουσι χάλκεον τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθεῖρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι τοὺς ἑωυτῆς ἑκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ρίπτει. οὖτοι δὲ μοῦνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ βασιλέι μοῦνοι τὰς παρθένους μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσι. ἡ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλέι ἀρεστὴ γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενεύεται. παρήκουσι δὲ οὖτοι οἱ ἀδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέχρι λιμένος τῷ οὖνομα Πλυνός⁴ ἐστι.

# 4.169

Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην χώρην μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ ἥ τε Πλατέα νῆσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Μενέλαος λιμήν ἐστι καὶ Ἅζιρις, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἴκεον, καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου παρήκει δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὖτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἑτέροισι.

## 4.170

Γιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ᾿Ασβύσται. οὖτοι ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι ᾿Ασβύσται τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται. τεθριπποβάται δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσί, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων.

## 4.171

'Ασβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αὐσχίσαι' οὖτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας. Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρης οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες, ὀλίγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> armlet, anklet <sup>4</sup> washing trough

έπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης.

#### 4.172

Αὐσχισέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται Νασαμῶνες, ἔθνος έὸν πολλόν, οἱ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῆ θαλάσση τὰ πρόβατα άναβαίνουσι ές Αὔγιλα χῶρον ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας. δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφέες πεφύκασι, πάντες ἐόντες καρποφόροι. τοὺς δὲ ἀττελέβους ἐπεὰν θηρεύσωσι, αὐήναντες<sup>5</sup> πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλέουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίνουσι. γυναῖκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἐπίκοινον αὐτέων τὴν μῖξιν ποιεθνται τρόπω παραπλησίω τῶ καὶ Μασσαγέται ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσωνται, μίσγονται. πρώτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμώνος ἀνδρὸς νόμος έστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῆ πρώτη διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων<sup>6</sup> μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἔκαστος οἱ μιχθῆ, διδοῖ δῶρον τὸ ἂν ἔχη φερόμενος έξ οἴκου, ὁρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῆ<sup>7</sup> χρέωνται τοιῆδε· ὀμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ άρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων<sup>8</sup> άπτόμενοι· μαντεύονται<sup>9</sup> δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδη ἐν τῆ, ὄψι ἐνύπνιον, τούτω χράται. πίστισι δὲ τοιῆσιδε χρέωνται ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοῖ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου πίνει. ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσι ὑγρὸν μηδέν, οῖ δὲ τῆς χαμᾶθεν<sup>10</sup> σποδοῦ λαβόντες λείχουσι.

### 4.173

Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὖτοι ἐξαπολώλασι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφι πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλυτρα<sup>11</sup> τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηύηνε, ἡ δὲ χώρη σφι ἄπασα ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος ἢν ἄνυδρος. οῦ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῆ ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἐξαπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώρην

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> to dry; (mp) wither <sup>6</sup> dinner guest <sup>7</sup> prophetic <sup>8</sup> grave mound <sup>9</sup> to divine <sup>10</sup> from the ground <sup>11</sup> covering, case; reservoir

οί Νασαμῶνες.

### 4.174

Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον ἐν τῆ, θηριώδεϊ οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες, οἳ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὁμιλίην, 12 καὶ οὖτε ὅπλον ἐκτέαται ἀρήιον οὐδὲν οὖτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται.

# 4.175

Οὖτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκαι, οῖ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὕξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροί, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίων δορὰς <sup>13</sup> φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κῖνυψ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλευμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὖτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἴδησι ἐστί, ἐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης ψιλῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκόσιοι εἰσί.

## 4.176

Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γινδανες εἰσί, τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὡς λέγεται κατ᾽ ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται ἡ δὲ αν πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθεῖσα.

#### 4.177

Άκτὴν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι, οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μοῦνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζώουσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου, γλυκύτητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῦνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

<sup>12</sup> intercourse, company 13 hide, flaying

son of Cyrus by Arkesilaos, since this was the Arkesilaos who had given over Kyrene to Cambyses and had laid a tribute upon himself. Pheretime then having come to Egypt sat down as a suppliant of Aryandes, bidding him help her, and alleging as a reason that it was on account of his inclination to the side of the Medes that her son had been slain.

### 4.166

Now this Aryandes had been appointed ruler of the province of Egypt by Cambyses; and after the time of these events he lost his life because he would measure himself with Dareios. For having heard and seen that Dareios desired to leave behind him as a memorial of himself a thing which had not been made by any other king, he imitated him, until at last he received his reward: for whereas Dareios refined gold and made it as pure as possible, and of this caused coins to be struck, Aryandes, being ruler of Egypt, did the same thing with silver; and even now the purest silver is that which is called Aryandic. Dareios then having learnt that he was doing this put him to death, bringing against him another charge of attempting rebellion.

#### 4.167

Now at the time of which I speak this Aryandes had compassion on Pheretime and gave her all the troops that were in Egypt, both the land and the sea forces, appointing Amasis a Maraphian to command the land-army and Badres, of the race of the Pasargadai, to command the fleet: but before he sent away the army, Aryandes despatched a herald to Barca and asked who it was who had killed Arkesilaos; and the men of Barca all took it upon themselves, for they said they suffered formerly many great evils at his hands. Having heard this, Aryandes at last sent away the army together with Pheretime. This charge then was the pretext alleged; but in fact the army was being sent out (as I believe) for the purpose of subduing Libya: for of the Libyans there are many nations of nations of various kinds, and but few of them are subject to the king, while the greater number paid no regard to Dareios.

# 4.168

Now the Libyans have their dwelling as follows:— Beginning from Egypt, first of the Libyans are settled the Adyrmachidai, who practise for the most part the same customs as the Egyptians, but wear clothing similar to that of the other Libyans. Their women wear a bronze ring upon each leg, and they have long hair on their heads, and when they catch their lice, each one bites her own in retaliation and then throws them away. These are the only people of the Lybians who do this; and they alone display to the king their maidens when they are about to be married, and whosoever of them proves to be pleasing to the king is deflowered by him. These Adyrmachidai extend

along the coast from Egypt as far as the port which is called Plynos.

#### 4.169

Next after these come the Giligamai, occupying the country towards the West as far as the island of Aphrodisias. In the space within this limit lies off the coast the island of Platea, where the Kyrenians made their settlement; and on the coast of the mainland there is Port Menelaos, and Aziris, where the Kyrenians used to dwell. From this point begins the silphion and it extends along the coast from the island of Platea as far as the entrance of the Syrtis. This nation practises customs nearly resembling those of the rest.

## 4.170

Next to the Giligamai on the West are the Asbystai: these dwell above Kyrene, and the Asbystai do not reach down the sea, for the region along the sea is occupied by Kyrenians. These most of all the Libyans are drivers of four-horse chariots, and in the greater number of their customs they endeavour to imitate the Kyrenians.

#### 4.171

Next after the Asbystai on the West come the Auchisai: these dwell above Barca and reach down to the sea by Euesperides: and in the middle of the country of the Auchisai dwell the Bacales, a small tribe, who reach down to the sea by the city of Taucheira in the territory of Barca: these practise the same customs as those above Kyrene.

## 4.172

Next after these Auschisai towards the West come the Nasamonians, a numerous race, who in the summer leave their flocks behind by the sea and go up to the region of Augila to gather the fruit of the date-palms, which grow in great numbers and very large and are all fruit-bearing: these hunt the wingless locusts, and they dry them in the sun and then pound them up, and after that they sprinkle them upon milk and drink them. Their custom is for each man to have many wives, and they make their intercourse with them common in nearly the same manner as the Massagetai, that is they set up a staff in front of the door and so have intercourse. When a Nasamonian man marries his first wife, the custom is for the bride on the first night to go through the whole number of the guests having intercourse with them, and each man when he has lain with her gives a gift, whatsoever he has brought with him from his house. The forms of oath and of divination which they use are as follows:— they swear by the men among themselves who are reported to have been the most righteous and brave, by these, I say, laying hands upon their tombs; and they divine by visiting the sepulchral mounds of their ancestors and lying down to sleep upon them after having prayed; and whatsoever thing the man sees in his dream, this he accepts. They practise also the exchange of pledges in the following manner, that is to say, one gives the other to drink from his hand, and drinks himself from the hand of the other; and if they have no liquid, they take of the dust from the ground and lick it.

#### 4.173

Adjoining the Nasamonians is the country of the Psylloi. These have perished utterly in the following manner:— The South Wind blowing upon them dried up all their cisterns of water, and their land was waterless, lying all within the Syrtis. They then having taken a resolve by common consent, marched in arms against the South Wind (I report that which is reported by the Libyans), and when they had arrived at the sandy tract, the South Wind blew and buried them in the sand. These then having utterly perished, the Nasamonians from that time forward possess their land.

#### 4.174

Above these towards the South Wind in the region of wild beasts dwell the Garamantians, who fly from every man and avoid the company of all; and they neither possess any weapon of war, nor know how to defend themselves against enemies.

#### 4.175

These dwell above the Nasamonians; and next to the Nasamonians along the sea coast towards the West come the Macai, who shave their hair so as to leave tufts, letting the middle of their hair grow long, but round this on all sides shaving it close to the skin; and for fighting they carry shields made of ostrich skins. Through their land the river Kinyps runs out into the sea, flowing from a hill called the "Hill of the Charites." This Hill of the Charites is overgrown thickly with wood, while the rest of Libya which has been spoken of before is bare of trees; and the distance from the sea to this hill is two hundred furlongs.

### 4.176

Next to these Macai are the Gindanes, whose women wear each of them a number of anklets made of the skins of animals, for the following reason, as it is said:— for every man who has commerce with her she binds on an anklet, and the woman who has most is esteemed the best, since she has been loved by the greatest number of men.

# 4.177

In a peninsula which stands out into the sea from the land of these Gindanes dwell the Lotophagoi, who live by eating the fruit of the lotos only. Now the fruit of the lotos is in size like that of the mastich-tree, and in flavour it resembles that of the date-palm. Of this fruit the Lotophagoi even make for themselves wine.

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, άδρός full-grown, fat άλής crowded; all together ἄλινος of salt ἀμβολάδην spurting up ~ballistic ἀναβιβάζω make to mount, promote ἀνακοντίζω spurt up ~acute ἄνειμι go up, inland, to, back ~ion ἄνομβρος having little rain ἄνυδρος waterless ἀνώνυμος nameless ~name ἀπήμων unharmed, not harmful ἀποκλίνω ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) bend aside  $\sim$ incline ἀπορέω be confused, distressed ἀποτελέω accomplish, produce ἀποφέρω carry off, carry back  $\sim$ bear ἄρδω give water αὐθιγενής native-born αὐτόθι on the spot βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind δέρμα -τος (n, 3) skin, hide ~dermatology διαχέομαι repair διέκπλοος passage, breaking through διίστημι stand apart ~stand δίχα in two, in two ways εἰστίθημι put in ἑκάστοτε each time ἑκατόμβη hecatomb ἔκγονος offspring, descendant  $\sim$ genus ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate "Ελλην Greek **ἔμψυχος** (ō) animate, animated ἔνειμι be in ∼ion ἐνιαύσιος yearling ἐνύπνιος seen in dreams ἐξαγωγή going out, export

ἐξεργάζομαι accomplish; undo; destroy someone ἐπίκλησις -τος (f) nickname; nominally ∼gallo ἐπίκοινος in common ἐπιτρίβω rub on; destroy ἐπιφορέω pile on ἐπιχώριος native ἐπώνυμος named for a reason  $\sim$ name ἐρημόω raze, bereave; desert, isolate **ζέω** boil ∼eczema θερμός warm, hot  $\sim$ thermos θέρος -εος (n, 3) summer  $\sim$ thermos θηρεύω hunt, fish ∼fierce θηριώδης savage, wild καθήκω come down, (a day) to fall, arrive; be proper καθοράω look down ∼panorama καλλιστεύω be the best καρποφόρος fruit-bearing κάρτα very much ~κράτος κατάκειμαι lie down καταράομαι (ᾱαα) curse κῆπος garden, orchard **χίων** χίονος (τ, f) pillar κολωνός hill, mound κομέω have long hair κοσμέω marshal, array ~cosmos κράνος -εος (n, 3) helmet; ship's ram κρηναῖος of a spring or fountain κρήνη well, spring κριοπρόσωπος (ī) ram-faced **κτίζω** found, populate ∼oxytocin **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle κυκλοτερής rounded (by wear)  $\sim$ cvcle κυνέα -ῆς helmet ~hound **χύνεος** doglike, shameless ~hound χυνέω kiss κύπτω stoop, bend down

λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle λοιδορέω abuse, revile λωτός clover? lotus? μέμφομαι blame; reject μεσαμβρίη midday; the south μεσόγαια inland μέταλλον mine; mineral μίν him, her, it μῖξις mixing; sex, commerce νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νότος south, south wind νυχτερίς -δος (f) bat (animal)  $\sim$ nocturnal ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὄρθρος dawn ὀρύσσω dig οὐρίζω divide; ordain, define ὄφις ὄφεως (m) serpent ∼ophidian ὀφρύη eyebrow παλαίω wrestle ~Pallas πάλη wrestling ~Pallas πάλλω shake, brandish  $\sim$ Pallas πανοπλία suit of armor παραθαλάσσιος by the sea παρατείνω extend, lengthen, torture παρόμοιος closely resembling πάτριος of the father(s), ancestral παχύτης -τος (f, 3) thickness περιάγω lead around πέριξ all around περιπλώω sail around  $\pi$ ληθύω become full; abound,

multiply **πόρος** way, bridge  $\sim$ fare πορφύρεος purple σημαίνω give orders to; show; mark ~semaphore σιτέομαι (ī) eat ~parasite στήλη post, column συμπλέω sail with  $\sim$ float συμφοιτάω regularly attend together συμφοιτέω regularly attend together συνοικέω live together σύντομος truncated, concise τέθοιππος four-horse τηνικαῦτα at that time, in that case τοῖχος wall of a house τρίζω scream τρίπους three-legged cauldron τρύφος -εος (n, 3) fragment  $\sim$ drop τρωγλοδύτης -ου (m, 1) hole-dweller; wren ὑπερβάλλω cause to go beyond; delay ∼ballistic ύφίημι lower; admit; slack off ~jet ὕω (Ū) to rain φοῖνιξ -μος (m) red or purple dye or color; bay (horse); palm tree χῶρος place ∼heir ψάμμος (f) sand ψευδοπάρθενος fake virgin ψυχρός (ō) cold ~psychology ψύχω (ō) breathe, blow ~psychology

## 4.178

Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυες, τῷ λωτῷ<sup>1</sup> μὲν καὶ οὖτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἦσσον γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὔνομα Τρίτων ἐστί ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὖτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῆ, νῆσος ἔνι τῆ, οὔνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασὶ λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι.

#### 4.179

"Εστι δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἰήσονα, ἐπείτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἡ ἀργώ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἑκατόμβην καὶ δή καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον περιπλώειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ές Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι. καί μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλέην, ύπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορέην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος. καί οί ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος ἐστὶ φανῆναι Τρίτωνα καὶ κελεύειν τὸν Ἰήσονα έωυτῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενόν σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰήσονος, οὕτω δὴ τόν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύναι τὸν Τρίτωνά σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θείναι έν τῷ έωυτοῦ ἱρῷ, ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἰήσονι σημήναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῆ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε έκατὸν πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Έλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Λιβύων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

### 4.180

Τούτων δὲ ἔχοντας τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσέες οὖτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δέ σφι οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυες τὰ ὀπίσω κομῶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσέες τὰ ἔμπροσθε. ὁρτῆ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοισί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῷ αὐθιγενέι² θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> clover? lotus? <sup>2</sup> native-born

καλέομεν, τὰς δὲ ἀποθνησκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ψευδοπαρθένους<sup>3</sup> καλέουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινῆ. παρθένον την καλλιστεύουσαν έκάστοτε<sup>4</sup> κοσμήσαντες κυνέη τε Κορινθίη καὶ πανοπλίη Ελληνική καὶ ἐπ' άρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι την λίμνην κύκλω. ὁτέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἤ σφι ελληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὧν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι αὐτάς: ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος <sup>6</sup> φημὶ ἀπῖχθαι ἐς τοὺς Έλληνας. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καί μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι έωυτην τῶ Διί, τὸν δὲ Δία έωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, μίξιν δὲ ἐπίκοινον τῶν γυναικῶν ποιέονται, οὔτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον άδρὸν 7 γένηται, συμφοιτῶσι ἐς τώυτὸ οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῶ αν οίκη των ανδρων τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παις νομίζεται.

# 4.181

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> fake virgin <sup>4</sup> each time <sup>5</sup> suit of armor <sup>6</sup> helmet; ship's ram <sup>7</sup> full-grown, fat <sup>8</sup> fragment <sup>9</sup> ram-faced <sup>10</sup> of a spring or fountain <sup>11</sup> dawn <sup>12</sup> become full; abound, multiply <sup>13</sup> midday; the south

κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν τηνικαῦτα  $^{14}$  δὲ ἄρδουσι  $^{15}$  τοὺς κήπους  $^{16}$  ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὖ δύεταί τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν. ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὸν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν  $^{17}$  ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει  $^{18}$  ἀμβολάδην παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται  $^{19}$  μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ. ἐπίκλησιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ κρήνη καλέεται ἡλίου.

### 4.182

Μετὰ δὲ ᾿Αμμωνίους διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου δι᾽ ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ κολωνός τε ἀλός ἐστι ὅμοιος τῷ ᾿Αμμωνίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι᾽ τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὔνομα Αὔγιλα ἐστί. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

#### 4.183

Άπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ ἔτερος άλὸς κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοί, κατά περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ τοῖσι οὔνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστί, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς, οῦ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες οὕτω σπείρουσι. συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός ἐστι ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσι. τὰ κέρεα ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἷοι τε εἰσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά <sup>20</sup> τε καὶ τρῦψιν. οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὖτοι τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίσπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι. <sup>22</sup> οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίσπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. σιτέονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοδύται ὄψις καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν.

at that time, in that case <sup>15</sup> give water <sup>16</sup> garden, orchard <sup>17</sup> warm, hot <sup>18</sup> boil <sup>19</sup> breathe, blow <sup>20</sup> thickness <sup>21</sup> hole-dweller; wren <sup>22</sup> four-horse

γλώσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῆ ἄλλη παρομοίην νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι $^{23}$  κατά περ αἱ νυκτερίδες. $^{24}$ 

# 4.184

Άπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλλος άλός τε κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι τοῖσι οὔνομα έστὶ ἀτάραντες, οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσὶ μοῦνοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν άλέσι<sup>25</sup> μὲν γάρ σφι ἐστὶ ἀτάραντες οὔνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἑκάστω αὐτῶν οὔνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὖτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρῶνται καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ λοιδορέονται, ὅτι σφέας καίων έπιτρίβει, αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἁλὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ άνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ άλὸς Τούτου ὄρος τῶ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Ἄτλας, ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερὲς 26 πάντη, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δή τι λέγεται ώς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι. οὐδέκοτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὕτε θέρεος οὕτε χειμῶνος. τοῦτο τὸν κίονα<sup>27</sup> τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὖτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο καλέονται γὰρ δὴ "Ατλαντες. λέγονται δε οὔτε ἔμψυχον οὐδεν σιτέεσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια δρâν.

### 4.185

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν ἀτλάντων τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῷ οἰρρύῃ κατοικημένων καταλέξαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διἡκει δ' ὧν ἡ ὀφρύη μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἔξω τουτέων. ἔστι δὲ άλός τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοισι πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων²8 χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἄνομβρα ἐστί· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἤδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοῖχοι ἐόντες ἄλινοι, εἰ ὖε. ὁ δὲ ᾶλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὀφρύης τὸ πρὸς νότου καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος

 $<sup>^{23}</sup>$  scream  $^{24}$  bat (animal)  $^{25}$  crowded; all together  $^{26}$  rounded (by wear)  $^{27}$  pillar  $^{28}$  of salt

#### 4.178

Next after the Lotophagoi along the sea-coast are the Machlyans, who also make use of the lotos, but less than those above mentioned. These extend to a great river named the river Triton, and this runs out into a great lake called Tritonis, in which there is an island named Phla. About this island they say there was an oracle given to the Lacedemonians that they should make a settlement in it.

#### 4.179

The following moreover is also told, namely that Jason, when the Argo had been completed by him under Mount Pelion, put into it a hecatomb and with it also a tripod of bronze, and sailed round Pelopponese, desiring to come to Delphi; and when in sailing he got near Malea, a North Wind seized his ship and carried it off to Libya, and before he caught sight of land he had come to be in the shoals of the lake Tritonis. Then as he was at a loss how he should bring his ship forth, the story goes that Triton appeared to him and bade Jason give him the tripod, saying that he would show them the right course and let them go away without hurt: and when Jason consented to it, then Triton showed them the passage out between the shoals and set the tripod in his own temple, after having first uttered a prophecy over the tripod and having declared to Jason and his company the whole matter, namely that whensoever one of the descendants of those who sailed with him in the Argo should carry away this tripod, then it was determined by fate that a hundred cities of Hellenes should be established about the lake Tritonis. Having heard this the native Libyans concealed the tripod.

#### 4.180

Next to these Machlyans are the Auseans. These and the Machlyans dwell round the lake Tritonis, and the river Triton is the boundary between them: and while the Machlyans grow their hair long at the back of the head, the Auseans do so in front. At a yearly festival of Athene their maidens take their stand in two parties and fight against one another with stones and staves, and they say that in doing so they are fulfilling the rites handed down by their fathers for the divinity who was sprung from that land, whom we call Athene: and those of the maidens who die of the wounds received they call "false-maidens." But before they let them begin the fight they do this:—all join together and equip the maiden who is judged to be the fairest on each occasion, with a Corinthian helmet and with full Hellenic armour, and then causing her to go up into a chariot they conduct her round the lake. Now I cannot tell with what they equipped the maidens in old time, before the Hellenes were settled near them; but I suppose that they used to be

equipped with Egyptian armour, for it is from Egypt that both the shield and the helmet have come to the Hellenes, as I affirm. They say moreover that Athene is the daughter of Poseidon and of the lake Tritonis, and that she had some cause of complaint against her father and therefore gave herself to Zeus, and Zeus made her his own daughter. Such is the story which these tell; and they have their intercourse with women in common, not marrying but having intercourse like cattle: and when the child of any woman has grown big, he is brought before a meeting of the men held within three months of that time, and whomsoever of the men the child resembles, his son he is accounted to be.

#### 4.181

Thus then have been mentioned those nomad Libyans who live along the seacoast: and above these inland is the region of Libya which has wild beasts; and above the wild-beast region there stretches a raised belt of sand, extending from Thebes of the Egyptians to the Pillars of Heracles. In this belt at intervals of about ten days' journey there are fragments of salt in great lumps forming hills, and at the top of each hill there shoots up from the middle of the salt a spring of water cold and sweet; and about the spring dwell men, at the furthest limit towards the desert, and above the wild-beast region. First, at a distance of ten days' journey from Thebes, are the Ammonians, whose temple is derived from that of the Theban Zeus, for the image of Zeus in Thebes also, as I have said before, has the head of a ram. These, as it chances, have also other water of a spring, which in the early morning is warm; at the time when the market fills, cooler; when midday comes, it is quite cold, and then they water their gardens; but as the day declines, it abates from its coldness, until at last, when the sun sets, the water is warm; and it continues to increase in heat still more until it reaches midnight, when it boils and throws up bubbles; and when midnight passes, it becomes cooler gradually till dawn of day. This spring is called the fountain of the Sun.

### 4.182

After the Ammonians, as you go on along the belt of sand, at an interval again of ten days' journey there is a hill of salt like that of the Ammonians, and a spring of water, with men dwelling about it; and the name of this place is Augila. To this the Nasamonians come year by year to gather the fruit of the date-palms.

## 4.183

From Augila at a distance again of ten days' journey there is another hill of salt and spring of water and a great number of fruit-bearing date-palms, as there are also in the other places: and men dwell here who are called the

Garmantians, a very great nation, who carry earth to lay over the salt and then sow crops. From this point is the shortest way to the Lotophagoi, for from these it is a journey of thirty days to the country of the Garmantians. Among them also are produced the cattle which feed backwards; and they feed backwards for this reason, because they have their horns bent down forwards, and therefore they walk backwards as they feed; for forwards they cannot go, because the horns run into the ground in front of them; but in nothing else do they differ from other cattle except in this and in the thickness and firmness to the touch of their hide. These Garamantians of whom I speak hunt the "Cave-dwelling" Ethiopians with their four-horse chariots, for the Cave-dwelling Ethiopians are the swiftest of foot of all men about whom we hear report made: and the Cave-dwellers feed upon serpents and lizards and such creeping things, and they use a language which resembles no other, for in it they squeak just like bats.

#### 4.184

From the Garmantians at a distance again of ten days' journey there is another hill of salt and spring of water, and men dwell round it called Atarantians, who alone of all men about whom we know are nameless; for while all taken together have the name Atarantians, each separate man of them has no name given to him. These utter curses against the Sun when he is at his height, and moreover revile him with all manner of foul terms, because he oppresses them by his burning heat, both themselves and their land. After this at a distance of ten days' journey there is another hill of salt and spring of water, and men dwell round it. Near this salt hill is a mountain named Atlas, which is small in circuit and rounded on every side; and so exceedingly lofty is it said to be, that it is not possible to see its summits, for clouds never leave them either in the summer or in the winter. This the natives say is the pillar of the heaven. After this mountain these men got their name, for they are called Atlantians; and it is said that they neither eat anything that has life nor have any dreams.

### 4.185

As far as these Atlantians I am able to mention in order the names of those who are settled in the belt of sand; but for the parts beyond these I can do so no more. However, the belt extends as far as the Pillars of Heracles and also in the parts outside them: and there is a mine of salt in it at a distance of ten days' journey from the Atlantians, and men dwelling there; and these all have their houses built of the lumps of salt, since these parts of Libya which we have now reached are without rain; for if it rained, the walls being made of salt would not be able to last: and the salt is dug up there both white and purple in colour. Above the sand-belt, in the parts which are in the direction

of the South Wind and towards the interior of Libya, the country is

vocabulary ἄγαλμα -τος (n, 3) ornament, glory, ἀγχοῦ near, nigh; like ~angina αἴγεος of goats αἰγίς -δος (f) the aegis, a shield of Zeus or cloak of Athena ἄχος ἄχεος (n, 3) cure, remedy ἄκρον crest, extremity ~acute ἄμπελος (f) vine άμφορεύς -ος (m) amphora ἀναφαίνω reveal, shine  $\sim$ phenomenon ἀναφέρω bring up ∼bear ἀνθέριχος stalk of corn ἄνομβρος having little rain ἄξυλος thickly timbered  $\sim$ xylophone ἀπάρχω cut hairs ∼oligarch ἄρχτος (f) bear ἀροτήρ -ος (m) plowman  $\sim$ arable ἄσφαλτος (f) asphalt, bitumen ἀτρεχής precise, certain αὐτόθι on the spot ἄφθονος ungrudging, plentiful βάθος -ους (n, 3) depth, height γαλακτοπότης -ου (m, 1) milk drinker γεύω taste ~gusto δασύς hairy, brushy δηλέομαι hurt, spoil, steal ∼delenda δημιοεργός public worker διαβατός crossable, fordable δικαιόω demand/make justice εἰσπίπτω fall into, rush in είσχέω pour into  $\dot{\epsilon}$ λαία olive, olive tree  $\sim$ olive  $\xi$ λαιον oil, olive oil  $\sim$ olive **ἔλαφος** (f) deer "Ελλην Greek έμφερής similar ἐξάλλομαι break away from ~sally

έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka έξιχνέομαι arrive at ἐπέξειμι attack, prosecute ἐπιτελέω complete; do a religious duty ἐπιχώριος native ἐσθής clothes ∼vest ἑσπέρα evening, west έφεξῆς in order, in a row  $\xi\omega\theta\alpha$  be accustomed, in the habit ἡνιοχεύς -ος (m) rein holder θηλέω abound in  $\sim$ thallium θηριώδης savage, wild θύσανος tassel θυσανωτός fringed, with tassels θυσία sacrifice θώς jackal ἰκμάς -δος (f, 3) moisture ίλύς -ος (ī, f) mud, slime καθίημι (τι) speed down upon; take down ∼jet κάρτα very much ~κράτος Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian κατάγαιος at ground level; underground **καταρρέω** flow down ∼rheostat καταχεύω pour onto κατεργάζομαι achieve; cultivate; **κείρω** shave, sever, raze; devour, use up κοντός pole κριός (t) ram κροκόδειλος lizard, crocodile κρόταφος temple (forehead) κτάομαι acquire, possess λάκκος pond, tank λίμνη lake, marsh, basin, sea  $\sim$ limnic μέλι honey, a sweet μέλισσα bee μεστός full

μετεξέτεροι (+gen) some ones of μετονομάζω rename μῆκος -ους (n, 3) length, stature μίν him, her, it μυάω make a moue μυέω initiate into μύρσινος myrtle μῦς mouse μυών -ος (m, 3) muscle νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing οἴκημα -τος (n, 3) room ὀλολυγή (Ū) women's ecstatic shout ὄνος (f) donkey  $\sim$ onager ὄον οὖ type of fruit ὀρεινός mountainous ὄρος boundary marker ∼horizon ὀρύσσω dig ὀσμή smell ∼osmium, odor οὖρον boundary stone; unit of distance; limit οὔτις nobody, nothing πατέομαι eat, drink ~pastor πατέω trample  $\sim$ peripatetic πῆχυς forearm, cubit  $\pi$ ίσσα pitch, resin  $\sim$ pitch πλάτος -εος (n, 3) width  $\pi \rho o \sigma \delta \acute{\epsilon} \omega$  bind also; need also πτερόν feather, wing ∼pterodactyl σίλφιον a medicinal fennel σκύτινος (ō) of leather σπασμός convulsion σπένδω libate; (mid) make a treaty  $\sim$ spontaneous σταδίη (adj) standing upright, firm;

(pl noun) 200 meters στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στέλλω prepare, send, furl ∼apostle στήλη post, column στολή equipment στρουθός (f) sparrow  $\sim$ struthiomimus συχνός long; many; extensive σχοῖνος rush, bed of rushes; rope, measuring line; 10 km ταπεινός low τετραέτης of four years τράγος male goat τριξός threefold τρίπηχυς 3 cubits long τρώγω nibble, crop ὑγιηρός healthful; healthy ὕπτιος lying on one's back; flipped; flat φλέγμα -τος (n, 3) flame  $\sim$ flame φλέψ -βός (f) vein ~phlebotomyφοῖνιξ -μος (m) red or purple dye or color; bay (horse); palm tree φορτίον burden, load χερσαῖος of dry land **χρίω** ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) anoint ~Christ χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir ψαμμώδης sandy ψηγμα gold dust; shavings, scrapings ψιλός ( $\bar{\iota}$ ) naked, bare ~epsilon ὧρος year

καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλος  $^1$  ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη, καὶ ἰκμάδος  $^2$  ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτ $\hat{\eta}$  οὐδέν.

### 4.186

Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται<sup>3</sup> Λίβυες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὕτι γευόμενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ΰς οὐ τρέφοντες. βοῶν μέν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες δικαιοῦσι πατέεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἱσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστηίας αὐτῆ καὶ όρτὰς ἐπιτελέουσι. αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ὑῶν πρὸς τῆσι βουσὶ γεύονται.

## 4.187

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεῦντες οἶον τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐώθασι⁴ ποιέειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ποιεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα<sup>5</sup> γένηται, οἴσπῃ προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῆσι κορυφῆσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι, τοῦδε εἴνεκα ὡς μή σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηροτάτους. εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ᾽ ὧν εἰσί. ἢν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδία σπασμὸς ἐπιγένηται, ἐξεύρηταί σφι ἄκος. 10 τράγου γὰρ οὖρον σπείσαντες ρύονται σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες.

### 4.188

Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσὶ αΐδε. ἐπεὰν τοῦ ἀτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήνεος, ῥιπτέουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> thickly timbered <sup>2</sup> moisture <sup>3</sup> milk drinker <sup>4</sup> be accustomed, in the habit <sup>5</sup> of four years <sup>6</sup> vein <sup>7</sup> temple (forehead) <sup>8</sup> healthful; healthy <sup>9</sup> convulsion <sup>10</sup> cure, remedy

ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνη μούνοισι. τούτοισι μέν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῆ Ἀθηναίη μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ; Τρίτωνι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι.

### 4.189

Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη <sup>11</sup> ἡ ἐσθὴς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι <sup>12</sup> οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῆσι οὐκ ὄφιες εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τὼυτὸ ἔσταλται. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὕνομα κατηγορέει ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἥκει ἡ στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων αἰγέας <sup>13</sup> γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς <sup>14</sup> αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἑλληνες μετωνόμασαν. δοκέει δὶ ἔμοιγε καὶ ὀλολυγὴ <sup>15</sup> ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι κάρτα γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται καλῶς αἱ Λίβυσσαι. καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἑλληνες μεμαθήκασι.

### 4.190

Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατά περ οἱ Ἑλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων οὖτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι, φυλάσσοντες, ἐπεὰν ἀπιῆ τὴν ψυχήν, ὅκως μιν κατίσουσι μηδὲ ὕπτιος ἀποθανέεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνειρμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστί, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά. νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοισι οὖτοι χρέωνται.

### 4.191

Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ Αὐσέων ἔχονται ἀροτῆρες <sup>17</sup> ἤδη Λίβυες καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι, τοῖσι οὔνομα κέεται Μάξυες. οῦ τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομόωσι, τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτω. φασὶ δὲ οῧτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ χώρη αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς

of leather 12 tassel 13 of goats 14 fringed, with tassels to women's ecstatic shout 16 room 17 plowman

Λιβύης ή πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλῷ θηριωδεστέρη τε καὶ δασυτέρη ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρης. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἐστὶ ταπεινή τε καὶ ψαμμώδης 19 μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὀρεινή τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιες οἱ ὑπερμεγάθεες καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς δὴ λέγονταί γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἄλλα πλήθεϊ πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάψευστα.

# 4.192

Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ ὄνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες ἀλλ' άλλοι ἄποτοι οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι, καὶ ὄρυες, τῶν τὰ κέρεα τοῖσι φοίνιξι οἱ πήχεες ποιεῦνται μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βοῦν έστι, καὶ βασσάρια καὶ ὕαιναι καὶ ὕστριχες καὶ κριοὶ $^{20}$  ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θ $\hat{\omega}$ ες <sup>21</sup> καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρυες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι <sup>22</sup> ὅσον τε τριπήχεες <sup>23</sup> χερσαῖοι, <sup>24</sup> τῆσι σαύρησι ἐμφερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφιες μικροί, κέρας εν ἕκαστος ἔχοντες ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τά περ τῆ ἄλλη, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ύὸς άγρίου έλαφος δὲ καὶ ὑς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύη πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι. μυῶν δὲ γένεα τριξὰ<sup>25</sup> αὐτόθι ἔστι· οῖ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οῖ δὲ ζεγέριες τὸ δὲ οὔνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυστικόν, δύναται δὲ κατ Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν βουνοί, οἱ δὲ ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινόμεναι τῆσι Ταρτησσίησι όμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μέν νυν θηρία ή τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γη ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οδοί τε έγενόμεθα έξικέσθαι.

# 4.193

Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖκες ἡνιοχεῦσι τὰ

 $<sup>^{18}</sup>$  low  $^{19}$  sandy  $^{20}$  ram  $^{21}$  jackal  $^{22}$  lizard, crocodile  $^{23}$  3 cubits long  $^{24}$  of dry land  $^{25}$  threefold

*ἄρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον*.

### 4.194

Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μὲν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλέον λέγεται δημιοεργοὺς <sup>26</sup> ἄνδρας ποιέειν. μιλτοῦνται δ' ὧν πάντες οὖτοι καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσι. οῦ δὲ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖσι ὄρεσι γίνονται.

# 4.195

Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι κεῖσθαι νῆσον τῆ οὔνομα εἶναι Κύραυιν, μῆκος μὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος<sup>27</sup> δὲ στεινήν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, ἐλαιέων τε μεστὴν καὶ ἀμπέλων. λίμνην δὲ έν αὐτῆ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἱ παρθένοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσση έκ της ιλύος<sup>28</sup> ψηγμα<sup>29</sup> ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθω ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὥρων. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δ' ὧν μεγίστη αὐτέων έβδομήκοντα ποδών πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυιος ἐστί: ές ταύτην κοντὸν<sup>30</sup> κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρω μυρσίνην<sup>31</sup> προσδήσαντες καὶ έπειτα ἀναφέρουσι τῆ μυρσίνη πίσσαν, ὀδμὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκου 32 όρωρυγμένον άγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀθροίσωσι συχνήν, οὕτω ές τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. ὁ τι δ' ἂν ἐσπέση ἐς την λίμνην, ύπο γην ιον αναφαίνεται έν τη θαλάσση: η δε απέχει ώς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὕτω ὧν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς έπὶ Λιβύη κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθείη.

### 4.196

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χῶρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Πρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, <sup>33</sup> θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  public worker  $^{27}$  width  $^{28}$  mud, slime  $^{29}$  gold dust; shavings, scrapings  $^{30}$  pole  $^{31}$  myrtle  $^{32}$  pond, tank  $^{33}$  burden, load

uninhabited, without water and without wild beasts, rainless and treeless, and there is no trace of moisture in it.

#### 4.186

I have said that from Egypt as far as the lake Tritonis Libyans dwell who are nomads, eating flesh and drinking milk; and these do not taste at all of the flesh of cows, for the same reason as the Egyptians also abstain from it, nor do they keep swine. Moreover the women of the Kyrenians too think it not right to eat cows' flesh, because of the Egyptian Isis, and they even keep fasts and celebrate festivals for her; and the women of Barca, in addition from cows' flesh, do not taste of swine either.

#### 4.187

Thus it is with these matters: but in the region to the West of lake Tritonis the Libyans cease to be nomads, and they do not practise the same customs, nor do to their children anything like that which the nomads are wont to do; for the nomad Libyans, whether all of them I cannot say for certain, but many of them, do as follows:— when their children are four years old, they burn with a greasy piece of sheep's wool the veins in the crowns of their heads, and some of them burn the veins of the temples, so that for all their lives to come the cold humour may not run down from their heads and do them hurt: and for this reason it is (they say) that they are so healthy; for the Libyans are in truth the most healthy of all races concerning which we have knowledge, whether for this reason or not I cannot say for certain, but the most healthy they certainly are: and if, when they burn the children, a convulsion comes on, they have found out a remedy for this; for they pour upon them the water of a he-goat and so save them. I report that which is reported by the Libyans themselves.

#### 4.188

The following is the manner of sacrifice which the nomads have:— they cut off a part of the animal's ear as a first offering and throw it over the house, and having done this they twist its neck. They sacrifice only to the Sun and the Moon; that is to say, to these all the Libyans sacrifice, but those who dwell round the lake Tritonis sacrifice most of all to Athene, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

#### 4.189

It would appear also that the Hellenes made the dress and the aigis of the images of Athene after the model of the Libyan women; for except that the dress of the Libyan women is of leather, and the tassels which hang from their aigis are not formed of serpents but of leather thongs, in all other respects

Athene is dressed like them. Moreover the name too declares that the dress of the figures of Pallas has come from Libya, for the Libyan women wear over their other garments bare goat-skins (aigeas) with tasselled fringes and coloured over with red madder, and from the name of these goat-skins the Hellenes formed the name aigis. I think also that in these regions first arose the practice of crying aloud during the performance of sacred rites, for the Libyan women do this very well. The Hellenes learnt from the Libyans also the yoking together of four horses.

#### 4.190

The nomads bury those who die just in the same manner as the Hellenes, except only the Nasamonians: these bury bodies in a sitting posture, taking care at the moment when the man expires to place him sitting and not to let him die lying down on his back. They have dwellings composed of the stems of asphodel entwined with rushes, and so made that they can be carried about. Such are the customs followed by these tribes.

### 4.191

On the West of the river Triton next after the Auseans come Libyans who are tillers of the soil, and whose custom it is to possess fixed habitations; and they are called Maxyans. They grow their hair long on the right side of their heads and cut it short upon the left, and smear their bodies over with red ochre. These say that they are of the men who came from Troy.

This country and the rest of Libya which is towards the West is both much more frequented by wild beasts and much more thickly wooded than the country of the nomads: for whereas the part of Libya which is situated towards the East, where the nomads dwell, is low-lying and sandy up to the river Triton, that which succeeds it towards the West, the country of those who till the soil, is exceedingly mountainous and thickly-wooded and full of wild beasts: for in the land of these are found both the monstrous serpent and the lion and the elephant, and bears and venomous snakes and horned asses, besides the dog-headed men, and the headless men with their eyes set in their breasts (at least so say the Libyans about them), and the wild men and wild women, and a great multitude of other beasts which are not fabulous like these.

#### 4.192

In the land of the nomads however there exist none of these, but other animals as follows:— white-rump antelopes, gazelles, buffaloes, asses, not the horned kind but others which go without water (for in fact these never drink), oryes, whose horns are made into the sides of the Phenician lyre (this animal is

in size about equal to an ox), small foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, wolves, jackals, panthers, boryes, land-crocodiles about three cubits in length and very much resembling lizards, ostriches, and small snakes, each with one horn: these wild animals there are in this country, as well as those which exist elsewhere, except the stag and the wild-boar; but Libya has no stags nor wild boars at all. Also there are in this country three kinds of mice, one is called the "two-legged" mouse, another the zegeris (a name which is Libyan and signifies in the Hellenic tongue a "hill"), and a third the "prickly" mouse. There are also weasels produced in the silphion, which are very like those of Tartessos. Such are the wild animals which the land of the Libyans possesses, so far as we were able to discover by inquiries extended as much as possible.

### 4.193

Next to the Maxyan Libyans are the Zauekes, whose women drive their chariots for them to war.

#### 4.194

Next to these are the Gyzantes, among whom honey is made in great quantity by bees, but in much greater quantity still it is said to be made by men, who work at it as a trade. However that may be, these all smear themselves over with red ochre and eat monkeys, which are produced in very great numbers upon their mountains.

## 4.195

Opposite these, as the Carthaginians say, there lies an island called Kyrauis, two hundred furlongs in length but narrow, to which one may walk over from the mainland; and it is full of olives and vines. In it they say there is a pool, from which the native girls with birds' feathers smeared over with pitch bring up gold-dust out of the mud. Whether this is really so I do not know, but I write that which is reported; and nothing is impossible, for even in Zakynthos I saw myself pitch brought up out of a pool of water. There are there several pools, and the largest of them measures seventy feet each way and is two fathoms in depth. Into this they plunge a pole with a myrtle-branch bound to it, and then with the branch of the myrtle they bring up pitch, which has the smell of asphalt, but in other respects it is superior to the pitch of Pieria. This they pour into a pit dug near the pool; and when they have collected a large quantity, then they pour it into the jars from the pit: and whatever thing falls into the pool goes under ground and reappears in the sea, which is distant about four furlongs from the pool. Thus then the report about the island lying near the coast of Libya is also probably enough true.

# 4.196

The Carthaginians say also this, namely that there is a place in Libya and men dwelling there, outside the Pillars of Heracles, to whom when they have come and have taken the merchandise forth from their ships, they set it in order along the beach

vocabulary αίρετός takeable, desirable  $\sim$ heresy ἀμάω (āα) collect ἀνασκολοπίζω impale άνδάνω please ~hedonism ἀνδραποδίζω enslave ἀνευρίσκω discover ἀνοίγνυμι (ō) open ἀπαγγέλλω announce, order, promise ∼angel ἀπαλλάσσω free from, remove; be freed, depart ἀποκαλέω call back; call a name ἀποκρούω drive away ἀπονοστέω go home ἀποτέμνω cut off, sever ∼tonsure ἀποτρέχω run away ἀσθενής weak ἀσπαστός gladly, with glad welcome αὐτόχθων native αὐχμέω be dirty, squalid αὐχμός drought βορέας -οῦ (m, 1) north, north wind γέφυρα (ū) dam, dike; bridge δάπεδον floor, prepared ground δηλέομαι hurt, spoil, steal ~delenda διέξειμι pass through; recount ~ion διεξέρχομαι go through εἰσβαίνω enter, board ∼basis έχαστάτω afar, far off έχατοστός hundredth ἐκβαίνω come forth, disembark  $\sim$ basis ἐκδίδωμι hand over ~donate ἐκπίνω (ī) drink up, consume **ἐκφέρω** carry off ~bear Έλλην Greek ἐμπίπτω fall into; attack ∼petal ἐνθεῦτεν thence ἐξαναχωρέω retreat, withdraw έξευρίσκω find; discover ~eureka ἐπέχω hold, cover; offer; assail

ἔπηλυς strange, foreign ἐπιπολή (gen) on top of ἐπιτείνω intensify ἐπίφθονος jealous ἐπιφορέω pile on  $\dot{\epsilon}$ πιφράζω realize, think of  $\sim$ frenzy ἐπιχέω pour over ἐπιχώριος native ἔπυδρος rain-making ἐσθής clothes ∼vest εὐλή worm, maggot ἐύς good, brave, noble ἐφέλκω drag; (mid) influence ἐφόδιον supplies, funding ἐφόδιος for a journey θωμα a wonder, feeling of surprise  $\sim$ theater ίδούω establish ἵζω to seat ~sit ἰσόπεδον (τ) flat spot καπνός smoke καρτερός strong, staunch Καρχηδόνιος Carthaginian καταβιβρώσκω devour καταπλέκω entwine, braid καταρρήγνυμι (ō) break down κατύπερθεν above, from above **κρυπτός** hidden, secret ∼cryptic **χύχλος** circle, wheel ∼cycle κώμη village χωφός blunt, insensible ληίη booty λόγιος learned, eloquent; oracle μαστός nipple, breast μελάγγαιος with black soil μεταίτιος accessory μεταμέλομαι (impers.+dat.) cause regret to; (mp) regret μέτρον measure ~metric μηχανάομαι build, contrive  $\sim$ mechanism νομάς -δος (m, 3) roaming, grazing νότος south, south wind ὀκτώ eight ∼octopus ὄμβρος storm ὁμολογίη agreement, consent ὄον οὖ type of fruit **ὀπώρα** fall (season) ὀργάω be turned on ὄρχιον oath ∼orc ὄρυγμα -τος (n, 3) trench, tunnel ὀρύσσω dig οὐδέτερος neither ὄχθος bank, hill παραβάλλω put at risk ~ballistic παραθαλάσσιος by the sea παρίημι dangle; pass over, allow πεπαίνω ripen περιφέρω carry around Πέρσης Persian πῖδαξ -μος (f) spring προχαλέω challenge, call out ~gallo  $\pi \rho o \sigma \beta o \lambda \dot{\eta}$  application, attack  $\pi \rho \acute{o} \sigma \omega$  forward, in the future; far σκέπτομαι look, look at, watch ~skeptic σχευή equipment σπουδαῖος quick, active; excellent στάδιος (adj) standing upright, firm; (pl noun) 200 meters στέλλω prepare, send, furl ∼apostle

στρατιά army ∼strategy στρατόω be on a campaign  $\sim$ strategy συγκομίζω gather τάφοη ditch, trench τάφρος (f) ditch, trench ~epitaph τελευταῖος last, final τιμωρία (τι) vengeance, punishment τιμωρός (ī) avenging τίνω (ī) pay, atone for; (mp) punish τίω value, honor; mp: exact recompense for τοσόσδε this much τρίβω (ī) rub; (mid) be worn out  $\sim$ tribulation τρυγάω harvest grapes τύφω (ō) to smoke ὑπόγαιος underground ὑπολείπω leave as a leftover; leave a person behind ∼eclipse ὑποτελέω pay a tax υω (v) to rain φονεύω kill φορτίον burden, load φροντίζω consider, ponder χαλκεύς -ος (m) smith χοῦς jar, jug; loose dirt χόω heap up χουσίον (ō) gold coin χῶρος place  $\sim$ heir

τὴν κυματωγήν, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν¹ καπνόν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρέειν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνηταί σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὧν ἔθηκαν χρυσόν, ἐς οὖ ἃν πείθωσι. ἀδικέειν δὲ οὐδετέρους.² οὕτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄπτεσθαι πρὶν ἄν σφι ἀπισωθῆ τῆ ἀξίη τῶν φορτίων, οὕτ' ἐκείνους τῶν φορτίων ἄπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.

# 4.197

Οὖτοι μὲν εἶσὶ τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβύων ὀνομάσαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὕτε τι νῦν οὕτε τότε ἐφόρτιζον οὐδέν. τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ δὲ δύο οῦ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Αἰθίοπες αὐτόχθονες,³ οῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω οῖ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἔλληνες ἐπήλυδες.

#### 4.198

Δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἡ Λιβύη σπουδαίη μόστε ἢ ἸΑσίη ἢ Εὐρώπη παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μούνης τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ οὕνομα ἡ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίη τῃ ἀρίστη γέων Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἔοικε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλη Λιβύη. μελάγγαιός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔπυδρος πίδαξι, καὶ οὕτε αὐχμοῦ φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν οὕτε ὅμβρον πλέω πιοῦσα δεδήληται. ὕεται γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταὐτὰ μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίη γῇ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερῖται νέμονται ἐπ' ἐκατοστὰ γάρ, ἐπεὰν αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ἄριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφέρει, ἣ δὲ ἐν τῆ Κίνυπι ἐπὶ τριηκόσια.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> to smoke <sup>2</sup> neither <sup>3</sup> native <sup>4</sup> quick, active; excellent <sup>5</sup> with black soil <sup>6</sup> spring <sup>7</sup> hundredth

# 4.199

Έχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρη, ἐοῦσα ὑψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἑωυτῆ ἀξίας θώματος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργῷ<sup>8</sup> ἀμᾶσθαι τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι. τούτων τε δὴ συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργῷ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι. συγκεκόμισται τε οὖτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῆ κατυπερτάτη τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεταί. τε καὶ ὀργῷ, ὥστε ἐκπέποται τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕτω ἐπ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὀπώρη 11 ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μέν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

# 4.200

Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ 12 Πέρσαι ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ ᾿Αρυάνδεω ἀπίκατο ἐς τῆν Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον τῆν πόλιν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ ᾿Αρκεσίλεω· τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντες τε ὀρύγματα 13 ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μέν νυν ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς 14 ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκω ἀσπίδι, ὧδε ἐπιφρασθείς· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσῖσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον 5 τῆς πόλιος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ 6 πρὸς τὰ προσῦσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἠχέεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δ' ὰν ταύτη οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαῖοι.

### 4.201

Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων <sup>17</sup> καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἦσσον τῶν Περσέων, Ἄμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ

<sup>8</sup> be turned on 9 harvest grapes 10 ripen 11 fall (season) 12 avenging 13 trench, tunnel 14 smith 15 floor, prepared ground 16 blunt, insensible 17 rub; (mid) be worn out

πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε, μαθών τοὺς Βορκαίους ώς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ίσχυρον οὐκ αίρετοι 18 εἶεν, δόλω δὲ αίρετοί, ποιέει τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρην ὀρύξας εὐρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῆ ἄλλη γῆ ἰσόπεδον. ἄμα ἡμέρη δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἳ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὅ σφι ἔαδε ὁμολογίη χρήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῦντο τοιήνδε τινά, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμνοντες ὅρκια, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ γῆ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλέι καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὅρκιον Βαρκαῖοι μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοισι αὐτοί τε έξήσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων έων παριέναι ές τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τείχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε είνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορκέοιεν, ταμόντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὅρκιον ὅσον ἂν ἡ γῆ μένη κατὰ τότε εἶχε καταρρήξασι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

### 4.202

Τοὺς μέν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχεος, τῶν δέ σφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ τούτοισι τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων ληίην ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι τούτοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

## 4.203

Τοὺς ὧν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήισαν ὀπίσω· καὶ ἐπείτε ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρηναίων πόλι ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἀστεος. διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς Βάδρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, Ἄμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> takeable, desirable

ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐς δ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ίζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὅχθον<sup>19</sup> μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὸ δεύτερον παριέναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρων. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέπεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἵζοντο· ἱδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἦλθε παρὰ ᾿Αρυνάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεηθέντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευον, ἐς δὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

# 4.204

Οὖτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτω ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἢλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἠνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα, βασιλεὺς δέ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίης χώρης κώμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἳ δὲ τῆ κώμη ταύτη οὔνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἢν οἰκεομένη ἐν γῆ τῆ Βακτρίη.

### 4.205

Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζόην κατέπλεξε. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέθανε κακῶς: ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων<sup>21</sup> ἐξέζεσε, ὡς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται: ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίη ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

bank, hill 20 equipment 21 worm, maggot

and embark again in their ships, and after that they raise a smoke; and the natives of the country seeing the smoke come to the sea, and then they lay down gold as an equivalent for the merchandise and retire to a distance away from the merchandise. The Carthaginians upon that disembark and examine it, and if the gold is in their opinion sufficient for the value of the merchandise, they take it up and go their way; but if not, they embark again in their ships and sit there; and the others approach and straightway add more gold to the former, until they satisfy them: and they say that neither party wrongs the other; for neither do the Carthaginians lay hands on the gold until it is made equal to the value of their merchandise, nor do the others lay hands on the merchandise until the Carthaginians have taken the gold.

#### 4.197

These are the Libyan tribes whom we are able to name; and of these the greater number neither now pay any regard to the king of the Medes nor did they then. Thus much also I have to say about this land, namely that it is occupied by four races and no more, so far as we know; and of these races two are natives of the soil and the other two not so; for the Libyans and the Ethiopians are natives, the one race dwelling in the Northern parts of Libya and the other in the Southern, while the Phenicians and the Hellenes are strangers.

### 4.198

I think moreover that (besides other things) in goodness of soil Libya does not very greatly excel as compared with Asia or Europe, except only the region of Kinyps, for the same name is given to the land as to the river. This region is equal to the best of lands in bringing forth the fruit of Demeter, nor does it at all resemble the rest of Libya; for it has black soil and is watered by springs, and neither has it fear of drought nor is it hurt by drinking too abundantly of rain; for rain there is in this part of Libya. Of the produce of the crops the same measures hold good here as for the Babylonian land. And that is good land also which the Euesperites occupy, for when it bears best it produces a hundred-fold, but the land in the region of Kinyps produces sometimes as much as three hundred fold.

# 4.199

Moreover the land of Kyrene, which is the highest land of the part of Libya which is occupied by nomads, has within its confines three seasons of harvest, at which we may marvel: for the parts by the sea-coasts first have their fruits ripe for reaping and for gathering the vintage; and when these have been gathered in, the parts which lie above the sea-side places, those situated in the middle, which they call the hills, are ripe for the gathering in; and as

soon as this middle crop has been gathered in, that in the highest part of the land comes to perfection and is ripe; so that by the time the first crop has been eaten and drunk up, the last is just coming in. Thus the harvest for the Kyrenians lasts eight months. Let so much as has been said suffice for these things.

#### 4.200

Now when the Persian helpers of Pheretime, having been sent from Egypt by Aryandes, had arrived at Barca, they laid siege to the city, proposing to the inhabitants that they should give up those who were guilty of the murder of Arkesilaos: but as all their people had taken a share in the guilt, they did not accept the proposals. Then they besieged Barca for nine months, both digging underground passages which led to the wall and making vigorous attacks upon it. Now the passages dug were discovered by a worker of bronze with a shield covered over with bronze, who had thought of a plan as follows:— carrying it round within the wall he applied it to the ground in the city, and whereas the other places to which he applied it were noiseless, at those places where digging was going on the bronze of the shield gave a sound; and the men of Barca would make a countermine there and slay the Persians who were digging mines. This then was discovered as I have said, and the attacks were repulsed by the men of Barca.

# 4.201

Then as they were suffering hardship for a long time and many were falling on both sides, and especially on that of the Persians, Amasis the commander of the land-army contrived as follows:— perceiving that the Barcaians were not to be conquered by force but might be conquered by guile, he dug by night a broad trench and over it he laid timber of no great strength, and brought earth and laid it above on the top of the timber, making it level with the rest of the ground: then at daybreak he invited the men of Barca to a parley; and they gladly consented, and at last they agreed to make a treaty: and the treaty they made with one another was taken over the hidden trench, namely that so long as this earth should continue to be as it was, so long the oath should remain firm, and that the men of Barca should promise to pay tribute of due amount to the king, and the Persians should do no further violence to the men of Barca. After the oath the men of Barca trusting to these engagements both went forth themselves from their city and let any who desired it of the enemy pass within their walls, having opened all the gates; but the Persians first broke down the concealed bridge and then began to run inside the city wall. And the reason why they broke down the bridge which they had made was that they might keep their oaths, since they had sworn to the men of Barca that the oath should remain firm continually for

so long time as the earth should remain as it then was, but after that they had broken it down, the oath no longer remained firm.

#### 4.202

Now the most guilty of the Barcaians, when they were delivered to her by the Persians, Pheretime impaled in a ring round about the wall; and she cut off the breasts of their wives and set the wall round with these also in order: but the rest of the men of Barca she bade the Persians carry off as spoil, except so many of them as were of the house of Battos and not sharers in the guilt of the murder; and to these Pheretime gave the city in charge.

#### 4.203

So the Persians having made slaves of the rest of the Barcaians departed to go back: and when they appeared at the gates of the city of Kyrene, the Kyrenians let them go through their town in order to avoid neglect of some oracle. Then as the army was going through, Badres the commander of the fleet urged that they should capture the city, but Amasis the commander of the land-army would not consent to it; for he said that they had been sent against no other city of the Hellenes except Barca. When however they had passed through and were encamping on the hill of Zeus Lycaios, they repented of not having taken possession of Kyrene; and they endeavoured again to pass into it, but the men of Kyrene would not allow them. Then upon the Persians, although no one fought against them, there fell a sudden panic, and they ran away for about sixty furlongs and then encamped. And when the camp had been placed here, there came to it a messenger from Aryandes summoning them back; so the Persians asked the Kyrenians to give them provisions for their march and obtained their request; and having received these, they departed to go to Egypt. After this the Libyans took them up, and killed for the sake of their clothes and equipment those of them who at any time were left or straggled behind, until at last they came to Egypt.

#### 4.204

This army of the Persians reached Euesperides, and this was their furthest point in Libya: and those of the Barcaians whom they had reduced to slavery they removed again from Egypt and brought them to the king, and king Dareios gave them a village in the land of Bactria in which to make a settlement. To this village they gave the name of Barca, and it still continued to be inhabited by them even down to my own time, in the land of Bactria.

#### 4.205

Pheretime however did not bring her life happily to an end any more than they: for as soon as she had returned from Libya to Egypt after having avenged herself on the Barcaians, she died an evil death, having become suddenly full of worms while yet alive: for, as it seems, too severe punishments inflicted by men prove displeasing to the gods. Such and so great was the punishment inflicted by Pheretime the wife of Battos on the men of Barca.