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DIODORUS OF SICILY

I

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# DIODORUS OF SICILY

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II, 1-34

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

C. H. OLDFATHER



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# INTRODUCTION

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

WITH but one exception antiquity affords no further information on the life and work of Diodorus of Sicily than is to be found in his own *Library of History*. The exception is St. Jerome, who, in his *Chronology* under the Year of Abraham 1968 (= 49 B.C.), writes: "Diodorus of Sicily, a writer of Greek history, became illustrious."<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus himself says (1. 4. 4) that the city of his birth was Agyrium in Sicily, one of the oldest settlements of the interior, which was visited even by Heracles (4. 24), whose cult was maintained by the inhabitants on a scale rivalling that of the Olympians, and this statement is rendered plausible by the importance accorded the city in his History, an importance quite out of proportion in a World History of only forty Books.<sup>2</sup> It is a striking coincidence that one of the only two Greek inscriptions from Agyrium (*IG. XIV, 588*) marked the final resting-place of a "Diodorus the son of Apollonius."

The earliest date at which Diodorus is known to

<sup>1</sup> *Diodorus Siculus Graecae scriptor historiae clarus habetur* (p. 155, 1, ed. Helm). This date must mark the first appearance of a portion of his History.

<sup>2</sup> At that he is more reserved in this respect than Ephorus, who, according to Strabo (13. 3. 6), was so insistent on mentioning the city of his origin, Cyme, that he once added, "At the same time the Cymaeans were at peace."

have been gathering material for his history is the 180th Olympiad (60/59–57/6 B.C.), in the course of which he visited Egypt (1. 44. 1). Diodorus records that while there he saw with his own eyes a mob of Egyptians demand, and apparently secure, the death of a man connected with a Roman embassy, because he had accidentally killed a cat, and this despite the fear which the Egyptians felt for the Romans, and despite the fact that “Ptolemy their king had not as yet been given the appellation of ‘friend’” by the Romans (1. 83. 8). Ptolemy XI, “the Piper,” had ascended the throne of the last nominally independent Hellenistic kingdom in 80 B.C., and after waiting twenty years, a period in which the Roman Senate would neither avow nor repudiate him, finally secured recognition by the Senate through the efforts of Caesar and Pompey in 59 B.C.<sup>1</sup> This embassy is not mentioned in the Roman sources, but the huge sum required of Ptolemy by Caesar and Pompey in exchange for this recognition must certainly have required some such a diplomatic mission, and it may be assumed that it was dispatched from Rome fairly early after January 1st, when Caesar entered upon his consulship, or at least soon after February 1st, when he first had the fasces. The date of this recognition of Ptolemy by Rome clearly shows that Diodorus was in Egypt in the year 59 B.C., the length of his visit remaining still uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius, *Julius*, 54. 3: *Societates ac regna pretio dedit (sc. Caesar), ut qui uni Ptolemaeo prope sex milia talentorum suo Pompeique nomine abstulerit*. Ptolemy was driven from his throne by the people in 57 and restored by Gabinius in 55; cp. the comments of Butler-Cary, *ad loc.*

Diodorus had already commenced his work as early as 56 B.C. This is evident from the passage (1. 44. 1–4)<sup>1</sup> in which he lists the number of years during which Egypt was under the control of foreigners. The last aliens to rule over Egypt, he says, are the Macedonians and their dynasty who have held the land for two hundred and seventy-six years. Now since the conquest of Egypt by Alexander is put by Diodorus (17. 49) in the year 331 B.C., he must have been at work upon the composition of his *Library of History* at least as early as 56 B.C.

The latest contemporary event mentioned by Diodorus is a reference to the city of Tauromenium in Sicily, when he records (16. 7. 1) that “Caesar removed the citizens from their native state and the city received a Roman colony.” This may have taken place in 36 B.C., or soon thereafter, since Appian, *Civil Wars*, 5. 109 ff. tells how the city in 36 closed its gates to Octavian, who was caught on the same day by Sextus Pompey and in the ensuing naval battle lost practically all his ships, barely escaping with his life. This disaster he could have avoided had the city received him and his forces, and the anger which he must have felt toward the city supplies the motive for the drastic punishment meted out to it.<sup>2</sup> The founding of this colony

<sup>1</sup> The significance of this evidence has, so far as I know, been overlooked by previous writers, even by O. Cuntz, *De Augusto Plinii geographicorum auctore* (Bonn, 1888), pp. 32 ff., who has listed most fully the references in Diodorus to contemporary events.

<sup>2</sup> This is the date first suggested by O. Cuntz, *op. cit.*, p. 35, accepted as “probable” by Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-romischen Welt*, p. 337, and by Schwartz, *R-E*<sup>2</sup>, 5. 663, and fully approved by Kornemann, *R-E*<sup>2</sup>, 4. 526.

has been placed also in 21 B.C., the year in which, according to Cassius Dio (54. 7. 1), Augustus reorganized Sicily;<sup>1</sup> but it seems most improbable that such an act of angry revenge should have been delayed for fifteen years on the occasion of a mere administrative reorganization which surely could have called for nothing like this.

That Tauromenium was made a Roman colony in 36 B.C. or a little later, and that, therefore, the latest date at which Diodorus is known to have been composing or revising his history is that year or a little later, would appear to be supported by two further considerations. Diodorus informs us (1. 4. 1) that he had spent thirty years in the composition of his history, and it may justly be assumed that this period includes the travels which he made and the dangers which he met in visiting the most important sites about which he intended to write. The beginning of this period must surely be set some years before 59 B.C., when he was in Egypt, since it is only reasonable to suppose that he had been turning over his great undertaking in his mind and been reading and excerpting some authorities upon Egypt before he set out upon his travels. Furthermore, in view of the great admiration of the Roman Empire expressed by Diodorus it is difficult to believe that

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Cassius Dio (49. 12. 5) states that, after the defeat of Sextus Pompey and the humbling of Lepidus in 36 B.C., Octavian did actually punish certain unspecified cities of Sicily, and among these must have been Tauromenium.

<sup>1</sup> This is the view of Mommsen, *C.I.L.*, X, p. 718; *Römische Forschung*, 2, p. 549, n. 1, of C. Wachsmuth, *Über das Geschichtswerk des Sikelioten Diodoros* (Leipzig, 1892), I, p. 3, and of M. Büdinger, *Die Universalhistorie im Alterthume*, 114, n. 4.

he would have said that the Macedonians were the last aliens to rule over Egypt, had he been working on his History after the incorporation of Egypt in the Roman Empire in 30 B.C. And this accords with the statement of Suidas,<sup>1</sup> that the *floruit* of Diodorus fell in the period of Augustus Caesar and before.<sup>2</sup>

The task which Diodorus set himself was to write one of "the general histories" (*αἱ κοιναὶ ἱστορίαι*),<sup>3</sup> or "the general events" (*αἱ κοιναὶ πράξεις*)<sup>4</sup> (1. 4. 6; 5. 1. 4); in other words, to compose a Universal, or World, History from the Creation to his day. The adjective "general" or "common" is used so much by him that it may be possible to find in its connotation the clue to his motive in taking upon himself so great a task. In the decade between 70 and 60 B.C. he had seen the entire Mediterranean shore brought under the control of Rome by Pompey—Egypt was still independent only in name, for its kings held their throne at the will of the Roman Senate—the sea swept clean of pirates, Roman supremacy extended "to the bounds

<sup>1</sup> γέγονε (sc. Διδώωρος) δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Αὐγύστου Καίσαρος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν.

<sup>2</sup> Although parts of his History must have appeared by 49 B.C., it is reasonable to suppose that Diodorus published it as a whole, with consequent revision, at one time, between 36 and 30 B.C. at the latest; cp. below, p. xvi, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 6) uses the same words in speaking of the writings of Timaeus.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. 1. 3. 2, when he contrasts "isolated wars waged by a single nation or a single state" with "the general events" (*αἱ κοιναὶ πράξεις*). The same sharp distinction appears also in 1. 4. 6, and he uses the same words to describe the *Universal History* of Ephorus (4. 1. 3).

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of the inhabited world" (1. 4. 3). If Diodorus had not witnessed the celebration of this incorporation of the Eastern world in the Roman state, he had certainly heard from others of the great triumph of Pompey in 61 B.C., in the course of which banners announced that he had subdued fourteen nations, brought back 20,000 talents to the treasury, and almost doubled the annual revenue of the state. Under the dominion of Rome the Stoic idea of a *cosmopolis* was on the way to becoming an actuality. All mankind was coming to form a "common" civilization, a "common" society, and Diodorus could speak of a "common life" in the sense that the whole Mediterranean world was now interested in the same things and what benefited one nation was of common value to all. If the term "Western civilization" may properly include two cultures so different, for instance, as those of the United States and Spain, it is no exaggeration to say that by 60 B.C. Syrian, Greek, Iberian and Roman had become one. The limitations of the old city state, whereby a man was a stranger in any city but the one of his origin, were gone for ever. Surely, then, the history of each one of these nations was a matter of interest to all, since the past of every people was making its distinctive contribution to this most catholic of all civilizations, and he who would gather the records of all these peoples and present them in convenient form would have "composed a treatise of the utmost value to those who are studiously inclined" (1. 3. 6). Some such considerations as these must have moved Diodorus to lay hand to such a work, and even if he was not the man fully to control the material before him, still we cannot

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deny him at all events the apology of Propertius (2. 10. 6):

*in magnis et voluisse sat est.*

In preparation for his History Diodorus states (1. 4. 1) that with much hardship and many dangers he visited all the most important regions of Europe and Asia. There is no evidence in his work that he travelled in any other land than Egypt, where he may have ascended the Nile as far as Memphis, in connection with which city he mentions a shrine of Isis which "is pointed out to this day in the temple-area of Hephaestus" (1. 22. 2); all the other details of his account of that marvellous land could have been gathered from his literary sources. The only other place where he claims to have stayed was Rome, which furnished him in abundance the materials necessary for his study (1. 4. 2). Certainly he never went to Mesopotamia, since he places Nineveh on the Euphrates, and it is kinder to suppose that he never visited Athens than to think that the glory of the Acropolis, if he had once seen it, was not considered important enough to deserve mention.

Not only does Diodorus claim to have travelled widely in preparation for his History, but to have gained through his contact with the Romans in Sicily "considerable familiarity" (*πολλὴ ἐμπειρία*, 1. 4. 4) with their language. In the general disparagement of Diodorus, his knowledge of Latin has not been overlooked, and he has been accused even of finding a nominative *Fidenates* from an ablative *Fidenate*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Christ-Schmid, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* (1920), 2. p. 403, n. 9, but without basis, as had been shown by G. Sigwart, *Römische Fasten und Annalen bei Diodor* (Greisswald, 1906), pp. 5 f.

Other criticisms on this score, such as that he did not know the meaning of *bellare cum aliquo*,<sup>1</sup> must be held in abeyance, so long as the question whether Diodorus in his account of Roman affairs used a Latin or Greek source (or sources) is still *sub judice*. And since criticism is beginning to adopt a more reasonable attitude toward Diodorus,<sup>2</sup> the better course is to trust his word that he could use the Latin language; he knew it at least well enough for his purposes.

Diodorus commenced with the mythical period and brought his History down to 59 B.C., the year of Julius Caesar's first consulship. Of the forty Books only the first five and Books XI-XX are preserved, although fragments of the other twenty-five are found in different authors, notably in Eusebius and Byzantine excerptors. According to his own plan (I. 4. 6-7), Books I-VI embraced the period before the Trojan War, the first three treating of the history of the non-Greeks, the other three, of that of the Greeks. The next eleven, Books VII-XVII, were designed to form a Universal History from the Trojan War to the death of Alexander the Great, and the last twenty-three carried the account down to the Archonship of Herodes in 60/59 B.C., *i.e.* to include the year 61/60 B.C.<sup>3</sup> As for the years covered by his History, he makes no effort to estimate those which had elapsed before the Trojan War,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Büdinger, *op. cit.*, p. 122, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> O. Leuze, *Die römische Jahrzählung* (Tübingen, 1909), gives the most recent detailed defence of Diodorus; cp. p. 78, n. 107, for the exaggerated detractions by Reuss, Wachsmuth, and Schwartz.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Leuze, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

since for that earlier period there existed no chronological table "that was trustworthy,"<sup>1</sup> but for the subsequent period he records that he followed the *Chronology* of Apollodorus of Athens<sup>2</sup> in setting 80 years between the Trojan War (1184 B.C.) and the Return of the Heracleidae (1104 B.C.), thence 328 years to the First Olympiad (776/5 B.C.), and from the First Olympiad to the beginning of the Celtic War (60/59 B.C.), a date which Apollodorus did not reach, Diodorus counted 730 years. There can be no question about the correctness of these numbers of years, 80, 328, 730, because in the next sentence he makes the sum of them 1138; and yet 730 years after the First Olympiad is 46/5 B.C., just fifteen years later than the date at which he says his History closes. It is impossible to think that his work came down to so late a date, since his last book opened with the year 70 B.C., the latest fragment mentioning the conspiracy of Catiline in 63, and he states specifically that his History closed before the year 60/59 B.C.<sup>3</sup>

The contents of the several Books are briefly:

Book I: The myths, kings and customs of Egypt.

Book II: History of Assyria, description of India, Scythia, Arabia, and the islands of the Ocean.

<sup>1</sup> In 40. 8 Diodorus says that he had no chronological table for this period, and on the basis of that passage from an excerptor, Schwartz, *R-E*<sup>2</sup>, 5. 665, argues that he could not have used the *Chronology* of Castor; but Beloch, *Römische Geschichte*, p. 122, properly calls the attention of Schwartz to this passage and its *πιστευόμενον*.

<sup>2</sup> His *Chronology* spanned the years 1184/3 to at least 120/19 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> For a possible explanation of this discrepancy, cp. below, p. xix.

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Book III: Ethiopia, the Amazons of Africa, the inhabitants of Atlantis and the origins of the first gods.

Book IV: The principal Greek gods, the Argonauts, Theseus, the Seven against Thebes.

Book V: The islands and peoples of the West, Rhodes and Crete.

Books VI–X: Fragments, from the Trojan War to 480 B.C.

Commencing with Book XI the *Library of History* covers:

Book XI: Years 480–451 B.C.

Book XII: Years 450–416 B.C.

Book XIII: Years 415–405 B.C.

Book XIV: Years 404–387 B.C.

Book XV: Years 386–361 B.C.

Book XVI: Years 360–336 B.C.

Book XVII: Years 335–324 B.C.

Book XVIII: Years 323–318 B.C.

Book XIX: Years 317–311 B.C.

Book XX: Years 310–302 B.C.

Books XXI–XL: Fragments, years 301–60 B.C.

To compose a history of the entire world down to his day was “an immense labour,” as Diodorus says (I. 3. 6), looking back upon it,<sup>1</sup> because the material

<sup>1</sup> The Preface was certainly (cp. I. 4. 6) revised after the whole work had been completed. Diodorus laments (40. 8) that parts of his work had reached the public before his final revision and publication as a whole, probably in 49 B.C. (see above, p. vii, n. 1). Just how seriously his words are to be taken remains a question. Might they not be a reserved suggestion to the reading public that, in order to get his final account, they should purchase the latest revision?

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for it lay scattered about in so many different authors, and because the authors themselves varied so widely. Perhaps this was his way of telling his readers that what they should expect of his history is no more than a compilation of what former writers had set down. And the choice of so unusual a title, *Library of History*,<sup>1</sup> is further evidence that Diodorus made no pretence of doing anything more than giving a convenient summary of events which were to be found in greater detail in many works. The allocation of this and that bit of information among the various writers whom Diodorus names has occupied the attention of many scholars.<sup>2</sup> The earlier view was that Diodorus took a single author and copied him for many chapters and even Books of his history. From that extreme position criticism soon was forced to recede, and it is generally held now that while Diodorus probably leaned very strongly upon a single author for one or another section of his work, he used at the same time other writers as well. It is the feeling of the present translator that there is much more of the individuality of Diodorus in his *Library of History* than has been generally supposed, and that he picked and chose more widely and more wisely than has been allowed him by most critics.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Preface, 25, praised this straightforward title (*Apud Graecos desit nugari Diodorus et Βιβλιοθήκησ historiam suam inscripsit*).

<sup>2</sup> A convenient summary and rebuttal of some of the earlier literature is given by L. O. Bröcker, *Moderne Quellenforscher und antike Geschichtschreiber* (Innsbruck, 1882), pp. 83 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I fully subscribe to the following words of Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* 2, B D, p. 356: “. . . direkte benutzung Theopompос bei Diodor ist so wenig wahrscheinlich, wie eine Diodor-

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A brief discussion of the sources used by Diodorus is given in the Introductions to the several volumes.

One mistake of method made it almost impossible for Diodorus to write either a readable story or an accurate history. So soon as he entered the period which allowed precise dating he became an annalist, or, in other words, he endeavoured to present under one year the events which took place in Greece, Sicily, Africa and Italy, to write a synchronistic universal history. For a closely related series of incidents which covered several years this meant that he either had to break the story as many times as there were years, or crowd the events of several years into one. Moreover, he tried to synchronize the Roman consular year, which in his day commenced January 1st—and he uses this date even for the earlier period—with the Athenian archon year, which commenced about the middle of July. It should be observed to his credit that Diodorus recognized (20. 43. 7) the shortcomings of this annalistic arrangement, but he still felt that the recital of events in the order in which they were taking place gave a more truthful presentation of history.

It may be noted, in connection with this annalistic arrangement, that, although Diodorus says in his Preface to the First Book that he has brought his history down to 60/59 B.C., yet in three other places

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analyse, die satz für satz Theopompos, eigene züsatze des Ephoros und solche aus Xenophon scheidet, reichlich unsicher ist," and to the conclusion of Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, 2, p. 369, "dass Diodor nicht bloss mit der Scheere gearbeitet hat, sondern auch mit der Feder und mit dem Kopf."

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(3. 38. 2; 5. 21. 2; 5. 22. 1) he remarks that he will speak of Britain more in detail when he gives an account of the deeds of Gaius Caesar, and that, as observed above, in the *Chronology* which he gives of his entire work, 1138 years from the Trojan War brings his history down to 46/45 B.C. It has been suggested by Schwartz<sup>1</sup> that Diodorus found these figures in some Chronology which he had in his hands at the time. Such an assumption would indeed convict him not only of carelessness, but of plain stupidity. It seems more reasonable to suppose that, as Diodorus was engaged upon the writing of his earlier Books, he fully intended to bring his history down to include the year 46/45 B.C., which would make an excellent stopping-point. In March of 45 B.C. Caesar met and defeated at Munda the last army of republicans which still held the field against him. The first period of civil war was at an end. However, as Diodorus grew old and perhaps a little tired, he gave up his original plan. He stopped his account at 60/59 B.C., which year, marking the agreement reached by Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, was a definite turning-point in the history of the Roman Republic. The "1138 years" may be explained in two ways. Since some of his Books, and presumably the earlier ones, came into the hands of the public before his final revision and the publication of his History as a whole, Diodorus may himself have overlooked the need of correcting that number in the final revision. Or the earlier figures may in some way have slipped from an earlier MS. into one of the final revision.

<sup>1</sup> *R.-E.*<sup>2</sup>, 5. 665.

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From scattered observations, which bear every mark of being from Diodorus himself and not from his sources, and from the emphasis upon certain phenomena or particular features of history, it is possible to get some idea of his views and interests. Again and again, and not alone in the Preface to the First Book, the Stoic doctrine of the *utilitas* of history is stressed, and nowhere does he demand that history be entertaining. Of the customs of Egypt he will mention, he tells us, only those which are especially strange and those which can be of most advantage to his readers (1. 69. 2), of its laws only those that can be of help to lovers of reading (1. 77. 1). It is obviously to this end that, as he states (11. 46. 1), he makes it his practice to increase the fame of good men by extolling them and to censure evil characters; the latter he does, for instance, at the death of Pausanias (*loc. cit.*), and the defeat of Leuctra offers an occasion to observe what heavy punishments await the proud and unjust, while Gelon (11. 38. 6) and Epaminondas (15. 88. 1) receive the praise which is due to noble men. More often than any extant ancient historian Diodorus stresses the view that history should instruct in the good life. With great detail (16. 61 ff.) he describes the fate which met the various leaders of the Phocians, who had dared to lay impious hands upon the treasure of Delphi, how the allied cities lost their freedom, and even how one woman who had tricked herself out with the chain of Helen ended her days as a prostitute, while another, who had put on the chain of Eriphyle, was burned to death in her home by her own son. Philip, on the other hand, because he came to the defence of the oracle, increased in

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power from that day forth and finally made his country the mightiest state in Europe. The great earthquakes and inundations in the Peloponnesus of 373 b.c. were certainly due to the anger of the gods, more particularly to that of Poseidon. Admitting that the natural philosophers gave another reason, yet he thinks that they were wrong, and goes on to show what it was that angered Poseidon (15. 48). He emphasizes the qualities of the spirit, such as meekness, gentleness, kindness, very much in the manner of Herodotus; but he thinks very little of democracy (1. 74. 7; 13. 95. 1), the natural counterpart of such a conviction being a great admiration for the strong man in history.

While characteristics such as these exclude Diodorus from a place among the abler historians of the ancient world, there is every reason to believe that he used the best sources and that he reproduced them faithfully. His First Book, which deals almost exclusively with Egypt, is the fullest literary account of the history and customs of that country after Herodotus. Books II-V cover a wide range, and because of their inclusion of much mythological material are of less value. In the period from 480 to 301 b.c., which he treats in annalistic fashion and in which his main source was the *Universal History* of Ephorus, his importance varies according as he is the sole continuous source, or again as he is paralleled by superior writers. To the fifty years from 480 to 430 b.c. Thucydides devotes only a little more than thirty chapters; Diodorus covers it more fully (11. 37-12. 38) and his is the only consecutive literary account for the chronology of the period. On the other hand, he is of less importance for the years



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430–362 B.C., since the history of this period is covered in the contemporary accounts of Thucydides and Xenophon. For the years 362–302 B.C. Diodorus is again the only consecutive literary account, and although the *Epitome* by Justin of the *History of Philip* by Pompeius Trogus is preserved for the earlier period, and the *Anabasis* of Arrian and *The History of Alexander the Great* by Q. Curtius Rufus, more than half of which is extant, for the years 336–323, Diodorus offers the only chronological survey of the period of Philip, and supplements the writers mentioned and contemporary sources in many matters. For the period of the Successors to Alexander, 323–302 B.C. (Books XVIII–XX), he is the chief literary authority and his history of this period assumes, therefore, an importance which it does not possess for the other years. These three Books are based mainly upon the work of Hieronymus of Cardia, an historian of outstanding ability who brought to his account both the experience gained in the service, first of Eumenes, and then of Antigonus, and an exceptional sense of the importance of the history of the period. As for Sicily, it has well been said that no history of that island could be written were it not for Diodorus, and as for Roman history, the *Fasti* of Diodorus are recognized in the most recent research to be by far the oldest and most trustworthy.

One merit even those critics who have dealt most severely with Diodorus accord him. Long speeches, happily used but unhappily introduced by Thucydides, Diodorus avoids, as he promises that he will do in the Preface to Book XX. With the exception of four instances he eliminates entirely that rhetorical

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device, which must have wearied even a contemporary audience. He gave great care to little details of writing, and when he errs in fact the fault is not so much his as that of his source. A kindly judgment upon such errors may be found in the words of Cicero when he acknowledges that the story was generally recognized to be incorrect that Eupolis, the poet of Old Comedy, was thrown into the sea by Alcibiades, and adds: "But surely that is no reason for sneering at Duris of Samos, who was a careful scholar, because he erred in the company of many others."<sup>1</sup>

### EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The following are the more important editions:

Poggio Bracciolini: Latin translation of Books I–V; published at Bologna, 1472, and many times thereafter at Paris, Venice and Lyons.

Vincentius Opsopoeus: the first Greek edition, containing Books XVI–XX only; Basel, 1539.

H. Stephanus: Greek edition of Books I–V, XI–XX, and some fragments of Books XXI–XL; Geneva, 1559.

L. Rhodoman: the edition of Stephanus with a Latin translation, indices and chronological tables; Hanau, 1604.

Petrus Wesseling: the Greek text, and the Latin version of Rhodoman, with the critical work of former scholars; 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1746. This is the only annotated edition of Diodorus and a monument of zeal and scholarship.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Att.* 6. 1. 18: "Num idcirco Duris Samius, homo in historia diligens, quod cum multis erravit, inridetur?"

Bipontine Edition, 11 vols., Zweibrücken and Strassburg, 1793–1807. This is the edition of Wesseling, to which were added essays by C. G. Heyne and I. N. Eyring.

H. Eichstädt: the Greek text of Books I–V, X–XIV; 2 vols., Halle, 1800–1802.

L. Dindorf: four editions of the Greek text: 4 vols., Leipzig (Weidmann), 1826; 5 vols., with critical apparatus, Leipzig (Hartmann), 1828–31; 2 vols. in a Didot edition, the Latin by C. Müller, Paris, 1842–4; 5 vols., Leipzig (Teubner), 1866–8.

I. Bekker: the Greek text; 4 vols., Leipzig (Teubner), 1853–4.

The present text is based upon that of Vogel-Fischer, Leipzig (Teubner), 1888 ff., and the most important variants of the editions of Bekker and Dindorf (1866–8) have been noted; the reading which follows the colon is, unless otherwise stated, that of the *textus receptus*.

Translations of Diodorus have not kept pace with the intrinsic interest of his History. Worthy of mention is that into English in two volumes by G. Booth, London, 1700; another edition, in a series entitled “Corpus Historicum,” is of London, 1814. The English is quaint, *archon* being sometimes rendered “lord high-chancellor,” “high-chancellor,” “chief magistrate;” the chapter divisions are quite arbitrary, and the early date, before the commentary of Wesseling, makes it of little value. The translation into German by J. F. Wurm, Stuttgart, 1827–40, is a serious work, and that of A. Wahrmund of Books I–X, Stuttgart, 1866–9, with many notes, has also been of considerable aid in the preparation of this translation. It is hoped that infelicities of

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the present translation will be viewed by scholars with some indulgence, in consideration of the fact that it is the first in English for more than two hundred years.

One feature of the style of Diodorus calls for remark. A large part of his earlier Books is in indirect discourse, which is introduced with “they say” or “it is said” or “history records,” and the like, or with the name of the writer he is following. Yet at times he inserts into this reported speech sentences of direct discourse which are presumably original with himself. In general, an attempt has been made to distinguish this reported speech from the remarks of Diodorus himself; but I have not done so if it involved any great interruption of the flow of his narrative.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

- A. Codex Coislinianus, of the 15th century.
- B. Codex Mutinensis, of the 15th century.
- C. Codex Vaticanus, of the 12th century.
- D. Codex Vindobonensis 79, of the 11th century.
- E. Codex Parisinus, of the 16th century.
- F. G. Codices Claromontani, of the 16th century.
- M. Codex Venetus, of the 15th century.
- N. Codex Vindobonensis, of the 16th century.

The designations of the MSS. are those of the Preface to the first volume of the edition of Vogel-Fischer, to which the reader is referred for further details on each MS. and its worth. In the critical notes “Vulgate” designates the reading of all MSS. except D, and “II” designates the reading of all MSS. of the “second class,” *i.e.* of all but A B D.

## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I-II, 34

After the Preface to his whole work Diodorus describes the origin of animal life, and then, "since Egypt is the country where mythology places the origin of the gods" (1. 9. 6), and since "animal life appeared first of all" (1. 10. 2) in that country, he devotes the entire First Book to the gods, kings, laws and customs of that land. His interest in religion causes him to pay more attention to that subject than to political institutions and military affairs, in marked contrast to his later Books. As for his literary sources, he is generally held to have drawn primarily upon Hecataeus of Abdera, who visited Egypt early in the 3rd century B.C., for his account of the customs of the Egyptians, upon Agatharchides of Cnidus, an historian and geographer of the 2nd century B.C., for his geographical data, and especially for the description of the Nile (cc. 32-41. 3), and upon Herodotus. He also mentions what is told by the priests of Egypt and natives of Ethiopia, and it is entirely possible that many a detail was picked up by personal observation and inquiry. By the time of his visit Greek had been the official language of the land for nearly three hundred years and was widely used in the better circles, and hence he was not in such danger of being imposed upon by guides and priests as was Herodotus.

In the opening chapters of the Second Book Diodorus moves to Asia and Assyrian affairs. Most of his material was drawn from Ctesias of Cnidus, who spent seventeen years as physician at the court of the Persian king, Artaxerxes Mnemon, returning to Greece some time after 390 B.C. Ctesias wrote a

*Persica* in twenty-three Books, the first six of which dealt with Assyrian and Median history. Whether Diodorus used Ctesias directly or through a medium is still a question.<sup>1</sup> He also used Cleitarchus and "certain of those who at a later time crossed into Asia with Alexander" (2. 7. 3). Incidentally, he quotes from a particular Athenaeus, otherwise unknown, and "certain other historians" (2. 20. 3) to the effect that Semiramis was nothing more than a beautiful courtesan. While there is some shadowy outline of the long history of Egypt in Book I, what Diodorus (or rather Ctesias, Cleitarchus and others) has to offer on Babylonian history is scarcely deserving of the name. It is astonishing to observe that a writer with the opportunities which Ctesias enjoyed should have been content to do little more than pass on the folk tales which constitute the "history" of the Assyrian Empire.

Into the daily widening field of the history of Egypt and Babylonia, which is the theme of this volume of Diodorus, and in which many dates change from year to year and many are still the subject of controversy among competent Orientalists, a classicist enters with extreme reluctance. It has seemed the better policy to draw upon the latest general survey of this period, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, for the chronology, recognizing at the same time that even the contributors to this single enterprise are not always in agreement.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. P. Schnabel, *Berosos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 34.

THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY  
OF  
DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK I

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν  
Διοδώρου βίβλων

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST BOOK  
OF DIODORUS

- Προοίμιον τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας.  
Περὶ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίους λεγομένων περὶ τῆς τοῦ  
κόσμου γενέσεως.  
Περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὅσοι πόλεις ἔκτισαν κατ' Αἴγυπτον.  
Περὶ τῶν πρώτων γενομένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παλαιο-  
τάτου βίου.  
Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀθανάτων τιμῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ναῶν κατα-  
σκευῆς.  
Περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον χώρας καὶ τῶν  
περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ποταμὸν παραδοξολογουμένων, τῆς τε  
τούτου πληρώσεως τὴς αἰτίας<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν καὶ  
φιλοσόφων ἀποφάσεις.  
Περὶ τῶν πρώτων γενομένων κατ' Αἴγυπτον βασιλέων  
καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αἰτῶν πράξεων.  
Περὶ κατασκευῶν τῶν πυραμίδων τῶν ἀναγραφομένων  
ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ θαυμαζομένοις ἔργοις.  
Περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων.  
Περὶ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζώων παρ' Αἰγυπτίους.  
Περὶ τῶν νομίμων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας παρ'  
Αἰγυπτίους γενομένων.  
Περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι τῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ θαυμαζομένων  
παραβαλόντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων  
μαθόντες μετήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

- Introduction to the entire work (chaps. 1-5).  
On the accounts given by the Egyptians about the  
origin of the universe (chaps. 6-7).  
On the gods who founded cities in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>  
On the first men and the earliest manner of life  
(chap. 8).  
On the honour paid to the immortals and the  
building of the temples to them.<sup>1</sup>  
On the topography of the land of Egypt and the  
marvels related about the river Nile; the causes also  
of its flooding and the opinions thereupon of the  
historians and the philosophers (chaps. 30 ff.).  
On the first kings of Egypt and their individual  
deeds (chaps. 44 ff.).  
On the construction of the pyramids which are  
listed among the seven wonders of the world (chaps.  
63 ff.).  
On the laws and the courts of law (chaps. 69 ff.).  
On the animals held sacred among the Egyptians  
(chaps. 83 ff.).  
On the customs of the Egyptians touching the  
dead (chaps. 91 ff.).  
On those Greeks, renowned for their learning, who  
visited Egypt and upon acquiring much useful know-  
ledge brought it to Greece (chaps. 96 ff.).  
<sup>1</sup> There are no chapters which are especially devoted to  
this topic.

<sup>1</sup> Some verb is needed here, such as περιέχει, which is found in chap. 42, from which most of this outline is drawn.

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ  
ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ  
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ

THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY  
OF  
DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK I

1. Τοῖς τὰς κοινὰς ἱστορίας πραγματευσαμένοις  
μεγάλας χάριτας ἀπονέμειν δίκαιον πάντας ἀν-  
θρώπους, ὅτι τοῖς ἰδίοις πόνοις ὠφελῆσαι τὸν  
κοινὸν βίον ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν· ἀκίνδυνον γὰρ δι-  
δασκαλίαν τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰσηγησάμενοι καλ-  
λίστην ἐμπειρίαν διὰ τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης  
2 περιποιούσι τοῖς ἀναγνώσκουσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ  
τῆς πείρας ἐκάστου μάθησις μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων  
καὶ κινδύνων ποιεῖ τῶν χρησίμων ἕκαστα δια-  
γινώσκει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν ἡρώων ὁ πολυπειρό-  
τατος μετὰ μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων

πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστυα καὶ νόον ἔγνω·

ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας περιγυρομένη σύνεσις τῶν  
ἀλλοτρίων ἀποτευγμάτων τε καὶ κατορθωμάτων  
3 ἀπείρατον κακῶν ἔχει τὴν διδασκαλίαν. ἔπειτα  
πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μετέχοντας μὲν τῆς πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> Here Diodorus markedly connects "universal" (*κοιναι*)  
history with human society "as a whole" (*κοινός*). Cp. the  
Introduction, pp. xif.

<sup>2</sup> Odysseus. The quotation is from the *Odyssey* 1. 3.

1. It is fitting that all men should ever accord  
great gratitude to those writers who have composed  
universal<sup>1</sup> histories, since they have aspired to help  
by their individual labours human society as a whole ;  
for by offering a schooling, which entails no danger,  
in what is advantageous they provide their readers,  
through such a presentation of events, with a most  
excellent kind of experience. For although the  
learning which is acquired by experience in each  
separate case, with all the attendant toils and  
dangers, does indeed enable a man to discern in  
each instance where utility lies—and this is the  
reason why the most widely experienced of our  
heroes<sup>2</sup> suffered great misfortunes before he

Of many men the cities saw and learned  
Their thoughts ;—

yet the understanding of the failures and successes  
of other men, which is acquired by the study of  
history, affords a schooling that is free from actual  
experience of ills. Furthermore, it has been the  
aspiration of these writers to marshal all men, who,

ἀλλήλους συγγενείας, τόποις δὲ καὶ χρόνοις  
 διεστηκότας, ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν  
 αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἀγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ τινὲς ὑπουργοὶ  
 τῆς θείας προνοίας γενηθέντες. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ  
 τὴν τῶν ὀρωμένων ἀστρων διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς  
 τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις εἰς κοινὴν ἀναλογίαν συν-  
 θέισα κυκλεῖ συνεχῶς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα, τὸ  
 ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστοτε ἐκ τῆς πεπωμένης μερί-  
 ζουσα, οἷ τε τὰς κοινὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις  
 καθάπερ μιᾶς πόλεως ἀναγράφαντες ἓνα λόγον  
 καὶ κοινὸν χρηματιστήριον τῶν συντετελεσμένων  
 4 ἀπέδειξαν τὰς ἑαυτῶν πραγματείας. καλὸν γὰρ  
 τὸ δύνασθαι τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοήμασι πρὸς  
 δόρθωσιν χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασι, καὶ πρὸς τὰ  
 συγκυροῦντα ποικίλως κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔχειν μὴ  
 ζήτησιν τῶν πραττομένων, ἀλλὰ μίμησιν τῶν  
 ἐπιτετευγμένων. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους  
 ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἅπαντες τῶν νεωτέρων προκρίνουσιν  
 ἐν ταῖς συμβουλίαις διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου περι-  
 γεγενημένην αὐτοῖς ἐμπειρίαν ἧς τοσοῦτον ὑπερ-  
 ἔχειν συμβέβηκε τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μάθησιν  
 ὅσον καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πραγμάτων προτεροῦσαν  
 αὐτὴν ἐπεγνώκαμεν. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς  
 τοῦ βίου περιστάσεις χρησιμωτάτην ἂν τις εἶναι  
 5 νομίσειε τὴν ταύτης ἀνάληψιν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ  
 νεωτέροις τὴν τῶν γεγρακότων περιποιεῖ σύν-  
 εσιν, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις πολλαπλασιάζει τὴν  
 ὑπάρχουσαν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας

although united one to another by their kinship,<sup>1</sup>  
 are yet separated by space and time, into one and  
 the same orderly body. And such historians have  
 therein shown themselves to be, as it were, ministers  
 of Divine Providence. For just as Providence, hav-  
 ing brought the orderly arrangement of the visible  
 stars and the natures of men together into one  
 common relationship, continually directs their courses  
 through all eternity, apportioning to each that which  
 falls to it by the direction of fate, so likewise the  
 historians, in recording the common affairs of the  
 inhabited world as though they were those of a  
 single state, have made of their treatises a single  
 reckoning of past events and a common clearing-  
 house of knowledge concerning them. For it is an  
 excellent thing to be able to use the ignorant mis-  
 takes of others as warning examples for the correc-  
 tion of error, and, when we confront the varied  
 vicissitudes of life, instead of having to investigate  
 what is being done now, to be able to imitate the  
 successes which have been achieved in the past.  
 Certainly all men prefer in their counsels the oldest  
 men to those who are younger, because of the  
 experience which has accrued to the former through  
 the lapse of time; but it is a fact that such experience  
 is in so far surpassed by the understanding which is  
 gained from history, as history excels, we know, in  
 the multitude of facts at its disposal. For this reason  
 one may hold that the acquisition of a knowledge of  
 history is of the greatest utility for every conceivable  
 circumstance of life. For it endows the young with  
 the wisdom of the aged, while for the old it multiplies  
 the experience which they already possess; citizens  
 in private station it qualifies for leadership, and the

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the Stoic doctrine of the universal kinship of mankind.

ἀξίους ἡγεμονίας κατασκευάζει, τοὺς δ' ἡγεμόνας τῷ διὰ τῆς δόξης ἀθανατισμῷ προτρέπεται τοῖς καλλίστοις τῶν ἔργων ἐπιχειρεῖν, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας τοῖς μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην ἐπαίνους ἐτοιμοτέρους κατασκευάζει πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνους, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς αἰωνίοις βλασφημίαις ἀποτρέπει τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ὁρμῆς.

2. Καθόλου δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ μνήμην οἱ μὲν κτίσται πόλεων γενέσθαι προεκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ νόμους εἰσηγήσασθαι περιέχοντας τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, πολλοὶ δ' ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας ἐξευρεῖν ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἐξ ἀπάντων δὲ συμπληρουμένης τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἀποδοτέον τῶν ἐπαίνων τὸ πρωτεῖον τῇ τούτων 2 μάλιστα αἰτία, ἱστορία. ἡγητέον γὰρ εἶναι ταύτην φύλακα μὲν τῆς τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀρετῆς, μάρτυρα δὲ τῆς τῶν φαύλων κακίας, εὐεργέτην δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. εἰ γὰρ ἡ τὴν ἐν ἄδου μυθολογία τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πεπλασπών ἐχουσα πολλὰ συμβάλλεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, πόσῳ μᾶλλον<sup>1</sup> ὑποληπτέον τὴν προφητίαν τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστορίαν, τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας οἰονεὶ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι δύνασθαι τὰ ἦθη μᾶλλον 3 πρὸς καλοκάγαθίαν; πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι διὰ

<sup>1</sup> μᾶλλον Bekker, Vogel: omitted CP, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek "metropolis," the "home country" or "mother-city" of all the colonies which it had sent forth, was venerated by them as the source of their race and of their institutions. For the striking figure cp. the passage in Athenæus 104 B,

leaders it incites, through the immortality of the glory which it confers, to undertake the noblest deeds; soldiers, again, it makes more ready to face dangers in defence of their country because of the public encomiums which they will receive after death, and wicked men it turns aside from their impulse towards evil through the everlasting opprobrium to which it will condemn them.

2. In general, then, it is because of that commemoration of goodly deeds which history accords men that some of them have been induced to become the founders of cities, that others have been led to introduce laws which encompass man's social life with security, and that many have aspired to discover new sciences and arts in order to benefit the race of men. And since complete happiness can be attained only through the combination of all these activities, the foremost meed of praise must be awarded to that which more than any other thing is the cause of them, that is, to history. For we must look upon it as constituting the guardian of the high achievements of illustrious men, the witness which testifies to the evil deeds of the wicked, and the benefactor of the entire human race. For if it be true that the myths which are related about Hades, in spite of the fact that their subject-matter is fictitious, contribute greatly to fostering piety and justice among men, how much more must we assume that history, the prophetess of truth, she who is, as it were, the mother-city<sup>1</sup> of philosophy as a whole, is still more potent to equip men's characters for noble living! For all men, by reason of the frailty of our nature,

where Chrysippus calls the *Gastrology* of Arcestratus a "metropolis" of the philosophy of Epicurus.



τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν βιοῦσι μὲν ἀκαριαῖόν τι μέρος τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, τετελευτήκασι δὲ πάντα τὸν ὑστερον χρόνον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ ζῆν μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράξασιν ἅμα ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων τελευταῖς συναποθνήσκει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον, τοῖς δὲ δι' ἀρετὴν περιποιησαμένοις δόξαν αἰ πράξεις ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα μνημονεύονται, διαβώμεναι τῷ θειοτάτῳ τῆς ἱστορίας στόματι.

- 4 Καλὸν δ', οἶμαι, τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι θνητῶν πόνων ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι τὴν ἀθάνατον εὐφημίαν. Ἡρακλῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁμολογεῖται πάντα τὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἀνθρώπους χρόνον ὑπομῆναι μεγάλους καὶ συνεχεῖς πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ἐκουσίως, ἵνα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργετήσας τύχη τῆς ἀθανασίας· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἥρωικῶν, οἱ δὲ ἰσοθέων τιμῶν ἔτυχον, πάντες δὲ μεγάλων ἐπαίνων ἤξιώθησαν, τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν τῆς ἱστορίας
- 5 ἀπαθανατιζούσης. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα μνημεῖα διαμένει χρόνον ὀλίγον, ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀναιρούμενα περιστάσεων, ἢ δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας δύναμις ἐπὶ πάσῃ τὴν οἰκουμένην διήκουσα τὸν πάντα τᾶλλα λυμαινόμενον χρόνον ἔχει φύλακα τῆς αἰωνίου παραδόσεως τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις.

- Συμβάλλεται δ' αὕτη καὶ πρὸς λόγον δύναμιν, οὗ κάλλιον ἕτερον οὐκ ἂν τις βραδίως εὔροι.
- 6 τούτῳ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τῶν βαρβάρων, οἱ δὲ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν προέχουσι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ μόνον τούτου δυνατὸν ἔστιν

live but an infinitesimal portion of eternity and are dead throughout all subsequent time; and while in the case of those who in their lifetime have done nothing worthy of note, everything which has pertained to them in life also perishes when their bodies die, yet in the case of those who by their virtue have achieved fame, their deeds are remembered for evermore, since they are heralded abroad by history's voice most divine.

Now it is an excellent thing, methinks, as all men of understanding must agree, to receive in exchange for mortal labours an immortal fame. In the case of Heracles, for instance, it is generally agreed that during the whole time which he spent among men he submitted to great and continuous labours and perils willingly, in order that he might confer benefits upon the race of men and thereby gain immortality; and likewise in the case of other great and good men, some have attained to heroic honours and others to honours equal to the divine, and all have been thought to be worthy of great praise, since history immortalizes their achievements. For whereas all other memorials abide but a brief time, being continually destroyed by many vicissitudes, yet the power of history, which extends over the whole inhabited world, possesses in time, which brings ruin upon all things else, a custodian which ensures its perpetual transmission to posterity.

History also contributes to the power of speech, and a nobler thing than that may not easily be found. For it is this that makes the Greeks superior to the barbarians, and the educated to the uneducated, and, furthermore, it is by means of speech alone that one man is able to gain ascendancy over

ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν περιγενέσθαι· καθόλου δὲ φαίνεται πᾶν τὸ προτεθὲν τοιοῦτον ὁποῖον ἂν ἢ τοῦ λέγοντος δύναμις παραστήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἀξίους λόγου προσαγορεύομεν, ὡς τοῦτο τὸ πρωτεῖον τῆς ἀρετῆς περιπεποιη-  
 7 μένους. εἰς πλείω δὲ μέρη τούτου διηρημένου, συμβαίνει τὴν μὲν ποιητικὴν τέρπειν μᾶλλον ἢπερ ὠφελεῖν, τὴν δὲ νομοθεσίαν κολάζειν, οὐ διδάσκειν, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα μέρη τὰ μὲν μηδὲν συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν, τὰ δὲ μεμιγμένην ἔχειν τῷ συμφέροντι τὴν βλάβην, ἕνια δὲ κατεψεύσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, μόνην δὲ τὴν ἱστορίαν, συμφωνούντων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν λόγων τοῖς ἔργοις, ἅπαντα τᾶλλα χρήσιμα τῇ γραφῇ  
 8 περιελήφεναι· ὁρᾶσθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν προτροπομένην ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνην, κατηγοροῦσαν τῶν φαύλων, ἐγκωμιάζουσαν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, τὸ σύνολον ἐμπειρίαν μεγίστην περιποιούσαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάουσι.

3. Διὸ καὶ θεωροῦντες ἡμεῖς δικαίας ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνοντας τοὺς ταύτην πραγματευσάμενους προήχθημεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς ὑποθέσεως ζῆλον, ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν συγγραφεύσιν ἀπεδεξάμεθα μὲν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν, οὐ μὴν ἐξεργάσθαι πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὸ δυνατόν τὰς πραγματείας  
 2 αὐτῶν ὑπελάβομεν, κειμένης γὰρ τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσι τῆς ὠφελείας ἐν τῷ πλείεστας καὶ ποικιλωτάτας περιστάσεις λαμβάνειν, οἱ πλείεστοι μὲν ἐνὸς<sup>2</sup> ἔθνους ἢ μιᾶς πόλεως αὐτοτελεῖς πολέμου ἀνέγραψαν, ὀλίγοι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων

the many; and, in general, the impression made by every measure that is proposed corresponds to the power of the speaker who presents it, and we describe great and good men as "worthy of speech,"<sup>1</sup> as though therein they had won the highest prize of excellence. And when speech is resolved into its several kinds, we find that, whereas poetry is more pleasing than profitable, and codes of law punish but do not instruct, and similarly, all the other kinds either contribute nothing to happiness or else contain a harmful element mingled with the beneficial, while some of them actually pervert the truth, history alone, since in it word and fact are in perfect agreement, embraces in its narration all the other qualities as well that are useful; for it is ever to be seen urging men to justice, denouncing those who are evil, lauding the good, laying up, in a word, for its readers a mighty store of experience.

3. Consequently we, observing that writers of history are accorded a merited approbation, were led to feel a like enthusiasm for the subject. But when we turned our attention to the historians before our time, although we approved their purpose without reservation, yet we were far from feeling that their treatises had been composed so as to contribute to human welfare as much as might have been the case. For although the profit which history affords its readers lies in its embracing a vast number and variety of circumstances, yet most writers have recorded no more than isolated wars waged by a single nation or a single state, and but few have undertaken, beginning with the earliest times and coming down

<sup>1</sup> i.e. worthy to be the subject of speech. ἀξιόλογος is a favourite word of Diodorus in the usual meaning of "distinguished," "notable."

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ Stephanus: καί.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνός added by Porson.

χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἐπεχείρησαν ἀναγράφειν μέχρι τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς καιρῶν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐκάστοις οὐ παρέξεν, οἱ δὲ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων πράξεις ὑπερέβησαν, ἔτι δ' οἱ μὲν τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τῆς πραγματείας ἀπεδοκίμασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐ συνετέλεσαν, μεσολαβήντες τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης. τῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας πεποιημένων οὐδεὶς προεβίβασε τὴν ἱστορίαν κατωτέρω τῶν Μακεδονικῶν καιρῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς Φιλίππου πράξεις, οἱ δ' εἰς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου, τινὲς δ' εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἢ τοὺς ἐπιγόνους κατέστρεψαν τὰς συντάξεις· πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεων ἀπολελειμμένων μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου τῶν ἱστοριογράφων οὐδεὶς ἐπεβάλετο αὐτὰς μιᾶς συντάξεως περιγραφῆ πραγματεύσασθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποθέσεως. διὸ καὶ διερριμμένων<sup>1</sup> τῶν τε χρόνων καὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐν πλείοσι πραγματείας καὶ διαφόροις συγγραφεῦσι δυσπερίληπτος ἢ τούτων ἀνάληψις γίνεται καὶ δυσμνημόνευτος.

Ἐξετάσαντες οὖν τὰς ἐκάστου τούτων διαθέσεις ἐκρίναμεν ὑπόθεσιν ἱστορικὴν πραγματεύσασθαι τὴν πλείοστα μὲν ὠφελῆσαι δυναμένην,

<sup>1</sup> διερριμμένων Hertlein and Bozzel: ἐρριμμένων.

<sup>1</sup> Of the writers who may be said to have composed universal histories, Diodorus may have had in mind Herodotus, who had no chronological system, Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who confined his *Hellenica*, as the title shows, to the Greeks, and Ephorus of Cyme, who omitted the mythological period and

to their own day, to record the events connected with all peoples; and of the latter, some have not attached to the several events their own proper dates, and others have passed over the deeds of barbarian peoples; and some, again, have rejected the ancient legends because of the difficulties involved in their treatment, while others have failed to complete the plan to which they had set their hand, their lives having been cut short by fate.<sup>1</sup> And of those who have undertaken this account of all peoples not one has continued his history beyond the Macedonian period. For while some have closed their accounts with the deeds of Philip, others with those of Alexander, and some with the Diadochi or the Epigoni,<sup>2</sup> yet, despite the number and importance of the events subsequent to these and extending even to our own lifetime which have been left neglected, no historian has essayed to treat of them within the compass of a single narrative, because of the magnitude of the undertaking. For this reason, since both the dates of the events and the events themselves lie scattered about in numerous treatises and in divers authors, the knowledge of them becomes difficult for the mind to encompass and for the memory to retain.

Consequently, after we had examined the composition of each of these authors' works, we resolved to write a history after a plan which might yield to

whose death brought his history to a close with the year 340 B.C., although he had witnessed the stirring events of the subsequent twenty years.

<sup>2</sup> The Diadochi, or Successors, were those rulers who shortly after 323 B.C. formed separate kingdoms out of the territory conquered by Alexander. The Epigoni were the next and succeeding generations.

ελάχιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἐνοχλήσου-  
 6 σαν. εἰ γὰρ τις τὰς εἰς μνήμην παραδεδομένας  
 τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου πράξεις, ὥσπερ τινὸς  
 μιᾶς πόλεως, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων  
 χρόνων ἀναγράψαι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν μέχρι τῶν  
 καθ' αὐτὸν καιρῶν, πόνον μὲν ἂν πολλὸν ὑπο-  
 μείναι δῆλον ὅτι, πραγματείας δὲ πασῶν εὐχρη-  
 στοτάτην συντάξαιτο τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσιν.  
 7 ἐξέσται γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης ἕκαστον πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν  
 ὑπόστασιν ἐτοίμως λαμβάνειν τὸ χρήσιμον,  
 8 ὥσπερ ἐκ μεγάλης ἀρρύμενου πηγῆς. τοῖς μὲν  
 γὰρ ἐπιβαλλομένοις διεξιέναι τὰς τῶν τοσοῦτων  
 συγγραφέων ἱστορίας πρῶτον μὲν οὐ ῥάδιον  
 εὐπορῆσαι τῶν εἰς τὴν χρείαν πιπτουσῶν βί-  
 βλων, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τὸ πλήθος  
 τῶν συνταγμάτων δυσκατάληπτος γίνεται τελείως  
 καὶ δυσέφικτος ἢ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀνάληψις·  
 ἢ δ' ἐν μιᾷ<sup>1</sup> συντάξεως περιγραφῇ πραγματεία  
 τὸ τῶν πράξεων εἰρόμενον ἔχουσα τὴν μὲν  
 ἀνάγνωσιν ἐτοίμην παρέχεται, τὴν δ' ἀνάληψιν  
 ἔχει παντελῶς εὐπαρακολούθητον. καθόλου δὲ  
 τῶν ἄλλων τοσοῦτον ὑπερέχειν ταύτην ἡγήτεον  
 ὅσῳ χρησιμώτερόν ἐστι τὸ πᾶν τοῦ μέρους καὶ τὸ  
 συνεχὲς τοῦ διερρηγμένου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ  
 διηκριβωμένον τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ μηδὲ γινωσκο-  
 μένου τίσιν ἐπράχθη καιροῖς.

4. Διόπερ ἡμεῖς ὀρώντες ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν  
 χρησιμωτάτην μὲν οὖσαν, πολλοὺ δὲ πόνον καὶ  
 χρόνον προσδεομένην, τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη περὶ  
 αὐτὴν ἐπραγματεύθημεν, μετὰ δὲ πολλῆς κακο-

<sup>1</sup> μιᾶς Schäfer : μιᾶ.

its readers the greatest benefit and at the same  
 time incommode them the least. For if a man  
 should begin with the most ancient times and record  
 to the best of his ability the affairs of the entire  
 world down to his own day, so far as they have been  
 handed down to memory, as though they were the  
 affairs of some single city, he would obviously have  
 to undertake an immense labour, yet he would have  
 composed a treatise of the utmost value to those  
 who are studiously inclined. For from such a  
 treatise every man will be able readily to take what  
 is of use for his special purpose, drawing as it were  
 from a great fountain. The reason for this is that,  
 in the first place, it is not easy for those who propose  
 to go through the writings of so many historians to  
 procure the books which come to be needed, and, in  
 the second place, that, because the works vary so  
 widely and are so numerous, the recovery of past  
 events becomes extremely difficult of comprehension  
 and of attainment; whereas, on the other hand,  
 the treatise which keeps within the limits of a single  
 narrative and contains a connected account of events  
 facilitates the reading and contains such recovery of  
 the past in a form that is perfectly easy to follow.  
 In general, a history of this nature must be held to  
 surpass all others to the same degree as the whole  
 is more useful than the part and continuity than dis-  
 continuity, and, again, as an event whose date has  
 been accurately determined is more useful than one  
 of which it is not known in what period it happened.

4. And so we, appreciating that an undertaking  
 of this nature, while most useful, would yet require  
 much labour and time, have been engaged upon it  
 for thirty years, and with much hardship and many

παθείας καὶ κινδύνων ἐπήλθομεν πολλὴν τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἵνα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ πλείστων μερῶν αὐτόπται γενηθῶμεν· πολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ τὰς ἀγνοίας τῶν τόπων διήμαρτον οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλὰ <sup>2</sup>τινες καὶ τῶν τῇ δόξῃ πεπωρωτευκότων. ἀφορμῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην ἐχρησάμεθα μάλιστα μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν πραγματείαν ἐπιθυμίᾳ, δι' ἣν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τὸ δοκοῦν ἀπορον εἶναι τυγχάνει συντελείας, ἔπειτα καὶ τῇ ἐν Ῥώμῃ <sup>3</sup>χορηγίᾳ τῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν ἀνηκόντων. ἡ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροχὴ, διατείνουσα τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐτοιμοτάτας καὶ πλείστας ἡμῖν ἀφορμὰς, παρέσχετο παρεπιδημήσασιν ἐν αὐτῇ <sup>4</sup>πλείω χρόνον. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐξ Ἀγυρίου τῆς Σικελίας ὄντες, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου περιπεποιημένοι, πάσας τὰς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ταύτης πράξεις ἀκριβῶς ἀνελάβομεν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ὑπομνημάτων ἐκ πολλῶν <sup>5</sup>χρόνων τετηρημένων. πεποιήμεθα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῶν μυθολογούμενων παρ' Ἕλλησι τε καὶ βαρβάροις, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις ἱστορούμενα κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους, ἐφ' ὅσον ἡμῖν δύναμις.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις ἔχει τέλος, αἱ βίβλοι δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀνέκδοτοι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι,

<sup>1</sup> τῇ . . . χορηγίᾳ Hertlein: διὰ τὴν . . . χορηγίαν.

<sup>2</sup> On the travels undertaken by Diodorus in preparation for the writing of his history, see the Introduction, p. xiii.

dangers we have visited a large portion of both Asia and Europe that we might see with our own eyes all the most important regions<sup>1</sup> and as many others as possible; for many errors have been committed through ignorance of the sites, not only by the common run of historians, but even by some of the highest reputation. As for the resources which have availed us in this undertaking, they have been, first and foremost, that enthusiasm for the work which enables every man to bring to completion the task which seems impossible, and, in the second place, the abundant supply which Rome affords of the materials pertaining to the proposed study. For the supremacy of this city, a supremacy so powerful that it extends to the bounds of the inhabited world, has provided us in the course of our long residence there with copious resources in the most accessible form. For since the city of our origin was Agyrium in Sicily, and by reason of our contact with the Romans in that island we had gained a wide acquaintance with their language,<sup>2</sup> we have acquired an accurate knowledge of all the events connected with this empire from the records which have been carefully preserved among them over a long period of time. Now we have begun our history with the legends of both Greeks and barbarians, after having first investigated to the best of our ability the accounts which each people records of its earliest times.

Since my undertaking is now completed, although the volumes are as yet unpublished, I wish to pre-

<sup>2</sup> The prevailing language in Sicily in this period was Greek. On the acquaintance of Diodorus with Latin see the Introduction, pp. xiii f.

Βούλομαι βραχεία προδιορίσαι περὶ ὅλης τῆς  
πραγματείας. τῶν γὰρ βίβλων ἡμῖν ἕξ μὲν αἱ  
πρῶται περιέχουσι τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις  
καὶ μυθολογίας, καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν προηγου-  
μεναι τρεῖς τὰς βαρβαρικές, αἱ δ' ἕξης σχεδὸν  
τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαιολογίας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς  
μετὰ ταύτας ἕνδεκα τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν κοινὰς  
πράξεις ἀναγεγράφαμεν ἕως τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου  
7 τελευτῆς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἕξης εἴκοσι καὶ τρισὶ βίβλοις  
τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπάσας κατετάξαμεν μέχρι τῆς  
ἀρχῆς τοῦ συστάντος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς  
Κελτούς, καθ' ὃν ἡγούμενος Γάιος Ἰούλιος  
Καῖσαρ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις προσαγορευθεὶς θεὸς  
κατεπολέμησε μὲν τὰ πλείστα καὶ μαχιμώτατα  
τῶν Κελτῶν ἔθνη, προεβίβασε δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν  
τῆς Ῥώμης μέχρι τῶν Βρεττανικῶν νήσων·  
τούτου δ' αἱ πρῶται πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν  
Ἰολυμπιάδος τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὄγδοηκοστῆς  
κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ἐπ' ἀρχόντος Ἀθήνησιν  
Ἡρώδου.

5. Τῶν δὲ χρόνων τούτων περιειλημμένων ἐν  
ταύτῃ τῇ πραγματεία τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν  
οὐ διοριζόμεθα βεβαίως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παράπηγμα  
παρειληφέναι περὶ τούτων πιστευόμενον, ἀπὸ δὲ  
τῶν Τρωικῶν ἀκολουθῶν Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀθη-  
ναίῳ τίθεμεν ὄγδοηκοστ' ἔτη πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον  
τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην  
Ἰολυμπιάδα δυοὶ λείποντα τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ  
τριάκοντα, συλλογίζομενοι τοὺς χρόνους ἀπὸ τῶν  
ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι βασιλευσάντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς

sent a brief preliminary outline of the work as a  
whole. Our first six Books embrace the events and  
legends previous to the Trojan War, the first three  
setting forth the antiquities of the barbarians, and  
the next three almost exclusively those of the  
Greeks;<sup>1</sup> in the following eleven we have written  
a universal history of events from the Trojan War  
to the death of Alexander; and in the succeeding  
twenty-three Books we have given an orderly account  
of all subsequent events down to the beginning of  
the war between the Romans and the Celts, in the  
course of which the commander, Gaius Julius Caesar,  
who has been deified because of his deeds, subdued  
the most numerous and most warlike tribes of the  
Celts, and advanced the Roman Empire as far as the  
British Isles. The first events of this war occurred  
in the first year of the One Hundred and Eightieth  
Olympiad, when Herodes was archon in Athens.<sup>2</sup>

5. As for the periods included in this work,  
we do not attempt to fix with any strictness the  
limits of those before the Trojan War, because no  
trustworthy chronological table covering them has  
come into our hands: but from the Trojan War  
we follow Apollodorus of Athens<sup>3</sup> in setting the  
interval from then to the Return of the Heracleidae  
as eighty years, from then to the First Olympiad  
three hundred and twenty-eight years, reckoning  
the dates by the reigns of the kings of Lacedaemon,

<sup>2</sup> On these periods and dates, as given more fully in the following paragraph, see the Introduction, p. xv.

<sup>3</sup> A philosopher and historian of the second century B.C. whose *Chronology* covered the years 1184-119 B.C. The *Chronology* of Castor of Rhodes, of the first century B.C., which came down to 60 B.C., and was probably also used by Diodorus after the date where Apollodorus stopped, included the period before the Trojan War.

<sup>1</sup> For the subjects of the several Books see the Introduction, pp. xvif.

πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου, ἣν τελευταίην πεποιήμεθα τῆς ἱστορίας, ἑπτακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα· ὥστε τὴν ὅλην πραγματείαν ἡμῶν τετταράκοντα βίβλων οὖσαν περιέχειν ἔτη δυσὶ λείποντα τῶν χιλίων ἑκατὸν τετταράκοντα χωρὶς τῶν χρόνων τῶν περιεχόντων τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῶς προδιωρισάμεθα, βουλόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντας εἰς ἔννοιαν ἀγαγεῖν τῆς ὅλης προθέσεως, τοὺς δὲ διασκευάζειν εἰσθότας τὰς βίβλους ἀποτρέψαι τοῦ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πραγματείας. ἡμῖν δὲ παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν τὰ μὲν γραφέντα καλῶς μὴ μετεχέτω φθόνου, τὰ δὲ ἀγνωσθέντα τυγχανέτω διορθώσεως ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτέρων.

3 Διεληλυθότες δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν προηροῦμεθα, τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τῆς γραφῆς βεβαιοῦν ἐγχειρήσομεν.

6. Περὶ μὲν οὖν θεῶν τίνας ἐννοίας ἔσχον οἱ πρότεροι καταδείξαντες τιμᾶν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων περὶ ἐκάστου<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀθανάτων, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ συντάξασθαι παρήσομεν<sup>2</sup> κατ' ἰδίαν διὰ τὸ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην πολλοῦ λόγου προσδεῖσθαι, ὅσα δ' ἂν ταῖς προκειμέναις ἱστορίαις οἰκεία<sup>3</sup> δόξωμεν ὑπάρχειν, παραθήσομεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν ἀκοῆς ἀξίων ἐπιζητήται. περὶ δὲ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώ-

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων ἐκάστου.

<sup>2</sup> παρήσομεν Madvig: πειρασόμεθα.

<sup>3</sup> οἰκεία Vogel: οἰκίατα.

<sup>1</sup> In Book 40. 8 Diodorus remarks that some of his Books had been circulated before the publication of the work as a

and from the First Olympiad to the beginning of the Celtic War, which we have made the end of our history, seven hundred and thirty years; so that our whole treatise of forty Books embraces eleven hundred and thirty-eight years, exclusive of the periods which embrace the events before the Trojan War.

We have given at the outset this precise outline, since we desire to inform our readers about the project as a whole, and at the same time to deter those who are accustomed to make their books by compilation,<sup>1</sup> from mutilating works of which they are not the authors. And throughout our entire history it is to be hoped that what we have done well may not be the object of envy, and that the matters wherein our knowledge is defective may receive correction at the hands of more able historians.

Now that we have set forth the plan and purpose of our undertaking we shall attempt to make good our promise of such a treatise.

6. Concerning the various conceptions of the gods formed by those who were the first to introduce the worship of the deity, and concerning the myths which are told about each of the immortals, although we shall refrain from setting forth the most part in detail, since such a procedure would require a long account, yet whatever on these subjects we may feel to be pertinent to the several parts of our proposed history we shall present in a summary fashion, that nothing which is worth hearing may be found missing. Concerning, however, every race

whole. Whether they had been materially altered, as was often done by the diaskeuasts, is not known.

πων καὶ τῶνπραχθέντων ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις  
μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται περὶ τῶν  
οὕτω παλαιῶν, ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράφομεν ἀπὸ τῶν  
3 ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι. περὶ τῆς πρώ-  
της τοίνυν γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων διτταὶ γεγό-  
νασιν ἀποφάσεις παρὰ τοῖς νομιμωτάτοις τῶν τε  
φυσιολόγων καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ  
αὐτῶν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ὑποστησάμενοι  
τὸν κόσμον, ἀπεφάνησαν καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀν-  
θρώπων ἐξ αἰῶνος ὑπάρχειν, μηδέποτε τῆς αὐτῶν  
τεκνώσεως ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκυίας. οἱ δὲ γεννητὸν καὶ  
φθαρτὸν εἶναι νομίσαντες ἔφησαν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ<sup>1</sup>  
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τυχεῖν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως  
ὀρισμένοις χρόνοις.

7. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων σύστασιν  
μίαν ἔχειν ἰδέαν οὐρανὸν τε καὶ γῆν, μεμιγμένης  
αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαστάντων  
τῶν σωμάτων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὸν μὲν κόσμον  
περιλαβεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν ὁρωμένην ἐν αὐτῷ  
συνταξιν, τὸν δ' ἀέρα κινήσεως τυχεῖν συνεχοῦς,  
καὶ τὸ μὲν πυρῶδες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς μετεωροτά-  
τους τόπους συνδραμεῖν, ἀνωφεροῦς οὐσης τῆς  
τοιαύτης φύσεως διὰ τὴν κουφότητα· ἀφ' ἧς  
αἰτίας τὸν μὲν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν  
ἀστρῶν ἐναποληφθῆναι τῇ πάσῃ δίνῃ· τὸ δὲ  
ἰλυώδες καὶ θολερὸν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ὑγρῶν συγ-  
κρίσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτὸ καταστῆναι διὰ τὸ βάρος

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνῳ Rhodoman: ἐκεῖνοις.

<sup>1</sup> That the universe, as well as the earth and the human race, was eternal was the view of Aristotle and the early

of men, and all events that have taken place in the known parts of the inhabited world, we shall give an accurate account, so far as that is possible in the case of things that happened so long ago, beginning with the earliest times. Now as regards the first origin of mankind two opinions have arisen among the best authorities both on nature and on history. One group, which takes the position that the universe did not come into being and will not decay, has declared that the race of men also has existed from eternity, there having never been a time when men were first begotten; the other group, however, which holds that the universe came into being and will decay, has declared that, like it, men had their first origin at a definite time.<sup>1</sup>

7. When in the beginning, as their account runs, the universe was being formed, both heaven and earth were indistinguishable in appearance, since their elements were intermingled: then, when their bodies separated from one another, the universe took on in all its parts the ordered form in which it is now seen; the air set up a continual motion, and the fiery element in it gathered into the highest regions, since anything of such a nature moves upward by reason of its lightness (and it is for this reason that the sun and the multitude of other stars became involved in the universal whirl); while all that was mud-like and thick and contained an admixture of moisture sank because of its weight into one place; and as this

Peripatetics, and was defended by Theophrastus against Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school. The arguments used by Theophrastus are found in Philo Judaeus, *De Aeternitate Mundi*, especially chaps. 23-27; cp. E. Zeller, *Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics* (Eng. transl.), 2. pp. 380 f.



2 εἰλούμενον δ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ συνεχῶς καὶ συστρεφό-  
 μειον<sup>1</sup> ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὑγρῶν τὴν θάλατταν, ἐκ δὲ  
 τῶν στερεμνιωτέρων ποιῆσαι τὴν γῆν πηλώδη  
 3 καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλὴν. ταύτην δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον  
 τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυρὸς καταλάμψαντος πήξιν  
 λαβεῖν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν θερμασίαν ἀναζυμουμένης  
 τῆς ἐπιφανείας συνοιδήσαι τινα τῶν ὑγρῶν κατὰ  
 πολλοὺς τόπους, καὶ γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτὰ σηπεδῶνας  
 ὑμέσι λεπτοῖς περιεχομένας· ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι καὶ  
 τοῖς λιμνάζουσι τῶν τόπων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁρᾶσθαι  
 γινόμενον, ἐπειδὴν τῆς χώρας κατεψυγμένης ἄφνω  
 διάπυρος ὁ ἀὴρ γένηται, μὴ λαβῶν τὴν μεταβολὴν  
 4 ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον. ζωογονουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑγρῶν  
 διὰ τῆς θερμασίας τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον τὰς μὲν  
 νύκτας λαμβάνειν αὐτίκα τὴν τροφήν ἐκ τῆς πι-  
 πτούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὀμίχλης, τὰς δ'  
 ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος στερεοῦσθαι· τὸ δ'  
 ἔσχατον τῶν κνοφορουμένων τὴν τελείαν αὔξησιν  
 λαβούτων, καὶ τῶν ὑμέων διακαυθέντων τε καὶ  
 περιρραγέντων, ἀναφυῆναι παντοδαποῦς τύπους  
 5 ζῴων. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πλείστης θερμασίας  
 μεκοιωνηκότα πρὸς τοὺς μετεώρους τόπους ἀπελ-  
 θεῖν γενόμενα πτηνά, τὰ δὲ γεώδους ἀντεχόμενα  
 συγκρίσεως ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐρπετῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 τῶν ἐπιγείων τάξει καταριθμηθῆναι, τὰ δὲ  
 φύσεως ὑγρᾶς μάλιστα μετειληφότα πρὸς τὸν  
 ὁμογενῆ τόπον συνδραμεῖν, ὀνομασθέντα πλωτά.  
 6 τὴν δὲ γῆν αἰεὶ μάλλον στερεομένην ὑπὸ τε τοῦ  
 περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυρὸς καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων τὸ  
 τελευταῖον μηκέτι δύνασθαι μηδὲν τῶν μειζόνων

continually turned about upon itself and became compressed, out of the wet it formed the sea, and out of what was firmer, the land, which was like potter's clay and entirely soft. But as the sun's fire shone upon the land, it first of all became firm, and then, since its surface was in a ferment because of the warmth, portions of the wet swelled up in masses in many places, and in these pustules covered with delicate membranes made their appearance. Such a phenomenon can be seen even yet in swamps and marshy places whenever, the ground having become cold, the air suddenly and without any gradual change becomes intensely warm. And while the wet was being impregnated with life by reason of the warmth in the manner described, by night the living things forthwith received their nourishment from the mist that fell from the enveloping air, and by day were made solid by the intense heat; and finally, when the embryos had attained their full development and the membranes had been thoroughly heated and broken open, there was produced every form of animal life.<sup>1</sup> Of these, such as had partaken of the most warmth set off to the higher regions, having become winged, and such as retained an earthy consistency came to be numbered in the class of creeping things and of the other land animals, while those whose composition partook the most of the wet element gathered into the region congenial to them, receiving the name of water animals. And since the earth constantly grew more solid through the action of the sun's fire and of the winds, it was finally no longer able to generate any

<sup>1</sup> So Vogel: καὶ συστρεφόμενον συνεχῶς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 10. 2.

ζωογονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα μίξεως  
ἕκαστα γεννᾶσθαι τῶν ἐμφυλίων.

7 Ἔοικε δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως οὐδ'  
Εὐριπίδης διαφωνεῖν τοῖς προειρημένοις, μαθητῆς  
ὄν Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μελα-  
νίππῃ τίθησιν οὕτως,

ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφή μία·  
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,  
τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φύος,  
δένδρη, πετηνά, θήρας, οὓς θ' ἄλμη τρέφει,  
γένος τε θνητῶν.

8. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τῶν ὄλων γενέ-  
σεως τοιαῦτα παρειλήφαμεν, τοὺς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
γεννηθέντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων φασὶν ἐν ἀτάκτῳ καὶ  
θηριώδει βίῳ καθεστῶτας σποράδην ἐπὶ τὰς  
νομάς ἐξίεναι, καὶ προσφέρεισθαι τῆς τε βοτάνης  
τὴν προσηνεστάτην καὶ τοὺς αὐτομάτους ἀπὸ  
2 τῶν δένδρων καρπούς. καὶ πολεμουμένους μὲν  
ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἀλλήλοις βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέ-  
ροτος διδασκομένους, ἀθροιζομένους δὲ διὰ τὸν  
3 φόβον ἐπιγινώσκειν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν τοὺς  
ἀλλήλων τύπους. τῆς φωνῆς δ' ἀσήμου καὶ  
συγκεχυμένης οὐσης ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον διαρθροῦν  
τὰς λέξεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τιθέντας σύμβολα  
περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ὑποκειμένων γνώριμον σφίσι  
αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι τὴν περὶ ἀπάντων ἔρμηνειαν.  
4 τοιούτων δὲ συστημένων γινομένων καθ' ἅπασαν  
τὴν οἰκουμένην, οὐχ ὁμόφρονον πάντας ἔχειν τὴν

of the larger animals, but each kind of living creatures  
was now begotten by breeding with one another.

And apparently Euripides also, who was a pupil  
of Anaxagoras the natural philosopher, is not opposed  
to this account of the nature of the universe, for in  
his *Melanippe*<sup>1</sup> he writes as follows:

'Tis thus that heav'n and earth were once one form;  
But since the two were sundered each from each,  
They now beget and bring to light all things,  
The trees and birds, the beasts, the spawn of sea,  
And race of mortals.

8. Concerning the first generation of the universe  
this is the account which we have received.<sup>2</sup> But  
the first men to be born, they say, led an undisci-  
plined and bestial life, setting out one by one to  
secure their sustenance and taking for their food  
both the tenderest herbs and the fruits of wild trees.  
Then, since they were attacked by the wild beasts,  
they came to each other's aid, being instructed by  
expediency, and when gathered together in this way  
by reason of their fear, they gradually came to  
recognize their mutual characteristics. And though  
the sounds which they made were at first unintelli-  
gible and indistinct, yet gradually they came to give  
articulation to their speech, and by agreeing with  
one another upon symbols for each thing which  
presented itself to them, made known among them-  
selves the significance which was to be attached to each  
term. But since groups of this kind arose over every  
part of the inhabited world, not all men had the

<sup>1</sup> Erg. 488, Nauck.

<sup>2</sup> G. Busolt, "Diodor's Verhältniss z. Stoicismus," *Jahrb.  
cl. Phil.* 139 (1889), 297 ff., ascribes to Posidonius most of the  
Preface of Diodorus, but finds in this and the preceding

chapter Epicurean influence. The fact is that Diodorus'  
philosophy, if he may be said to have had any, was highly  
eclectic.

διάλεκτον, ἐκάστων ὡς ἔτυχε συνταξάντων τὰς λέξεις· διὸ καὶ παντοίους τε ὑπάρξαι χαρακτῆρας διαλέκτων καὶ τὰ πρῶτα γενόμενα συστήματα τῶν ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν ἀρχέγονα γενέσθαι.

- 5 Τοὺς οὖν πρῶτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδενὸς τῶν πρὸς βίον χρησίμων εὐρημένου ἐπιπόνως διάγειν, γυμνοὺς μὲν ἐσθῆτος ὄντας, οἰκῆσεως δὲ καὶ πυρὸς ἀήθεις, τροφῆς δ' ἡμέρου παντελῶς ἀνενηότους.
- 6 καὶ γὰρ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῆς ἀγρίας τροφῆς ἀγνοοῦντας μηδεμίαν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τὰς ἐνδείας ποιεῖσθαι παράθεσιν· διὸ καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθαι κατὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας διὰ τε τὸ ψῦχος
- 7 καὶ τὴν σπάνιν τῆς τροφῆς. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας διδασκομένους εἰς τε τὰ σπῆλαια καταφεύγειν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς φυλάττεσθαι δυναμένους ἀποτί-
- 8 θεσθαι. γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν χρησίμων κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ τὰς τέχνας εὐρεθῆναι καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ δυνάμενα τὸν κοινὸν βίον
- 9 ὠφελῆσαι. καθόλου γὰρ πάντων τὴν χρείαν αὐτὴν διδάσκαλον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὑφηγουμένην οἰκείως τὴν ἐκάστου μάθησιν εὐφυεῖ ζῳῆ καὶ συνεργοῦς ἔχοντι πρὸς ἅπαντα χεῖρας καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγχίνοιαν.
- 10 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παλαιστάτου βίου τοῖς ῥηθείσιν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας. 9. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων τῶν παραδεδομένων μὲν εἰς μνήμην, γενομένων δὲ ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις τόποις τῆς οἰκουμένης, διεξιέναι πειρασόμεθα.

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Schäfer: τοῦτου.

same language, inasmuch as every group organized the elements of its speech by mere chance. This is the explanation of the present existence of every conceivable kind of language, and, furthermore, out of these first groups to be formed came all the original nations of the world.

Now the first men, since none of the things useful for life had yet been discovered, led a wretched existence, having no clothing to cover them, knowing not the use of dwelling and fire, and also being totally ignorant of cultivated food. For since they also even neglected the harvesting of the wild food, they laid by no store of its fruits against their needs; consequently large numbers of them perished in the winters because of the cold and the lack of food. Little by little, however, experience taught them both to take to the caves in winter and to store such fruits as could be preserved. And when they had become acquainted with fire and other useful things, the arts also and whatever else is capable of furthering man's social life were gradually discovered. Indeed, speaking generally, in all things it was necessity itself that became man's teacher, supplying in appropriate fashion instruction in every matter to a creature which was well endowed by nature and had, as its assistants for every purpose, hands and speech and sagacity of mind.

And as regards the first origin of men and their earliest manner of life we shall be satisfied with what has been said, since we would keep due proportion in our account. 9. But as regards all the events which have been handed down to memory and took place in the known regions of the inhabited world, we shall now undertake to give a full account of them.

2 Τούς μὲν οὖν πρώτους ὑπάρξαντας βασιλεῖς οὐτ' αὐτοὶ λέγειν ἔχομεν οὔτε τῶν ἱστορικῶν τοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένοις εἰδέναι συγκατατιθέμεθα· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὕτως εἶναι παλαιὰν ὥστε τοῖς πρώτοις βασιλεῦσιν ἠλικιωτίδα γενέσθαι· εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοῦτο συγχωρήσῃ, τό γε τῶν ἱστοριογράφων γένος παντελῶς φαίνεται νεωστὶ τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ συνεστα-  
 3 μένον. περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ γένους ἀρχαιότητος οὐ μόνον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἑαυτοὺς αὐτόχθονας λέγοντες καὶ πρώτους τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὑρετὰς γενέσθαι τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρησίμων, καὶ τὰς γενομένας παρ' αὐτοῖς πράξεις ἐκ πλείστων χρόνων ἀναγρα-  
 4 φῆς ἠξιῶσθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἐκάστων παλαιότητος τὰκριβὲς καὶ τίνων προτερεῖ τὰ ἔθνη τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ πόσοις ἔτεσιν οὐκ ἂν διορισαίμεθα, τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα παρ' ἐκάστοις περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν πράξεων ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἀναγράφομεν, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμ-  
 6 μετρίας. περὶ πρώτων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων διέξιμεν, οὐκ ἀρχαιότερους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καθάπερ Ἐφορος εἶρηκεν, ἀλλὰ προδιελθεῖν βουλόμενοι τὰ πλείεστα τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦς, ὅπως ἀρξάμενοι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ἱστορουμένων μηδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιολογίαις ἑτερογενῆ  
 6 πράξιν παρεμβάλωμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον θεῶν τε γενέσεις ὑπάρχει μυθολογούνται, αἱ τε τῶν ἀστρῶν ἀρχαιόταται παρα-

Now as to who were the first kings we are in no position to speak on our own authority, nor do we give assent to those historians who profess to know; for it is impossible that the discovery of writing was of so early a date as to have been contemporary with the first kings. But if a man should concede even this last point, it still seems evident that writers of history are as a class a quite recent appearance in the life of mankind. Again, with respect to the antiquity of the human race, not only do Greeks put forth their claims but many of the barbarians as well, all holding that it is they who are autochthonous and the first of all men to discover the things which are of use in life, and that it was the events in their own history which were the earliest to have been held worthy of record. So far as we are concerned, however, we shall not make the attempt to determine with precision the antiquity of each nation or what is the race whose nations are prior in point of time to the rest and by how many years, but we shall record summarily, keeping due proportion in our account, what each nation has to say concerning its antiquity and the early events in its history. The first peoples which we shall discuss will be the barbarians, not that we consider them to be earlier than the Greeks, as Ephorus has said, but because we wish to set forth most of the facts about them at the outset, in order that we may not, by beginning with the various accounts given by the Greeks, have to interpolate in the different narrations of their early history any event connected with another people. And since Egypt is the country where mythology places the origin of the gods, where the earliest observations of the stars are said to have

τηρήσεις εὐρήσθαι λέγονται, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πράξεις ἀξιόλογοι καὶ πολλὰ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ἱστοροῦνται, ποιησόμεθα τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον πραχθέντων.

10. Φασὶ τοίνυν Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὄλων γένεσιν πρῶτους ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διὰ τε τὴν εὐκράσιαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τούτον γὰρ πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς παρεχόμενον ῥαδίως ἐκτρέφειν τὰ ζωογονηθέντα· τὴν τε γὰρ τοῦ καλάμου ῥίζαν καὶ τὸν λωτόν, ἔτι δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον κύαμον καὶ τὸ καλούμενον κορσαῖον καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα τροφὴν ἐτοίμην παρέχεσθαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τῆς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ζωογονίας τεκμήριον πειρῶνται φέρειν τὸ καλὸν νῦν ἔτι τὴν ἐν Θηβαίδι χώραν κατὰ τινὰς καιροὺς τασούτους καὶ τηλικούτους μῦς γεννᾶν ὥστε τοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ γινόμενον ἐκπλήττεσθαι· ἐπίουσι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕως μὲν τοῦ στήθους καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθίων ποδῶν διατετυπῶσθαι καὶ κίνησιν λαμβάνειν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν ἀδιατύπωτον, μενούσης ἔτι κατὰ φύσιν τῆς βώλου. ἐκ τούτου δ' εἶναι φανερόν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν τῆς γῆς εὐκράτου καθεστῶσης μάλιστα ἂν ἔσχε τὴν γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ κατ' Αἴγυπτον χώρα· καὶ γὰρ νῦν, οὐδαμῶς τῆς ἄλλης γῆς φυούσης οὐδὲν τῶν τοιαύτων, ἐν μόνῃ ταύτῃ

been made, and where, furthermore, many noteworthy deeds of great men are recorded, we shall begin our history with the events connected with Egypt.

10. Now the Egyptians have an account like this: When in the beginning the universe came into being, men first came into existence in Egypt, both because of the favourable climate of the land and because of the nature of the Nile. For this stream, since it produces much life and provides a spontaneous supply of food, easily supports whatever living things have been engendered; for both the root of the reed and the lotus, as well as the Egyptian bean and *corsaemum*, as it is called, and many other similar plants, supply the race of men with nourishment all ready for use.<sup>1</sup> As proof that animal life appeared first of all in their land they would offer the fact that even at the present day the soil of the Thebaid at certain times generates mice in such numbers and of such size as to astonish all who have witnessed the phenomenon; for some of them are fully formed as far as the breast and front feet and are able to move, while the rest of the body is unformed, the clod of earth still retaining its natural character. And from this fact it is manifest that, when the world was first taking shape, the land of Egypt could better than any other have been the place where mankind came into being because of the well-tempered nature of its soil; for even at the present time, while the soil of no other country generates any such things, in it alone certain living creatures

<sup>1</sup> These plants are more fully described in chap. 34. For the "root of the reed" cp. chap. 80, where the preparation

of such food is described. The *corsaemum* was the tuber of the Nile water-lily.

θεωρεῖσθαι τινα τῶν ἐμφύχων παραδόξως ζωογονούμενα.

- 4 Καθόλου δὲ λέγουσιν, εἴτε κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος γενόμενον κατακλυσμόν ἐφθάρη τὰ πλείεστα τῶν ζώων, εἰκὸς μάλιστα διασεσῶσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν κατοικοῦντας, ὡς ἂν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν οὐσης ἀνόμβρου κατὰ τὸ πλείεστον, εἴτε, καθάπερ τινὲς φασί, παντελοῦς γενομένης τῶν ἐμφύχων φθορᾶς ἢ γῆ πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καιρὰς ἤνεγκε τῶν ζώων φύσεις, ὅμως καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πρέπειεν τὴν ἀρχηγὸν τῶν ἐμφύχων γένεσιν προσάπτειν
- 5 ταύτη τῇ χώρᾳ. τῆς γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπομβρίας τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> γινομένῳ καύματι μείσεως εἰκὸς εὐκρατότατον γενέσθαι τὸν ἀέρα
- 6 πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν πάντων ζωογονίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι χρόνοις κατὰ τὴν ἐπίκλυστον Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς ὀψίμοις τῶν ὑδάτων φανερώς ὁρᾶσθαι γεννωμένας φύσεις
- 7 ἐμφύχων. ὅταν γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιούμενον τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἰλῦος ὁ ἥλιος διαξηράνη, φασὶ συνίστασθαι ζῷα, τινα μὲν εἰς τέλος ἀπηρτισμένα, τινα δὲ ἡμιτελῆ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ συμφυῆ τῇ γῆ.

11. Τοὺς δ' οὖν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπους τὸ παλαιὸν γενομένους, ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων φύσιν καταπλαγέντας τε<sup>2</sup> καὶ θαυμάσαντας, ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι δύο θεοὺς αἰδίους τε καὶ πρώτους, τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὧν τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν, τὴν δὲ Ἴσιν ὀνο-

may be seen coming into being in a marvellous fashion.

In general, they say that if in the flood which occurred in the time of Deucalion most living things were destroyed, it is probable that the inhabitants of southern Egypt survived rather than any others, since their country is rainless for the most part; or if, as some maintain, the destruction of living things was complete and the earth then brought forth again new forms of animals, nevertheless, even on such a supposition the first genesis of living things fittingly attaches to this country. For when the moisture from the abundant rains, which fell among other peoples, was mingled with the intense heat which prevails in Egypt itself, it is reasonable to suppose that the air became very well tempered for the first generation of all living things. Indeed, even in our day during the inundations of Egypt the generation of forms of animal life can clearly be seen taking place in the pools which remain the longest; for, whenever the river has begun to recede and the sun has thoroughly dried the surface of the slime, living animals, they say, take shape, some of them fully formed, but some only half so and still actually united with the very earth.

11. Now the men of Egypt, they say, when ages ago they came into existence, as they looked up at the firmament and were struck with both awe and wonder at the nature of the universe, conceived that two gods were both eternal and first, namely, the sun and the moon, whom they called respectively Osiris and Isis, these appellations having in each

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς Vogel: αὐτῆς D, αὐτοῖς F, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> τε Vogel: omitted by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

μάσαι, ἀπό τινος ἐτύμου τεθείσης ἑκατέρας τῆς  
 2 προσηγορίας ταύτης. μεθερμηνευομένων γὰρ  
 τούτων εἰς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπον  
 εἶναι τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν πολυόφθαλμον, εἰκότως·  
 πανταχῇ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλοντα τὰς ἀκτίνας ὡσπερ  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς πολλοῖς βλέπειν ἅπασαν γῆν καὶ  
 θάλατταν. καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν δὲ λέγειν σύμφωνα  
 τούτοις

ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.  
 3 τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἑλλησι παλαιῶν μυθολόγων τινὲς  
 τὸν Ὅσιριν Διόνυσον προσονομάξουσι καὶ  
 Σείριον παρωνύμως ὡν Εὐμόλπος μὲν ἐν τοῖς  
 Βακχικοῖς ἔπεσὶ φησιν

ἀστροφαῖη Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσσι πυρωτόν,  
 Ὀρφεὺς δὲ

τοῦνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον.  
 4 φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ τὸ ἔναμμα αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς νεβρίδος  
 ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀστρῶν ποικιλίας περιήφθαι. τὴν  
 δὲ Ἴσιν μεθερμηνευομένην εἶναι παλαιάν, τεθει-  
 μένης τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῆς αἰδίου καὶ  
 παλαιᾶς γενέσεως. κέρατα δ' αὐτῇ ἐπιτιθέουσιν  
 ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὄψεως ἣν ἔχουσα φαίνεται καθ' ἃν  
 ἂν χρόνον ὑπάρχη μηνουσιδῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καθιε-  
 ρωμένης αὐτῇ βόδῃ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις.  
 5 Τούτους δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑφίστανται τὸν σύμ-  
 παντα κόσμον διοικεῖν τρέφοντάς τε καὶ αὔξοντας

case been based upon a certain meaning in them. For when the names are translated into Greek Osiris means "many-eyed," and properly so; for in shedding his rays in every direction he surveys with many eyes, as it were, all land and sea. And the words of the poet<sup>1</sup> are also in agreement with this conception when he says:

The sun, who sees all things and hears all things.

And of the ancient Greek writers of mythology some give to Osiris the name Dionysus or, with a slight change in form, Sirius. One of them, Eumolpus, in his *Bacchic Hymn* speaks of

Our Dionysus, shining like a star,  
 With fiery eye in ev'ry ray;

while Orpheus<sup>2</sup> says:

And this is why men call him Shining One  
 And Dionysus.

Some say that Osiris is also represented with the cloak of fawn-skin about his shoulders<sup>3</sup> as imitating the sky spangled with the stars. As for Isis, when translated the word means "ancient," the name having been given her because her birth was from everlasting and ancient. And they put horns on her head both because of the appearance which she has to the eye when the moon is crescent-shaped, and because among the Egyptians a cow is held sacred to her.

These two gods, they hold, regulate the entire universe, giving both nourishment and increase to

<sup>1</sup> "The poet" for the Greeks was Homer; the line occurs frequently, e.g. *Odyssey* 12. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Erg.* 237, Kern.

<sup>3</sup> That is, as Dionysus was commonly represented.

πάντα τριμερέσιν ὥραις ἀοράτῳ κινήσει τὴν περίοδον ἀπαρτιζούσαις, τῇ τε ἐαρινῇ καὶ θερινῇ καὶ χειμερινῇ· ταύτας δ' ἐναντιωτάτην ἀλλήλαις τὴν φύσιν ἐχούσας ἀπαρτίζειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρίστη συμφωνία· φύσιν δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι πλείστην εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ζωογονίαν τῶν θεῶν τούτων τὸν μὲν πυρώδους καὶ πνεύματος, τὴν δὲ ὑγροῦ καὶ ξηροῦ, κοινῇ δ' ἀμφοτέρους ἀέρος· καὶ διὰ τούτων πάντα γεννᾶσθαι καὶ 6 τρέφεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἅπαν σῶμα τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως ἐξ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἀπαρτιζέσθαι, τὰ δὲ τούτων μέρη πέντε τὰ προειρημένα, τὸ τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ξηρὸν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ὑγρὸν καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τὸ ἀερῶδες, ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας καὶ τᾶλλα μέρη καταριθμοῦμεν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κόσμου συγκείσθαι πᾶν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων.

12. Τούτων δ' ἕκαστον θεὸν νομίσει καὶ προσηγορίαν ἰδίαν ἐκάστῳ θεῖναι κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον τοὺς πρώτους διαλέκτῳ χρησαμένους διηρθρωμένην 2 τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνθρώπων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα Δία προσαγορεύουσι μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως, ὃν αἴτιον ὄντα τοῦ ψυχικοῦ τοῖς ζῴοις ἐνόμισαν ὑπάρχειν πάντων οἰοεῖ τινα πατέρα. συμφωνεῖν δὲ τούτοις φανὶ καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου λέγοντα

πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

3 τὸ δὲ πῦρ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἡφαίστον ὀνομάσαι, νομίσαντας μέγαν εἶναι θεὸν καὶ πολλὰ συμ-

all things by means of a system of three seasons which complete the full cycle through an unobservable movement, these being spring and summer and winter; and these seasons, though in nature most opposed to one another, complete the cycle of the year in the fullest harmony. Moreover, practically all the physical matter which is essential to the generation of all things is furnished by these gods, the sun contributing the fiery element and the spirit, the moon the wet and the dry, and both together the air; and it is through these elements that all things are engendered and nourished. And so it is out of the sun and moon that the whole physical body of the universe is made complete; and as for the five parts just named of these bodies—the spirit, the fire, the dry, as well as the wet, and, lastly, the air-like—just as in the case of a man we enumerate head and hands and feet and the other parts, so in the same way the body of the universe is composed in its entirety of these parts.

12. Each of these parts they regard as a god and to each of them the first men in Egypt to use articulate speech gave a distinct name appropriate to its nature. Now the spirit they called, as we translate their expression, Zeus, and since he was the source of the spirit of life in animals they considered him to be in a sense the father of all things. And they say that the most renowned of the Greek poets<sup>1</sup> also agrees with this when he speaks of this god as

The father of men and of gods.

The fire they called Hephaestus, as it is translated, holding him to be a great god and one who con-

<sup>1</sup> Homer; the phrase occurs in many passages.



βάλλεσθαι πᾶσιν εἰς γένεσίν τε καὶ τελείαν  
 4 αὔξησιν. τὴν δὲ γῆν ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖόν τι τῶν  
 φυομένων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεύ-  
 σαι καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας δὲ ταύτην παραπλησίως  
 Δήμητραν καλεῖν, βραχὺ μετατεθείσης διὰ τὸν  
 χρόνον τῆς λέξεως· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι  
 γῆν μητέρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα προσμαρτυ-  
 ρεῖν λέγοντα

Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα.

5 τὸ δ' ὑγρὸν ὀνομάσαι λέγουσι τοὺς παλαιούς  
 Ὀκεάνην,<sup>1</sup> ὃ μεθερμηνευόμενον μὲν εἶναι τροφήν  
 μητέρα, παρ' ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ὀκεανὸν  
 ὑπάρχειν ὑπειλήφθαι, περὶ οὗ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν  
 λέγειν

Ὀκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

6 οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν Ὀκεανὸν εἶναι τὸν  
 παρ' αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νείλον, πρὸς ᾧ καὶ τὰς  
 τῶν θεῶν γενέσεις ὑπάρχει· τῆς γὰρ πάσης  
 οἰκουμένης κατὰ μόνην τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι  
 πόλεις πολλὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν ἐκτισμέ-  
 νας, οἷον Διός, Ἡλίου, Ἐρμοῦ, Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 Πανός, Εἰλειθυίας, ἄλλων πλειόνων.

7 Τὸν δ' ἀέρα προσαγορεύσαι φασιν Ἀθηναῖαν  
 μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως, καὶ Διὸς θυγατέρα  
 νομίσαι ταύτην, καὶ παρθένον ὑποστήσασθαι  
 διὰ τε τὸ ἀφθορον εἶναι φύσει τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τὸν  
 ἀκρότατον ἐπέχειν τόπον τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου·  
 διόπερ ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Διὸς μυθολογηθῆναι

<sup>1</sup> Ὀκεάνην Wesseling: ὠκέλην F, ὠκεανόν CD.

<sup>1</sup> Frg. 302, Kern.

tributes much both to the birth and full development  
 of all things. The earth, again, they looked upon as  
 a kind of vessel which holds all growing things and so  
 gave it the name "mother"; and in like manner the  
 Greeks also call it Demeter, the word having been  
 slightly changed in the course of time; for in olden  
 times they called her Gê Meter (Earth Mother), to  
 which Orpheus<sup>1</sup> bears witness when he speaks of

Earth the Mother of all, Demeter giver of wealth.

And the wet, according to them, was called by the  
 men of old Oceanê, which, when translated, means  
 Fostering-mother, though some of the Greeks have  
 taken it to be Oceanus, in connection with whom  
 the poet<sup>2</sup> also speaks of

Oceanus source of gods and mother Tethys.

For the Egyptians consider Oceanus to be their  
 river Nile, on which also their gods were born; since,  
 they say, Egypt is the only country in the whole  
 inhabited world where there are many cities which  
 were founded by the first gods, such as Zeus, Helius,  
 Hermes, Apollo, Pan, Eileithyia, and many more.<sup>3</sup>

The air, they say, they called Athena, as the name  
 is translated, and they considered her to be the  
 daughter of Zeus and conceived of her as a virgin,  
 because of the fact that the air is by its nature  
 uncorrupted and occupies the highest part of the  
 entire universe; for the latter reason also the myth  
 arose that she was born from the head of Zeus.

<sup>2</sup> Tethys was the wife of Oceanus. The line is from the  
*Iliad* 14. 302.

<sup>3</sup> By the time Diodorus visited Egypt many an old  
 Egyptian city bore a Greek name, such as Diospolis (cp.  
 chap. 45), Heliopolis, Hermupolis, Apollinopolis, Panopolis,  
 and the like.

8 ταύτην γενέσθαι. ὠνομάσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν Τριτο-  
γένειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίς μεταβάλλειν αὐτῆς τὴν  
φύσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἔαρος καὶ θέρος καὶ χει-  
μῶνος. λέγεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ Γλαυκῶπιιν, οὐχ  
ὡσπερ ἐνιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπέλαβον, ἀπὸ τοῦ  
τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν γλαυκοὺς· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ  
εὐθες ὑπάρχειν ἄλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ἀέρα τὴν  
πρόσοψιν ἔχειν ἔγγλαυκον.

9 Φασὶ δὲ τοὺς πέντε θεοὺς τοὺς προειρημένους  
πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιπορεύεσθαι, φανταζο-  
μένους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἱερῶν ζῴων μορφαῖς,  
ἔστι δ' ὅτε εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἰδέας ἢ τινῶν ἄλλων  
μεταβάλλοντας· καὶ τοῦτο μὴ μυθῶδες ὑπάρχειν,  
ἀλλὰ δυνατόν, εἴπερ οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλήθειάν εἰσιν  
οἱ πάντα γεννῶντες, καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν δὲ εἰς  
10 Αἴγυπτον παραβαλόντα καὶ μετασχόντα παρὰ  
τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τοιούτων λόγων θεῖναι που κατὰ  
τὴν ποίησιν τὸ προειρημένον ὡς γινόμενον,

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι  
παντοῖοι τελέθοντες ἐπιστροφῶσι πόλης,  
ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐσορῶντες.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν καὶ γένεσιν  
αἰδίου ἐσχηκότων τσαυτὰ λέγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι.

13. Ἄλλους δ' ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι  
φασίν, ὑπέβαντας μὲν θνητοὺς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν  
καὶ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν τετευχότας τῆς  
ἀθανασίας, ὧν ἐνίοις καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέαι κατὰ  
2 τὴν Αἴγυπτον. μεθερμηνομένῳ δ' αὐτῶν τινὰς  
μὲν ὀμωνύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανόις, τινὰς  
δ' ἰδίαν ἐσχηκέναι προσηγορίαν, Ἡλίον τε καὶ

Another name given her was Tritogeneia (Thrice-born), because her nature changes three times in the course of the year, in the spring, summer, and winter. They add that she is also called Glaucopis (Blue-eyed),<sup>1</sup> not because she has blue eyes, as some Greeks have held—a silly explanation, indeed—but because the air has a bluish cast.

These five deities, they say, visit all the inhabited world, revealing themselves to men in the form of sacred animals, and at times even appearing in the guise of men or in other shapes; nor is this a fabulous thing, but possible, if these are in very truth the gods who give life to all things. And also the poet, who visited Egypt and became acquainted with such accounts as these from the lips of the priests, in some place in his writings<sup>2</sup> sets forth as actual fact what has been said:

The gods, in strangers' form from alien lands,  
Frequent the cities of men in ev'ry guise,  
Observing their insolence and lawful ways.

Now so far as the celestial gods are concerned whose genesis is from eternity, this is the account given by the Egyptians.

13. Besides these there are other gods, they say, who were terrestrial, having once been mortals, but who, by reason of their sagacity and the good services which they rendered to all men, attained immortality, some of them having even been kings in Egypt. Their names, when translated, are in some cases the same as those of the celestial gods, while others have a distinct appellation, such as

<sup>1</sup> This common epithet of Athena in Homer is more generally taken to mean "gleaming-eyed."

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* 17. 485-7.

Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέαν, ἔτι δὲ Δία τὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν Ἀμμωνα προσαγορευόμενον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἡραν καὶ Ἥφαιστον, ἔτι δ' Ἑστίαν καὶ τελευταίου Ἑρμῆν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἥλιον βασιλεῦσαι τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ὁμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστρῷ. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἱερέων φασὶ πρῶτον Ἥφαιστον βασιλεῦσαι, πρὸς εὐρετήν γενόμενον καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ταύτην τυχόντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας· γενομένου γὰρ ἐν τοῖς δρεσι κεραυνοβόλου δένδρου καὶ τῆς πλησίον ὕλης καομένης προσελθόντα τὸν Ἥφαιστον κατὰ τὴν χειμέριον ὥραν ἡσθῆναι διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τῇ θερμασίᾳ, λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς αἰὲ τῆς ὕλης ἐπιβάλλειν, καὶ τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ διατηροῦντα τὸ πῦρ προκαλεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γινομένην εὐχρηστίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κρόνον ἀρξαι, καὶ γήμαντα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ῥέαν γεννησάι κατὰ μὲν τινὰς τῶν μυθολόγων Ὅσιριν καὶ Ἴσιω, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους Δία τε καὶ Ἡραν, οὓς δι' ἀρετὴν βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ συμπαντος κόσμου. ἐκ δὲ τούτων γενέσθαι πέντε θεοῦς, καθ' ἑκάστην τῶν ἐπαγομένων παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις πένθ' ἡμερῶν ἐνὸς γεννηθέντος· ὀνόματα δὲ ὑπάρξαι τοῖς τεκνωθείσιν Ὅσιριν καὶ Ἴσιω, ἔτι δὲ Τυφῶνα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὅσιριν μεθερμηνεύμενον εἶναι Διόνυσον, τὴν δὲ Ἴσιω ἔγγιστά πως Δήμητραν. ταύτην δὲ γήμαντα τὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενον πολλὰ πρᾶξαι πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τοῦ κοινού βίου.

14. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας

<sup>1</sup> προκαλεῖσθαι Dindorf; προσκαλεῖσθαι.

Heliu, Cronu, and Rhea, and also the Zeus who is called Ammon by some, and besides these Hera and Hephaestus, also Hestia, and, finally, Hermes. Heliu was the first king of the Egyptians, his name being the same as that of the heavenly star.<sup>1</sup> Some of the priests, however, say that Hephaestus was their first king, since he was the discoverer of fire and received the rule because of this service to mankind; for once, when a tree on the mountains had been struck by lightning and the forest near by was ablaze, Hephaestus went up to it, for it was winter-time, and greatly enjoyed the heat; as the fire died down he kept adding fuel to it, and while keeping the fire going in this way he invited the rest of mankind to enjoy the advantage which came from it. Then Cronus became the ruler, and upon marrying his sister Rhea he begat Osiris and Isis, according to some writers of mythology, but, according to the majority, Zeus and Hera, whose high achievements gave them dominion over the entire universe. From these last were sprung five gods, one born on each of the five days which the Egyptians intercalate;<sup>2</sup> the names of these children were Osiris and Isis, and also Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite; and Osiris when translated is Dionysus, and Isis is more similar to Demeter than to any other goddess; and after Osiris married Isis and succeeded to the kingship he did many things of service to the social life of man.

14. Osiris was the first, they record, to make man-

<sup>1</sup> That is, the sun.

<sup>2</sup> The Egyptians used a calendar of twelve months of thirty days each, with five days intercalated at the end of the year. Cp. chap. 50.

τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, εὐρούσης μὲν Ἴσιδος τὸν τε τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπὸν, φυόμενον μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε κατὰ τὴν χώραν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης βοτάνης, ἀγνοούμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τοῦ δὲ Ἐπίσιδος ἐπινοησαμένου καὶ τὴν τοῦτον κατεργασίαν τῶν καρπῶν, ἡδέως μεταθέσθαι πάντας τὴν τροφήν διὰ τε τὴν ἡδουὴν τῆς φύσεως τῶν εὐρεθέντων καὶ διὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι συμφέρον ὑπάρχειν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς κατ' ἀλλήλων

2 ὁμοιότητος. μαρτύριον δὲ φέρουσι τῆς εὐρέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων καρπῶν τὸ τηρούμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίων νόμιμον· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὸν θερισμὸν τοὺς πρώτους ἀμνηθέντας στάχους θέντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κόπτεσθαι πλησίον τοῦ δράγματος καὶ τὴν Ἴσιν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο πράττειν τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντας τῇ θεῷ τῶν εὐρημένων κατὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς εὐρέσεως

3 καιρὸν. παρ' ἐνιαῖς δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τοῖς Ἰσείοις ἐν τῇ πομπῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων φέρεσθαι καὶ πυθμένας πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, ἀπομνημονεῦμα τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῇ θεῷ φιλοτέχνως εὐρεθέντων. θεῖναι δὲ φασὶ καὶ νόμους τὴν Ἴσιν, καθ' οὓς ἀλλήλοις δίδοναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τῆς ἀθέσμου βίας καὶ ὕβρεως παύσασθαι διὰ

4 τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φόβον· διὸ καὶ τοὺς παλαιοὺς Ἕλληνας τὴν Δήμητραν θεσμοφόρον ὀνομάζειν, ὡς τῶν νόμων πρῶτον ὑπὸ ταύτης τεθειμένων.

15. Κτίσαι δὲ φασὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὄσιριν πόλιν ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι τῇ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐκατόμυλλον, ἣν ἐκείνους μὲν ἐπώνυμον ποιῆσαι τῆς μητρὸς, τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν

kind give up cannibalism; for after Isis had discovered the fruit of both wheat and barley which grew wild over the land along with the other plants but was still unknown to man, and Osiris had also devised the cultivation of these fruits, all men were glad to change their food, both because of the pleasing nature of the newly-discovered grains and because it seemed to their advantage to refrain from their butchery of one another. As proof of the discovery of these fruits they offer the following ancient custom which they still observe: Even yet at harvest time the people make a dedication of the first heads of the grain to be cut, and standing beside the sheaf beat themselves and call upon Isis, by this act rendering honour to the goddess for the fruits which she discovered, at the season when she first did this. Moreover in some cities, during the Festival of Isis as well, stalks of wheat and barley are carried among the other objects in the procession, as a memorial of what the goddess so ingeniously discovered at the beginning. Isis also established laws, they say, in accordance with which the people regularly dispense justice to one another and are led to refrain through fear of punishment from illegal violence and insolence; and it is for this reason also that the early Greeks gave Demeter the name Thesmophorus,<sup>1</sup> acknowledging in this way that she had first established their laws.

15. Osiris, they say, founded in the Egyptian Thebaïd a city with a hundred gates, which the men of his day named after his mother, though later generations called it Diospolis,<sup>2</sup> and some named it

<sup>1</sup> Law-giver.

<sup>2</sup> City of Zeus.

- 2 Διὸς πόλιν, ἐνίους δὲ Θήβας. ἀμφισβητεῖται δ' ἢ κτίσις τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῦσι· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἱστοροῦσιν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν κτισθῆναι τὰς Θήβας, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ τινος βασιλέως, περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις
- 3 ἀναγράφωμεν. ἰδρυσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν τῶν γονέων Διὸς τε καὶ Ἡρας ἀξιόλογον τῷ τε μεγέθει καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ πολυτελείᾳ, καὶ ναοὺς χρυσοῦς δύο Διός, τὸν μὲν μέγιστον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὸν δὲ ἐλάττωνα τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος καὶ πατρὸς
- 4 αὐτῶν, ὃν τινες Ἀμμωνα καλοῦσι, κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν προειρημέων ναοὺς χρυσοῦς, ὧν ἐκάστῳ τιμὰς ἀπονεῖμαι καὶ καταστήσαι τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους ἱερεῖς. προτιμάσθαι δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ὅσιριδι καὶ τῇ Ἰσιδι τοὺς τὰς τέχνας ἀνευρίσκοντας ἢ μεθοδευόντας τι τῶν
- 5 χρησίων, διόπερ ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι χαλκουργειῶν εὐρεθέντων καὶ χρυσεῶν ὄπλα τε κατασκευάσασθαι, δι' ὧν τὰ θηρία κτείνοντας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐργαζομένους φιλοτιμῶς ἐξημερῶσαι τὴν χώραν, ἀγάλματά τε καὶ χρυσοῦς ναοὺς κατασκευάσασθαι τῶν θεῶν διαπρεπεῖς.
- 6 Γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλογέωργον τὸν Ὅσιριν, καὶ τραφῆναι μὲν τῆς εὐδαιμονος Ἀραβίας ἐν Νύσῃ πλησίον Αἰγύπτου, Διὸς ὄντα παῖδα, καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχειν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ τόπου Διόνυσου ὀνομασ-
- 7 θέντα.<sup>1</sup> μεμνήσθαι δὲ τῆς Νύσῃς καὶ τὸν

Thebes. There is no agreement, however, as to when this city was founded, not only among the historians, but even among the priests of Egypt themselves; for many writers say that Thebes was not founded by Osiris, but many years later by a certain king of whom we shall give a detailed account in connection with his period.<sup>1</sup> Osiris, they add, also built a temple to his parents, Zeus and Hera, which was famous both for its size and its costliness in general, and two golden chapels to Zeus, the larger one to him as god of heaven, the smaller one to him as former king and father of the Egyptians, in which rôle he is called by some Ammon. He also made golden chapels for the rest of the gods mentioned above, allotting honours to each of them and appointing priests to have charge over these. Special esteem at the court of Osiris and Isis was also accorded to those who should invent any of the arts or devise any useful process; consequently, since copper and gold mines had been discovered in the Thebaid, they fashioned implements with which they killed the wild beasts and worked the soil, and thus in eager rivalry brought the country under cultivation, and they made images of the gods and magnificent golden chapels for their worship.

Osiris, they say, was also interested in agriculture and was reared in Nysa, a city of Arabia Felix near Egypt, being a son of Zeus; and the name which he bears among the Greeks is derived both from his father and from the birthplace, since he is called Dionysus.<sup>2</sup> Mention is also made of Nysa by the

<sup>1</sup> The founder was a certain Busiris, according to chap. 45.

<sup>2</sup> A far-fetched etymology: *Dio-* (from *Dios*, the genitive form of the nominative *Zeus*) and *Nysus* (*Nysa*).

<sup>1</sup> ὀνομασθέντα Vogel: μετονομασθέντα F, Bekker, Dindorf.

ποιητὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις, ὅτι περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον  
γένουεν, ἐν οἷς λέγει

ἔστι δέ τις Νύση, ὑπατον ὄρος ἀνθέου ὕλη,  
τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτιοιο ῥοάων.

8 εὔρετὴν δ' αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου  
περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν κατεργασίαν τοῦ ταύτης  
καρποῦ προσεπινοήσαντα πρῶτον οἴνῳ χρή-  
σασθαι, καὶ διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τὴν  
τε φυτεῖαν τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν τοῦ  
οἴνου καὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τήρησιν.

9 τιμᾶσθαι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα πάντων τὸν  
Ἑρμῆν, διαφόρῳ φύσει κεχορηγημένον πρὸς  
ἐπινοίαν τῶν δυναμένων ὠφελῆσαι τὸν κοινὸν  
βίον.

16. Ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τε  
κοινὴν διάλεκτον διαρθρωθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν  
ἀνωτύμων τυχεῖν προσηγορίας, τὴν τε εὔρεσιν  
τῶν γραμμάτων γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν  
θεῶν τιμὰς καὶ θυσίας διαταχθῆναι περὶ τε  
τῆς τῶν ἀστρῶν τάξεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν φθόγγων  
ἁρμονίας καὶ φύσεως τούτων πρῶτον γενέσθαι  
παρατηρητὴν, καὶ παλαίστρας εὔρετὴν ὑπάρξαι,  
καὶ τῆς εὐρυθμίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα πρε-  
πούσης πλάσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι. λύραν τε νευ-  
ρίνην ποιῆσαι τρίχορδον, μιμησάμενον τὰς κατ'  
ἐνιαυτὸν ὥρας· τρεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑποστήσασθαι  
φθόγγους, ὄξυν καὶ βαρὺν καὶ μέσον, ὄξυν μὲν  
ἀπὸ τοῦ θέρου, βαρὺν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος,  
2 μέσον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔαρος, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας  
διδάξαι τούτων τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑρμηνείαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν

poet in his Hymns,<sup>1</sup> to the effect that it was in the  
vicinity of Egypt, when he says:

There is a certain Nysa, mountain high,  
With forests thick, in Phoenicè afar,  
Close to Aegyptus' streams,

And the discovery of the vine, they say, was made  
by him near Nysa, and that, having further devised  
the proper treatment of its fruit, he was the first to  
drink wine and taught mankind at large the culture  
of the vine and the use of wine, as well as the way to  
harvest the grape and to store the wine. The one  
most highly honoured by him was Hermes, who was  
endowed with unusual ingenuity for devising things  
capable of improving the social life of man.

16. It was by Hermes, for instance, according to  
them, that the common language of mankind was  
first further articulated, and that many objects which  
were still nameless received an appellation, that the  
alphabet was invented, and that ordinances regard-  
ing the honours and offerings due to the gods were  
duly established; he was the first also to observe  
the orderly arrangement of the stars and the har-  
mony of the musical sounds and their nature, to  
establish a wrestling school, and to give thought to  
the rhythmical movement of the human body and  
its proper development. He also made a lyre and  
gave it three strings, imitating the seasons of the  
year; for he adopted three tones, a high, a low,  
and a medium; the high from the summer, the low  
from the winter, and the medium from the spring.  
The Greeks also were taught by him how to expound  
(*hermeneia*) their thoughts, and it was for this reason

<sup>1</sup> *Homeric Hymns* 1. 8-9.

Ἐρμῆν αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι. καθόλου δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν τοῦτον ἔχοντας ἱερογραμματεῖα ἅπαντ' αὐτῷ προσανακειοῦσθαι καὶ μάλιστα χρῆσθαι τῇ τοῦτου συμβουλίᾳ. καὶ τῆς ἐλαίας δὲ τὸ φυτὸν αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίαν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνές φασι.

17. Τὸν δὲ Ὅσιριν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συστήσασθαι, διανοοῦμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ διδάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν τε τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτεῖαν καὶ τὸν σπόρον τοῦ τε

2 πυρίνου καὶ κριθίνου καρποῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὅτι παύσας τῆς ἀγριότητος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διαίτης ἡμέρου μεταλαβεῖν ποιήσας τιμῶν ἀθανάτων τεύξεται διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. ὅπερ δὴ καὶ γενέσθαι οὐ μόνον γὰρ τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τυχόντας τῆς δωρεᾶς ταύτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιγενομένους διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς εὐρεθείσαις τροφαῖς χάριτα τοὺς εἰσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐπιφανεστάτους θεοὺς τιμηκέαι.

3 Τὸν δ' οὖν Ὅσιριν φασι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστήσαντα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμονίαν Ἰσιδι τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτῃ μὲν παρακαταστήσαι σύμβουλον τὸν Ἐρμῆν διὰ τὸ φρονήσει τοῦτον διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς ὑφ' αὐτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα γένει τε προσήκοντα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ἐπ' ἀνδρεία τε καὶ σώματος βίωμῃ, ἐπιμελητὰς δὲ τάξαι τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκην κεκλιμένων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τόπων Βούσιριν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ Λιβύην

that he was given the name Hermes. In a word, Osiris, taking him for his priestly scribe, communicated with him on every matter and used his counsel above that of all others. The olive tree also, they claim, was his discovery, not Athena's, as Greeks say.

17. Of Osiris they say that, being of a beneficent turn of mind, and eager for glory, he gathered together a great army, with the intention of visiting all the inhabited earth and teaching the race of men how to cultivate the vine and sow wheat and barley; for he supposed that if he made men give up their savagery and adopt a gentle manner of life he would receive immortal honours because of the magnitude of his benefactions. And this did in fact take place, since not only the men of his time who received this gift, but all succeeding generations as well, because of the delight which they take in the foods which were discovered, have honoured those who introduced them as gods most illustrious.

Now after Osiris had established the affairs of Egypt and turned the supreme power over to Isis his wife, they say that he placed Hermes at her side as counsellor because his prudence raised him above the king's other friends, and as general of all the land under his sway he left Heracles, who was both his kinsman and renowned for his valour and physical strength, while as governors he appointed Busiris over those parts of Egypt which lie towards Phoenicia and border upon the sea and Antaeus over those adjoining Ethiopia and Libya; then he

Ἀνταίων, αὐτὸν δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου μετὰ τῆς  
 δυνάμεως ἀναξεύξαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἔχοντα  
 μεθ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληες  
 4 Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσιν. εὐρετὴν δὲ καὶ τοῦτόν  
 φασὶ γενέσθαι τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς δάφνης, ἣν καὶ  
 περιτιθέασιν τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ μάλιστα πάντες ἄν-  
 θρωποι. τοῦ δὲ κιττοῦ τὴν εὐρεσίαν ἀνατιθέασιν  
 Ὀσίριδι, καὶ καθιεροῦσιν αὐτὸν τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ,  
 5 καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληες Διουσύῳ. καὶ κατὰ  
 τὴν Αἰγυπτίων μὲν<sup>1</sup> διάλεκτον ὀνομάζεσθαι φασὶ  
 τὸν κιττὸν φυτὸν Ὀσίριδος, προκεκρίσθαι δὲ τῆς  
 ἀμπέλου τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἀφιέρωσιν διὰ τὸ τὴν  
 μὲν φυλλορροεῖν, τὸν δὲ πάντα τὸν χρόνον  
 ἀειθαλῆ διαμένειν ὅπερ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἐφ'  
 ἑτέρων φυτῶν αἰεὶ θαλλόντων πεποιηκέναι, τῇ  
 μὲν Ἀφροδίτῃ τὴν μυρσίνην, τῷ δ' Ἀπόλλωνι  
 τὴν δάφνην προσάψαντας.<sup>2</sup>

18. Τῷ δ' οὖν Ὀσίριδι συνεστρατεῦσθαι δύο  
 λέγουσιν υἱοὺς Ἄνουβιν τε καὶ Μακεδόνα, δια-  
 φέροντας ἀνδρεία. ἀμφοτέρους δὲ χρήσασθαι τοῖς  
 ἐπισημοτάτοις ὅπλοις ἀπὸ τινων ζώων οὐκ ἀνοι-  
 κείων τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὐτολμία· τὸν μὲν γὰρ  
 Ἄνουβιν περιθέσθαι κυνῆν, τὸν δὲ Μακεδόνα  
 λύκον προτομήν· ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα  
 2 τιμηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις. παραλαβεῖν δ'  
 ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ τὸν Πάνα, διαφέροντος  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τιμώμενον· τούτῳ γὰρ τοὺς  
 ἐγχωρίους οὐ μόνον ἀγάλματα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ  
 πᾶν ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἐπωνυμιον κατὰ τὴν  
 Θηβαΐδα, καλουμένην μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων  
 Χεμμώ, μεθερμηνευομένην δὲ Πανὸς πόλιν. συν-

himself left Egypt with his army to make his cam-  
 paign, taking in his company also his brother, whom  
 the Greeks call Apollo. And it was Apollo, they  
 say, who discovered the laurel, a garland of which  
 all men place about the head of this god above  
 all others. The discovery of ivy is also attributed  
 to Osiris by the Egyptians and made sacred to this  
 god, just as the Greeks also do in the case of Dionysus.  
 And in the Egyptian language, they say, the ivy is  
 called the "plant of Osiris" and for purposes of  
 dedication is preferred to the vine, since the latter  
 sheds its leaves while the former ever remains  
 green; the same rule, moreover, the ancients have  
 followed in the case of other plants also which are  
 perennially green, ascribing, for instance, the myrtle  
 to Aphrodite and the laurel to Apollo.

18. Now Osiris was accompanied on his campaign,  
 as the Egyptian account goes, by his two sons  
 Anubis and Macedon, who were distinguished for  
 their valour. Both of them carried the most notable  
 accoutrements of war, taken from certain animals  
 whose character was not unlike the boldness of the  
 men, Anubis wearing a dog's skin and Macedon  
 the fore-parts of a wolf; and it is for this reason  
 that these animals are held in honour among the  
 Egyptians. He also took Pan along on his campaign,  
 who is held in special honour by the Egyptians; for  
 the inhabitants of the land have not only set up  
 statues of him at every temple but have also named  
 a city after him in the Thebaïd, called by the natives  
 Chemmo, which when translated means City of Pan.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The god Min, being ithyphallic, was usually identified  
 by the Greeks with Pan; cp. Herodotus, 2. 46.

<sup>1</sup> μὲν Bekker, Vogel: omitted C F, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ δ' Ἀθηνᾶ τὴν εἰλαίαν added F, Bekker, Dindorf.



3 ἐπεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς γεωργίας ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντας, τῆς μὲν περὶ τὴν ἀμπέλου φυτείας Μάρωνα, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸν σίτον σπόρου καὶ τῆς ὄλης συγκομίδης Τριπτόλεμον. πάντων δ' εὐτρεπῶν γενομένων τὸν Ὅσιριν, εὐξάμενον τοῖς θεοῖς θρέψειν τὴν κόμην μέχρι ἂν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀνακάμψῃ, τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι δι' Αἰθιοπίας· δι' ἣν αἰτίαν μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων ἐνισχύσασαι τὸ περὶ τῆς κόμης νόμιμον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ τοὺς ποιουμένους τὰς ἀποδημίας μέχρι τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς κομοτροφεῖν.

4 Ὅντι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἀχθῆναι λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τῶν Σατύρων γένος, οὓς φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος ἔχειν κόμας. εἶναι γὰρ τὸν Ὅσιριν φιλογέλωτά τε καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῇ καὶ χοροῖς· διὸ καὶ περιάγεσθαι πλήθος μουσουργῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐννέα δυναμένας ᾄδειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀνομαζομένας Μούσας· τούτων δ' ἠγεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ 5 Μουσηγέτην αὐτὸν ὠνομάσθαι. τοὺς τε Σατύρους πρὸς ὄρχησιν καὶ μελωδίαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἄνεσιν καὶ παιδιᾶν ὄντας εὐθέτους παραληφθῆναι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν· οὐ γὰρ πολεμικὸν εἶναι τὸν Ὅσιριν οὐδὲ παρατάξεις συνίστασθαι καὶ κινδύνους, ἅτε 6 εὐεργεσίας. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν διδάξαντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ πόλεις ἀξιολόγους κτίσαντα καταλιπεῖν τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῆς χώρας καὶ φόρους πραξομένους.

19. Τούτων δ' ὄντων περὶ ταῦτα, τὸν Νεῖλον φασὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σειρίου ἄστρου ἐπιτολήν,  
58

In his company were also men who were experienced in agriculture, such as Maron in the cultivation of the vine, and Triptolemus in the sowing of grain and in every step in the harvesting of it. And when all his preparations had been completed Osiris made a vow to the gods that he would let his hair grow until his return to Egypt and then made his way through Ethiopia; and this is the reason why this custom with regard to their hair was observed among the Egyptians until recent times, and why those who journeyed abroad let their hair grow until their return home.

While he was in Ethiopia, their account continues, the Satyr people were brought to him, who, they say, have hair upon their loins. For Osiris was laughter-loving and fond of music and the dance; consequently he took with him a multitude of musicians, among whom were nine maidens who could sing and were trained in the other arts, these maidens being those who among the Greeks are called the Muses; and their leader (*hegetes*), as the account goes, was Apollo, who was for that reason also given the name Musegetes. As for the Satyrs, they were taken along on the campaign because they were proficient in dancing and singing and every kind of relaxation and pastime; for Osiris was not warlike, nor did he have to organize pitched battles or engagements, since every people received him as a god because of his benefactions. In Ethiopia he instructed the inhabitants in agriculture and founded some notable cities, and then left behind him men to govern the country and collect the tribute.

19. While Osiris and his army were thus employed, the Nile, they say, at the time of the rising of Sirius,

ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ μάλιστα εἴωθε πληροῦσθαι, ραγέντα κατακλύσαι πολλὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐπελθεῖν οὐ Προμηθεὺς εἶχε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· διαφθαρέντων δὲ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν τὸν Προμηθεῖα διὰ τὴν λύπην κινδυνεύειν ἐκλείπειν τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως.

2 διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τὴν βίαν τοῦ κατενεχθέντος ρεύματος τὸν μὲν ποταμὸν Ἄετον ὀνομασθῆναι, τὸν δ' Ἡρακλέα, μεγαλεπίβολον ὄντα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐξηλωκότα, τὸ τε γενόμενον ἔκρηγμα ταχέως ἐμφράξαι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν

3 ἐπὶ τὴν προϋπάρξασαν ῥύσιν ἀποστρέψαι. διὸ καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιητῶν τινὰς εἰς μῦθον ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πραχθέν, ὡς Ἡρακλέους τὸν Ἄετον ἀνρηκότος τὸν τὸ τοῦ Προμηθεῶς ἦπαρ ἐσθίοντα.

4 τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ἀρχαιοτάτου μὲν ὄνομα σχεῖν Ὠκεάνην, ὅς ἐστιν ἑλληνιστὶ Ὠκεανός· ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ γενόμενον ἔκρηγμά φασι τὸν Ἄετον ὀνομασθῆναι, ὕστερον δ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας προσαγορευθῆναι μαρτυρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν λέγοντα

στήσα δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ νέας ἀμφιέλισσας.

κατὰ γὰρ τὴν κάλουμένην Θῶνιν ἐμβάλλοντος εἰς θάλατταν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐμπόριον εἶναι τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου· τελευταίας δὲ τυχεῖν αὐτὸν ἧς νῦν ἔχει προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Νειλέως.

5 Τὸν δ' οὖν Ὄσιριν παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ὄρους τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν χώμασιν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν

which is the season when the river is usually at flood, breaking out of its banks inundated a large section of Egypt and covered especially that part where Prometheus was governor; and since practically everything in this district was destroyed, Prometheus was so grieved that he was on the point of quitting life wilfully. Because its water sweeps down so swiftly and with such violence the river was given the name Aëtus;<sup>1</sup> but Heracles, being ever intent upon great enterprises and eager for the reputation of a manly spirit, speedily stopped the flood at its breach and turned the river back into its former course. Consequently certain of the Greek poets worked the incident into a myth, to the effect that Heracles had killed the eagle which was devouring the liver of Prometheus. The river in the earliest period bore the name Oceanê, which in Greek is Oceanus; then because of this flood, they say, it was called Aëtus, and still later it was known as Aegyptus after a former king of the land. And the poet also adds his testimony to this when he writes:<sup>2</sup>

On the river Aegyptus my curvèd ships I stayed.

For it is at Thonis, as it is called, which in early times was the trading-port of Egypt, that the river empties into the sea. Its last name and that which the river now bears it received from the former king Nileus.

Now when Osiris arrived at the borders of Ethiopia, he curbed the river by dikes on both banks, so that

<sup>1</sup> Eagle.

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* 14. 258.

πλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν μὴ λιμνάζειν παρὰ  
 τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινῶν κατεσκευασμένων  
 θυρῶν εἰσαφίεσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα πρῶως καθ' ὅσον  
 6 ἂν ἢ χρεία. ἔπειτα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν  
 δι' Ἀραβίας παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἕως  
 7 Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοῦ πέρατος τῆς οἰκουμένης. κτίσαι  
 δὲ καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς, ἐν αἷς καὶ  
 Νύσαν ὀνομάσαι, βουλόμενον μνημεῖον ἀπολιπεῖν  
 ἐκείνης καθ' ἣν ἐτάφη κατ' Αἴγυπτον. φυτεῦσαι  
 δὲ καὶ κιττὸν ἐν τῇ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς Νύσῃ, καὶ δια-  
 μένειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτόν ἐν ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τῷ τόπῳ  
 τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ τὴν ὄμορον χώραν.  
 8 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίας  
 ἀπολελοιπέναι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν, δι' ὧν  
 προαχθέντας τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους τῶν Ἰνδῶν  
 ἀμφισβητῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγοντας Ἰνδὸν εἶναι  
 τὸ γένος.

20. Γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων  
 θήραν, καὶ στήλας πανταχοῦ καταλιπεῖν<sup>1</sup> τῆς  
 ἰδίας στρατείας. ἐπελθεῖν δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ  
 κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔθνη, καὶ περαιωθῆναι κατὰ  
 2 τῶν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ κατὰ  
 μὲν τὴν Θράκην Λυκούργον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ἐναντιούμενον τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρα-  
 τομένοις ἀποκτεῖναι, Μάρωνα δὲ γηραιὸν ἤδη  
 καθεστῶτα καταλιπεῖν ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ  
 τῇ χώρᾳ φυτευομένων, καὶ κτίστην αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι  
 τῆς ἐπωνύμου πόλεως, ἣν ὀνομάσαι Μαρώνειαν.  
 3 καὶ Μακεδόνα μὲν τὸν υἱὸν ἀπολιπεῖν βασιλέα  
 τῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθείσης Μακεδονίας,  
 Τριπτολέμῳ δ' ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν  
 γεωργίας. τέλος δὲ τὸν Ὅσιριν πᾶσαν τὴν  
 62

at flood-time it might not form stagnant pools over the land to its detriment, but that the flood-water might be let upon the countryside, in a gentle flow as it might be needed, through gates which he had built. After this he continued his march through Arabia along the shore of the Red Sea<sup>1</sup> as far as India and the limits of the inhabited world. He also founded not a few cities in India, one of which he named Nysa, wishing to leave there a memorial of that city in Egypt where he had been reared. He also planted ivy in the Indian Nysa, and throughout India and those countries which border upon it the plant to this day is still to be found only in this region. And many other signs of his stay he left in that country, which have led the Indians of a later time to lay claim to the god and say that he was by birth a native of India.

20. Osiris also took an interest in hunting elephants, and everywhere left behind him inscribed pillars telling of his campaign. And he visited all the other nations of Asia as well and crossed into Europe at the Hellespont. In Thrace he slew Lycurgus, the king of the barbarians, who opposed his undertakings, and Maron, who was now old, he left there to supervise the culture of the plants which he introduced into that land and caused him to found a city to bear his name, which he called Maroneia. Macedon his son, moreover, he left as king of Macedonia, which was named after him, while to Triptolemus he assigned the care of agriculture in Attica. Finally, Osiris in this way visited all the inhabited world and

<sup>1</sup> Not the present Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

<sup>1</sup> καταλιπεῖν πανταχοῦ Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

οἰκουμένην ἐπελθόντα τὸν κοινὸν βίον τοῖς ἡμε-  
 4 ρωτάτοις καρποῖς εὐεργετήσαι. εἰ δέ τις χώρα  
 τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου μὴ προσδέχοιτο, διδάξαι  
 τὸ ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς κατασκευαζόμενον πόμα, λειπό-  
 5 μενον οὐ πολὺ τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον εὐωδίας τε καὶ  
 δυνάμεως. ἐπανελθόντα δ' εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον  
 συναποκομίσαι δῶρά τε πανταχόθεν τὰ κράτιστα  
 καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν συμπεφωνη-  
 μένην λαβεῖν παρὰ πᾶσι τὴν ἀθανασίαν καὶ τὴν  
 6 ἴσιν τοῖς οὐρανόις τιμὴν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐξ  
 ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς μεταστάντα τυχεῖν ὑπὸ  
 Ἰσιδος καὶ Ἑρμοῦ θυσίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν  
 ἐπιφανεστάτων τιμῶν. τούτους δὲ καὶ τελετὰς  
 καταδείξαι καὶ πολλὰ μυστικῶς εἰσηγήσασθαι,  
 μεγαλύνοντας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν.

21. Τῶν δ' ἱερέων περὶ τῆς Ὀσίριδος τελευτῆς  
 ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις παρεληφότων, τῷ  
 χρόνῳ ποτὲ συνέβη διὰ τιῶν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς  
 2 ἐξερευθῆναι τὸ σιωπώμενον. φασὶ γὰρ νομίμως  
 βασιλεύοντα τῆς Αἴγυπτου τὸν Ὀσίριν ὑπὸ  
 Τυφῶνος ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰδελφοῦ, βιαίου καὶ  
 ἀσεβοῦς ὄντος· ὃν διελόντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φονευ-  
 θέντος εἰς ἕξ καὶ εἴκοσι μέρη δοῦναι τῶν συνεπιθε-  
 μένων ἑκάστῳ μερίδα, βουλόμενον πάντας μετασ-  
 χεῖν τοῦ μύσου, καὶ διὰ τούτου<sup>1</sup> νομίζοντα  
 συναγωνιστὰς ἔξεν καὶ φύλακας τῆς βασιλείας  
 3 βεβαίους. τὴν δὲ Ἰσιω ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Ὀσίρι-  
 δος καὶ γυναῖκα μετελθεῖν τὸν φόνον, συναγωνι-  
 ζομένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς Ὡρου, ἀνελοῦσαν δὲ  
 τὸν Τυφῶνα καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας βασιλεύσας  
 4 τῆς Αἴγυπτου. γενέσθαι δὲ τὴν μάχην παρὰ

<sup>1</sup> τούτου Vogel: τοῦτο Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

advanced community life by the introduction of the fruits which are most easily cultivated. And if any country did not admit of the growing of the vine he introduced the drink prepared from barley,<sup>1</sup> which is little inferior to wine in aroma and in strength. On his return to Egypt he brought with him the very greatest presents from every quarter and by reason of the magnitude of his benefactions received the gift of immortality with the approval of all men and honour equal to that offered to the gods of heaven. After this he passed from the midst of men into the company of the gods and received from Isis and Hermes sacrifices and every other highest honour. These also instituted rites for him and introduced many things of a mystic nature, magnifying in this way the power of the god.

21. Although the priests of Osiris had from the earliest times received the account of his death as a matter not to be divulged, in the course of years it came about that through some of their number this hidden knowledge was published to the many. This is the story as they give it: When Osiris was ruling over Egypt as its lawful king, he was murdered by his brother Typhon, a violent and impious man; Typhon then divided the body of the slain man into twenty-six pieces and gave one portion to each of the hand of murderers, since he wanted all of them to share in the pollution and felt that in this way he would have in them steadfast supporters and defenders of his rule. But Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, avenged his murder with the aid of her son Horus, and after slaying Typhon and his accomplices became queen over Egypt. The struggle

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptian beer, called below *zythos* (chap. 34).

τὸν ποταμὸν πλησίον τῆς νῦν Ἀνταίου κόμης καλουμένης, ἣν κείσθαι μὲν λέγουσιν ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν μέρει, τὴν προσηγορίαν δ' ἔχει ἀπὸ τοῦ κολασθέντος ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους Ἀνταίου, 5 τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ὀσίριδος ἡλικίαν γενομένου. τὴν δ' οὖν Ἴσιον ἀνευρεῖν τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος πλὴν τῶν αἰδοίων ἀνευρεῖν βουλομένην δὲ τὴν τάνδρὸς ταφὴν ἀδηλον ποιῆσαι καὶ τιμωμένην παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦσι, συντελέσαι τὸ δόξαν τοιῶδέ τιτι τρόπῳ. ἐκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν περιπλάσαι λέγουσιν αὐτὴν τύπον ἀνθρωποειδῆ, παραπλήσιον Ὀσίριδι τὸ μέγεθος, ἐξ ἄρωμάτων 6 καὶ κηροῦ εἰσκαλεσαμένην δὲ κατὰ γένη τῶν ἱερέων ἐφορκίσει πάντας μηδενὶ δηλώσει τὴν δοθησομένην αὐτοῖς πίστιν, κατ' ἰδίαν δ' ἐκάστοις εἰπεῖν ὅτι μόνοις ἐκείνοις παρατίθεται τὴν τοῦ σώματος ταφὴν, καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ὑπομνήσαν παρακαλέσαι θάψαντας ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις τόποις τὸ σῶμα τιμᾶν ὡς θεὸν τὸν Ὀσίριν, καθιερώσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γνωσμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ζώων ἐν ὁποίῳ ἂν βουληθῶσι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν μὲν τῷ ζῆν τιμᾶν, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον τὸν Ὀσίριν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν 7 τελευτὴν τῆς ὁμοίας ἐκείνῳ κηδείας ἀξιῶν. βουλομένην δὲ τὴν Ἴσιον καὶ τῷ λυσιτελεῖ προτρέψασθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς προειρημένας τιμάς, τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς δοῦναι πρὸς τὰς τῶν θεῶν θεραπειᾶς τε καὶ 8 λειτουργίας. τοὺς δ' ἱερεῖς λέγεται, μνημονεύοντας τῶν Ὀσίριδος εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τῆ παρα-

<sup>1</sup> Antaeus was a giant of Libya, the son of Poseidon and Earth, who was slain by Heracles (cp. Book 4. 17. 4). According to one version of the story he received strength

between them took place on the banks of the Nile near the village now known as Antaeus, which, they say, lies on the Arabian side of the river and derives its name from that Antaeus,<sup>1</sup> a contemporary of Osiris, who was punished by Heracles. Now Isis recovered all the pieces of the body except the privates, and wishing that the burial-place of her husband should remain secret and yet be honoured by all the inhabitants of Egypt, she fulfilled her purpose in somewhat the following manner. Over each piece of the body, as the account goes, she fashioned out of spices and wax a human figure about the size of Osiris; then summoning the priests group by group, she required of all of them an oath that they would reveal to no one the trust which she was going to confide to them, and taking each group of them apart privately she said that she was consigning to them alone the burial of the body, and after reminding them of the benefactions of Osiris she exhorted them to bury his body in their own district and pay honours to him as to a god, and to consecrate to him also some one that they might choose of the animals native to their district, pay it while living the honours which they had formerly rendered to Osiris, and upon its death accord it the same kind of funeral as they had given to him. And since Isis wished to induce the priests to render these honours by the incentive of their own profit also, she gave them the third part of the country to defray the cost of the worship and service of the gods. And the priests, it is said, being mindful of the benefactions of Osiris and eager to please the queen

whenever he touched his mother Earth and Heracles overcame him only by holding him in the air.

καλούσῃ βουλομένους χαρίζεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τού-  
 9 τοις τῷ λυσιτελεῖ προκληθέντας, πάντα καὶ πρᾶξαι  
 νῦν ἐκάστους τῶν ἱερέων ὑπολαμβάνειν παρ'  
 ἑαυτοῖς τεθᾶφθαι τὸν Ὅσιριν, καὶ τὰ τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 καθιερωθέντα ζῶα τιμᾶν, καὶ τελευτησάντων  
 10 αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ταφαῖς ἀναεοῦσθαι τὸ τοῦ Ὅσιριδος  
 πέπθος. τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς ἱερούς, τὸν τε  
 ὀνομαζόμενον Ἄπιον καὶ τὸν Μνεῦιν, Ὅσιριδι  
 καθιερωθῆναι, καὶ τούτους σέβεσθαι καθάπερ  
 θεοὺς κοινῇ καταδειχθῆναι πᾶσιν Αἰγυπτίοις·  
 11 ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ζῶα τοῖς εὐροῦσι τὸν τοῦ σίτου  
 καρπὸν συνεργῆσαι μάλιστα πρὸς τε τὸν  
 σπόρον καὶ τὰς κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἐκ τῆς γεωργίας  
 ὠφελείας.

22. Τὴν δὲ Ἰσίιν φασὶ μετὰ τὴν Ὅσιριδος  
 τελευτὴν ὁμόσαι μηδενὸς ἀνδρὸς ἔτι συνοουσίαν  
 προσδέξεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> διατελέσαι δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ  
 βίου χρόνον βασιλεύουσιν νομμώτατα καὶ ταῖς  
 εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐεργεσίαις ἀπαντας ὑπερ-  
 2 βαλλομένην. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταύτην μεταστᾶσαν  
 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν καὶ ταφῆναι  
 κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν, ὅπου δέκνυται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν  
 ὁ σηκός, ὑπάρχων ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἡφαίστου.  
 3 ἔνοιοι δὲ φασὶν οὐκ ἐν Μέμφει κείσθαι τὰ σώματα  
 τούτων τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Αἰθιοπίας  
 καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ νήσον,  
 κειμένην μὲν πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις Φίλαις,

<sup>1</sup> προσδέξεσθαι Hertlein: προσδέξασθαι.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chaps. 84 f.

<sup>2</sup> Though the island of Philae, once "the pearl of Egypt,"  
 was a sacred place of early Egypt, the beautiful temples which

who was petitioning them, and incited as well by their own profit, did everything just as Isis had suggested. It is for this reason that even to this day each group of priests supposes that Osiris lies buried in their district, pays honours to the animals which were originally consecrated to him, and, when these die, renews in the funeral rites for them the mourning for Osiris. The consecration to Osiris, however, of the sacred bulls, which are given the names Apis and Mnevis,<sup>1</sup> and the worship of them as gods were introduced generally among all the Egyptians, since these animals had, more than any others, rendered aid to those who discovered the fruit of the grain, in connection with both the sowing of the seed and with every agricultural labour from which mankind profits.

22. Isis, they say, after the death of Osiris took a vow never to marry another man, and passed the remainder of her life reigning over the land with complete respect for the law and surpassing all sovereigns in benefactions to her subjects. And like her husband she also, when she passed from among men, received immortal honours and was buried near Memphis, where her shrine is pointed out to this day in the temple-area of Hephaestus. According to some writers, however, the bodies of these two gods rest, not in Memphis, but on the border between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the island in the Nile which lies near the city which is called Philae,<sup>2</sup> but is

have made it so famous were constructions of the Ptolemies of the last two centuries B.C. and of the Roman emperors of the first three Christian centuries. Since the height of the Aswan dam has been increased the temples are completely submerged except during July-October.

ἔχουσιν δὲ προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος  
 4 ἱεροῦ πεδίου. σημεῖα δὲ τούτου δεικνύουσιν ἐν  
 τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ διαμέμοντα τὸν τε τάφον τὸν  
 κατεσκευασμένον Ὀσίριδι, κοινῇ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ  
 5 κειμένας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας χοάς ταύτας  
 γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γάλακτος πληροῦν  
 τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ταχθέντας ἱερεῖς, καὶ θρηνεῖν  
 6 ἀνακαλουμένους τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα. διὰ ταύ-  
 την δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν νήσον ταύτην ἄβατον  
 εἶναι τοῖς παριοῦσι.<sup>1</sup> καὶ πάντας τοὺς τὴν  
 Θηβαΐδα κατοικοῦντας, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχαιοτάτη  
 τῆς Αἰγύπτου, μέγιστον ὄρκον κρίνειν, ὅταν τις  
 τὸν Ὀσίριον τὸν ἐν Φίλαις κείμενον ὁμώσῃ.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνευρεθέντα τοῦ Ὀσιρίδος μέρη  
 ταφῆς ἀξιοθῆναί φασιν τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, τὸ  
 δὲ αἰδοῖον ὑπὸ μὲν Τυφῶνος εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν  
 βιβῆναι λέγουσι.<sup>2</sup> διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν συνεργη-  
 σάντων αὐτὸ λαβεῖν βουληθῆναι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος  
 οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοθῆναι τιμῶν ἰσοθέων.  
 ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶδωλον αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσα-  
 σαν τιμᾶν καταδείξει καὶ κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ  
 τὰς θυσίας τὰς τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ γινομένας ἐντιμότα-  
 του ποιῆσαι καὶ πλείστου σεβασμοῦ τυγχάνειν.  
 7 διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παρεληφότες  
 τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀργιασμοὺς καὶ τὰς Διονυσιακὰς  
 ἐορτάς, τιμᾶν τοῦτο τὸ μῦθον ἐν τε τοῖς μυστηρίοις  
 καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τελεταῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις,  
 ὀνομάζοντας αὐτὸ φαλλόν.

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς παριοῦσι Vogel, following nearly all the MSS. : πλὴν  
 τοῖς ἱερεῦσι E, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> λέγουσι deleted by Bekker, Dindorf.

referred to because of this burial as the Holy Field. In proof of this they point to remains which still survive on this island, both to the tomb constructed for Osiris, which is honoured in common by all the priests of Egypt, and to the three hundred and sixty libation bowls which are placed around it; for the priests appointed over these bowls fill them each day with milk, singing all the while a dirge in which they call upon the names of these gods. It is for this reason that travellers are not allowed to set foot on this island. And all the inhabitants of the Thebaid, which is the oldest portion of Egypt, hold it to be the strongest oath when a man swears "by Osiris who lieth in Philae."

Now the parts of the body of Osiris which were found were honoured with burial, they say, in the manner described above, but the privates, according to them, were thrown by Typhon into the Nile because no one of his accomplices was willing to take them. Yet Isis thought them as worthy of divine honours as the other parts, for, fashioning a likeness of them, she set it up in the temples, commanded that it be honoured, and made it the object of the highest regard and reverence in the rites and sacrifices accorded to the god. Consequently the Greeks too, inasmuch as they received from Egypt the celebrations of the orgies and the festivals connected with Dionysus, honour this member in both the mysteries and the initiatory rites and sacrifices of this god, giving it the name "phallus."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Foucart (*Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique*) maintained the Egyptian origin of the rites of Dionysus, but his view was strongly opposed by L. R. Farnoll (*The Cults of the Greek City States*, 6. pp. 174 ff.).

23. Εἶναι δὲ ἔτη φασὶν ἀπὸ Ὀσίριδος καὶ Ἰσιδος ἕως τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείας τοῦ κτίσαντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ὡς δ' ἐνιοὶ γράφουσι, βραχὺ  
 2 λείπουσα τῶν δισμυρίων καὶ τρισχιλίων. τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐν Θήβαις τῆς Βοιωτίας γεγονέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Διὸς φασὶ σχεδιάζειν. Ὀρφέα γάρ εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραβαλόντα καὶ μετασχόντα τῆς τελετῆς καὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαβεῖν,<sup>1</sup> τοῖς δὲ<sup>2</sup> Καδμείοις φίλον ὄντα καὶ τιμῶμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν μεταθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκείνοις χαριζόμενον· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν Ἕλληνα νομίζεσθαι, προσδέξασθαι προσηνῶς τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ μυσ-  
 3 τήρια. ἀφορμὰς δ' ἔχειν τὸν Ὀρφέα πρὸς τὴν μετάθεσιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεώς τε καὶ τελετῆς τοιαύτας.  
 4 Κάδμου ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄντα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γεννησάσαι σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοισι καὶ Σεμέλῃν, ταύτην δὲ ὑφ' ὅτου δήποτε<sup>3</sup> φθαρῆσαν ἐγκυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἑπτὰ μηνῶν διελθόντων βρέφος τὴν ὄψιν οἶόνπερ οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τὸν Ὀσίριον γεγονέναι νομίζουσι· ζωογονεῖσθαι δ' οὐκ εἰσθῆναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, εἴτε τῶν θεῶν μὴ βουλομένων εἴτε  
 5 τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγχωρούσης. Κάδμου δ' αἰσθόμενον τὸ γεγονός, καὶ χρυσμὸν ἔχοντα διατηρεῖν τὰ τῶν πατέρων νόμιμα, χρυσῶσαι τε τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας,

<sup>1</sup> μεταλαβεῖν Vogel: μεταλαβόντα A E, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ Vogel: τε D, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> So Stephanus: ὑπὸ τοῦ δήποτε.

23. The number of years from Osiris and Isis, they say, to the reign of Alexander, who founded <sup>331</sup> the city which bears his name in Egypt, is over ten <sup>B. O.</sup> thousand, but, according to other writers, a little less than twenty-three thousand. And those who say that the god<sup>1</sup> was born of Semelé and Zeus in Boeotian Thebes are, according to the priests, simply inventing the tale. For they say that Orpheus, upon visiting Egypt and participating in the initiation and mysteries of Dionysus, adopted them and as a favour to the descendants of Cadmus, since he was kindly disposed to them and received honours at their hands, transferred the birth of the god to Thebes; and the common people, partly out of ignorance and partly out of their desire to have the god thought to be a Greek, eagerly accepted his initiatory rites and mysteries. What led Orpheus to transfer the birth and rites of the god, they say, was something like this.

Cadmus, who was a citizen of Egyptian Thebes, begat several children, of whom one was Semelé; she was violated by an unknown person, became pregnant, and after seven months gave birth to a child whose appearance was such as the Egyptians hold had been that of Osiris. Now such a child is not usually brought into the world alive, either because it is contrary to the will of the gods or because the law of nature does not admit of it. But when Cadmus found out what had taken place, having at the same time a reply from an oracle commanding him to observe the laws of his fathers, he both gilded the infant and paid it the appropriate sacrifices, on the ground that there had been a sort of

<sup>1</sup> Dionysus.



ὡς ἐπιφανείας τινὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπους Ὀσίριδος  
 6 γεγεννημένης. ἀνάγει δὲ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν εἰς  
 Δία, σεμνύνοντα τὸν Ὀσιριν καὶ τῆς φθαρείσης  
 τὴν διαβολὴν ἀφαιρούμενον διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν ἐκδοθῆναι λόγον ὡς ἡ Κἀδμου Σεμέλη  
 τέτοκεν ἐκ Διὸς Ὀσιριν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον  
 χρόνοις Ὀρφέα, μεγάλην ἔχοντα δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν ἐπὶ μελωδία καὶ τελεταῖς καὶ θεολογίαις,  
 ἐπιξενωθῆναι τοῖς Κадμείοις καὶ διαφερόντως  
 7 ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις τιμηθῆναι. μετεσχηκότα δὲ  
 τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις θεολογουμένων μετενεγκεῖν  
 τὴν Ὀσίριδος τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένεσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 νεωτέρους χρόνους, χαρίζομενον δὲ τοῖς Κадμείοις  
 ἐνστήσασθαι καινὴν τελετὴν, καθ' ἣν παραδοῦναι  
 τοῖς μνουμένοις ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Διὸς γεγεννησθαι  
 τὸν Διόνυσον. τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν  
 ἄγνοιαν ἐξαπατωμένους, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν Ὀρφέως  
 ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις προσ-  
 8 ἔχοντας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἠδέως προσδεχομένους  
 τὸν θεὸν Ἕλληνα νομιζόμενον, καθάπερ προείρη-  
 ται, χρῆσασθαι ταῖς τελεταῖς. ἔπειτα παρα-  
 λαβόντων τῶν μυθογράφων καὶ ποιητῶν τὸ  
 γένος, ἐμπεπλήσθαι τὰ θεάτρα, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινο-  
 μένοις ἰσχυρὰν πίστιν καὶ ἀμετάθετον γενέσθαι.

Καθόλου δὲ φασὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐξειδιάζεσθαι  
 τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἡρώας τε καὶ θεοὺς, ἔτι  
 δ' ἀποικίας τὰς παρ' ἑαυτῶν.

24. Καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέα τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιον

<sup>1</sup> i.e., an appearance in the flesh of a deity. Cp. Book 2. 47. 6f., where it is related that Apollo visited the Hyperboreans every nineteen years at the time of the vernal equinox.

epiphany<sup>1</sup> of Osiris among men. The fatherhood of the child he attributed to Zeus, in this way magnifying Osiris and averting slander from his violated daughter; and this is the reason why the tale was given out among the Greeks to the effect that Semelè, the daughter of Cadmus, was the mother of Osiris by Zeus. Now at a later time Orpheus, who was held in high regard among the Greeks for his singing, initiatory rites, and instructions on things divine, was entertained as a guest by the descendants of Cadmus and accorded unusual honours in Thebes. And since he had become conversant with the teachings of the Egyptians about the gods, he transferred the birth of the ancient Osiris to more recent times, and, out of regard for the descendants of Cadmus, instituted a new initiation, in the ritual of which the initiates were given the account that Dionysus had been born of Semelè and Zeus. And the people observed these initiatory rites, partly because they were deceived through their ignorance, partly because they were attracted to them by the trustworthiness of Orpheus and his reputation in such matters, and most of all because they were glad to receive the god as a Greek, which, as has been said, is what he was considered to be. Later, after the writers of myths and poets had taken over this account of his ancestry, the theatres became filled with it and among following generations faith in the story grew stubborn and immutable.

In general, they say, the Greeks appropriate to themselves the most renowned of both Egyptian heroes and gods, and so also the colonies sent out by them.

24. Heracles, for instance, was by birth an

ὄντα, δι' ἀνδρείαν ἐπελθεῖν πολλὴν τῆς οἰκου-  
 μένης, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβύης θέσθαι στήλην  
 2 ὑπὲρ οὗ πειρῶνται τὰς ἀποδείξεις παρὰ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων λαμβάνειν. ὁμολογουμένου γὰρ ὅτος  
 παρὰ πᾶσι ὅτι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡρακλῆς  
 συνηγωνίσαστο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας πόλεμον,  
 φασὶ τῇ γῆ μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττειν γεγεννηκῆναι τοὺς  
 γίγαντας κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἦν οἱ Ἕλληνές φασιν  
 Ἡρακλέα γεγενῆσθαι, γενεᾷ πρότερον τῶν  
 Τρωικῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, κατὰ  
 τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπ' ἐκείνης  
 μὲν γὰρ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἔτη καταριθμῆσθαι  
 πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐλάττω  
 3 τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. ὁμοίως δὲ τό τε  
 ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λεοντὴν τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν  
 Ἡρακλεῖ διὰ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μῆπω  
 τῶν ὄπλων εὐρηκῆναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς μὲν  
 ξύλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους, ταῖς δὲ  
 δοραῖς τῶν θηρίων σκεπασθηρίοις ὄπλοις χρῆσθαι.  
 καὶ Διὸς μὲν υἱὸν αὐτῶν ἀναγορευοῦσι, μητρὸς δὲ  
 4 ἧς ἔστιν οὗ φασιν γινώσκειν. τὸν δ' ἐξ' Ἀλκμήνης  
 γενόμενον ὕστερον πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν ἢ μυρίοις,  
 Ἀλκαῖον ἐκ γενετῆς καλούμενον, ὕστερον Ἡρακλέα  
 μετονομασθῆναι, οὐχ ὅτι δι' Ἡραν ἔσχε κλέος, ὡς  
 φησιν ὁ Μάτρις, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξηλωκῶς  
 προαίρεσιν Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ παλαιῷ τὴν ἐκείνου  
 δόξαν ἅμα καὶ προσηγορίαν ἐκκληρούομυσε.

Egyptian, who by virtue of his manly vigour visited a large part of the inhabited world and set up his pillar in Libya;<sup>1</sup> and their proofs of this assertion they endeavour to draw from the Greeks themselves. For inasmuch as it is generally accepted that Heracles fought on the side of the Olympian gods in their war against the Giants, they say that it in no way accords with the age of the earth for the Giants to have been born in the period when, as the Greeks say, Heracles lived, which was a generation before the Trojan War,<sup>2</sup> but rather at the time, as their own account gives it, when mankind first appeared on the earth; for from the latter time to the present the Egyptians reckon more than ten thousand years, but from the Trojan War less than twelve hundred. Likewise, both the club and the lion's skin are appropriate to their ancient Heracles, because in those days arms had not yet been invented, and men defended themselves against their enemies with clubs of wood and used the hides of animals for defensive armour. They also designate him as the son of Zeus, but about the identity of his mother they say that they know nothing. The son of Alcménê, who was born more than ten thousand years later and was called Alcaeus<sup>3</sup> at birth, in later life became known instead as Heracles, not because he gained glory (*kleos*) by the aid of Hera, as Matris says, but because, having avowed the same principles as the ancient Heracles, he inherited that one's fame and name as well.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Pillars of Heracles are described in Book 4. 18. 4-7.

<sup>2</sup> Heracles, according to Greek mythology, was a contemporary of Laomedon, the father of Priam king of Troy, and with the help of Poseidon built for him the walls of Troy.

<sup>3</sup> Alcaeus was the name of the grandfather of Heracles. The career of Heracles is recounted in Book 4. 9 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The date of Matris, who was the author of an encomium upon Heracles, is unknown.

5 Συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένην φήμην, ὅτι καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ἐποίησεν Ἡρακλῆς· ὅπερ μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττειν τῷ γεγονότι σχεδὸν κατὰ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς χρόνους, ὅτε τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξημέρωτο γεωργίαις καὶ πόλεσι καὶ πλήθει τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν χώραν πανταχοῦ. μᾶλλον οὖν πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους τὴν ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας, κατισχυομένων ἔτι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θηρίων, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἧς<sup>1</sup> τὴν ὑπερκειμένην χώραν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἔρημον εἶναι<sup>2</sup>

7 καὶ θηριώδη. εἰκὸς γὰρ ταύτης ὡς πατρίδος προνοηθέντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ποιήσαντα, παραδοῦναι τοῖς γεωργοῖς τὴν χώραν, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν ἰσοθέου

8 τιμῆς. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Περσέα γεγονέναι κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος τὴν γένεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Ἄργος μεταφέρεσθαι, μυθολογούντων τὴν Ἴω τὴν εἰς βοὸς τύπον μεταμορφωθείσαν.

25. Καθόλου δὲ πολλή τις ἐστὶ διαφωνία περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἴσιν, οἱ δὲ Δήμητραν, οἱ δὲ Θεσμοφόρον, οἱ δὲ Σελήνην, οἱ δὲ Ἥραν, οἱ δὲ πάσαις ταῖς προσηγορίαις

2 ὀνομάζουσι. τὸν δὲ Ὅσιριν οἱ μὲν Σάραπιν, οἱ δὲ Διόνυσον, οἱ δὲ Πλούτωνα, οἱ δὲ Ἀμμωνα, τινὲς δὲ Δία, πολλοὶ δὲ Πάνα τὸν αὐτὸν νεομίκασιν· λέγουσι δὲ τινες Σάραπιν εἶναι τὸν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν Πλούτωνα ὀνομαζόμενον.

<sup>1</sup> For ἧς Vogel reads *καὶ* and retains *οἶσαν* below.

<sup>2</sup> εἶναι Dindorf: *οἶσαν*.

The account of the Egyptians agrees also with the tradition which has been handed down among the Greeks since very early times, to the effect that Heracles cleared the earth of wild beasts, a story which is in no way suitable for a man who lived in approximately the period of the Trojan War, when most parts of the inhabited world had already been reclaimed from their wild state by agriculture and cities and the multitude of men settled everywhere over the land. Accordingly this reclamation of the land suits better a man who lived in early times, when men were still held in subjection by the vast numbers of wild beasts, a state of affairs which was especially true in the case of Egypt, the upper part of which is to this day desert and infested with wild beasts. Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that the first concern of Heracles was for this country as his birthplace, and that, after he had cleared the land of wild beasts, he presented it to the peasants, and for this benefaction was accorded divine honours. And they say that Perseus also was born in Egypt, and that the origin of Isis is transferred by the Greeks to Argos in the myth which tells of that Io who was changed into a heifer.

25. In general, there is great disagreement over these gods. For the same goddess is called by some Isis, by others Demeter, by others Thesmophorus, by others Selenè, by others Hera, while still others apply to her all these names. Osiris has been given the name Sarapis by some, Dionysus by others, Pluto by others, Ammon by others, Zeus by some, and many have considered Pan to be the same god; and some say that Sarapis is the god whom the Greeks call Pluto.

Φασὶ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν Ἴσιω φαρμάκων τε  
 πολλῶν πρὸς ὑγίαιαν εὐρέτιν γεγενομένην καὶ τῆς  
 2 διὰ καὶ τυχοῦσαν τῆς ἀθανασίας ἐπὶ ταῖς θερα-  
 πείαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα χαίρειν, καὶ κατὰ  
 τοὺς ὕπνους τοῖς ἀξιούσι δίδοναι βοηθήματα,  
 φανερώς ἐπιδεικνυμένην τὴν τε ἰδίαν ἐπιφάνειαν  
 4 εὐεργετικόν. ἀποδείξεις δὲ τούτων φασὶ φέρειν  
 ἑαυτοὺς οὐ μυθολογίας ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλησιν,  
 ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἐναργεῖς· πᾶσαν γὰρ σχεδὸν τὴν  
 οἰκουμένην μαρτυρεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, εἰς τὰς ταύτης  
 τιμὰς φιλοτιμουμένην διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς θεραπείαις  
 5 ἐπιφάνειαν. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐφιστα-  
 μένην δίδοναι τοῖς κάμνουσι βοηθήματα πρὸς τὰς  
 νόσους, καὶ τοὺς ὑπακούσαντας αὐτῇ παραδόξως  
 ὑγιάζεσθαι· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν  
 διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπελπισ-  
 θέντας ὑπὸ ταύτης σώζεσθαι, συχνούς δὲ παντε-  
 λῶς πηρωθέντας τὰς ὀράσεις ἢ τινα τῶν ἄλλων  
 μερῶν τοῦ σώματος, ὅταν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν θεὸν  
 καταθύγωσιν, εἰς τὴν προϋπάρξασαν ἀποκαθί-  
 6 στασθαι τάξιν, εὐρεῖν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς  
 ἀθανασίας φάρμακον, δι' οὗ τὸν υἱὸν Ἵηρον, ὑπὸ  
 τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπιβουλευθέντα καὶ νεκρὸν εὐρε-  
 θέντα καθ' ὕδατος, μὴ μόνον ἀναστήσαι, δοῦσαν

As for Isis, the Egyptians say that she was the discoverer of many health-giving drugs and was greatly versed in the science of healing; consequently, now that she has attained immortality, she finds her greatest delight in the healing of mankind and gives aid in their sleep<sup>1</sup> to those who call upon her, plainly manifesting both her very presence and her beneficence towards men who ask her help. In proof of this, as they say, they advance not legends, as the Greeks do, but manifest facts; for practically the entire inhabited world<sup>2</sup> is their witness, in that it eagerly contributes to the honours of Isis because she manifests herself in healings. For standing above the sick in their sleep she gives them aid for their diseases and works remarkable cures upon such as submit themselves to her; and many who have been despaired of by their physicians because of the difficult nature of their malady are restored to health by her, while numbers who have altogether lost the use of their eyes or of some other part of their body, whenever they turn for help to this goddess, are restored to their previous condition. Furthermore, she discovered also the drug which gives immortality, by means of which she not only raised from the dead her son Horus, who had been the object of plots on the part of the Titans and had been found dead under the water, giving him his

Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 659 ff., where a description is given of how the god of wealth, who because of his blindness distributes his gifts with little discrimination, is taken to the temple of Asclepius to be healed.

<sup>2</sup> Under the influence of the Ptolemies, soon after 300 B.C., the cult of Isis began to spread over the Mediterranean, and by the time of Diodorus was in practically every city of any importance.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the common practice of incubation, briefly described below. The patients spent the nights in the temple-precincts and were ministered to in their sleep by the god. An interesting picture of such an incubation is in 80

τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ποιῆσαι  
 7 μεταλαβεῖν. δοκεῖ δ' ὕστατος τῶν θεῶν οὗτος  
 βασιλεῦσαι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Ὀσίριδος ἐξ  
 ἀνθρώπων μετάστασιν. τὸν δὲ Ἄρον μεθερμη-  
 νευόμενον φασιν Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τὴν  
 τε ἰατρικὴν καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς  
 Ἴσιδος διδαχθέντα διὰ τῶν χρησμῶν καὶ τῶν  
 θεραπειῶν εὐεργετῆν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος.

26. Οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν χρόνον  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡλίου βασιλείας συλλογιζόμενοι μέχρι  
 τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν φασὶν  
 ὑπάρχειν ἐτῶν μάλιστα πῶς δις μυρίων καὶ  
 2 τρισχιλίων. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τοὺς  
 μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτους βασιλεῦσαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων  
 καὶ διακοσίων ἐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους οὐκ  
 3 ἐλάττω τῶν τριακοσίων. ἀπίστου δ' ὄντος τοῦ  
 πλήθους τῶν ἐτῶν, ἐπιχειροῦσιν τινες λέγειν ὅτι  
 τὸ παλαιόν, οὐπω τῆς περὶ τὸν ἥλιον κινήσεως  
 ἐπεγνωσμένης, συνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν τῆς σελήνης  
 4 περιόδου ἀγεσθαι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν. διόπερ τῶν ἐτῶν  
 τριακοθημέρων ὄντων οὐκ ἀδύνατον εἶναι βεβιω-  
 κέναι τινὰς ἔτη χίλια καὶ διακόσια· καὶ γὰρ νῦν  
 δωδεκαμήνων<sup>1</sup> ὄντων τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους  
 5 ὑπὲρ ἑκατὸν ἔτη ζῆν. παραπλήσια δὲ λέγουσι  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν τριακόσια ἔτη δοκούντων ἀρξαι·  
 κατ' ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν  
 ἀπαρτίζεσθαι τέτταρι μῆσι τοῖς γινομένοις κατὰ  
 τὰς ἐκάστων τῶν χρόνων ὥρας, οἷον ἔαρος,  
 θέρους, χειμῶνος· ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας καὶ παρ' ἐνόις  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ὥρους καλεῖσθαι

soul again, but also made him immortal. And it  
 appears that Horus was the last of the gods to be  
 king after his father Osiris departed from among  
 men. Moreover, they say that the name Horus,  
 when translated, is Apollo, and that, having been  
 instructed by his mother Isis in both medicine and  
 divination, he is now a benefactor of the race of  
 men through his oracular responses and his healings.

26. The priests of the Egyptians, reckoning the  
 time from the reign of Helius to the crossing of <sup>334</sup>  
 Alexander into Asia, say that it was in round num- <sup>B.C.</sup>  
 bers twenty-three thousand years. And, as their  
 legends say, the most ancient of the gods ruled more  
 than twelve hundred years and the later ones not  
 less than three hundred. But since this great num-  
 ber of years surpasses belief, some men would main-  
 tain that in early times, before the movement of the  
 sun had as yet been recognized, it was customary  
 to reckon the year by the lunar cycle. Consequently,  
 since the year consisted of thirty days, it was not  
 impossible that some men lived twelve hundred  
 years; for in our own time, when our year consists  
 of twelve months, not a few men live over one  
 hundred years. A similar explanation they also  
 give regarding those who are supposed to have  
 reigned for three hundred years; for at their time,  
 namely, the year was composed of the four months  
 which comprise the seasons of each year, that is,  
 spring, summer, and winter; and it is for this reason  
 that among some of the Greeks the years are called

<sup>1</sup> δωδεκαμήνων Dindorf; δυοκαδεκα μηνῶν.

καὶ τὰς κατ' ἔτος ἀναγραφὰς ὠρογραφίας προσαγορεύεσθαι.

6 Οἱ δ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσι κατὰ τὴν Ἴσιδος ἡλικίαν γεγονέναι τινὰς πολυσωμάτων τοὺς ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὀνομαζομένους γίγαντας, ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ . . .<sup>1</sup> διακοσμουμένους τερατωδῶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τυπτομένους ὑπὸ  
7 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς γηγενεῖς φασιν ὑπάρχειν, προσφάτου τῆς τῶν ζώων γενέσεως ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὑπαρχούσης, ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι σώματος ῥώμῃ διενεγκόντας καὶ  
8 πολλὰς πράξεις ἐπιτελεσαμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος μυθολογηθῆναι πολυσωμάτων. συμφωνεῖται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν θεοῖς πόλεμον ἐστήσαμένοι πάντες ἀνῆρέθησαν.

27. Νομοθετησαὶ δὲ φασὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γαμεῖν ἀδελφὰς διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τούτοις τῆς Ἴσιδος ἐπίτευγμα· ταύτην γὰρ συνοικήσασαν Ὅσιρίδι τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἀποθανόντος ὁμόσασαν οὐδενὸς ἔτι συνουσίαν ἀνδρὸς προσδέξεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> μετελθεῖν τὸν τε φόνον τάνδρῶς καὶ διατελέσαι βασιλεύουσαν νομιμώτατα, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας καταδειχθῆναι μείζονος ἐξουσίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν τῆν

<sup>1</sup> Vogel suggests that a noun has dropped out here.

<sup>2</sup> προσδέξεσθαι Dindorf: προσδέξασθαι.

<sup>1</sup> "Records of the seasons." This designation for yearly records was used, for instance, by the inhabitants of the island of Naxos.

"seasons" (*horoi*) and that their yearly records are given the name "horographs."<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the Egyptians relate in their myths that in the time of Isis there were certain creatures of many bodies, who are called by the Greeks Giants,<sup>2</sup> but by themselves . . ., these being the men who are represented on their temples in monstrous form and as being cudgelled by Osiris. Now some say that they were born of the earth at the time when the genesis of living things from the earth was still recent,<sup>3</sup> while some hold that they were only men of unusual physical strength who achieved many deeds and for this reason were described in the myths as of many bodies. But it is generally agreed that when they stirred up war against Zeus and Osiris they were all destroyed.

27. The Egyptians also made a law, they say, contrary to the general custom of mankind, permitting men to marry their sisters, this being due to the success attained by Isis in this respect; for she had married her brother Osiris, and upon his death, having taken a vow never to marry another man, she both avenged the murder of her husband and reigned all her days over the land with complete respect for the laws, and, in a word, became the cause of more and greater blessings to all men than any other. It is for these reasons, in fact, that it was ordained that the queen should have greater

<sup>2</sup> But the Giants of Greek mythology were represented with "huge," not "many," bodies.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Genesis* 6. 4: "There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown."

βασίλισσαν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις  
κυριεῦεν τὴν γυναῖκα τὰνδρός, ἐν τῇ τῆς προικὸς  
συγγραφῇ προσομολογούντων τῶν γαμούντων  
ἅπαντα πειθαρχήσειν τῇ γαμουμένῃ.<sup>1</sup>

3 Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι τινὲς τῶν συγγραφέων  
ἀποφαίνονται τοὺς τάφους τῶν θεῶν τούτων  
ὑπάρχειν ἐν Νύσῃ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ  
Νυσαῖον τὸν Διόνυσον ὠνομάσθαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ  
στήλην ἑκατέρου τῶν θεῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένην τοῖς  
4 ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπι-  
γεγράφθαι "Ἐγὼ Ἰσίς εἰμι ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης  
χώρας, ἡ παιδευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα ἐγὼ  
ἐνομοθέτησα, οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ δύναται λύσαι. ἐγὼ

power and honour than the king and that among  
private persons the wife should enjoy authority over  
her husband,<sup>1</sup> the husbands agreeing in the marriage  
contract that they will be obedient in all things to  
their wives.<sup>2</sup>

Now I am not unaware that some historians give  
the following account of Isis and Osiris: The tombs  
of these gods lie in Nysa in Arabia, and for this  
reason Dionysus is also called Nysaeus. And in that  
place there stands also a stele of each of the gods  
bearing an inscription in hieroglyphs. On the stele  
of Isis it runs: "I am Isis, the queen of every land,  
she who was instructed of Hermes, and whatsoever  
laws I have established, these can no man make

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus*, 337 ff.:

Their thoughts and actions all  
Are framed and modelled on Egyptian ways.  
For there the men sit at the loom indoors  
While the wives slave abroad for daily bread.

(Tr. by Storr, in *L.C.L.*)

<sup>2</sup> Here some MSS. add the following sentences (cp. critical  
note), which are taken almost bodily from chap. 22. 2-6: "And  
they say that Isis is buried in Memphis, where her tomb is  
pointed out to this day in the temple-area of Hephaestus.  
According to some writers, however, the bodies of these gods  
[rest in Philae on the island in the Nile, as I have already  
stated] rest on the border between Ethiopia and Egypt, on  
the island in the Nile which lies near Philae, but is referred to  
because of this burial as the Holy Field. In proof of this they  
point to the tomb which was constructed for Osiris on this  
island and is honoured in common by all the priests of Egypt;  
and they mention three hundred and sixty libation bowls  
which are placed around it; for the priests appointed over  
these bowls fill them each day with milk, singing all the while  
a dirge in which they call upon the names of these gods. It is  
for this reason that only the priests are allowed to set foot on  
this island. And all the inhabitants of the Thebaid, which is  
the oldest portion of Egypt, hold it to be the strongest oath  
when a man swears ' by Osiris who lieth in Philae.'"

<sup>1</sup> Hero ABDEN add: ταφήναι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν Ἰσιν ἐν  
Μέμφει, καθ' ἣν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν δείκνυσθαι τὸν σηκόν, ἐν τῷ  
τεμένει τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν θεῶν  
τούτων [κείσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐν Φίλαις τοῦ Νείλου νῆσον, ὥσπερ  
προείρηται μοι added by ABEN which stop at this point, BD  
continuing] ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων κείσθαι τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου  
κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ νῆσον, τῆς κειμένην μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Φίλαις,  
ἔχουσαν δὲ τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἱερῶν  
πεδίου· σημείον δὲ τούτου δεκνύουσιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ δια-  
μένοντα τὸν τε τάφον κατεσκευασμένον Ὀσιρίδι, κοινῇ τιμώμενον  
ὑπὸ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερέων· καὶ φασὶ περὶ τούτων κειμένας  
χοῆς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας· ταύτας γὰρ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν  
χάλακτοι πληροῦν τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ταχθέντας ἱερεῖς καὶ θρηεῖν  
ἀνακαλουμένους τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὄνόματα. διὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν  
καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἄβατον εἶναι πλὴν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. καὶ πάντας τοὺς  
τῆς Θηβαΐδα κατοικοῦντας, ἥπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχαιοτάτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου,  
μέγιστον ὄρκον κρίνειν, ὅταν τις Ὀσίριον τὸν ἐν Φίλαις κείμενον  
ὀμόσῃ.

εἰμι ἢ τοῦ νεωτάτου Κρόνου θεοῦ θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ Ὅσιριδος βασιλέως· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ πρώτη καρπὸν ἀνθρώποις εὐρούσα· ἐγὼ εἰμι μήτηρ Ὠρου τοῦ βασιλέως· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ ἐν τῷ ἄστρῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ κυνὶ ἐπιτέλλουσα· ἐμοὶ Βούβαστος ἢ πόλις ἠκοδομήθη.  
 5 χαῖρε χαῖρε Αἴγυπτε ἢ θρέψασά με." ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ὅσιριδος ἐπιγεγράφθαι λέγεται " Πατὴρ μὲν ἐστὶ μοι Κρόνος νεώτατος θεῶν ἀπάντων, εἰμι δὲ Ὅσιρις ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χώραν ἕως εἰς τοὺς ἀουκίτους τόπους τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἄρκτον κεκλιμένους, μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ πηγῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τᾶλλα μέρη ἕως ἠκεανοῦ. εἰμι δὲ υἱὸς Κρόνου πρεσβυτάτος, καὶ βλαστὸς ἐκ καλοῦ τε καὶ εὐγενοῦς ὤου<sup>1</sup> σπέρμα συγγενὲς ἐγεννήθην ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τόπος τῆς οἰκουμένης εἰς ὃν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀφύγμαι, διαδοὺς  
 8 πᾶσιν ὃν ἐγὼ εὐρετῆς<sup>2</sup> ἐγενόμην." τοσαῦτα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς στήλαις φασὶ δύνασθαι ἀναγνῶναι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὄντα πλείω κατεφθάρθαι διὰ τὸν χρόνον. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς ταφῆς τῶν θεῶν τούτων διαφωνεῖται παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐν ἀπορρήτοις παρειληφῶτας τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ὤου Wesseling: ὄλου C, ζὸν G, σῶου other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> εὐρετῆς Wesseling: εὐεργετῆς.

<sup>1</sup> According to Pseudo-Eratosthenes (*Catasterismus*, 33) the star on the head of Canis Maior was called Isis as well as Sirius.

<sup>2</sup> The Danube.

<sup>3</sup> This may be drawn from the Orphic legends which conceived of the undeveloped universe as a mystic egg, from which came Phanes, the first principle of life. Cp. the parody of the Orphic cosmogony in Aristophanes, *The Birds*, 693 ff.:

void. I am the eldest daughter of the youngest god Cronus; I am the wife and sister of the king Osiris; I am she who first discovered fruits for mankind; I am the mother of Horus the king; I am she who riseth in the star that is in the Constellation of the Dog;<sup>1</sup> by me was the city of Bubastus built. Farewell, farewell, O Egypt that nurtured me." And on the stele of Osiris the inscription is said to run: " My father is Cronus, the youngest of all the gods, and I am Osiris the king, who campaigned over every country as far as the uninhabited regions of India and the lands to the north, even to the sources of the river Ister,<sup>2</sup> and again to the remaining parts of the world as far as Oceanus. I am the eldest son of Cronus, and being sprung from a fair and noble egg<sup>3</sup> I was begotten a seed of kindred birth to Day. There is no region of the inhabited world to which I have not come, dispensing to all men the things of which I was the discoverer." So much of the inscriptions on the stelae can be read, they say, but the rest of the writing, which was of greater extent, has been destroyed by time. However this may be, varying accounts of the burial of these gods are found in most writers by reason of the fact that the priests, having received the exact facts about

There was Chaos at first, and Darkness, and Night, and Tartarus vasty and dismal;

But the Earth was not there, nor the Sky, nor the Air, till at length in the bosom ahysmal Of Darkness an egg, from the whirlwind conceived, was laid by the sable-plumed Night.

And out of that egg, as the seasons revolved, sprang Love, the entrancing, the bright, Love brilliant and bold with his pinions of gold, like a whirlwind, refulgent and sparkling!

(Tr. by Rogers, in *L.C.L.*)



περὶ τούτων ἀκρίβειαν μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰληθῆς ἐκφέρειν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡς ἂν καὶ κινδύνων ἐπικειμένων τοῖς τὰπόρρητα περὶ τῶν θεῶν τούτων μνήσασιν εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους.

28. Οἱ δ' οὖν Αἰγύπτιοί φασι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποικίας πλείστας ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κατὰ πᾶσαν διασπαρῆναι τὴν οἰκουμένην. εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μὲν γὰρ ἀγαγεῖν ἀποίκους Βῆλον τὸν νομιζόμενον Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι καὶ Λιβύης· ὃν παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν καθιδρυθέντα τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς καταστήσασθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς κατ' Αἰγύπτου ἀτελεῖς καὶ πάσης λειτουργίας ἀπολελυμένους, ὁδὸς Βαβυλώνιοι καλοῦσι Χαλδαίους, τὰς τε παρατηρήεις τῶν ἀστρῶν τούτους ποιεῖσθαι, μιμουμένους τοὺς παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἱερεῖς καὶ φυσικούς, 2 ἔτι δὲ ἀστρολόγους. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Δαναὸν ὀρμηθέντας ὁμοίως ἐκείθην συνοικίσαι τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην σχεδὸν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι πόλεων Ἄργος, τὸ τε τῶν Κόλχων ἔθνος ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀραβίας καὶ Συρίας οἰκίσαι τινὰς ὀρμηθέντας παρ' ἑαυτῶν· 3 διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς γένεσι τούτοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ παραδεδῶσθαι τὸ περιτεμεῖναι τοὺς γεννωμένους παῖδας, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετενηνεγμένου τοῦ νομίμου. 4 καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φασιν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σαῖτων τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ πειρῶνται τῆς οἰκειότητος ταύτης φέρειν ἀποδείξεις· παρὰ μόνους γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν πόλιν ἄστου καλεῖσθαι, μετενηνεγῆς τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἄστεος. ἔτι δὲ<sup>1</sup> τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσχηκέναι τάξιν καὶ διαίρεσιν τῇ παρ'

<sup>1</sup> δὲ Dindorf: τε.

these matters as a secret not to be divulged, are unwilling to give out the truth to the public, on the ground that perils overhang any men who disclose to the common crowd the secret knowledge about these gods.

28. Now the Egyptians say that also after these events a great number of colonies were spread from Egypt over all the inhabited world. To Babylon, for instance, colonists were led by Belus, who was held to be the son of Poseidon and Libya; and after establishing himself on the Euphrates river he appointed priests, called Chaldaeans by the Babylonians, who were exempt from taxation and free from every kind of service to the state, as are the priests of Egypt;<sup>1</sup> and they also make observations of the stars, following the example of the Egyptian priests, physicists, and astrologers. They say also that those who set forth with Danaus, likewise from Egypt, settled what is practically the oldest city of Greece, Argos, and that the nation of the Colchi in Pontus and that of the Jews, which lies between Arabia and Syria, were founded as colonies by certain emigrants from their country; and this is the reason why it is a long-established institution among these two peoples to circumcise their male children, the custom having been brought over from Egypt. Even the Athenians, they say, are colonists from Saïs in Egypt, and they undertake to offer proofs of such a relationship; for the Athenians are the only Greeks who call their city "Asty," a name brought over from the city Asty in Egypt. Furthermore, their body politic had the same classification and division

<sup>1</sup> On the exemption of the priests of Egypt from taxation, cp. chap. 73; on the Chaldaeans, cp. Book 2. 29 f.

- 5 Αἰγυπτίοις, εἰς τρία μέρη διανεμηθείσῃ· καὶ πρῶτην μὲν ὑπάρχει μερίδα τοὺς εὐπατρίδας καλουμένους, οἷτινες<sup>1</sup> ὑπήρχον ἐν παιδείᾳ μάλιστα διατετριφότες καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἡξιωμένοι τιμῆς παραπλησίως τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῦσι· δευτέραν δὲ τάξιν γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν γεωμόρων τῶν ὀφειλόντων ὄπλα κεκτῆσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὁμοίως τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὀνομαζομένοις γεωργοῖς καὶ τοὺς μαχίμους παρεχομένοις· τελευταίαν δὲ μερίδα καταριθμηθῆναι τὴν τῶν δημιουργῶν τῶν τὰς βαναύσους τέχνας μεταχειριζομένων καὶ λειτουργίας τελούντων τὰς ἀναγκαιοτάτας, τὸ παραπλήσιον ποιούσης τῆς τάξεως ταύτης παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις.
- 6 Γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τινὰς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· τὸν γὰρ Πέτην τὸν πατέρα Μενεσθέως τοῦ στρατεύσαντος εἰς Ἴτροίαν φανερώς Αἰγύπτιον ὑπάρξαντα τυχεῖν ὕστερον Ἀθήνησι πολιτείας τε καὶ βασιλείας. . . .
- 7 διφυοῦς δ' αὐτοῦ γεγονότος, τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ἀποδοῦναι περὶ τῆς φύσεως ταύτης τὰς ἀληθεῖς αἰτίας, ἐν μέσῳ κειμένου πᾶσι ὅτι δυοῖν πολιτειῶν μετασχόντων, Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ βαρβάρου, διφυῆς ἐνομίσθη, τὸ μὲν ἔχων μέρος θηρίου, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπου.
29. Ὅμοίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἐρεχθέα λέγουσι τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιον ὄντα βασιλεῦσαι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,

<sup>1</sup> οἷτινες Vogel: οἷτινες ἱεροποιοί.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "of noble sires."

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "holders of a share of land."

of the people as is found in Egypt, where the citizens have been divided into three orders: the first Athenian class consisted of the "eupatrids,"<sup>1</sup> as they were called, being those who were such as had received the best education and were held worthy of the highest honour, as is the case with the priests of Egypt; the second was that of the "geomoroi,"<sup>2</sup> who were expected to possess arms and to serve in defence of the state, like those in Egypt who are known as husbandmen and supply the warriors; and the last class was reckoned to be that of the "demiurgoi,"<sup>3</sup> who practise the mechanical arts and render only the most menial services to the state, this class among the Egyptians having a similar function.

Moreover, certain of the rulers of Athens were originally Egyptians, they say. Petes,<sup>4</sup> for instance, the father of that Menestheus who took part in the expedition against Troy, having clearly been an Egyptian, later obtained citizenship at Athens and the kingship.<sup>5</sup> . . . He was of double form, and yet the Athenians are unable from their own point of view to give the true explanation of this nature of his, although it is patent to all that it was because of his double citizenship, Greek and barbarian, that he was held to be of double form, that is, part animal and part man.

29. In the same way, they continue, Erechtheus also, who was by birth an Egyptian, became king of

<sup>3</sup> i.e. "workers for the people."

<sup>4</sup> Called Petens in *Iliad* 2. 552.

<sup>5</sup> There is a break at this point in the text, since what follows can refer only to Cecrops, the traditional first king of Athens, whose body in the lower part was that of a serpent.

τοιαύτας τινας φέροντες ἀποδείξεις· γενομένων γὰρ ὁμολογουμένων αὐχμῶν μεγάλων κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην πλὴν Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς χώρας, καὶ φθορᾶς ἐπιγενομένης τῶν τε καρπῶν καὶ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων, ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὸν Ἐρεχθέα κομίσαι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν σιτου πλήθους εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀνθ' ὧν τοὺς εὖ παθόντας βασιλέα καταστήσαι τὸν 2 εὐεργέτην. τοῦτον δὲ παραλαβόντα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καταδείξαι τὰς τελετὰς τῆς Δήμητρος ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ποιῆσαι, μετενεγκόντα τὸ περὶ τούτων νόμιμον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τῆς<sup>1</sup> θεοῦ δὲ παρουσίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γεγυῖαν κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους παραδεδοῦσθαι κατὰ λόγον, ὡς ἂν τῶν ἐπωνύμων ταύτης καρπῶν τότε κομισθέντων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δόξαι 3 πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν εὐρεσίαν γεγυῖναι τοῦ σπέρματος, δωρησαμένης τῆς Δήμητρος. ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὅτι βασιλευντος Ἐρεχθέως καὶ τῶν καρπῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνομβρίαν προηφανισμένων ἢ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐγένετο παρουσία πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ σίτου. πρὸς δὲ 4 τούτοις αἱ τελεταὶ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ τότε κατεδείχθησαν ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ. τὰ τε περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρχαιότητας ὡσαύτως ἔχει Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Εὐμολπίδας ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερέων μετενηχῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ Κήρυκας ἀπὸ τῶν παστοφόρων. τὴν τε Ἰσιω μόνους τῶν Ἑλλήνων

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῆς B N, Bekker, Vogel: καὶ τὴν τῆς Hertlein, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> The Eumolpidae ("Descendants of Eumolpus") and the

Athens, and in proof of this they offer the following considerations. Once when there was a great drought, as is generally agreed, which extended over practically all the inhabited earth except Egypt because of the peculiar character of that country, and there followed a destruction both of crops and of men in great numbers, Erechtheus, through his racial connection with Egypt, brought from there to Athens a great supply of grain, and in return those who had enjoyed this aid made their benefactor king. After he had secured the throne he instituted the initiatory rites of Demeter in Eleusis and established the mysteries, transferring their ritual from Egypt. And the tradition that an advent of the goddess into Attica also took place at that time is reasonable, since it was then that the fruits which are named after her were brought to Athens, and this is why it was thought that the discovery of the seed had been made again, as though Demeter had bestowed the gift. And the Athenians on their part agree that it was in the reign of Erechtheus, when a lack of rain had wiped out the crops, that Demeter came to them with the gift of grain. Furthermore, the initiatory rites and mysteries of this goddess were instituted in Eleusis at that time. And their sacrifices as well as their ancient ceremonies are observed by the Athenians in the same way as by the Egyptians; for the Eumolpidae were derived from the priests of Egypt and the Ceryces from the *pastophoroi*.<sup>1</sup> They are also the only Greeks

Ceryces ("Heralds") were two noble Athenian families, in charge of the more important religious ceremonies of Attica; the *pastophoroi* were those Egyptian priests who carried in processions small shrines of the gods.

ὀμνύειν, καὶ ταῖς ἰδέαις καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσιν ὁμοιοτάτους εἶναι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις παραπλήσια λέγοντες φιλοτιμότερον ἢ περ ἀληθινώτερον, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τῆς ἀποικίας ταύτης ἀμφισβητοῦσι διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως.

Καθόλου δὲ πλείστας ἀποικίας Αἰγυπτιοὶ φασιν ἐκπέμψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν προγόνους ἐπὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης διὰ τε τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῶν βασιλευσάντων παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πολυανθρωπίας· ὑπὲρ ὧν μήτε ἀποδείξω φερομένης μηδεμιᾶς ἀκριβοῦς μήτε συγγραφέως ἀξιοπίστου μαρτυροῦντος, οὐκ ἐκρίναμεν ὑπάρχειν τὰ λεγόμενα γραφῆς ἄξια.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν θεολογουμένων παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τοσαύτ' ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω, στοχαζομένοις τῆς συμμετρίας· περὶ δὲ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀκοῆς ἀξίων ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἕκαστα διεξιέναι πειρασόμεθα.

30. Ἡ γὰρ Αἴγυπτος κείται μὲν μάλιστα πῶς κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ὀχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ κάλλει χώρας οὐκ ὀλίγη δοκεῖ προέχειν τῶν εἰς βασιλείαν ἀφωρισμένων τόπων. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς δύσεως ὠχύρωκεν αὐτὴν ἡ ἔρημος καὶ θηριώδης τῆς Λιβύης, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν παρεκτείνουσα, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν καὶ τὴν σπάνιν τῆς ἀπάσης τροφῆς ἔχουσα τὴν διέξοδον οὐ μόνον ἐπίποιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικίνδυνον· ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότον μερῶν οἱ τε καταράκται τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν ὄρων τὰ συνορίζοντα τούτοις· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς

who swear by Isis, and they closely resemble the Egyptians in both their appearance and manners. By many other statements like these, spoken more out of a love for glory than with regard for the truth, as I see the matter, they claim Athens as a colony of theirs because of the fame of that city.

In general, the Egyptians say that their ancestors sent forth numerous colonies to many parts of the inhabited world, by reason of the pre-eminence of their former kings and their excessive population; but since they offer no precise proof whatsoever for these statements, and since no historian worthy of credence testifies in their support, we have not thought that their accounts merited recording.

So far as the ideas of the Egyptians about the gods are concerned, let what we have said suffice, since we are aiming at due proportion in our account,<sup>1</sup> but with regard to the land, the Nile, and everything else worth hearing about we shall endeavour, in each case, to give the several facts in summary.

30. The land of Egypt stretches in a general way from north to south, and in natural strength and beauty of landscape is reputed to excel in no small degree all other regions that have been formed into kingdoms. For on the west it is fortified by the desert of Libya, which is full of wild beasts and extends along its border for a long distance, and by reason of its lack of rain and want of every kind of food makes the passage through it not only toilsome but even highly dangerous; while on the south the same protection is afforded by the cataracts of the Nile and the mountains flanking them, since from

effort to keep the several Books of his history of approximately the same size.

<sup>1</sup> T. Birt (*Das antike Buchwesen*, pp. 151 ff.) feels that by this phrase, which is often used by Diodorus, he referred to his

Τρωγοδυτικῆς<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς Αἰθιοπίας μερῶν ἐντὸς σταδίων πεντακισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων οὔτε πλεύσαι διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥάδιον οὔτε πεζῇ πορευθῆναι μὴ τυχόντα βασιλικῆς ἢ  
 4 παντελῶς μεγάλης τιμῆς χορηγίας. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν νεούτων μερῶν τὰ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ὠχύρωκε, τὰ δ' ἔρημος περιέχει καὶ πεδία τελματώδη τὰ προσαγορεύμενα Βάραθρα. ἔστι γὰρ ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου λίμνη τῇ μὲν πλάτει στενὴ παντελῶς, τῇ δὲ βάθει θαυμάσιος, τὸ δὲ μήκος ἐπὶ διακοσίουσ παρήκουσα σταδίουσ, ἢ προσαγορεύεται μὲν Σερβωνίς, τοῖσ δ' ἀπέροισ τῶν προσπελαζόντων  
 5 ἀνελπίστους ἐπιφέρει κινδύνουσ. στενοῦ γὰρ τοῦ ῥεύματος ὄντος καὶ ταιῖα παραπλησίουσ, θινῶν τε μεγάλων πάντη περικεχυμένων, ἐπειδὴν νότοι συνεχεῖσ πνεύσωσιν, ἐπισείεται πλήθουσ ἄμμου. αὕτη δὲ τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἄσσημον ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ τῆσ λίμνησ τύπον συμφυῆ τῇ χέρσω καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἀδιάργνωστον. διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ τόπου μετὰ στρατευμάτων ὄλων ἄφανίσθησαν τῆσ ὑποκειμένησ ὁδοῦ διαμαρτόντεσ.  
 7 ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἄμμος ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον πατονμένη τὴν ἐνδοσίω λαμβάνει, καὶ τοὺσ ἐπιβάλλοντασ

the country of the Trogodytes<sup>1</sup> and the farthest parts of Ethiopia, over a distance of five thousand five hundred stades, it is not easy to sail by the river or to journey by land, unless a man is fitted out like a king or at least on a very great scale. And as for the parts of the country facing the east, some are fortified by the river and some are embraced by a desert and a swampy flat called the Barathra.<sup>2</sup> For between Coele-Syria and Egypt there lies a lake, quite narrow, but marvellously deep and some two hundred stades in length, which is called Serbonis<sup>3</sup> and offers unexpected perils to those who approach it in ignorance of its nature. For since the body of the water is narrow, like a ribbon, and surrounded on all sides by great dunes, when there are constant south winds great quantities of sand are strewn over it. This sand hides the surface of the water and makes the outline of the lake continuous with the solid land and entirely indistinguishable from it. For this reason many who were unacquainted with the peculiar nature of the place have disappeared together with whole armies,<sup>4</sup> when they wandered from the beaten road. For as the sand is walked upon it gives way but gradually, deceiving with a kind of malevolent cunning those

<sup>1</sup> For this form, without the λ, see Vogel I. lxxii and Kallenberg, *Textkritik und Sprachgebrauch Diodors*, I. 1.

<sup>1</sup> The "Cave-dwellers" are located by Diodorus along the Red Sea as far north as the Greek port of Berenicē, and are described at length in Book 3. 32 i.

<sup>2</sup> The word comes from a root meaning "to devour," which suits the nature of the region, as Diodorus observes below,

The famous Barathron, or "Pit," at Athens was a cleft west of the Hill of the Nymphs into which condemned criminals were flung.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 2. 592 ff.:

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog  
 Betwixt Damietta and Mount Casius old,  
 Where armies whole have sunk.

<sup>4</sup> An instance of the loss of part of an army is given in Book 16. 46.

## DIODORUS OF SICILY

ὡς περ προνοία τιῶν πονηρῶν παρακρούεται, μέχρι ἂν ὅτου λαβόντες ὑπόνοιαν τοῦ συμβησομένου βοηθήσωσιν ἑαυτοῖς, οὐκ οὔσης ἔτι φυγῆς οὐδὲ 8 σωτηρίας. ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλματος καταπιωμένος οὔτε νήχεσθαι δύναται, παραιρουμένης τῆς ἰλύος τὴν τοῦ σώματος κίνησιν, οὔτ' ἐκβῆναι κατισχύει, μηδὲν ἔχων στερέμνιον εἰς ἐπίβασιν· μεμιγμένης γὰρ τῆς ἄμμου τοῖς ὑγροῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκατέρων φύσεως ἡλλοιωμένης, συμβαίνει τὸν τόπον μήτε πορευτὸν εἶναι μήτε πλω- 9 τόν. διόπερ οἱ τοῖς μέρεσι τούτοις ἐπιβάλλοντες φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸν βυθὸν οὐδεμίαν ἀντίληψιν βοηθείας ἔχουσι, συγκατολισθανούσης τῆς ἄμμου τῆς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλη. τὰ μὲν οὖν προειρημένα πεδία τοιαύτην ἔχοντα τὴν φύσιν οἰκείας ἔτυχε προσηγορίας, ὀνομασθέντα Βάραθρα.

31. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου τριῶν μερῶν τῶν ὄχυρόντων τὴν Αἴγυπτον διήλθομεν, προσθήσομεν τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸ 2 λειπόμενον, ἢ τετάρτην τοίνυν πλευρὰ πᾶσα σχεδὸν ἀλιμένη θαλάττῃ προσκλυζομένη προβέβληται τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ὃ τὸν μὲν παράπλου ἔχει μακρότατον, τὴν δ' ἀπόβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δυσπροσόριστον· ἀπὸ γὰρ Παραίτου τῆς τῆς Λιβύης ἕως Ἰόπης τῆς ἐν τῇ Κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ, ὄντος τοῦ παράπλου σταδίων σχεδὸν πεντακισχιλίων, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα 3 πλὴν τοῦ Φάρου. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ταινία παρ' ὄλην σχεδὸν τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρήκει τοῖς ἀπίεροις

who advance upon it, until, suspecting some impending mishap, they begin to help one another only when it is no longer possible to turn back or escape. For anyone who has been sucked in by the mire cannot swim, since the slime prevents all movement of the body, nor is he able to wade out, since he has no solid footing; for by reason of the mixing of the sand with the water and the consequent change in the nature of both it comes about that the place cannot be crossed either on foot or by boat. Consequently those who enter upon these regions are borne towards the depths and have nothing to grasp to give them help, since the sand along the edge slips in with them. These flats have received a name appropriate to their nature as we have described it, being called Barathra.

31. Now that we have set forth the facts about the three regions which fortify Egypt by land we shall add to them the one yet remaining. The fourth side, which is washed over its whole extent by waters which are practically harbourless, has for a defence before it the Egyptian Sea.<sup>1</sup> The voyage along the coast of this sea is exceedingly long, and any landing is especially difficult; for from Paraetionium<sup>2</sup> in Libya as far as Iopé<sup>3</sup> in Coele-Syria, a voyage along the coast of some five thousand stades, there is not to be found a safe harbour except Pharos.<sup>4</sup> And, apart from these considerations, a sandbank extends along practically the whole length of Egypt, not discernible to any

<sup>2</sup> The first important city on the coast west of Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> Joppa.

<sup>4</sup> The island which lies before Alexandria and gave its name to the harbour.

<sup>1</sup> That part of the Mediterranean lying off Egypt.

- 4 τῶν προσπλέοντων ἀθεώρητος· διόπερ οἱ τὸν ἐκ  
 πελάγους κίνδυνον ἐκπεφευγέναι νομίζοντες, καὶ  
 διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἄσμενοι πρὸς τὴν γῆν κατα-  
 πλέοντες, ἐξαιφνης ἐποκελλόντων τῶν σκαφῶν  
 5 ἀνελπίστως ναυαγοῦσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν ταπει-  
 νότητα τῆς χώρας οὐ δυνάμενοι προιδέσθαι τὴν  
 γῆν λαυθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντες οἱ μὲν εἰς  
 ἐλάδεις καὶ λιμνάζοντας τόπους, οἱ δ' εἰς χώραν  
 ἔρημον.
- 6 Ἡ μὲν οὖν Αἴγυπτος πανταχόθεν φυσικῶς  
 ὠχύρωται τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, τῷ δὲ σχήματι  
 παραμήκης οὔσα διαχιλίων μὲν σταδίων ἔχει τὴν  
 παραθαλάττιον πλευράν, εἰς μεσόγειον δ' ἀνήκει  
 σχεδὸν ἐπὶ σταδίου ἐξακισχιλίου. πολυαν-  
 θρωπία δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν πολὺ προέσχε πάντων  
 τῶν γνωριζομένων τόπων κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην,  
 καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων δοκεῖ  
 7 λείπεσθαι· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων  
 ἔσχε κώμας ἄξιολόγους καὶ πόλεις πλείους τῶν  
 μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 ἀναγραφαῖς ὄραν ἔστι κατακεχωρισμένον, ἐπὶ δὲ  
 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων  
 ἠριθμήθησαν, ὧν τὸ πλῆθος διαμεμένηκεν ἕως  
 8 τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος λαοῦ  
 τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν φασὶ γεγονέναι περὶ ἑπτακοσίας

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy Lagus, general of Alexander the Great, was the founder of the line of the Ptolemies. He obtained the governorship of Egypt shortly after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., assumed the title of king in 305, and reigned until 283.

who approach without previous experience of these waters. Consequently those who think that they have escaped the peril of the sea, and in their ignorance turn with gladness towards the shore, suffer unexpected shipwreck when their vessels suddenly run aground; and now and then mariners who cannot see land in time because the country lies so low are cast ashore before they realize it, some of them on marshy and swampy places and others on a desert region.

The land of Egypt, then, is fortified on all sides by nature in the manner described, and is oblong in shape, having a coast-line of two thousand stades and extending inland about six thousand stades. In density of population it far surpassed of old all known regions of the inhabited world, and even in our own day is thought to be second to none other; for in ancient times it had over eighteen thousand important villages and cities, as can be seen entered in their sacred records, while under Ptolemy son of Lagus<sup>1</sup> these were reckoned at over thirty thousand,<sup>2</sup> this great number continuing down to our own time. The total population, they say, was of old about seven million and the number

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (2. 177) gives the number of "inhabited cities" in the time of Amasis (sixth century B.C.) as twenty thousand. The "over thirty thousand" of Diodorus may be approximately correct, when the "villages" are included, although he may be using the figures given by Theocritus (17. 82 ff.), who was born about 305 B.C. and performed a feat of metrical juggling of the number 33,333: "The cities builded therein are three hundreds and three thousands and three tens of thousands, and threes twain and nines three, and in them the lord and master of all is proud Ptolemy" (tr. Edmonds, in *L.C.L.*).

μυριάδας, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι  
 9 τούτων.<sup>1</sup> διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους βασιλεῖς ἰστο-  
 ροῦσι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ  
 θαυμαστὰ διὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας κατασκευάσαντας  
 ἀθάνατα τῆς ἑαυτῶν δόξης ἀπολιπεῖν ὑπομνή-  
 ματα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναγράφομεν, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν  
 ἰδιωμάτων νῦν διέξιμεν.

32. Ὁ γὰρ Νεῖλος φέρεται μὲν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον, τὰς πηγὰς ἔχων ἐκ τόπων  
 ἀοράτων, οἳ κείνται τῆς ἐσχάτης Αἰθιοπίας κατὰ  
 τὴν ἔρημον, ἀπρσίτου τῆς χώρας οὐσης διὰ τὴν  
 2 τοῦ καύματος ὑπερβολὴν. μέγιστος δ' ὦν τῶν  
 ὑπάντων ποταμῶν καὶ πλείστην γῆν διεξιὼν  
 καμπὰς ποιεῖται μεγάλας, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐπιστρέφων, ποτὲ δ'  
 ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν καὶ τὴν Λιβύην ἐκκλίνων φέρεται  
 γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὄρων μέχρι τῆς εἰς  
 θάλατταν ἐκβολῆς στάδια μάλιστα πῶς μύρια  
 3 καὶ δισχίλια σὺν αἷς ποιεῖται καμπαῖς.<sup>2</sup> κατὰ  
 δὲ τοὺς ὑποκάτω τόπους συστέλλεται τοῖς ὄγκοις  
 αἰεὶ μᾶλλον, ἀποσπωμένου τοῦ ρεύματος ἐπ'  
 4 ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἡπείρους. τῶν δ' ἀποσχιζο-  
 μένων μερῶν τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐκκλίνειν ὑφ'

<sup>1</sup> All MSS. except M read *τριακοσίων*, which has been deleted by every editor since Dindorf. But U. Wilcken (*Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien*, I., pp. 489 f.) follows Ed. Meyer in feeling that *τριακοσίων* is a corruption and makes a strong case for *ταύτων*, which I have adopted.

<sup>2</sup> περιείληψε δὲ καὶ νῆσους ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἄλλας τε πλείους καὶ μίαν εὐμεγέθη, τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μερόην, ἣ

has remained no less down to our day.<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason that, according to our historical accounts, the ancient kings of Egypt built great and marvellous works with the aid of so many hands and left in them immortal monuments to their glory. But these matters we shall set forth in detail a little later; now we shall tell of the nature of the river and the distinctive features of the country.

32. The Nile flows from south to north, having its sources in regions which have never been seen, since they lie in the desert at the extremity of Ethiopia in a country that cannot be approached because of the excessive heat. Being as it is the largest of all rivers as well as the one which traverses the greatest territory, it forms great windings, now turning towards the east and Arabia, now bending back towards the west and Libya; for its course from the mountains of Ethiopia to where it empties into the sea is a distance, inclusive of its windings, of some twelve thousand stades. In its lower stretches it is more and more reduced in volume, as the flow is drawn off to the two continents.<sup>2</sup> Of the streams which thus break off from it, those which turn off into Libya are swallowed up by the

<sup>1</sup> U. Wilcken (op. critical note) feels that this sum for the population of Egypt about the middle of the first century B.C. is approximately correct. Josephus (*Jewish War*, 2. 385), writing a little more than a century later, gives the population as 7,500,000, exclusive of Alexandria. In Book 17. 52. 6 Diodorus says that the "free inhabitants" of that city numbered over 300,000.

<sup>2</sup> The earlier Greek writers made the Nile the dividing line between the continents of Asia and Africa.

εἴκοσι δύοιν σταδίων ἐστὶ τὸ πλάτος added by CF from chap. 33. 1.



ἄμμον καταπίνεται τὸ βῆθος ἐχούσης ἄπιστον,  
 τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐναντίως εἰσχεόμενον εἰς  
 5 τέλματα παρμεγέθη καὶ λίμνας ἐκτρέπεται μεγά-  
 λας καὶ περιρικουμένας γένεσι πολλοῖς. εἰς δὲ  
 τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβάλλει τῇ μὲν δέκα σταδίων,  
 τῇ δ' ἔλαττον τούτων, οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας φερόμενος,  
 ἀλλὰ καμπὰς παντοίας ποιούμενος· ποτὲ μὲν  
 γὰρ ἐλίπτεται πρὸς τὴν ἑω, ποτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὴν  
 6 ἐσπέραν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν, εἰς  
 τοῦπίσω λαμβάνων τὴν παλίρροιαν. ὄρη γὰρ  
 ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρῆκει, πολλὴν  
 μὲν τῆς παραποταμίας ἐπέχοντα, διειλημμένα  
 δὲ φάραξι κατακρήμνους<sup>1</sup> στενωπόροις, οἷς  
 ἐμπύπτον τὸ ρεῦμα παλισσυτεῖ διὰ τῆς πεδιάδος,  
 καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἐφ' ἱκανὸν τόπον  
 ἐνεχθὲν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν φορὰν  
 ἀποκαθίσταται.  
 7 Τηλικαύτην δ' ἔχων ὑπεροχὴν ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ  
 ποταμὸς οὗτος μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἄνευ βίας καὶ  
 κυματώδους ὀρμῆς τὴν ῥύσιν ποιεῖται, πλὴν ἐν  
 8 τοῖς καλουμένοις καταράκταις. τόπος γὰρ τίς  
 ἔστι μῆκει μὲν ὡς δέκα σταδίων, κατάντης δὲ καὶ  
 κρημοῖς συγκλειόμενος εἰς στενὴν ἐντομὴν, ἅπας  
 δὲ τραχὺς καὶ φαραγγώδης, ἔτι δὲ πέτρους ἔχων  
 πυκνοὺς καὶ μεγάλους εοικότας σκοπέλοις· τοῦ  
 δὲ ρεύματος περὶ τούτους σχιζόμενου βιαιότερον  
 καὶ πολλακίς διὰ τὰς ἐγκοπὰς ἀνακλωμένοι πρὸς  
 ἐναντίαν τὴν καταφορὰν συνίστανται δῖναι θαν-  
 9 μασταί· πᾶς δ' ὁ μεσάζων τόπος ὑπὸ τῆς παλιρ-

sand, which lies there to an incredible depth, while those which pour in the opposite direction into Arabia are diverted into immense fens and large marshes<sup>1</sup> on whose shores dwell many peoples. But where it enters Egypt it has a width of ten stades, sometimes less, and flows, not in a straight course, but in windings of every sort; for it twists now towards the east, now towards the west, and at times even towards the south, turning entirely back upon itself. For sharp hills extend along both sides of the river, which occupy much of the land bordering upon it and are cut through by precipitous ravines, in which are narrow defiles; and when it comes to these hills the stream rushes rapidly backward through the level country,<sup>2</sup> and after being borne southward over an area of considerable extent resumes once more its natural course.

Distinguished as it is in these respects above all other streams, the Nile is also the only river which makes its way without violence or onrushing waves, except at the cataracts, as they are called. This is a place which is only about ten stades in length, but has a steep descent and is shut in by precipices so as to form a narrow cleft, rugged in its entire length and ravine-like, full, moreover, of huge boulders which stand out of the water like peaks. And since the river is split about these boulders with great force and is often turned back so that it rushes in the opposite direction because of the obstacles, remarkable whirlpools are formed; the middle space, moreover, for its entire length is filled with foam

<sup>1</sup> κατακρήμνους Capps: καὶ κρημοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (2. 32) speaks of "large marshes" on the upper course of the Nile.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the valley which lies between the hills.

ροίας ἀφροῦ τε πληροῦται καὶ τοῖς προσιοῦσι  
 μεγάλην παρέχεται κατάπληξιν καὶ γὰρ ἡ  
 καταφορὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὕτως ἐστὶν ὄξεια καὶ  
 10 βίαιος ὥστε δοκεῖν μηδὲν βέλους διαφέρειν. κατὰ  
 δὲ τὴν πλήρωσιν τοῦ Νείλου, τῶν σκοπέλων  
 κατακλυζομένου καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τραχύνοντος  
 τόπου τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ρεύματος καλυπτομένου,  
 καταπλέουσι μὲν τινες κατὰ τοῦ καταράκτου  
 λαμβάνοντες ἐναντίους τοὺς ἀνέμους, ἀναπλευ-  
 11 βίας πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρωπίνην. καταράκται  
 μὲν οὖν εἰσι τοιοῦτοι πλείους, μέγιστος δ' ὁ πρὸς  
 τοῖς μεθριοῖς τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

33. Περιέλιπε δ' ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ νήσους ἐν  
 αὐτῷ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἄλλας τε πλείους  
 καὶ μίαν εὐμεγέθη, τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μερὸν, ἐν  
 ἣ καὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἀξιόλογος ὁμώνυμος τῇ νήσῳ,  
 κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Καμβύσου καὶ θεμένου τὴν  
 2 προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μερὸς.  
 2 ταύτην δὲ τῷ μὲν σχήματι φασὶν ὑπάρχειν  
 θυρεῷ παραπλησίαν, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει πολὺ προέχειν  
 τῶν ἄλλων νήσων τῶν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις· τὸ  
 μὲν γὰρ μήκος αὐτῆς εἶναι λέγουσι σταδίων  
 τρισχιλίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος χιλίων. ἔχειν δ'  
 αὐτὴν καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας, ὧν ἐπιφανεστάτην  
 3 ὑπάρχειν τὴν Μερὸν. παρῆκειν δὲ τῆς νήσου  
 τὸν περικλυζόμενον πάντα τόπον ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς  
 Λιβύης θίνας ἔχοντας ἄμμου μέγεθος ἀέριον, ἀπὸ  
 δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κρημνοὺς κατερρωγώτας. ὑπάρ-  
 χειν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ μέταλλα χρυσοῦ τε καὶ  
 ἀργύρου καὶ σιδήρου καὶ χαλκοῦ· πρὸς δὲ τού-  
 τοις ἔχειν πλῆθος ἐβένου, λίθων τε πολυτελῶν

made by the backward rush of the water, and strikes those who approach it with great terror. And, in fact, the descent of the river is so swift and violent that it appears to the eye like the very rush of an arrow. During the flood-time of the Nile, when the peaked rocks are covered and the entire rapids are hidden by the large volume of the water, some men descend the cataract when they find the winds against them,<sup>1</sup> but no man can make his way up it, since the force of the river overcomes every human device. Now there are still other cataracts of this nature, but the largest is the one on the border between Ethiopia and Egypt.

33. The Nile also embraces islands within its waters, of which there are many in Ethiopia and one of considerable extent called Meroë, on which there also lies a famous city bearing the same name as the island, which was founded by Cambyses and named by him after his mother Meroë. This island, they say, has the shape of a long shield and in size far surpasses the other islands in these parts; for they state that it is three thousand stades long and a thousand wide. It also contains not a few cities, the most famous of which is Meroë. Extending the entire length of the island where it is washed by the river there are, on the side towards Libya, dunes containing an infinite amount of sand, and, on the side towards Arabia, rugged cliffs. There are also to be found in it mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper, and it contains in addition much ebony and

<sup>1</sup> i.e. and so are able to check their speed by using the sails.

4 γένη παντοδαπά. καθόλου δὲ τοσαύτας νήσους ποιεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν ὥστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας μὴ βραδίως πιστεῦσαι· χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν περικλυζομένων τόπων ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Δέλτα τὰς ἄλλας εἶναι νήσους πλείους τῶν ἑπτακοσίων, ὧν τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Αἰθιοπῶν ἐπαντλυνμένας γεωργεῖσθαι κέγχρω, τὰς δὲ πλήρεις ὑπάρχειν ὄφρων καὶ κυνοκεφάλων καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων παντοδαπῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπροσίτους εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

5 Ὁ δ' οὖν Νεῖλος κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτου εἰς πλείω μέρη σχιζόμενος ποιεῖ τὸ καλούμενον ἀπὸ

6 τοῦ σχήματος Δέλτα. τούτου δὲ τὰς μὲν πλευρὰς καταγράφει τὰ τελευταῖα τῶν βουμάτων, τὴν δὲ βάσιν ἀναπληροῖ τὸ δεχόμενον

7 πέλαγος τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἐξίησι δ' εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἑπτὰ στόμασιν, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἔω κεκλιμένον καὶ πρῶτον καλεῖται Πηλουσιακόν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Ταυτικόν, εἶτα Μενδησίον καὶ Φατυνικόν καὶ Σεβεννυτικόν, ἔτι δὲ Βολβίτινον, καὶ τελευταῖον Κανωβικόν, ὃ τινας

8 Ἡρακλεωτικόν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα στόματα χειροποίητα, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν κατεπέειγε γράφειν. ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ πόλις τετεῖχισται διαιρουμένη τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον μέρος τῆς ἐκβολῆς ζεύγμασι καὶ φυλακαῖς εὐκαίροις διελημμένη. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος διωρῦξ ἔστι χειροποίητος εἰς τὸν Ἀράβιον

9 κόλπον καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν. ταύτην δ' ἐπεβάλετο πρῶτος κατασκευάζειν Νεκῶς ὁ Ψαμμητίχου, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης, καὶ προκόψας τοῖς ἔργοις ἕως τινὸς τὸ τελευταῖον

every kind of precious stone. Speaking generally, the river forms so many islands that the report of them can scarcely be credited; for, apart from the regions surrounded by water in what is called the Delta, there are more than seven hundred other islands, of which some are irrigated by the Ethiopians and planted with millet, though others are so overrun by snakes and dog-faced baboons<sup>1</sup> and other animals of every kind that human beings cannot set foot upon them.

Now where the Nile in its course through Egypt divides into several streams it forms the region which is called from its shape the Delta. The two sides of the Delta are described by the outermost branches, while its base is formed by the sea which receives the discharge from the several outlets of the river. It empties into the sea in seven mouths, of which the first, beginning at the east, is called the Pelusiac, the second the Tanitic, then the Mendesian, Phatuitic, and Sebennyitic, then the Bolbitine, and finally the Canopic, which is called by some the Heracleotic. There are also other mouths, built by the hand of man, about which there is no special need to write. At each mouth is a walled city, which is divided into two parts by the river and provided on each side of the mouth with pontoon bridges and guard-houses at suitable points. From the Pelusiac mouth there is an artificial canal to the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. The first to undertake the construction of this was Necho the son of Psammetichus, and after him Darinus the Persian made progress with the work for

<sup>1</sup> These are described in Book 3. 35.

- 10 εἶασεν αὐτὴν ἀσυντέλεστον· ἐδιδάχθη γὰρ ὑπό  
 τινων ὅτι διορύξας τὸν ἰσθμὸν αἴτιος ἔσται τοῦ  
 κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν Αἴγυπτον· μετewροτέρα γὰρ  
 ἀπεδείκνυον ὑπάρχειν τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν Ἐρυ-  
 11 θρὰν θάλατταν. ὕστερον δὲ ὁ δεῦτερος Πτολε-  
 μαῖος συνετέλεσεν αὐτήν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπικαι-  
 ρότατον τόπον ἐμηχανήσατό τι φιλότεχνον  
 διάφραγμα. τοῦτο δ' ἐξήνοιγεν, ὁπότε βούλοιο  
 διαπλευσαι, καὶ ταχέως πάλιν συνέκλειεν, εὐ-  
 12 στόχως ἐκλαμβανομένης τῆς χρείας. ὁ δὲ διὰ  
 τῆς διώρυχος ταύτης ῥέων ποταμὸς ὀνομάζεται  
 μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς πόλιν ἔχει τὴν προσαγορευομένην  
 Ἄρσινόν.

34. Τὸ δ' οὖν Δέλτα τῆ Σικελία τῷ σχήματι  
 παραπλήσιον ὑπάρχον τῶν μὲν πλευρῶν ἑκατέραν  
 ἔχει σταδίων ἑπτακοσίων καὶ πενήκοντα, τὴν δὲ  
 βᾶσιν θαλάττη προσκλυζομένην σταδίων χιλίων  
 2 καὶ τριακοσίων. ἡ δὲ νῆσος αὕτη πολλαῖς  
 διώρυξι χειροποίητοις διείληπται καὶ χώραν  
 περιέχει καλλίστην τῆς Αἰγύπτου. ποταμόχω-  
 στος γὰρ οὖσα καὶ κατάρρτος πολλοὺς καὶ  
 παντοδαποὺς ἐκφέρει καρπούς, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ  
 διὰ τὴν κατ' ἔτος ἀνάβασιν νεαρὰν ἰλὺν αἰεὶ  
 καταχέοντος, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ραδίως ἅπασαν  
 ἀρδευόντων διὰ τινος μηχανῆς, ἣν ἐπενόησε μὲν

a time but finally left it unfinished;¹ for he was informed by certain persons that if he dug through the neck of land he would be responsible for the submergence of Egypt, for they pointed out to him that the Red Sea was higher than Egypt.<sup>2</sup> At a later time the second Ptolemy completed it and in <sup>235-240</sup> the most suitable spot constructed an ingenious <sup>B.C.</sup> kind of a lock. This he opened, whenever he wished to pass through, and quickly closed again, a contrivance which usage proved to be highly successful. The river which flows through this canal is named Ptolemy, after the builder of it, and has at its mouth the city called Arsinoë.

34. The Delta is much like Sicily in shape, and its sides are each seven hundred and fifty stades long and its base, where it is washed by the sea, thirteen hundred stades. This island is intersected by many artificial canals and includes the fairest land in Egypt. For since it is alluvial soil and well watered, it produces many crops of every kind, inasmuch as the river by its annual rise regularly deposits on it fresh slime, and the inhabitants easily irrigate its whole area by means of a contrivance

the Nile a little above Bubastis, followed the Wadi Tūmilāt to the Bitter Lakes, and then turned south, along the course of the present canal, to the Red Sea. Its construction has been placed as far back as the 19th and even the 12th Dynasty. At any rate, it was again put in operation by Darius, as is clear from the inscription on the best-preserved of the five stelae discovered: "I am a Persian. From Persia I captured Egypt. I commanded this canal to be built from the Nile, which flows in Egypt, to the Sea which comes from Persia. So was this canal built, as I had commanded, and ships passed from Egypt through this canal to Persia, as was my purpose" (translation in R. W. Rogers, *History of Ancient Persia*, p. 120). Remains show that it was about 150 feet wide and 16 to 17 feet deep.

<sup>1</sup> Necho reigned from 609 to 593 B.C., Darius from 521 to 485 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> This canal, not to be confused with the Suez Canal, left

Ἄρχιμήδης ὁ Συρακόσιος, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος κοχλίας.

- 3 Πραεῖαν δὲ τοῦ Νείλου τὴν ῥύσιν ποιούμενου, καὶ γῆν πολλὴν καὶ παντοδαπὴν καταφέροντος, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κοίλους τόπους λιμνάζοντος,  
 4 ἔλη γίνεται πάμπορα. ῥίζαι γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς φύονται παντοδαπαὶ τῇ γένει καὶ καρπῶν καὶ καυλῶν ἰδιάζουσαι φύσεις, πολλὰ συμβαλλόμεναι τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς  
 5 ἀσθενέσι πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τροφὰς παρέχονται ποικίλας καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις ἐτοίμας καὶ δαψιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ ὀλίγα φέρουσι βοθημάτων  
 6 ματα λωτὸς τε γὰρ φύεται πολὺς, ἐξ οὗ κατασκευάζουσιν ἄρτους οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον δυναμένους ἐκπληροῦν τὴν φυσικὴν τοῦ σώματος ἔνδειαν, τὸ τε κιβώριον δαψιλέστατον ὑπάρχον φέρει τὸν  
 7 καλούμενον Αἰγύπτιον κύαμον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δένδρων γένη πλείονα, καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν ὀνομαζόμεναι περσαῖαι καρπὸν διάφορον ἔχουσι τῇ γλυκύτητι, μετενεχθέντος ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ὑπὸ  
 8 Περσῶν τοῦ φυτοῦ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Καμβύσης ἐκράτησεν ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων· τῶν δὲ συκαμίνων αἱ μὲν τὸν τῶν μῶρων καρπὸν φέρουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὸν τοῖς σύκοις ἐμφερῆ, καὶ παρ' ὅλον σχεδὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν αὐτοῦ φανομένον συμβαίνει τοὺς ἀπόρους  
 9 καταφυγὴν ἐτοίμην ἔχειν τῆς ἐνδείας. τὰ δὲ βάτα καλούμενα<sup>1</sup> συνάγεται μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν

<sup>1</sup> *μνῆρια* after *καλούμενα* deleted by Dindorf.

which was invented by Archimedes of Syracuse and is called, after its shape, a screw.<sup>1</sup>

Since the Nile has a gentle current, carries down a great quantity of all kinds of earth, and, furthermore, gathers in stagnant pools in low places, marshes are formed which abound in every kind of plant. For tubers of every flavour grow in them and fruits and vegetables which grow on stalks, of a nature peculiar to the country, supplying an abundance sufficient to render the poor and the sick among the inhabitants self-sustaining. For not only do they afford a varied diet, ready at hand and abundant for all who need it, but they also furnish not a few of the other things which contribute to the necessities of life; the lotus, for instance, grows in great profusion, and from it the Egyptians make a bread which is able to satisfy the physical needs of the body, and the *ciborium*, which is found in great abundance, bears what is called the "Egyptian" bean.<sup>2</sup> There are also many kinds of trees, of which that called *persea*,<sup>3</sup> which was introduced from Ethiopia by the Persians when Cambyses conquered those regions, has an unusually sweet fruit, while of the fig-mulberry<sup>4</sup> trees one kind bears the black mulberry and another a fruit resembling the fig; and since the latter produces throughout almost the whole year, the result is that the poor have a ready source to turn to in their need. The fruit called the blackberry is picked at the time the river is

turned within a wooden shaft. It was worked by man-power and did not raise the water so high as did the water wheel.

<sup>2</sup> The *Nelumbium speciosum*; cp. Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, 4. 8. 7 (tr. by Hort in *L.C.L.*).

<sup>3</sup> The *Mimusops Schimperii*; cp. Theophrastus, *ibid.* 4. 2. 5.

<sup>4</sup> The *Ficus Sycamorus*; cp. Theophrastus, *ibid.* 6. 6. 4.

<sup>1</sup> According to the description of Vitruvius (10. 6) this was a screw with spiral channels, "like those of a snail shell," which

τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διὰ δὲ τὴν γλυκύτητα τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν ἐν τραγήματος μέρει καταναλίσκεται.  
 10 κατασκευάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν Αἰγύπτιοι πόμα λειπόμενον οὐ πολὺ τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον  
 11 εὐωδίας, ὃ καλοῦσι ζῦθος. χρώνται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν λύχνων καῦσιν ἐπιχέοντες ἀντ' ἐλαίου τὸ ἀποθλιβόμενον ἐκ τίνος φυτοῦ, προσαγορευόμενον δὲ κίκι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τὰ δυνάμενα τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας παρέχεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δαφιλῆ φύεται κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὑπὲρ ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἶη γράφειν.

35. Θηρία δ' ὃ Νεῖλος τρέφει πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ταῖς ἰδέαις ἐξηλλαγμένα, δύο δὲ διάφορα, τὸν τε κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ἵππον.  
 2 τούτων δ' ὃ μὲν κροκόδειλος ἐξ ἐλαχίστου γίνεται μέγιστος, ὡς ἂν ἡ μὲν τοῦ ζῴου τούτου τίκτοντος τοῖς χηνέοις παραπλήσια, τοῦ δὲ γεννηθέντος  
 3 αὐξομένου μέχρι πηχῶν ἑκαίδεκα. καὶ μακρόβιον μὲν ἐστὶν ὡς κατ' ἀνθρώπου, γλώτταν δὲ οὐκ ἔχει. τὸ δὲ σῶμα θανμαστῶς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὠχύρωται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ δέρμα αὐτοῦ πᾶν φολιδωτὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ σκληρότητι διάφορον, ὀδόντες δ' ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὑπάρχουσι πολλοί, δύο δὲ οἱ χανλιόδοντες πολὺ τῷ μεγέθει  
 4 τῶν ἄλλων διαλλάττοντες. σαρκοφαγεὶ δ' οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ζῴων τὰ προσπελάζοντα τῷ ποταμῷ. καὶ τὰ μὲν δῆγματα ποιεῖ ἀδρὰ καὶ χαλεπά, τοῖς δ' ὄνυξι δεινῶς σπαράττει, καὶ τὸ διαιρεθὲν τῆς σαρκὸς παντελῶς ἀπεργάζεται δυσίατον.  
 5 ἔθρηύετο δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ζῴα τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀγκίστροις ἔχουσιν ἐπιδεδελεασ-

receding and by reason of its natural sweetness is eaten as a dessert. The Egyptians also make a drink out of barley which they call *zythos*, the bouquet of which is not much inferior to that of wine. Into their lamps they pour for lighting purposes, not the oil of the olive, but a kind which is extracted from a plant and called *kiki*.<sup>1</sup> Many other plants, capable of supplying men with the necessities of life, grow in Egypt in great abundance, but it would be a long task to tell about them.

35. As for animals, the Nile breeds many of peculiar form, and two which surpass the others, the crocodile and what is called the "horse."<sup>2</sup> Of these animals the crocodile grows to be the largest from the smallest beginning, since this animal lays eggs about the size of those of a goose, but after the young is hatched it grows to be as long as sixteen cubits. It is as long-lived as man, and has no tongue. The body of the animal is wondrously protected by nature; for its skin is covered all over with scales and is remarkably hard, and there are many teeth in both jaws, two being tusks, much larger than the rest. It devours the flesh not only of men but also of any land animal which approaches the river. The bites which it makes are huge and severe and it lacerates terribly with its claws, and whatever part of the flesh it tears it renders altogether difficult to heal. In early times the Egyptians used to catch these beasts with hooks baited with

<sup>1</sup> Castor-oil.

<sup>2</sup> Called by the Greeks also *hippopotamos*, "horse of the river," and "horse of the Nile."

μένας υείας σάρκας, ὕστερον δὲ ποτὲ μὲν δικτύοις παχέσιν ὡσπερὶ τινας ἰχθύς, ποτὲ δ' ἐμβολίοις σιδηροῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀκάτων τυπτόμενα συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. πλῆθος δ' αὐτῶν ἀμύθητόν ἐστι κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας λίμνας, ὡς ἂν πολυγόνων τε ὄντων καὶ σπαιῖως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναιρουμένων τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐγγωρίων τοῖς πλείστοις νόμιμόν ἐστιν ὡς θεῶν σέβεσθαι τὸν κροκοδείλου, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοφύλοις ἀλυσιτελής ἐστιν ἡ θήρα παντελῶς, οὐκ οὐσης ἐδωδίμου τῆς σαρκός. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦ πλῆθους τούτου φυομένου κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ φύσις κατεσκεύασε μέγα βοήθημα· ὁ γὰρ καλούμενος ἰχνεύμων, παραπλήσιος ὢν μικρῷ κυνί, περιέρχεται τὰ τῶν κροκοδείλων ἄσυντρίβων, τίκτοντος τοῦ ζῴου παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, οὔτε κατεσθίων οὔτε ἀφελούμενος οὐδὲν διατελεῖ φυσικὴν τινα χρεῖαν καὶ καταναγκασμένην ἐνεργῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν.

8 Ὁ δὲ καλούμενος ἵππος τῷ μεγέθει μὲν ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐλάττων πηχῶν πέντε, τετράπους δ' ὢν καὶ δίχηλος παραπλησίως τοῖς βουσί τοὺς χαυλιόδοντας ἔχει μείζους τῶν ἀγρίων ἰῶν, τρεῖς ἔξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, ὅτα δὲ καὶ κέρκον καὶ φωνὴν ἵππῳ παρεμφερῆ, τὸ δ' ὅλον κύτος τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἀνόμοιον ἐλέφαντι, καὶ δέρμα πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν θηρίων ἰσχυρότατον. ποτάμιον δὲ<sup>1</sup> ὑπάρχον καὶ χερσαῖον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι ποιεῖ γυμναζόμενον κατὰ βάθους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κατανέμεται τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὸν χόρτον, ὥστε εἰ πολύτεκνον ἦν

the flesh of pigs, but since then they have hunted them sometimes with heavy nets, as they catch some kinds of fish, and sometimes from their boats with iron spears which they strike repeatedly into the head. The multitude of them in the river and the adjacent marshes is beyond telling, since they are prolific and are seldom slain by the inhabitants; for it is the custom of most of the natives of Egypt to worship the crocodile as a god, while for foreigners there is no profit whatsoever in the hunting of them since their flesh is not edible. But against this multitude's increasing and menacing the inhabitants nature has devised a great help; for the animal called the *ichneumon*, which is about the size of a small dog, goes about breaking the eggs of the crocodiles, since the animal lays them on the banks of the river, and—what is most astonishing of all—without eating them or profiting in any way it continually performs a service which, in a sense, has been prescribed by nature and forced upon the animal for the benefit of men.

The animal called the "horse" is not less than five cubits high, and is four-footed and cloven-hoofed like the ox; it has tusks larger than those of the wild boar, three on each side, and ears and tail and a cry somewhat like those of the horse; but the trunk of its body, as a whole, is not unlike that of the elephant, and its skin is the toughest of almost any beast's. Being a river and land animal, it spends the day in the streams exercising in the deep water, while at night it forages about the countryside on the grain and hay, so that, if this animal were

<sup>1</sup> δὲ Dindorf: γάρ.

- τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔτικτεν, ἔλυ-  
 10 μαινετ' ἂν ὀλοσχερῶς τὰς γεωργίας τὰς κατ'  
 Αἴγυπτον. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πολυχειρία  
 τῶν τυπτόντων τοῖς σιδηροῖς ἐμβολίοις· ὅπου  
 γὰρ ἂν φανῆ, συνάγουσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸ πλοῖα, καὶ  
 περιστάτες κατατραυματίζουσιν ὅσπερ τισὶ  
 κοπεύουσιν ἐπὶ σιδηροῖς ἀγκίστροις, εἴθ' ἐνὶ τῶν  
 ἐμπαγέντων ἐνάπτοντες ἀρχὰς στυππίνας ἀφιάσι,  
 11 τὴν μὲν οὖν σάρκα σκληρὰν ἔχει καὶ δύσπεπτον,  
 τῶν δ' ἔντοσθεν οὐδὲν ἐδώδιμον, οὔτε σπλάγχχνον  
 οὔτ' ἐγκοίλιον.

36. Χωρὶς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων θηρίων ὁ Νεῖλος  
 ἔχει παντοῖα γένη ἰχθύων καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος  
 ἄπιστα· τοῖς γὰρ ἐγχωρίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν  
 προσφάτως ἀλισκομένων παρέχεται δαψιλῆ τὴν  
 ἀπόλαυσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος εἰς ταριχείαν  
 2 ἀνίησιν ἀνέκλειπτον. καθόλου δὲ ταῖς εἰς ἀν-  
 θρώπους εὐεργεσίας ὑπερβάλλει πάντας τοὺς  
 κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ποταμούς. τῆς γὰρ πληρώ-  
 σεως τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ θερινῶν τροπῶν ποιούμενος  
 αὐξεται μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἰσημερίας τῆς μετοπωρινῆς,  
 ἐπάγων δ' αἰεὶ νέαν ἰλὺν βρέχει τὴν γῆν ὁμοίως  
 τὴν τε ἀργὴν καὶ σπόριμον καὶ φντεύσιμον  
 3 τσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἂν οἱ γεωργοῦντες τὴν  
 χώραν ἐθελήσωσι. τοῦ γὰρ ὕδατος πραέως  
 φερομένου ραδίως ἀποτρέπουσιν αὐτὸν μικροῖς  
 χώμασι, καὶ πάλιν ἐπάγουσιν εὐχερῶς ταῦτα  
 4 διαιροῦντες, ὅταν δόξῃ συμφέρειν. καθόλου δὲ  
 τσαύτην τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις εὐκοπίαν παρέχεται,  
 τοῖς δ' ἀνθρώποις λυσιτέλειαν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν  
 πλείστους τῶν γεωργῶν τοῖς ἀναξηραινομένοις

prolific and reproduced each year, it would entirely  
 destroy the farms of Egypt. But even it is caught by  
 the united work of many men who strike it with iron  
 spears; for whenever it appears they converge their  
 boats upon it, and gathering about it wound it  
 repeatedly with a kind of chisel fitted with iron  
 barbs,<sup>1</sup> and then, fastening the end of a rope of tow  
 to one of them which has become imbedded in the  
 animal, they let it go until it dies from loss of blood.  
 Its meat is tough and hard to digest and none of  
 its inward parts is edible, neither the viscera<sup>2</sup> nor  
 the intestines.

36. Beside the beasts above mentioned the Nile  
 contains every variety of fish and in numbers beyond  
 belief; for it supplies the natives not only with  
 abundant subsistence from the fish freshly caught,  
 but it also yields an unfailing multitude for salting.  
 Speaking generally, we may say that the Nile  
 surpasses all the rivers of the inhabited world in  
 its benefactions to mankind. For, beginning  
 to rise at the summer solstice, it increases in volume  
 until the autumnal equinox, and, since it is bring-  
 ing down fresh mud all the time, it soaks both  
 the fallow land and the seed land as well as the  
 orchard land for so long a time as the farmers  
 may wish. For since the water comes with a gentle  
 flow, they easily divert the river from their fields  
 by small dams of earth, and then, by cutting these,  
 as easily let the river in again upon the land when-  
 ever they think this to be advantageous. And in  
 general the Nile contributes so greatly to the lighten-  
 ing of labour as well as to the profit of the inhabi-  
 tants, that the majority of the farmers, as they

<sup>1</sup> i.e. a harpoon.<sup>2</sup> i.e. the heart, liver, lungs, kidneys.



τῆς γῆς τόποις ἐφισταμένους καὶ τὸ σπέρμα  
βάλλοντας ἐπάγειν τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ τούτοις  
συμπατήσαντας μετὰ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε μῆνας  
ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν θερισμόν, ἐνίους δὲ κούφοις  
ἀρότροις ἐπαγαγόντας βραχέως τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
τῆς βεβρεγμένης χώρας σωροὺς ἀναρρῆσαι τῶν  
καρπῶν χωρὶς δαπάνης πολλῆς καὶ κακοπαθείας.  
5 ὅλως γὰρ πᾶσα γεωργία παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
ἔθνεσι μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ταλαι-  
πωριῶν διοικεῖται, παρὰ δ' Αἰγυπτίοις μόνοις  
ἐλαχίστοις δαπανήμασι καὶ πόνοις συγκομίζεται.  
ἢ τε ἀμπελόφυτος ὁμοίως ἀρδευομένη δαψίλειαν  
6 οἴνου τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις παρασκευάζει. οἱ δὲ χερ-  
σεύειν ἐάσαντες τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐπικεκλυσμένην  
καὶ τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἀνέντες μηλόβοτον διὰ τὸ  
πλήθος τῆς νομῆς δις τεκόντα καὶ δις ἀποκαρέντα  
τὰ πρόβατα καρποῦνται.  
7 Τὸ δὲ γινόμενον περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ Νεῖλου  
τοῖς μὲν ἰδοῦσι θαυμαστὸν φαίνεται, τοῖς δ'  
ἀκούσασι παντελῶς ἀπιστον. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων  
ποταμῶν ἀπάντων περὶ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς  
ἐλαττουμένων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς χρόνον τοῦ  
θέρου ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ταπεινουμένων, οὗτος μόνος  
τότε τὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀρχὴν λαβὼν τῆς πληρώσεως ἐπὶ  
τοσοῦτον αὔξεται καθ' ἡμέραν ὥστε τὸ τελευταῖον  
8 πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐπικλύζειν τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ὡσαύτως  
δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸναντίον μεταβαλὼν<sup>2</sup> τὸν ἴσον

begin work upon the areas of the land which are becoming dry, merely scatter their seed, turn their herds and flocks in on the fields, and after they have used these for trampling the seed in return after four or five months to harvest it;<sup>1</sup> while some, applying light ploughs to the land, turn over no more than the surface of the soil after its wetting and then gather great heaps of grain without much expense or exertion. For, generally speaking, every kind of field labour among other peoples entails great expense and toil, but among the Egyptians alone is the harvest gathered in with very slight outlay of money and labour. Also the land planted with the vine, being irrigated as are the other fields, yields an abundant supply of wine to the natives. And those who allow the land, after it has been inundated, to lie uncultivated and give it over to the flocks to graze upon, are rewarded with flocks which, because of the rich pasturage, lamb twice and are twice shorn every year.<sup>2</sup>

The rise of the Nile is a phenomenon which appears wonderful enough to those who have witnessed it, but to those who have only heard of it, quite incredible. For while all other rivers begin to fall at the summer solstice and grow steadily lower and lower during the course of the following summer, this one alone begins to rise at that time and increases so greatly in volume day by day that it finally overflows practically all Egypt. And in like manner it afterwards follows precisely the opposite

<sup>1</sup> A monument of the Old Kingdom represents sheep treading in the seed (the reproduction appears in J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 92).

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the *Odyssey* 4. 86.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν omitted by F, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> μεταβάλλον A B, Bekker, Dindorf.

χρόνον καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ταπεινοῦ-  
 ται, μέχρι ἂν εἰς τὴν προῦπάρξασαν ἀφίκηται  
 τάξιν. καὶ τῆς μὲν χώρας οὐσης πεδιάδος, τῶν  
 δὲ πόλεων καὶ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀγροικῶν  
 κειμένων ἐπὶ χειροποιήτων χωμάτων, ἢ πρόσσφιν  
 9 ὁμοία γίνεταί ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις. τῶν δὲ χειρ-  
 σαίων θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 περιληφθέντα διαφθείρεται βαπτιζόμενα, τινὰ δ'  
 εἰς τοὺς μετεωροτέρους ἐκφεύγοντα τόπους διασώ-  
 ζεται, τὰ δὲ βοσκήματα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναβίσεως  
 χρόνον ἐν ταῖς κωμαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀγροικίαις δια-  
 τρέφεται, προπαρασκευαζομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς τρο-  
 10 φῆς. οἱ δ' ὄχλοι πάντα τὸν τῆς πληρώσεως  
 χρόνον ἀπολελυμένοι τῶν ἔργων εἰς ἀνεσιν τρέ-  
 πονται, συνεχῶς ἐστιώμενοι καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνηκόντων ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαύ-  
 11 οντες. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀγωνίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀναβάσεως  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ γινομένην κατεσκευάσται Νειλο-  
 σκοπεῖον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῇ Μέμφει ἐν  
 τούτῳ δὲ τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἀκριβῶς ἐκμετροῦντες οἱ  
 τὴν τούτου διοίκησιν ἔχοντες ἑξαποστέλλουσιν  
 εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐπιστολάς, διασαφοῦντες πόσους  
 πήχεις ἢ δακτύλους ἀναβέβηκεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ  
 τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιήται τῆς ἐλαττώσεως.  
 12 διὰ δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου τῆς μὲν ἀγωνίας  
 ἀπολύεται πᾶς ὁ λαός, πυθόμενος τὴν τῆς αὐξή-  
 σεως εἰς τοῦναντίον μεταβολήν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος  
 τῶν ἐσομένων καρπῶν εἰθὺς ἅπαντες προεπεργνώ-  
 κασιν, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων τῆς παρατηρήσεως  
 ταύτης παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀκριβῶς ἀναγε-  
 γραμμένης.

course and for an equal length of time gradually  
 falls each day, until it has returned to its former  
 level. And since the land is a level plain, while the  
 cities and villages, as well as the farm-houses, lie  
 on artificial mounds, the scene comes to resemble  
 the Cyclades Islands.<sup>1</sup> The wild land animals for  
 the larger part are cut off by the river and perish in  
 its waters, but a few escape by fleeing to higher  
 ground; the herds and flocks, however, are main-  
 tained at the time of the flood in the villages and  
 farm-houses, where fodder is stored up for them in  
 advance. The masses of the people, being relieved  
 of their labours during the entire time of the in-  
 undation, turn to recreation, feasting all the while  
 and enjoying without hindrance every device of  
 pleasure. And because of the anxiety occasioned  
 by the rise of the river the kings have constructed  
 a Nilometer<sup>2</sup> at Memphis, where those who are  
 charged with the administration of it accurately  
 measure the rise and despatch messages to the  
 cities, and inform them exactly how many cubits or  
 fingers the river has risen and when it has commenced  
 to fall. In this manner the entire nation, when it  
 has learned that the river has ceased rising and  
 begun to fall, is relieved of its anxiety, while at the  
 same time all immediately know in advance how  
 large the next harvest will be, since the Egyptians  
 have kept an accurate record of their observations  
 of this kind over a long period of terms.

<sup>1</sup> These are small islands, some of which "cluster" (as the name signifies) about the island of Delos.

<sup>2</sup> The Nilometer (Diodorus calls it in fact a "Niloscope") is described by Strabo (17. 1. 48) as a well on the bank of the Nile with lines on the wall to indicate the stage of the river.

37. Μεγάλης δ' ούσης ἀπορίας περὶ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πληρώσεως, ἐπικεχειρήκασιν πολλοὶ τῶν τε φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀποδίδουσι<sup>1</sup> τὰς ταύτης αἰτίας, περὶ ὧν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐροῦμεν, ἵνα μῆτε μακρὰς ποιώμεθα τὰς παρεκβάσεις μῆτε ἀγραφον τὸ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιζητούμενον ἀπολεί-  
 2 *πωμεν.* ὅλως γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν πηγῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῆς εἰς θάλατταν ἐκβολῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἔχει διαφορῶν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, μέγιστος ὧν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, τινὲς μὲν τῶν συγγραφέων ἀπλῶς οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, καίπερ εἰωθότες μηκύνειν ἐνίοτε περὶ χειμάρρου τοῦ τυχόντος, τινὲς δ' ἐπιβαλόμενοι λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητουμένων πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον.  
 3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλάνικον καὶ Κάδμον, ἔτι δ' Ἐκαταῖον, καὶ πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι, παλαιοὶ παντάπασιν ὄντες, εἰς τὰς μυθώδεις ἀποφά-  
 4 *σεις ἀπέκλιναν.* Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ πολυπραγμων, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, γεγονὼς καὶ πολλῆς ἱστορίας ἔμπειρος ἐπικεχείρηκε μὲν περὶ τούτων ἀποδίδουσι λόγον, ἠκολουθηκῶς δὲ ἀντιλεγομέναις ὑπονοίαις εὐρίσκεται. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Θεουκιδίδης, ἐπαινούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἱστοριῶν, ἀπέσχοντο τελῆς κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν τόπων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐφθρον καὶ Θεόπομπον μάλιστα πάντων εἰς ταύτ' ἐπιταθέντες ἤκιστα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπέτυχον.

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδοῦναι A B E, Dindorf.

37. Since there is great difficulty in explaining the swelling of the river, many philosophers and historians have undertaken to set forth the causes of it; regarding this we shall speak summarily, in order that we may neither make our digression too long nor fail to record that which all men are curious to know. For on the general subject of the rise of the Nile and its sources, as well as on the manner in which it reaches the sea and the other points in which this, the largest river of the inhabited world, differs from all others, some historians have actually not ventured to say a single word, although wont now and then to expatiate at length on some winter torrent or other, while others have undertaken to speak on these points of inquiry, but have strayed far from the truth. Hellanicus and Cadmus, for instance, as well as Hecataeus and all the writers like them, belonging as they do one and all to the early school,<sup>1</sup> turned to the answers offered by the myths; Herodotus, who was a curious inquirer if ever a man was, and widely acquainted with history, undertook, it is true, to give an explanation of the matter, but is now found to have followed contradictory guesses; Xenophon and Thucydides, who are praised for the accuracy of their histories, completely refrained in their writings from any mention of the regions about Egypt; and Ephorus and Theopompus, who of all writers paid most attention to these matters, hit upon the truth the least. The

characteristics of the group were interest in mythology and lack of criticism. Hellanicus of Mitylene died soon after 406 B.C.; the historical character of Cadmus of Miletus (*fl.* sixth century B.C.) is questioned by Schmid-Stählin (*Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, I, pp. 691 f.); Hecataeus of Miletus visited Egypt before 526 B.C. and died soon after 494 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> These early chroniclers belonged to the group whom Thucydides (I. 21) called *logographoi* ("writers of prose") to distinguish them from the writers of epic. The two chief

καὶ διεσφάλησαν οὗτοι πάντες οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἰδιότητα. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ἄχρι Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου προσαγορευθέντος οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπερέβαλον εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσανέβησαν· οὕτως ἄξενα πάντα ἦν τὰ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικίνδυνα· τοῦ δὲ προειρημένου βασιλέως μεθ' Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν πρώτου στρατεύσαντος ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἀκριβεστέρον ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων.

6 Τῆς μὲν οὖν τῶν προτέρων συγγραφέων ἀγνοίας τοιαύτας τὰς αἰτίας συνέβη γενέσθαι· τὰς δὲ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐξ οὗ λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ ρεύματος, ἑορακεῖναι μὲν μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων οὐδεὶς εἰρήκεν οὐδ' ἀκοὴν ἀπεφήνατο παρὰ τῶν ἑορακεῖναι 7 διαβεβαιουμένων. διὸ καὶ τοῦ πράγματος εἰς ὑπόνοιαν καὶ κατατοχασμὸν πιθανὸν κατανῶντος, οἱ μὲν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ περιρρέοντος τὴν οἰκουμένην ὠκεανοῦ φασιν αὐτὸν τὴν σύστασιν λαμβάνειν, ὕγιες μὲν οὐδὲν λέγοντες, ἀπορία δὲ τὴν ἀπορίαν λύοντες καὶ λόγον φέροντες εἰς πίστιν αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> πολλῆς πί-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν Stephanus: αὐτῶν.

<sup>1</sup> The second of the line, who reigned from 285 to 246 B.C. Following the custom of the Egyptian kings (cp. chap. 27) he married his sister Arsinoë, and upon her death (or possibly even before; cp. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV, 2. p.

error on the part of all these writers was due, not to their negligence, but to the peculiar character of the country. For from earliest times until Ptolemy who was called Philadelphus,<sup>1</sup> not only did no Greeks ever cross over into Ethiopia, but none ascended even as far as the boundaries of Egypt—to such an extent were all these regions inhospitable to foreigners and altogether dangerous; but after this king had made an expedition into Ethiopia with an army of Greeks, being the first to do so, the facts about that country from that time forth have been more accurately learned.

Such, then, were the reasons for the ignorance of the earlier historians; and as for the sources of the Nile and the region where the stream arises, not a man, down to the time of the writing of this history, has ever affirmed that he has seen them, or reported from hearsay an account received from any who have maintained that they have seen them. The question, therefore, resolves itself into a matter of guesswork and plausible conjecture; and when, for instance, the priests of Egypt assert that the Nile has its origin in the ocean which surrounds the inhabited world, there is nothing sound in what they say, and they are merely solving one perplexity by substituting another, and advancing as proof an explanation which itself stands much in need of proof.

586, n. 1 and 1, pp. 370 f.) established a cult of himself as ruler and of his sister-wife and consort as *theoi adelphoi* ("Brother-Sister Gods"). The epithet *philadelphos* ("sister-loving") was never borne by Ptolemy II during his lifetime; to his contemporaries he was known as "Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy" (cp. E. R. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 56, and Ferguson in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 7, p. 17.

- 8 στεως προσδεόμενον τῶν δὲ Τρωγοδυτῶν οἱ μετα-  
 αναστάντες ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τόπων διὰ καῦμα, προσ-  
 αγορευόμενοι δὲ Βόλγιοι,<sup>1</sup> λέγουσιν ἐμφάσεις  
 τινὰς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις  
 συλλογίσαιτο διότι πολλῶν πηγῶν εἰς ἓνα τόπον  
 ἀθροιζομένων συνίσταται τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Νείλου·  
 9 διὸ καὶ πολυγονώτατοι αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν πάντων  
 τῶν γνωριζομένων ποταμῶν. οἱ δὲ περιοικοῦντες  
 τὴν νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μερρόην, οἷς καὶ  
 μάλιστα ἂν τις συγκατάθοιτο, τῆς μὲν κατὰ τὸ  
 πιθαρὸν εὐρησιλογίας πολλὴ κεχωρισμένοις, τῶν  
 δὲ τόπων τῶν ζητουμένων ἐγγιστά κειμένοις, το-  
 σοῦτον ἀπέχουσι τοῦ λέγειν τι περὶ τούτων  
 ἀκριβῶς ὥστε καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀστάπου προσ-  
 ηγορεύκασιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνευόμενον εἰς τὴν  
 Ἑλλήνων διάλεκτον ἐκ τοῦ σκοτούς ὕδωρ.
- 10 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τῷ Νείλῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς τόποις  
 ἀθεωρησίας καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀγνοίας οἰκείαν ἔταξαν  
 προσηγορίαν ἡμῖν δ' ἀληθέστατος εἶναι δοκεῖ  
 λόγος ὁ πλείστον ἀπέχων τοῦ προσποιήματος.
- 11 οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἑω τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 τούτου καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑσπέραν Λιβύην ἀφορίζων  
 Ἡρόδοτος ἀνατίθεισι Λίβυσι ταῖς ὀνομαζομένους  
 Νασαμῶσι τὴν ἀκριβῆ θεωρίαν τοῦ ρείθρου, καὶ  
 φησιν ἐκ τινος λίμνης λαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν  
 τὸν Νείλον φέρεσθαι διὰ χώρας Λιβυτικῆς  
 ἀμυθῆτον· οὐ μὲν αὐτόθεν οὔτε τοῖς εἰποῦσι  
 Λίβυσιν, εἴπερ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰρήκασιν,  
 οὔτε τῷ συγγραφεῖ προσεκτέον ἀναποδεικτα  
 λέγοντι.

<sup>1</sup> Βόλγιοι C D F, Vogel: μόλγιοι A B E, Bekker, Dindorf.

On the other hand, those Trogodytes,<sup>1</sup> known as the Bolgii, who migrated from the interior because of the heat, say that there are certain phenomena connected with those regions, from which a man might reason that the body of the Nile is gathered from many sources which converge upon a single place, and that this is the reason for its being the most fertile of all known rivers. But the inhabitants of the country about the island called Meroë, with whom a man would be most likely to agree, since they are far removed from the art of finding reasons in accordance with what is plausible and dwell nearest the regions under discussion, are so far from saying anything accurate about these problems that they even call the river Astapus, which means, when translated into Greek, "Water from Darkness."

This people, then, have given the Nile a name which accords with the want of any first-hand information about those regions and with their own ignorance of them; but in our opinion the explanation nearest the truth is the one which is farthest from pure assumption. I am not unaware that Herodotus,<sup>2</sup> when distinguishing between the Libya which lies to the east and that which lies to the west of this river, attributes to the Libyans known as the Nasamones the exact observation of the stream, and says that the Nile rises in a certain lake and then flows through the land of Ethiopia for a distance beyond telling; and yet assuredly no hasty assent should be given to the statements either of Libyans, even though they may have spoken truthfully, or of the historian when what he says does not admit of proof.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 98, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Book 2. 32.

38. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τῆς  
 ῥύσεως αὐτοῦ διεληλύθαμεν, πειρασόμεθα τὰς  
 2 αἰτίας ἀποδιδόναι τῆς πληρώσεως. Θαλῆς μὲν  
 οὖν, εἰς τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν ὀνομαζόμενος, φησὶ  
 τοὺς ἔτησιαις ἀντιπνέοντας ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ κωλύειν εἰς θάλατταν προχεῖσθαι τὸ  
 ῥεῦμα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν πληρούμενον ἐπι-  
 3 κλύζειν ταπεινὴν οὖσαν καὶ πεδιάδα τὴν Αἴγυπ-  
 του. τοῦ δὲ λόγου τούτου, καίπερ εἶναι δοκοῦντος  
 πιθανοῦ, ῥάδιον ἐξελέγξαι τὸ ψεῦδος. εἰ γὰρ  
 ἦν ἀληθές τὸ προειρημένον, οἱ ποταμοὶ πάντες  
 ἂν οἱ τοῖς ἔτησιαις ἐναντίας τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχοντες  
 4 ἐποιούντο τὴν ὁμοίαν ἀνάβασιν· οὐ μῆδαμὸς τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης συμβαίνοντος ζητητέον ἐτέραν αἰτίαν  
 ἀληθινὴν τῆς πληρώσεως. Ἀναξαγόρας δ' ὁ  
 φυσικὸς ἀπέφηνε τῆς ἀναβάσεως αἰτίαν εἶναι  
 τὴν τηκομένην χιόνα κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν, ἧ καὶ  
 ὁ ποιητῆς Εὐριπίδης μαθητῆς ὧν ἠκολούθηκε·  
 λέγει γοῦν

Νείλου λιπὼν κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίας ὕδωρ,  
 ὃς ἐκ μελαμβρότοιο πληροῦται ῥοὰς  
 Αἰθιοπίδος γῆς, ἠνίκα' ἂν τακῆ χιῶν.

5 καὶ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀπόφασιν οὐ πολλῆς ἀντιρρή-  
 σεως δεῖσθαι συμβέβηκε, φανεροῦ πᾶσιν ὄντος  
 ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν καυμάτων ἀδύνατον  
 6 χιόνα πίπτει περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν· καθόλου γὰρ  
 περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους οὔτε πάγος οὔτε ψῦχος  
 οὐθ' ὄλως χειμῶνος ἔμφασις γίνεται, καὶ μάλιστα  
 περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ Νείλου. εἰ δέ τις καὶ

38. Now that we have discussed the sources and  
 course of the Nile we shall endeavour to set forth  
 the causes of its swelling. Thales, who is called one  
 of the seven wise men, says that when the etesian  
 winds<sup>1</sup> blow against the mouths of the river they  
 hinder the flow of the water into the sea, and that  
 this is the reason why it rises and overflows Egypt,  
 which is low and a level plain. But this explanation,  
 plausible as it appears, may easily be shown to be  
 false. For if what he said were true, all the rivers  
 whose mouths face the etesian winds would rise in  
 a similar way; but since this is the case nowhere in  
 the inhabited world the true cause of the swelling  
 must be sought elsewhere. Anaxagoras the physical  
 philosopher has declared that the cause of the rising  
 is the melting snow in Ethiopia, and the poet  
 Euripides, a pupil of his, is in agreement with him.  
 At least he writes.<sup>2</sup>

He quit Nile's waters, fairest that gush from earth,  
 The Nile which, drawn from Ethiop land, the  
 black  
 Man's home, flows with full flood when melts the  
 snow.

But the fact is that this statement also requires  
 but a brief refutation, since it is clear to everyone  
 that the excessive heat makes it impossible that  
 any snow should fall in Ethiopia; for, speaking  
 generally, in those regions there is no frost or cold  
 or any sign whatsoever of winter, and this is especially  
 true at the time of the rising of the Nile. And even

the term is not a precise one, as Diodorus shows in the following  
 chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Frg. 228, Nauck<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Thales doubtless meant by "etesian" the north-west  
 winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean, but

- συγχωρήσαι χιόνος εἶναι πλήθος ἐν τοῖς ὑπέρ  
 Αἰθιοπίαν τόποις, ὅμως ἐλέγχεται τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς  
 7 ἀποφάσεως· πᾶς γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος ῥέων  
 ὁμολογουμένως αὔρας ἀναδίδωσι ψυχρὰς καὶ τὸν  
 ἀέρα παχύνει· περὶ δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον μόνον τῶν  
 ποταμῶν οὔτε νέφους ὑποστάσεις ὑπάρχουσιν  
 οὔτ' αὔραι ψυχραὶ γίνονται οὔθ' ὁ ἀὴρ παχύ-  
 νεται.
- 8 Ἡρόδοτος δὲ φησι τὸν Νεῖλον εἶναι μὲν φύσει  
 τηλικούτου ἡλίκος γίνεται κατὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν,  
 ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τὸν ἥλιον κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην  
 φερόμενον ἐπισπᾶσθαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν πολλὴν  
 ὑγρασίαν ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περὶ τοὺς  
 καιροὺς τούτους παρὰ φύσιν ἐλάττωνα γίνεσθαι  
 9 τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐπιστάντος ἀποχω-  
 ροῦντα τῇ φορᾷ τὸν ἥλιον πρὸς τὰς ἀρκτους  
 ἀναξηραίνειν καὶ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς τε περὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα ποταμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην  
 10 χώραν τὴν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῃ κειμένην. οὐκέτ' οὖν  
 εἶναι παράδοξον τὸ γινόμενον περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν αὔξεσθαι, κατὰ τὸν  
 χειμῶνα δὲ ταπεινοῦσθαι διὰ τὴν προειρημένην  
 11 αἰτίαν. ῥητέον οὖν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτου ὅτι καθήκον  
 ἦν, ὡς περ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεῖλου τὴν ὑγρασίαν ὁ ἥλιος  
 ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπᾶται κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ χειμῶνος  
 καιροὺς, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν Λιβύην ὄντων ποταμῶν ἀναλαμβάνειν τι  
 τῶν ὑγρῶν καὶ ταπεινοῦν τὰ φερόμενα ρεύματα.  
 12 ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Λιβύης οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον  
 γινόμενον θεωρεῖται, περιφανῶς ὁ συγγραφεὺς  
 σχεδιάζων εὐρίσκεται· καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα ποταμοὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι

if a man should admit the existence of great quantities of snow in the regions beyond Ethiopia, the falsity of the statement is still shown by this fact: every river which flows out of snow gives out cool breezes, as is generally agreed, and thickens the air about it; but the Nile is the only river about which no clouds form, and where no cool breezes rise and the air is not thickened.

Herodotus<sup>1</sup> says that the size of the Nile at its swelling is its natural one, but that as the sun travels over Libya in the winter it draws up to itself from the Nile a great amount of moisture, and this is the reason why at that season the river becomes smaller than its natural size; but at the beginning of summer, when the sun turns back in its course towards the north, it dries out and thus reduces the level of both the rivers of Greece and those of every other land whose geographical position is like that of Greece.<sup>2</sup> Consequently there is no occasion for surprise, he says, in the phenomenon of the Nile; for, as a matter of fact, it does not increase in volume in the hot season and then fall in the winter, for the reason just given. Now the answer to be made to this explanation also is that it would follow that, if the sun drew moisture to itself from the Nile in the winter, it would also take some moisture from all the other rivers of Libya and reduce the flow of their waters. But since nowhere in Libya is anything like this to be seen taking place, it is clear that the historian is caught inventing an explanation; for the fact is that the rivers of Greece increase in winter, not

<sup>1</sup> Book 2. 25.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. in the north latitude.

λαμβάνουσιν οὐ διὰ τὸ μακρότερον ἀφίστασθαι τὸν ἥλιον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν γινομένων ὄμβρων.

39. Δημόκριτος δ' ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης φησὶν οὐ τὸν περὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν τόπον χιονίζεσθαι, καθάπερ εἴρηκεν Εὐριπίδης καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας, ἀλλὰ τὸν περὶ τὰς ἄρκτους, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμφανὲς εἶναι πᾶσι.
- 2 τὸ δὲ πλήθος τῆς σωρευομένης χιόνος ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι περὶ μὲν τὰς τροπὰς μένειν πεπηγός, ἐν δὲ τῷ θέρει διαλυομένων ὑπὸ τῆς θερμασίας τῶν πάγων πολλὴν τηκεδὸνα γίνεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ γεννᾶσθαι καὶ παχέα νέφη περὶ τοὺς μετεωροτέρους τῶν τόπων, δαψιλοῦς τῆς ἀναθυμιάσεως πρὸς τὸ ὕψος αἰρομένης.
- 3 ταῦτα δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτησίων ἐλαύνεσθαι, μέχρι ἂν ὄτου προσπέσῃ τοῖς μεγίστοις ὄρεσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἃ φησὶν εἶναι περὶ τὴν Λίθιοπιάν· ἔπειτα πρὸς τοῦτοις οὖσιν ὑψηλοῖς βραχίως θραυόμενα παμμεγέθεισ ὄμβρους γεννᾶν, ἐξ ὧν πληροῦσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν τῶν
- 4 ἐτησίων ὥραν. ῥάδιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἐξελέγξει τοὺς χρόνους τῆς αὐξήσεως ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζοντα· ὁ γὰρ Νεῖλος ἄρχεται μὲν πληροῦσθαι κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς, οὕτω τῶν ἐτησίων πνεόντων, ληγεὶ δ' ὕστερον ἰσημερίας φθινοπωρινῆς, πάλαι
- 5 προπεπαυμένων τῶν εἰρημενων ἀνέμων. ὅταν οὖν ἡ τῆς πείρας ἀκριβεία κατισχύῃ τὴν τῶν λόγων πιθανότητα, τὴν μὲν ἐπίνοιαν τάνδρος ἀποδεκτέον, τὴν δὲ πίστιν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγο-
- 6 μένοις οὐ δοτέον. παρήγημι γὰρ καὶ διότι τοὺς ἐτησιας ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἀπὸ τῆς

because the sun is farther away, but by reason of the enormous rainfall.

39. Democritus of Abdera<sup>1</sup> says that it is not the regions of the south that are covered with snow, as Euripides and Anaxagoras have asserted, but only those of the north, and that this is evident to everyone. The great quantities of heaped-up snow in the northern regions still remain frozen until about the time of the winter solstice, but when in summer its solid masses are broken up by the heat, a great melting sets up, and this brings about the formation of many thick clouds in the higher altitudes, since the vapour rises upwards in large quantities. These clouds are then driven by the etesian winds until they strike the highest mountains in the whole earth, which, he says, are those of Ethiopia; then by their violent impact upon these peaks, lofty as they are, they cause torrential rains which swell the river, to the greatest extent at the season of the etesian winds. But it is easy for anyone to refute this explanation also, if he will but note with precision the time when the increase of the river takes place; for the Nile begins to swell at the summer solstice, when the etesian winds are not yet blowing, and commences to fall after the autumnal equinox, when the same winds have long since ceased. Whenever, therefore, the precise knowledge derived from experience prevails over the plausibility of mere argumentation, while we should recognize the man's ingenuity, yet no credence should be given to his statements. Indeed, I pass over the further fact that the etesian winds can be seen to blow just

<sup>1</sup> Democritus was a contemporary of Socrates and the first Greek who attempted to embrace in his writings all the knowledge of his time.



ἄρκτου πνέοντας ἤπερ τῆς ἐσπέρας· οὐ βορέαι γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπαρκτῖαι μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πνέοντες ἀπὸ θερινῆς δύσεως ἀργέσται κοινωνοῦσι τῆς τῶν ἐτησίων προσηγορίας. τό τε λέγειν ὡς μέγιστα συμβαίνει τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπάρχειν τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἰθιοπῖαν οὐ μόνον ἀναπόδεικτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν πίστιν ἔχει διὰ τῆς ἐναργείας<sup>1</sup> συγχωρουμένην.

7 "Ἐφορος δὲ καινοτάτην αἰτίαν εἰσφέρων πιθανολογεῖν μὲν πειράται, τῆς δ' ἀληθείας οὐδαμῶς ἐπιτυγχάνων θεωρεῖται. φησὶ γὰρ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἅπασαν οὔσαν ποταμόχωστον καὶ χαύνην, ἐτι δὲ κισηρώδη τὴν φύσιν, βαγάδας τε μεγάλας καὶ διηκεκίς ἔχειν, διὰ δὲ τούτων εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναλαμβάνειν ὑγροῦ πλήθος, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν συνέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ τοῦτο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν θερινὴν ὡσπερ ἰδρωτὰς τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς πανταχόθεν ἀνιέναι, καὶ διὰ τούτων πληροῦν τὸν ποταμόν. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς οὗτος οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν φαίνεται μὴ τεθεαμένος τὴν φύσιν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τόπων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν εἰδότην τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπιμελῶς πεπυσμένος. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, εἴπερ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Αἴγυπτου ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν αὔξησιν ἐλάμβανε, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω μέρεσιν ἐπληροῦτο, διὰ τε πετρώδους καὶ στερεᾶς χώρας φερόμενος· νῦν δὲ πλείω τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων διὰ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ῥέων τὴν πλήρωσιν ἔχει πρὶν ἢ

<sup>1</sup> ἐναργείας Wesseling: ἐνεργείας.

<sup>1</sup> Two names given to north winds.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the north-west.

as much from the west as from the north; since Borean and Aparctian<sup>1</sup> winds are not the only winds which are called etesian, but also the Argestean, which blow from the direction of the sun's summer setting.<sup>2</sup> Also the statement that by general agreement the highest mountains are those of Ethiopia is not only advanced without any proof, but it does not possess, either, the credibility which is accorded to facts established by observation.<sup>3</sup>

Ephorus, who presents the most recent explanation, endeavours to adduce a plausible argument, but, as may be seen, by no means arrives at the truth. For he says that all Egypt, being alluvial soil and spongy,<sup>4</sup> and in nature like pumice-stone, is full of large and continuous cracks, through which it takes up a great amount of water; this it retains within itself during the winter season, but in the summer season it pours this out from itself everywhere like sweat, as it were, and by means of this exudation it causes the flood of the river. But this historian, as it appears to us, has not only never personally observed the nature of the country in Egypt, but has not even inquired with any care about it of those who are acquainted with the character of this land. For in the first place, if the Nile derived its increase from Egypt itself, it would then not experience a flood in its upper stretches, where it flows through a stony and solid country; yet, as a matter of fact, it floods while flowing over a course of more than six thousand stades through

<sup>3</sup> i.e. there is no evidence from witnesses that they appear to be exceedingly high.

<sup>4</sup> The words mean literally "poured out by a river" and "gaping."

- 10 ψαύσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου. ἔπειτ' εἰ μὲν τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Νείλου ταπεινότερον ἢν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ποταμόχωστον γῆν ἀραιωμάτων, ἐπιπολαίους ἂν εἶναι τὰς βραγὰδας συνέβαινε, καθ' ἃς ἀδύνατον ἦν διαμένειν τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ὕδατος· εἰ δ' ὑψηλότερον τόπον ἐπέειχεν ὁ ποταμὸς τῶν ἀραιωμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἦν ἐκ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων κοιλωμάτων εἰς τὴν ὑψηλοτέραν ἐπιφάνειαν τὴν τῶν ὑγρῶν σύρρυσιν γίνεσθαι.
- 11 Καθόλου δὲ τίς ἂν δυνατὸν ἠγήσασαιτο τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἀραιωμάτων ἰδρώτας τοσαύτην αὐξήσιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιεῖν ὥστε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπικλύζεσθαι; ἀφίημι γὰρ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς τε ποταμοχώστου γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀραιώμασι τηρουμένων ὑδάτων, ἐμφανῶν ὄντων τῶν ἐν
- 12 τούτοις ἐλέγχων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μαίανδρος ποταμὸς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλὴν χώραν πεποίηκε ποταμόχωστον, ἐν ἧ τῶν συμβαινόντων περὶ τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ Νείλου τὸ σύνολον οὐδὲν
- 13 θεωρεῖται γινόμενον. ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτο περὶ μὲν τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν ὁ καλοῦμαιος Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς, περὶ δὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὁ Κηφισὸς φερόμενος ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσκέχωκεν οὐκ ὀλίγην χώραν, ἐφ' ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἐλέγχεται φανερώς τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦ συγγραφέως. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις παρ' Ἐφόρων ζητήσκειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὰκριβές, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς ὀλιγωρηκότα τῆς ἀληθείας.

40. Τῶν δ' ἐν Μέμφει τινὲς φιλοσόφων ἐπεχείρησαν αἰτίαν φέρειν τῆς πληρώσεως ἀνεξέλεγκτου μᾶλλον ἢ πιθανῆν, ἣ πολλοὶ συγκατατίθενται.

Ethiopia before ever it touches Egypt. Secondly, if the stream of the Nile were, on the one hand, lower than the rifts in the alluvial soil, the cracks would then be on the surface and so great an amount of water could not possibly remain in them; and if, on the other hand, the river occupied a higher level than the rifts, there could not possibly be a flow of water from the lower hollows to the higher surface.

In general, can any man think it possible that the exudations from rifts in the ground should produce so great an increase in the waters of the river that practically all Egypt is inundated by it! For I pass over the false statements of Ephorus about the ground being alluvial and the water being stored up in the rifts, since the refutation of them is manifest. For instance, the Meander river in Asia has laid down a great amount of alluvial land, yet not a single one of the phenomena attending the flooding of the Nile is to be seen in its case. And like the Meander the river in Acarnania known as the Achelous, and the Cephissus in Boeotia, which flows out of Phocis, have built up not a little land, and in the case of both there is clear proof that the historian's statements are erroneous. However, under no circumstances would any man look for strict accuracy in Ephorus, when he sees that in many matters he has paid little regard to the truth.

40. Certain of the wise men in Memphis have undertaken to advance an explanation of the flooding, which is incapable of disproof rather than credible, and yet it is accepted by many. They

- 2 διαιρούμενοι γὰρ τὴν γῆν εἰς τρία μέρη φασὶν ὑπάρχειν ἓν μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκουμένην, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ἀντιπεποιθὸς ταῖς ὥραις, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μεταξὺ μὲν κείσθαι τούτων, ὑπάρχειν δὲ διὰ καῦμα ἀοικήτων.
- 3 εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ Νεῖλος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὸν τοῦ χειμῶνος καιρὸν, δῆλον ἂν<sup>1</sup> ὑπῆρχεν ὡς ἐκ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ζώνης λαμβάνει τὴν ἐπίρρυσιν διὰ τὸ περὶ ταύτους τοὺς καιροὺς μάλιστα γίνεσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς ἐπομβρίας· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούναντίον περὶ τὸ θέρος πληροῦνται, πιθανὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ἀντικειμένους τόπους γεννᾶσθαι τοὺς χειμῶνας, καὶ τὸ πλεονάζου τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους ὑδάτων εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην
- 4 φέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὴν τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Νεῖλου μὴδένα δύνασθαι παρελθεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας ζώνης διὰ τῆς ἀοικήτου φερομένου τοῦ ποτάμου. μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς γλυκύτητος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ὕδατος· διὰ γὰρ τῆς κατακεκαυμένης αὐτὸν ῥέοντα καθέψεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλυκύτατον εἶναι πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν, ἅτε φύσει τοῦ πυρῶδους πᾶν τὸ ὑγρὸν ἀπογλυκαίνοντος.
- 5 Οὗτος δ' ὁ λόγος ἔχει μὲν τινα<sup>2</sup> πρόχειρον ἀντίρρησιν, ὅτι παντελῶς ἀδύνατον εἶναι δοκεῖ ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀντικειμένης οἰκουμένης εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀναφέρεισθαι, καὶ μάλιστα' εἴ τις ὑπό-

divide the earth into three parts, and say that one part is that which forms our inhabited world, that the second is exactly opposed to these regions in its seasons, and that the third lies between these two but is uninhabited by reason of the heat.<sup>1</sup> Now if the Nile rose in the winter, it would be clear that it was receiving its additional waters from our zone because of the heavy rains which fall with us in that season especially; but since, on the contrary, its flood occurs in the summer, it is probable that in the regions opposite to us the winter storms are being produced and that the surplus waters of those distant regions flow into our inhabited world. And it is for this reason that no man can journey to the sources of the Nile, because the river flows from the opposite zone through the uninhabited one. A further witness to this is the excessive sweetness of the water of the Nile; for in the course of the river through the torrid zone it is tempered by the heat, and that is the reason for its being the sweetest of all rivers, inasmuch as by the law of nature that which is fiery always sweetens<sup>2</sup> what is wet.

But this explanation admits of an obvious rebuttal, for plainly it is quite impossible for a river to flow uphill into our inhabited world from the inhabited world opposite to ours, especially if one holds to

<sup>1</sup> i.e., they postulated a south temperate zone, corresponding to the north temperate, and separated from it by the torrid zone. The Nile, according to them, rose in the south temperate zone. They were not in fact so far astray in the matter, the White Nile rising just a little south of the equator, although the waters of the annual inundation come from the Blue Nile, which has its sources in the table-land of Abyssinia.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., water is freshened ("sweetened") by being heated.

<sup>1</sup> ἔν added by Hertlein.

<sup>2</sup> τινα D, Vogel: τινὰ φανεράν καὶ ἄλλοι MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.

θοιτο σφαιροειδῆ τὴν γῆν ὑπάρχειν. καὶ γὰρ  
 εἴν τις τοῖς λόγοις κατατομῆσας βιάζεται τὴν  
 ἐνάργειαν, ἢ γε φύσις τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδαμῶς  
 συγχωρήσει. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ἀνεξέλεγκτον  
 ἀπόφασιν εἰσηγούμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀοίκητον χώραν  
 μεταξὺ τιθέμενοι, ταύτῃ διαφεύξεσθαι τοὺς  
 6 ἀκριβεῖς ἐλέγχους νομίζουσι· δίκαιον δὲ τοὺς  
 περὶ τινῶν διαβεβαιουμένους ἢ τὴν ἐνάργειαν  
 παρέχουσαν μαρτυροῦσαν ἢ τὰς ἀποδείξεις  
 λαμβάνειν ἐξ ἀρχῆς συγκεχωρημένας. πῶς δὲ  
 μόνος ὁ Νεῖλος ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκουμένης φέρεται  
 πρὸς τοὺς καθ' ἡμᾶς τόπους; εἰκὸς γὰρ εἶναι  
 καὶ ἑτέρους ποταμούς, καθάπερ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν.  
 7 ἢ τε τῆς περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γλυκύτητος αἰτία παντελῶς  
 ἄλογος. εἰ γὰρ καθεσφόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κανμάτων  
 ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγλυκαίνεται, πολύγονος οὐκ ἂν ἦν  
 οὐδὲ ποικίλας ἰχθύων καὶ θηρίων ἰδέας εἶχε· πᾶν  
 γὰρ ὕδωρ ὑπὸ τῆς πυρώδους φύσεως ἀλλοιωθὲν  
 8 ἀλλοτριωτάτον ἐστὶ ζωογονίας. διόπερ τῇ  
 παρεισαγομένῃ καθεψήσει τῆς φύσεως τοῦ  
 Νείλου παντάπασι ἐναντιουμένης ψευδεῖς τὰς  
 εἰρημένας αἰτίας τῆς πληρώσεως ἡγητέον.

41. Οἰνοπίδης δὲ ὁ Χίος φησι κατὰ μὲν τὴν  
 θερινὴν ὥραν τὰ ὕδατα κατὰ τὴν γῆν εἶναι  
 ψυχρά, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος τοῖναντίον θερμά, καὶ  
 τοῦτο εὐδῆλον ἐπὶ τῶν βαθέων φρεάτων γίνεσθαι  
 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ἥκιστα  
 τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ψυχρόν, κατὰ δὲ  
 τὰ μέγιστα καύματα ψυχρότατον ἐξ αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> Practically nothing more is known of Oenopides than that he was an astronomer and mathematician of the fifth century B.C.

the theory that the earth is shaped like a sphere. And indeed, if any man makes bold to do violence, by means of mere words, to facts established by observation, Nature at least will in no wise yield to him. For, in general, such men think that, by introducing a proposition incapable of being disproved and placing the uninhabited region between the two inhabited ones, they will in this way avoid all precise refutations of their argument; but the proper course for such as take a firm position on any matter is either to adduce the observed facts as evidence or to find their proofs in statements which have been agreed upon at the outset. But how can the Nile be the only river which flows from that inhabited world to our parts? For it is reasonable to suppose that other rivers as well are to be found there, just as there are many among us. Moreover, the cause which they advance for the sweetness of the water is altogether absurd. For if the river were sweetened by being tempered by the heat, it would not be so productive as it is of life, nor contain so many kinds of fishes and animals; for all water upon being changed by the fiery element is quite incapable of generating life. Therefore, since by the "tempering" process which they introduce they entirely change the real nature of the Nile, the causes which they advance for its flooding must be considered false.

41. Oenopides of Chios<sup>1</sup> says that in the summer the waters under the earth are cold, but in the winter, on the contrary, warm; and that this may be clearly observed in deep wells, for in midwinter their water is least cold, while in the hottest weather

2 ὑγρὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον εὐλόγως  
κατὰ μὲν τὸν χειμῶνα μικρὸν εἶναι καὶ συστέλλε-  
σθαι, διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν κατὰ γῆν θερμασίαν τὸ  
πολὺ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας ἀναλίσκειν, ὄμβρους δὲ  
κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μὴ γίνεσθαι· κατὰ δὲ τὸ  
θέρος μηκέτι τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἀπαναλώσεως γινο-  
μένης ἐν τοῖς κατὰ βάθος τόποις πληροῦσθαι  
τὴν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ ῥύσιν ἀνεμποδίστως.  
3 ῥητέον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ὅτι πολλοὶ ποταμοὶ  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ὁμοίως μὲν κείμενοι τοῖς  
στόμασι, παραπλησίους δὲ τὰς ῥύσεις ποιού-  
μενοι, τὴν ἀνάβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάλογον τῷ  
Νεῖλῳ· τούναντίον γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ χειμῶνι  
πληρούμενοι, κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος λήγοντες ἐλέγχουσι  
τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦ πειρωμένου τοῖς πιθανοῖς κατα-  
μάχεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.  
4 \*Ἐγγιστα δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ προσεδήλυθεν Ἀγα-  
θαρχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος. φησὶ γὰρ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν  
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ὄρεσι γίνεσθαι συνεχεῖς  
ὄμβρους ἀπὸ θερμῶν τροπῶν μέχρι τῆς μετο-  
5 πωρινῆς ἰσημερίας· εὐλόγως οὖν τὸν Νεῖλον ἐν  
μὲν τῷ χειμῶνι συστέλλεσθαι, τὴν κατὰ φύσιν  
ἔχοντα ῥύσιν ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν πηγῶν, κατὰ δὲ  
τὸ θέρος διὰ τοὺς ἐκχεομένους ὄμβρους λαμβά-  
6 νειν τὴν αὐξήσιν. εἰ δὲ τὰς αἰτίας μηδεὶς ἀπα-  
δοῦναι δύναται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων  
γενέσεως, οὐ προσήκειν<sup>1</sup> ἀθετεῖσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν  
ἀπόφασιν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἐναντίως φέρειν,  
ὧν τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐφικτὸν ἀνθρώποις ἀκριβῶς

<sup>1</sup> προσήκειν Rhodomann; προσήκει.

the coldest water is drawn up from them. Conse-  
quently it is reasonable that the Nile should be  
small and should diminish in the winter, since the  
heat in the earth consumes the larger part of the  
moisture and there are no rains in Egypt; while  
in the summer, since there is no longer any con-  
sumption of the moisture down in the depths of the  
earth, the natural flow of the river is increased with-  
out hindrance. But the answer to be given to this  
explanation also is that there are many rivers in  
Libya, whose mouths are situated like those of the  
Nile and whose courses are much the same, and yet  
they do not rise in the same manner as the Nile;  
on the contrary, flooding as they do in the winter  
and receding in the summer, they refute the false  
statement of any man who tries to overcome the  
truth with specious arguments.

The nearest approach to the truth has been made  
by Agatharchides of Cnidus.<sup>1</sup> His explanation is as  
follows: Every year continuous rains fall in the  
mountains of Ethiopia from the summer solstice to  
the autumnal equinox; and so it is entirely reason-  
able that the Nile should diminish in the winter  
when it derives its natural supply of water solely  
from its sources, but should increase its volume in  
the summer on account of the rains which pour  
into it. And just because no one up to this time  
has been able to set forth the causes of the origin  
of the flood waters, it is not proper, he urges, that  
his personal explanation be rejected; for nature  
presents many contradictory phenomena, the exact  
causes of which are beyond the power of mankind

<sup>1</sup> Agatharchides was a historian and geographer of the  
second century B.C.

- 7 ἐξευρεῖν, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ λεγο-  
 μένοις καὶ τὸ γινόμενον περὶ τινὰς τόπους τῆς  
 Ἀσίας· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὄροις τῆς Σκυθίας  
 τοῖς πρὸς τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος συνάπτουσι, παρε-  
 ληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος, καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος  
 υφετούς ἐξαισίους γίνεσθαι συνεχῶς ἐπὶ πολλὰς  
 ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἐστραμμένοις  
 μέρεσι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ὀρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ  
 χάλαζαν ἄπιστον τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλήθος  
 καταρᾶττειν, καὶ περὶ μὲν τὸν Ἰδάσπην ποτα-  
 μὸν ἀρχομένον θέρουσ συνεχεῖς ὄμβρους γίνεσθαι,  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ταῦτό  
 συμβαίνειν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν περίστασιν κυκλου-  
 μένην αἰεὶ τοὺς συνεχεῖς τόπους χειμάζειν.  
 8 οὐδὲν οὖν εἶναι παράδοξον εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 Αἰθιοπίαν τὴν κειμένην ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου συνεχεῖς  
 ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὄμβροι καταρᾶττοντες ἐν τῷ θερεὶ  
 πληροῦσι τὸν ποταμὸν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς ἐναρ-  
 γείας<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς  
 9 τόπους οἰκούντων Βαρβάρων. εἰ δὲ τοῖς παρ'  
 ἡμῖν γινόμενοις ἐναντία ἔχει τὰ λεγόμενα φύσιν,  
 οὐ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπιστητέον· καὶ γὰρ τὸν νότον παρ'  
 ἡμῖν μὲν εἶναι χειμέριον, περὶ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν  
 αἰθριον ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τὰς βορείους πνοὰς περὶ  
 μὲν τὴν Εὐρώπην εὐτόνους εἶναι, κατ' ἐκείνην δὲ  
 τὴν χῶραν βληχρὰς καὶ ἀτόνους.<sup>2</sup>
- 10 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πληρώσεως τοῦ Νεῖλου, δυ-  
 νάμενοι ποικιλώτερον ἀντειπεῖν πρὸς ἅπαντας,  
 ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν προκειμένην συντομίαν ὑπερβαίνω-  
 μεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν βίβλον ταύτην διὰ τὸ μέγεθος

to discover. As to his own statement, he adds, testi-  
 mony to its truth is furnished by what takes place in  
 certain regions of Asia. For on the borders of Scythia  
 which abut upon the Caucasus mountains, annually,  
 after the winter is over, exceptionally heavy snow-  
 storms occur over many consecutive days; in the  
 northern parts of India at certain seasons hailstones  
 come beating down which in size and quantity  
 surpass belief; about the Hydaspes river continuous  
 rains fall at the opening of summer; and in Ethiopia,  
 likewise, the same thing occurs some days later, this  
 climatical condition, in its regular recurrence, always  
 causing storms in the neighbouring regions. And  
 so, he argues, it is nothing surprising if in Ethiopia  
 as well, which lies above Egypt, continuous rains in  
 the mountains, beating down during the summer,  
 swell the river, especially since the plain fact itself  
 is witnessed to by the barbarians who inhabit those  
 regions. And if what has been said is of a nature  
 opposite to what occurs among us, it should not be  
 disbelieved on that score; for the south wind, for  
 example, with us is accompanied by stormy weather,  
 but in Ethiopia by clear skies, and in Europe the  
 north winds are violent, but in that land they are  
 gentle and light.

With regard, then, to the flooding of the Nile,  
 though we are able to answer with more varied  
 arguments all who have offered explanations of it,  
 we shall rest content with what has been said, in  
 order that we may not overstep the principle of  
 brevity which we resolved upon at the beginning.  
 And since we have divided this Book into two parts

<sup>1</sup> ἐναργείας Wesseling: ἐνεργείας.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς added by D.

εἰς δύο μέρη διηρήκαμεν, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας, τὴν πρώτην μερίδα τῶν ιστορουμένων αὐτοῦ περιγράφομεν, τὰ δὲ συνεχῆ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ιστορουμένων ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ κατατάξομεν, ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν τῶν γενομένων βασιλέων τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τοῦ παλαιστάτου βίου παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις.

because of its length, inasmuch as we are aiming at due proportion in our account,<sup>1</sup> at this point we shall close the first portion of our history, and in the second we shall set forth the facts in the history of Egypt which come next in order, beginning with the account of the former kings of Egypt and of the earliest manner of life among the Egyptians.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 96, n. 1.

## ΜΕΡΙΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΟΥ<sup>1</sup>

## PART TWO OF THE FIRST BOOK

42. Τῆς πρώτης τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος εἰς δύο βίβλους διηρημένης ἡ πρώτη μὲν περιέχει προοίμιον περὶ ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' Αἰγυπτίους περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἐξ ἀρχῆς συστάσεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὅσοι πόλεις ἐκτίσαν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπωνύμους ἑαυτῶν ποιήσαντες, περὶ τε τῶν πρώτων γενομένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παλαιοτάτου βίου, τῆς τε τῶν ἀθανάτων τιμῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ναῶν κατασκευῆς, ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον χώρας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ποταμὸν παραδοξολογουμένων, τῆς τε τούτου πληρώσεως τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων ἀποφάσεις, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐκαστον τῶν συγγραφέων ἀντιρρήσεις· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ βίβλῳ τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς προειρημένοις διέξιμεν, ἀρχόμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γενομένων πρώτων κατ' Αἴγυπτον βασιλέων, καὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν πράξεις ἐκθησόμεθα μέχρι Ἀμάσιδος τοῦ βασιλέως, προεκθέμενοι κεφαλαιωδῶς τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἀγωγὴν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον.

43. Βίω γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰγυπτίους φασὶ χρῆσθαι τὸ μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτον πόαν ἐσθίοντας καὶ

42. THE First Book of Diodorus being divided because of its length into two volumes, the first contains the preface to the whole treatise and the accounts given by the Egyptians of the genesis of the world and the first forming of the universe; then he tells of the gods who founded cities in Egypt and named them after themselves, of the first men and the earliest manner of life, of the honour paid to the immortals and the building of their temples to them, then of the topography of Egypt and the marvels related about the river Nile, and also of the causes of its flooding and the opinions thereupon of the historians and the philosophers as well as the refutation of each writer.<sup>1</sup> In this volume we shall discuss the topics which come next in order after the foregoing. We shall begin with the first kings of Egypt and set forth their individual deeds down to King Amasis, after we have first described in summary fashion the most ancient manner of life in Egypt.

43. As for their means of living in primitive times, the Egyptians, they say, in the earliest period got

<sup>1</sup> This sentence as it stands is almost certainly not from the hand of Diodorus. But the following words do not connect well with the end of chapter 41. In Book 17, which is also broken into two Parts, the narrative continues without any such interruption as occurs here.

<sup>1</sup> This title is found in A.



τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι γινομένων τοὺς καυλοὺς καὶ τὰς ρίζας, πείραν διὰ τῆς γεύσεως ἐκάστου λαμβάνοντας, πρώτην δὲ καὶ μάλιστα προσενέγκασθαι τὴν ὀνομαζομένην ἀγρωστίν διὰ τὸ καὶ τῇ γλυκύτητι διάφορον εἶναι καὶ τὴν τροφήν ἀρκοῦσαν  
 2 παρέχεσθαι τοῖς σώμασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς κτήνεσι ταύτην θεωρεῖσθαι προσρηγὰ καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς ὄγκους αὐτῶν προσανατρέφειν. διὸ καὶ τῆς εὐχρηστίας τῆς περὶ τὴν βοτάνην ταύτην μνημονεύοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ὅταν πρὸς θεοὺς βαδίζουσι, τῇ χειρὶ ταύτης λαμβάνοντας προσεύχεσθαι· οἴονται γὰρ τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἔλειον καὶ λιμνώδες εἶναι ζῶον, ἀπὸ τε τῆς λειότητος τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ποιότητος, ἔτι δὲ τοῦ προσδέσθαι τροφῆς τῆς ὑγρᾶς  
 3 μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ξηρᾶς. δευτέραν δὲ λέγουσιν ἔχειν διαγωγὴν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν τῶν ἰχθύων βρώσιν, πολλὴν δαψίλειαν παρεχομένην τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτε μετὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν  
 4 ταπεινούμενος ἀναξηραίνεται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν βοσκομημάτων ἕνια σαροφαγεῖν, καὶ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν κατεσθιομένων ἐσθῆσι χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἐκ τῶν καλάμων κατασκευάζεσθαι. ἰχνη δὲ τούτων διαμένειν παρὰ τοῖς νομῆσι τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, οὓς ἅπαντάς φασι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μηδεμίαν ἄλλην οἰκισιν ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἔχειν, δοκιμάζοντας ἀρκεῖσθαι ταύτην.  
 5 πολλοὺς δὲ χρόνους τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ διεξαγόντας<sup>1</sup> τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐδωδῖμους μεταβῆναι καρπούς, ὧν εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ λωτοῦ γινόμενον ἄρτον. καὶ τούτων τὴν εὕρεσιν οἱ μὲν

their food from herbs and the stalks and roots of the plants which grew in the marshes, making trial of each one of them by tasting it, and the first one eaten by them and the most favoured was that called *Agrostis*,<sup>1</sup> because it excelled the others in sweetness and supplied sufficient nutriment for the human body; for they observed that this plant was attractive to the cattle and quickly increased their bulk. Because of this fact the natives, in remembrance of the usefulness of this plant, to this day, when approaching the gods, hold some of it in their hands as they pray to them; for they believe that man is a creature of swamp and marsh, basing this conclusion on the smoothness of his skin and his physical constitution, as well as on the fact that he requires a wet rather than a dry diet. A second way by which the Egyptians subsisted was, they say, by the eating of fish, of which the river provided a great abundance, especially at the time when it receded after its flood and dried up.<sup>2</sup> They also ate the flesh of some of the pasturing animals, using for clothing the skins of the beasts that were eaten, and their dwellings they built out of reeds. And traces of these customs still remain among the herdsmen of Egypt, all of whom, they say, have no other dwelling up to this time than one of reeds, considering that with this they are well enough provided for. After subsisting in this manner over a long period of time they finally turned to the edible fruits of the earth, among which may be included the bread made from the lotus. The discovery of these

<sup>1</sup> Dog's-tooth grass.

<sup>2</sup> This must refer to the drying-up of the pools left by the flood.

<sup>1</sup> διεξαγόντας Dindorf: διεξάγοντας.

εἰς τὴν Ἴσιω ἀναφέρουσιν, οἱ δ' εἰς τινα τῶν παλαιῶν βασιλέων τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Μηνᾶν.  
 6 οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς εὐρετὴν τῶν μὲν<sup>1</sup> παιδείων καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ἑρμῆν γεγονέναι, τῶν δ' εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων τοῖς βασιλείς· διὸ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν παραδίδουσαι τὰς βασιλείας μὴ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τῶν ἀρξάντων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τὸ πλῆθος εὐεργετοῦσιν, εἴτε προκαλουμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν εὐεργεσίαν, εἴτε καὶ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐν ταῖς ἰσραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς οὕτω παρελιηφότων.

44. Μυθολογοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τινας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄρξαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου θεοὺς καὶ ἥρωας ἔτη βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχιλίων, καὶ θεῶν ἔσχατον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν Ἴσιδος Ὀρον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δὲ τὴν χώραν βεβασιλευσθαί φασιν ἔτη<sup>2</sup> βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν πεντακισχιλίων μέχρι τῆς ἑκατοστῆς καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς μὲν παρεβάλομεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἐβασίλευε δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νέος Διόνυσος χρημα-  
 2 τίζων. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πλείστα κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγχωρίου βασιλεῖς, ὀλίγα δὲ Αἰθίοπας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Μακεδόνας. Αἰθίοπας μὲν οὖν ἄρξαι τέτταρας, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἔξῃς, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαστήματος, ἔτη τὰ πάντα βραχὺ λείποντα τῶν ἑξ καὶ  
 3 τριάκοντα· Πέρσας δ' ἠγήσασθαι Καμβύσου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καταστρεψαμένον τὸ ἔθνος πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτεσι σὺν

<sup>1</sup> τῶν μὲν Dindorf; μὲν τῶν.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ Μοίριδος before ἔτη deleted by Dindorf.

is attributed by some to Isis,<sup>1</sup> but by others to one of their early kings called Menas. The priests, however, have the story that the discoverer of the branches of learning and of the arts was Hermes, but that it was their kings who discovered such things as are necessary for existence; and that this was the reason why the kingship in early times was bestowed, not upon the sons of their former rulers, but upon such as conferred the greatest and most numerous benefits upon the peoples, whether it be that the inhabitants in this way sought to provoke their kings to useful service for the benefit of all, or that they have in very truth received an account to this effect in their sacred writings.

44. Some of them give the story that at first gods and heroes ruled Egypt for a little less than eighteen thousand years, the last of the gods to rule being Horus, the son of Isis; and mortals have been kings over their country, they say, for a little less than five thousand years down to the One Hundred and <sup>60-56</sup> Eightieth Olympiad, the time when we visited Egypt <sup>B.C.</sup> and the king was Ptolemy, who took the name of The New Dionysus.<sup>2</sup> For most of this period the rule was held by native kings, and for a small part of it by Ethiopians, Persians, and Macedonians.<sup>3</sup> Now four Ethiopians held the throne, not consecutively but with intervals between, for a little less than thirty-six years in all; and the Persians, after their king Cambyses had subdued the nation by arms, ruled for one hundred and thirty-five years, including the

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy XI (80-51 B.C.), better known as Auletes ("The Piper") and as the father of the famous Cleopatra.

<sup>3</sup> The Ethiopian Period (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), ca. 715-663 B.C.; the Persian, 525-332 B.C.; on the Macedonian, 332-30 B.C., see the Introduction, pp. ix ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 14.

ταῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀποστάσεσιν, ἃς ἐποίησαντο  
 φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς ἐπιστα-  
 σίας καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν.  
 4 ἐσχάτους δὲ Μακεδόνας ἄρξαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ  
 Μακεδόνων ἕξ ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς διακοσίοις καὶ  
 ἑβδομήκοντα. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρόνους ἅπαντας  
 διατελέσαι βασιλεύοντας τῆς χώρας ἐγχωρίους,  
 ἀνδρας μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τετρακοσίοις,  
 γυναῖκας δὲ πέντε· περὶ ὧν ἅπάντων οἱ μὲν  
 ἱερεῖς εἶχον ἀναγραφὰς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις  
 ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων αἰετὸς τοῖς διαδόχοις παρα-  
 δεδομένας, ὀπηλίκοις ἕκαστος τῶν βασιλευ-  
 σάντων ἐγένετο τῷ μεγέθει καὶ ὁποῖός τις τῇ  
 φύσει καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους χρόνους ἑκάστος  
 5 πραχθέντα· ἡμῖν δὲ περὶ ἑκάστου τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 μακρὸν ἂν εἴη καὶ περιέργον γράφειν, ὡς ἂν τῶν  
 πλείστων ἀχρήστων περιειλημμένων. διόπερ τῶν  
 ἀξίων ἱστορίας τὰ κυριώτατα συντόμως διεξιέναι  
 πειρασόμεθα.

45. Μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖνυν πρῶτόν φασι  
 βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μηνᾶν, καὶ καταδείξαι  
 τοῖς λαοῖς θεοὺς τε σέβασθαι καὶ θυσίας ἐπι-  
 τελεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρατίθεσθαι τραπέζας  
 καὶ κλῖνας καὶ στρωμνῆ πολυτελεῖ χρῆσθαι, καὶ  
 τὸ σύνολον τρυφῆν καὶ πολυτελεῖ βίον εἰσηγή-  
 2 σασθαι. διὸ καὶ πολλαῖς ὕστερον γενεαῖς βασι-  
 λεύοντα Τυέφαχθον τὸν Βοκχόριδος τοῦ σοφοῦ  
 πατέρα λέγουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν στρατεύσαντα,  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτὸν διὰ τε τὴν ἔρημιαν καὶ  
 τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐκλιπόντων, ἀναγκασθῆναι μίαν  
 ἡμέραν ἐνδεᾶ γενόμενον χρῆσασθαι διαίτη παν-  
 τελῶς εὐτελεῖ παρά τισι τῶν τυχόντων ἰδιωτῶν,  
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periods of revolt on the part of the Egyptians which they raised because they were unable to endure the harshness of their dominion and their lack of respect for the native gods. Last of all the Macedonians and their dynasty held rule for two hundred and seventy-six years. For the rest of the time all the kings of the land were natives, four hundred and seventy of them being men and five women. About all of them the priests had records which were regularly handed down in their sacred books to each successive priest from early times, giving the stature of each of the former kings, a description of his character, and what he had done during his reign; as for us, however, it would be a long task to write of each of them severally, and superfluous also, seeing that most of the material included is of no profit. Consequently we shall undertake to recount briefly only the most important of the facts which deserve a place in history.

45. After the gods the first king of Egypt, according to the priests, was Menas, who taught the people to worship gods and offer sacrifices, and also to supply themselves with tables and couches and to use costly bedding, and, in a word, introduced luxury and an extravagant manner of life. For this reason when, many generations later, Tnepachthus,<sup>1</sup> the father of Bocchoris the wise, was king and, while on a campaign in Arabia, ran short of supplies because the country was desert and rough, we are told that he was obliged to go without food for one day and then to live on quite simple fare at the home of some ordinary folk in private station, and that he, enjoying

<sup>1</sup> Not identified. Wiedemann conjectured that he might be Tef-sucht, of the 23rd Dynasty.

ἡσθέντα δὲ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καταγνῶναι τῆς  
 τρυφῆς καὶ τῷ καταδείξαντι τὴν πολυτέλειαν  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλεῖ καταρᾶσθαι οὕτω δ' ἐγκάρδιον  
 αὐτῷ τὴν μεταβολὴν γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τὴν  
 βρώσιν καὶ πόσιν καὶ κοίτην ὥστε τὴν κατάραν  
 ἀναγράψαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν εἰς τὸν τοῦ  
 Διὸς ναὸν ἐν Θήβαις· ὃ δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα αἰτίου  
 γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ διαμείναι τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Μηνῆ  
 3 καὶ τὰς τιμὰς εἰς τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους. ἐξῆς δ'  
 ἄρξαι λέγεται τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως τοὺς  
 ἀπογόνους δύο πρὸς τοῖς πενήκοντα τοὺς ἅπαντας  
 ἔτη πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα· ἐφ' ὧν  
 μηδὲν ἄξιον ἀναγραφῆς γενέσθαι.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατασταθέντος βασιλέως  
 Βουσίριδος καὶ τῶν τούτου πάλιν ἐγγόνων ὀκτώ,  
 τὸν τελευταῖον ὀμώνυμον ὄντα τῷ πρώτῳ φασὶ  
 κτίσαι τὴν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν<sup>1</sup> Αἰγυπτίων καλουμένην  
 Διὸς πόλιν τὴν μεγάλην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 Θήβας. τὸν μὲν οὖν περίβολον αὐτὸν ὑποστή-  
 σασθαι σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα, οἰκο-  
 δομήμασι δὲ μεγάλοις καὶ ναοῖς ἐκπρεπέσι καὶ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασι κοσμησάμενος θαυμαστῶς·  
 5 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἰκίας, ἃς μὲν  
 τετρωρόφους, ἃς δὲ πεντωρόφους κατασκευάσαι,  
 καὶ καθόλου τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμονεστάτην οὐ μόνον  
 τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πασῶν  
 6 ποιῆσαι. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν  
 εὐπορίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως εἰς πάντα τόπον τῆς  
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the experience exceedingly, denounced luxury and pronounced a curse on the king who had first taught the people their extravagant way of living; and so deeply did he take to heart the change which had taken place in the people's habits of eating, drinking, and sleeping, that he inscribed his curse in hieroglyphs on the temple of Zeus in Thebes; and this, in fact, appears to be the chief reason why the fame of Menas and his honours did not persist into later ages. And it is said that the descendants of this king, fifty-two in number all told, ruled in unbroken succession more than a thousand and forty years, but that in their reigns nothing occurred that was worthy of record.

Subsequently, when Busiris became king and his descendants in turn, eight in number, the last of the line, who bore the same name as the first, founded, they say, the city which the Egyptians call Diospolis<sup>1</sup> the Great, though the Greeks call it Thebes. Now the circuit of it he made one hundred and forty stades, and he adorned it in marvellous fashion with great buildings and remarkable temples and dedicatory monuments of every other kind; in the same way he caused the houses of private citizens to be constructed in some cases four stories high, in other five, and in general made it the most prosperous city, not only of Egypt, but of the whole world. And since, by reason of the city's pre-eminent wealth and power, its fame has been spread abroad to every

<sup>1</sup> "City of Zeus," the Diospolis Magna of the Romans. The Egyptian name by which it was most commonly known was *Nu* (or *No*), "the city."

<sup>1</sup> τῶν omitted by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

φήμης διαδεδομένης ἐπιμεμνησθαι καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν  
αὐτῆς φασιν ἐν οἷς λέγει

οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας  
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅτι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα  
κεῖται,  
αἰθ' ἑκατόμυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστην  
ἀνέρες ἐξοιχευέσι σὺν ἵπποισι καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

7 ἔτιοι δὲ φασιν οὐ πύλας ἑκατὸν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν  
πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα προπύλαια τῶν  
ιερῶν, ἀφ' ὧν ἑκατόμυλον ἀνομάσθαι, καθαιρεῖ  
πολύμυλον. δισμύρια δ' ἄρματα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τοὺς πολέμους ἐκπορεύεσθαι· τοὺς  
γὰρ ἵππωνας ἑκατὸν γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν παρα-  
ποταμίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Μέρφως ἄχρι Θιβῶν τῶν  
κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, ἑκάστου δεχομένου ἀνὰ δια-  
κοσίους ἵππους, ὧν ἔτι νῦν τὰ θεμέλια δείκνυσθαι.

46. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα παρει-  
λήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἀρξάντων  
πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν αὔξησιν τῆς πόλεως πεφιλοτι-  
μῆσθαι. ἀναθήμασι τε γὰρ πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις  
ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς, ἔτι δ' ἐλεφαντίνοις, καὶ  
κολοστικῶν ἀνδριάντων πλήθει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις  
κατασκευαῖς μονολίθων ὀβελίσκων μηδεμίαν γὰρ  
2 ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον οὕτω κεκοσμησθαι. τεττάρων γὰρ  
ιερῶν κατασκευασθέντων τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ  
μέγεθος θαυμαστὸν<sup>1</sup> εἶναι τὸ παλαιότατον,  
τρискаίδεκα μὲν σταδίων τὴν περιμέτρον, πέντε  
δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, εἴκοσι

<sup>1</sup> θαυμαστὸν D, Vogel; θαυμαστῶν ἐν C, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* 9. 381-4, where Achilles replies to Odysseus, reject-  
ing the proffer of gifts from Agamemnon.

region, even the poet, we are told, has mentioned it  
when he says: <sup>1</sup>

Nay, not for all the wealth  
Of Thebes in Egypt, where in ev'ry hall  
There lieth treasure vast; a hundred are  
Her gates, and warriors by each issue forth  
Two hundred, each of them with car and steeds.

Some, however, tell us that it was not one hundred  
"gates" (*pulai*) which the city had, but rather many  
great propylaea in front of its temples, and that it  
was from these that the title "hundred-gated" was  
given it, that is, "having many gateways." Yet  
twenty thousand chariots did in truth, we are told,  
pass out from it to war; for there were once scattered  
along the river from Memphis to the Thebes which is  
over against Libya one hundred post-stations,<sup>2</sup> each  
one having accommodation for two hundred horses,  
whose foundations are pointed out even to this day.

46. Not only this king, we have been informed, but  
also many of the later rulers devoted their attention  
to the development of the city. For no city under  
the sun has ever been so adorned by votive offerings,  
made of silver and gold and ivory, in such number  
and of such size, by such a multitude of colossal  
statues, and, finally, by obelisks made of single  
blocks of stone. Of four temples erected there the  
oldest<sup>3</sup> is a source of wonder for both its beauty and  
size, having a circuit of thirteen stades, a height of

<sup>2</sup> Stables where relays of horses were kept. Eichstädt  
would reject the whole of § 7 as spurious, and the words τῶν  
κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην appear to be unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> This is undoubtedly the Great Temple of Ammon at  
Karnak, the most imposing of all the monuments of Egypt.

δὲ καὶ τεττάρων ποδῶν τὸ πλάτος τῶν τοίχων.  
 3 ἀκόλουθον δὲ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν  
 ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον τῶν ἀναθημάτων γενέσθαι,  
 τῇ τε δαπάνῃ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῇ χειρουργίᾳ  
 4 περιττῶς εἰργασμένον. τὰς μὲν οὖν οἰκοδομὰς  
 διαμεμνηκέναι μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων, τὸν  
 δ' ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῆν δι' ἐλέφαντος  
 καὶ λιθείας πολυτέλειαν ὑπὸ Περσῶν σεσυλῆ-  
 σθαι καθ' οὗς καιροὺς ἐνέπρησε τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτου  
 ἱερὰ Καμβύσης· ὅτε δὴ φασὶ τοὺς Πέρσας  
 μετενεγκόντας τὴν εὐπορίαν ταύτην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 καὶ τεχνίτας ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παραλαβόντας κατα-  
 σκεύασαι τὰ περιβόητα βασίλεια τὰ τε ἐν  
 Περσепόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν Σούσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν Μηδίᾳ.  
 5 τοσοῦτο δὲ πλῆθος χρημάτων ἀποφαίνουσι  
 γεγονέναι τότε κατ' Αἴγυπτου ὥστε τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν σύλησιν ἀπολειμμάτων κατακαυθέντων τὰ  
 συναχθέντα κατὰ μικρὸν εὑρεθῆναι χρυσοῦ μὲν  
 πλείω τῶν τριακοσίων ταλάντων, ἀργυρίου δ' οὐκ  
 ἐλάττω τῶν δισχιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ταλάντων.  
 6 εἶναι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τάφους ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἀρχαίων  
 βασιλέων θαυμαστοὺς καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων  
 τοῖς εἰς τὰ παραπλήσια φιλοτιμουμένοις ὑπερ-  
 βολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντας.  
 7 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ἔφασαν  
 εὐρίσκειν ἑπτὰ πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα τάφους  
 βασιλικούς· εἰς δὲ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Λάγου δια-  
 μείναι φασὶ ἑπτακαίδεκα μόνον, ὧν τὰ πολλὰ  
 κατέφθαρτο καθ' οὗς χρόνους παρεβάλομεν  
 ἡμεῖς εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς  
 8 καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. οὐ μόνον δ' οἱ

forty-five cubits, and walls twenty-four feet thick.  
 In keeping with this magnificence was also the em-  
 bellishment of the votive offerings within the circuit  
 wall, marvellous for the money spent upon it and  
 exquisitely wrought as to workmanship. Now the  
 buildings of the temple survived down to rather recent  
 times, but the silver and gold and costly works of ivory  
 and rare stone were carried off by the Persians when  
 Cambyses burned the temples of Egypt;<sup>1</sup> and it was  
 at this time, they say, that the Persians, by trans-  
 ferring all this wealth to Asia and taking artisans  
 along from Egypt, constructed their famous palaces  
 in Persepolis and Susa and throughout Media. So  
 great was the wealth of Egypt at that period, they  
 declare, that from the remnants left in the course of  
 the sack and after the burning the treasure which  
 was collected little by little was found to be worth  
 more than three hundred talents of gold and no less  
 than two thousand three hundred talents of silver.  
 There are also in this city, they say, remarkable  
 tombs of the early kings and of their successors,  
 which leave to those who aspire to similar magni-  
 ficence no opportunity to outdo them.

Now the priests said that in their records they find  
 forty-seven tombs of kings; but down to the time of  
 Ptolemy son of Lagus, they say, only fifteen remained,<sup>323-283</sup>  
 most of which had been destroyed at the time we  
 visited those regions, in the One Hundred and <sup>B.C.</sup>  
 Eightieth Olympiad. Not only do the priests of <sup>60-56</sup>  
<sup>B.C.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cambyses was in Egypt from 525 to 522 B.C. The account  
 of his excesses against the Egyptian religion and customs,  
 given in great detail by Herodotus (3. 16 ff.), is almost cer-  
 tainly much exaggerated (see Gray in *The Cambridge Ancient*  
*History*, 4. pp. 22-3, but cp. Hall, *ibid.* 3. pp. 311-12); at any  
 rate they fall toward the end of his stay in the country.

κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ἱστοροῦσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν παραβαλόντων μὲν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, συνταξαμένον δὲ τὰς Αἴγυπτιακὰς ἱστορίας, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἑκαταῖος, συμφωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰρημέροις.

47. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων τάφων, ἐν οἷς παραδέδοται τὰς παλλακίδας τοῦ Διὸς τεθάφθαι, δέκα σταδίων φησὶν ὑπάρχει βασιλέως μνήμα τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Ὀσυμανδίου. τούτου δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν εἴσοδον ὑπάρχειν πυλῶνα λίθου ποικίλου, τὸ μὲν μήκος δίπλεθρον, τὸ δ' ὕψος 2 τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε πηχῶν διελθόντι δ' αὐτὸν εἶναι λίθινον περίστυλον τετράγωνον, ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς οὐσῆς τεττάρων πλέθρων ὑπηρεῖσθαι δ' ἀντὶ τῶν κίωνων ζῳδία πηχῶν ἑκαταίδεκα μονόλιθα, τὸν τύπον εἰς τὸν ἀρχαίου τρόπου εἰργασμένα· τὴν ὀροφήν τε πᾶσαν ἐπὶ πλάτος δυοῖν ὀργυριῶν ὑπάρχειν μονόλιθον, ἀστέρας ἐν κυανῷ καταπεποικιλμένην· ἐξῆς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλου τούτου πάλιν ἕτεραν εἴσοδον καὶ πυλῶνα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραπλήσιον τῷ προειρημένῳ, γλυφαῖς δὲ παντοίαις περιττότερον 3 εἰργασμένον· παρὰ δὲ τὴν εἴσοδον ἀνδριάντας εἶναι τρεῖς ἕξ ἑνὸς τοῦς πάντας λίθου μέλανος<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Συηνίτου, καὶ τούτων ἓνα μὲν καθήμενον

<sup>1</sup> μέλανος Hertlein: Μέμενος.

Egypt give these facts from their records, but many also of the Greeks who visited Thebes in the time of Ptolemy son of Lagus and composed histories of Egypt, one of whom was Hecataeus,<sup>1</sup> agree with what we have said.

47. Ten stades from the first tombs, he says, in which, according to tradition, are buried the concubines of Zeus, stands a monument of the king known as Osymandyas.<sup>2</sup> At its entrance there is a pylon, constructed of variegated stone, two plethra in breadth and forty-five cubits high; passing through this one enters a rectangular peristyle, built of stone, four plethra long on each side; it is supported, in place of pillars, by monolithic figures sixteen cubits high, wrought in the ancient manner as to shape;<sup>3</sup> and the entire ceiling, which is two fathoms wide, consists of a single stone, which is highly decorated with stars on a blue field. Beyond this peristyle there is yet another entrance and pylon, in every respect like the one mentioned before, save that it is more richly wrought with every manner of relief; beside the entrance are three statues, each of a single block of black stone from Syene, of which one, that

*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*, 2. 389-91) is drawn. What Diodorus gives here is no more than a paraphrase, not a quotation, of Hecataeus (cp. the Introduction, p. xvii).

<sup>2</sup> This is the great sanctuary erected by Ramses II for his mortuary service and known to every visitor at Thebes as the Ramesseum. In chap. 49, where Diodorus is not following Hecataeus, he calls it specifically a "tomb." H. R. Hall (*Ancient History of the Near East*<sup>6</sup>, p. 317) derives the name Osymandyas from User-ma-Ra (or "Uashmuariya" as the Semites wrote it), one of the royal names of Ramses.

<sup>3</sup> These were square pillars with engaged statues of Osiris, but they were not monoliths (cp. H. R. Hall, *l.c.*, with illustration).

<sup>1</sup> Hecataeus of Abdera was an historian of the early third century B.C., author of an *Aegyptiaka*, from which the following description (47. 1-49. 5) of the tomb of Osymandyas (Müller,

ὑπάρχειν μέγιστον πάντων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον,  
 οὗ τὸν πόδα μετρούμενον ὑπερβάλλειν τοὺς ἑπτὰ  
 πήχεις, ἑτέροισ δὲ δύο πρὸς τοῖς γόνασι, τὸν  
 μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ εὐνούμων, θυγατρὸς  
 καὶ μητρὸς, τῇ μεγέθει λειπομένους τοῦ προεῖρη.  
 4 μένου. τὸ δ' ἔργον τοῦτο μὴ μόνον εἶναι κατὰ  
 τὸ μέγεθος ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ  
 θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῇ τοῦ λίθου φύσει διαφέρον, ὡς  
 ἂν ἐν τηλικούτῳ μεγέθει μήτε διαφύαδος μήτε  
 κηλίδος μηδεμίᾳς θεωρουμένης. ἐπιγεγράφθαι δ'  
 ἐπ' αὐτοῦ "Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ὀσυμανδίας  
 εἰμί. εἰ δέ τις εἰδέναί βούλεται πηλίκος εἰμί  
 καὶ ποῦ κείμεναι, νικάτω τι τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων."  
 5 εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην εἰκόνα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καθ'  
 αὐτὴν πηχῶν εἴκοσι μονόλιθον, ἔχουσαν δὲ τρεῖς  
 βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἃς διασημαίνειν  
 ὅτι καὶ θυγάτηρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ μήτηρ βασιλέως  
 ὑπήρξε.  
 6 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν πυλῶνα περίστυλον εἶναι τοῦ  
 προτέρου ἀξιολογώτερον, ἐν ᾧ γλυφὰς ὑπάρχειν  
 παντοίας δηλοῦσας τὸν πόλεμον τὸν γενομένον  
 αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Βάκτροις ἀποστάντας·  
 ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύσθαι πεζῶν μὲν τετταράκοντα  
 μυριάσι, ἵππεύσι δὲ δισμυρίοις, εἰς τέτταρα  
 μέρη διηρημένης τῆς πάσης στρατιάς, ὧν ἀπάν-  
 των υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσχηκέναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.  
 48. Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον τῶν τοίχων  
 τὸν βασιλέα κατεσκευάσθαι πολιορκοῦντα τείχος  
 ὑπὸ ποταμοῦ περιόρρυτον καὶ προκινδυνεύοντα

is seated, is the largest of any in Egypt,<sup>1</sup> the foot measuring over seven cubits, while the other two at the knees of this, the one on the right and the other on the left, daughter and mother respectively, are smaller than the one first mentioned. And it is not merely for its size that this work merits approbation, but it is also marvellous by reason of its artistic quality and excellent because of the nature of the stone, since in a block of so great a size there is not a single crack or blemish to be seen. The inscription upon it runs: "King of Kings am I, Osymandyas. If anyone would know how great I am and where I lie, let him surpass one of my works." There is also another statue of his mother standing alone, a monolith twenty cubits high, and it has three diadems on its head, signifying that she was both daughter and wife and mother of a king.

Beyond the pylon, he says, there is a peristyle more remarkable than the former one; in it there are all manner of reliefs depicting the war which the king waged against those Bactrians who had revolted; against these he had made a campaign with four hundred thousand foot-soldiers and twenty thousand cavalry, the whole army having been divided into four divisions, all of which were under the command of sons of the king.<sup>2</sup>

48. On the first wall the king, he says, is represented in the act of besieging a walled city which is surrounded by a river, and of leading the attack against

<sup>2</sup> This is the campaign of Ramses II against the Hittites in 1288 B.C. and the great battle around the city of Kadesh on the upper Orontes. The battle has been fully described by J. H. Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh* (Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1904), who estimates the size of the army at little more than 20,000.

<sup>1</sup> The estimated weight of this colossus of Ramses II is one thousand tons.



πρὸς τινὰς ἀντιτεταγμένους μετὰ λέοντος, συναγωνιζομένου τοῦ θηρίου καταπληκτικῶς ὑπὲρ οὐ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν χειροῆθη λέοντα τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως συγκινδυνεύειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς μάχας καὶ τροπὴν ποιεῖν τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τὴν ἀλκίην, τινὲς δ' ἰστόρουσι ὅτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀνδρείος ὢν καὶ φορτικῶς<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζειν βουλόμενος, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λέοντος εἰκόνας τὴν διάθεσιν ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐσήμαιεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τοίχῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγομένους εἰργάσθαι τὰ τε αἰδοῖα καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔχοντας, δι' ὧν δοκεῖν δηλοῦσθαι διότι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνανδροὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐνεργείας ἄχειρες ἦσαν. τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἔχειν γλυφὰς παντοίας καὶ διαπρεπεῖς γραφάς, δι' ὧν δηλοῦσθαι βουθυσίας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ θριάμβον ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταγόμενον. κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν περιστυλον ὑπαίθριον βωμὸν ᾠκοδομηθῆναι τοῦ καλλίστου λίθου τῇ τε χειρουργίᾳ διάφορον καὶ τῷ μεγέθει θαυμαστόν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τελευταῖον τοῖχον ὑπάρχειν ἀνδριάντας καθημένους δύο μονολίθους ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πηχῶν, παρ' οὓς εἰσόδους τρεῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιστύλου κατεσκευάσθαι, καθ' ἃς οἶκον ὑπάρχειν ὑπόστυλον, ᾠδείου τρόπου κατεσκευασμένον, ἐκαστὴν πλευρὰν ἔχοντα διπλεθρον. ἐν τούτῳ δ' εἶναι πλῆθος ἀνδριάντων

<sup>1</sup> φορτικῶς Vogel: φορτικὸς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is apparently not from Hecataeus. Breasted (*l.c.*, pp. 44-5) holds that this lion is purely decorative, though the reliefs of the battle show a tame lion accompanying Ramses on the campaign.

opposing troops; he is accompanied by a lion, which is aiding him with terrifying effect. Of those who have explained the scene some have said that in very truth a tame lion which the king kept accompanied him in the perils of battle and put the enemy to rout by his fierce onset; but others have maintained that the king, who was exceedingly brave and desirous of praising himself in a vulgar way, was trying to portray his own bold spirit in the figure of the lion.<sup>1</sup> On the second wall, he adds, are wrought the captives as they are being led away by the king; they are without their privates and their hands, which apparently signifies that they were effeminate in spirit and had no hands when it came to the dread business of warfare.<sup>2</sup> The third wall carries every manner of relief and excellent paintings, which portray the king performing a sacrifice of oxen and celebrating a triumph after the war. In the centre of the peristyle there had been constructed of the most beautiful stone an altar, open to the sky, both excellent in its workmanship and marvellous because of its size. By the last wall are two monolithic seated statues, twenty-seven cubits high, beside which are set three entrances from the peristyle; and by way of these entrances one comes into a hall whose roof was supported by pillars, constructed in the style of an Odeum,<sup>3</sup> and measuring two plethra on each side. In this hall there are many wooden statues representing parties

<sup>2</sup> The reliefs of the battle show Ramses in his chariot and the severed hands of the slain, not of the captives, being cast before him (Breasted, *l.c.*, p. 45).

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* a Music Hall, distinguished, in general, by the ancients from a theatre by its roof and supporting pillars. This is the great hypostyle hall behind the second court (cp. the Plan in *Baedeker's Egypt*, opp. p. 301).

ξυλίνων, διασημαίνον τοὺς ἀμφισβητήσεις<sup>1</sup>  
 ἔχοντας καὶ προσβλέποντας τοῖς τὰς δίκας  
 κρίνουσι· τούτους δ' ἐφ' ἐνὸς τῶν τοίχων ἐγγε-  
 γλύφθαι τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄχειρας,<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 κατὰ τὸ μέσον τὸν ἀρχιδικαστήν, ἔχοντα τὴν  
 Ἀλήθειαν ἐξηρητημένην ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ  
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπιμύοντα,<sup>3</sup> καὶ βιβλίω αὐτῷ  
 παρακείμενον πλήθος ταύτας δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας  
 ἐνδείκνυσθαι διὰ τοῦ σχήματος ὅτι τοὺς μὲν  
 δικαστὰς οὐδὲν δεῖ λαμβάνειν, τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν  
 δὲ πρὸς μόνην βλέπειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

49. Ἐξῆς δ' ὑπάρχειν περίπατον οἰκῶν παντο-  
 δαπῶν πλήρη, καθ' οὓς παντοῖα γένη βρωτῶν  
 κατεσκευάσθαι τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστων.  
<sup>2</sup> καθ' ὃν δὴ γλυφαῖς ἐντυχεῖν<sup>4</sup> εἶναι καὶ χρώμασιν  
 ἐπηρνησμένον τὸν βασιλέα, φέροντα τῷ θεῷ  
 χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὃν ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐλάμβανε  
 τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων  
 καὶ χρυσείων μετάλλων ὑπογεγράφθαι δὲ καὶ  
 τὸ πλήθος, ὃ συγκεφαλαιούμενον εἰς ἀργυρίου  
 λόγον εἶναι μῶν τρισχιλίας καὶ διακοσίας  
<sup>3</sup> μυριάδας, ἐξῆς δ' ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἱερὰν βιβλιο-  
 θήκην, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπιγεγράφθαι Ψυχῆς ἰατροῖον,  
 συνεχεῖς δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν κατ' Αἰγύπτου θεῶν  
 ἀπάντων εἰκόνας, τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμοίως δωρο-  
 φοροῦντος ἃ προσήκον ἦν ἐκάστοις, καθάπερ  
 ἐνδείκνυμένου πρὸς τε τὸν Ὀσίριν καὶ τοὺς

in litigation, whose eyes are fixed upon the judges who decide their cases; and these, in turn, are shown in relief on one of the walls, to the number of thirty and without any hands,<sup>1</sup> and in their midst the chief justice, with a figure of Truth hanging from his neck and holding his eyes closed, and at his side a great number of books. And these figures show by their attitude that the judges shall receive no gift and that the chief justice shall have his eyes upon the truth alone.<sup>2</sup>

49. Next to these courts, he says, is an ambulatory crowded with buildings of every kind, in which there are representations of the foods that are sweetest to the taste, of every variety. Here are to be found reliefs in which the king, adorned in colours, is represented as offering to the god the gold and silver which he received each year from the silver and gold mines of all Egypt; and an inscription below gives also the total amount, which, summed up according to its value in silver, is thirty-two million minas. Next comes the sacred library, which bears the inscription "Healing-place of the Soul," and contiguous to this building are statues of all the gods of Egypt, to each of whom the king in like manner makes the offering appropriate to him, as though he were submitting proof before Osiris and his assessors

<sup>1</sup> A word to this effect, which is found in a description of "figures in Thebes" by Plutarch (*On Isis and Osiris*, 10), must almost certainly have stood in the text, to give a basis for the thought in the next sentence that the judges should not receive gifts; cp. Plutarch, *l.c.*, *ὡς ἄδωρον ἑμα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀνέντευκτον ὄσαν* ("showing that justice should take no gifts and should be inaccessible to influence").

<sup>2</sup> On this Supreme Court see chap. 75.

<sup>1</sup> τὰς before ἀμφισβητήσεις omitted by D, Vogel: retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ἄχειρας added by Hertlein, cp. Plutarch, *Mor.* 355 A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιμύοντα Hertlein: ἐπιμύοντα.

<sup>4</sup> The text is defective. Reiske conjectures γλυφαῖς ἐν τοίχῳ ἰδεῖν εἶναι.

κάτω παρέδρους ὅτι τὸν βίον ἐξετέλεσεν εὐσεβῶν  
καὶ δικαιοπραγῶν πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ θεούς.  
4 ὁμοιοῦχου δὲ τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ κατεσκευάσθαι πε-  
ριττῶς οἶκον εἰκοσίκλινον, ἔχοντα τοῦ τε Διὸς  
καὶ τῆς Ἥρας, ἔτι δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰκόνας,  
ἐν ᾧ δοκεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντε-  
5 θάφθαι. κύκλῳ δὲ τούτου πλήθος οἰκημάτων  
κατεσκευάσθαι γραφῆν ἔχόντων ἐκπρεπῆ πάντων  
τῶν καθιερωμένων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ζῶων· ἀνάβασιν  
τε δι' αὐτῶν εἶναι πρὸς ὄλον<sup>1</sup> τὸν τάφον· ἦν  
διελθοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος κύκλον  
χρυσοῦν τριακοσίων καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε  
πηγῶν τὴν περιμετρον, τὸ δὲ πάχος<sup>2</sup> πηχυαῖον  
ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ καὶ διηρῆσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον  
πῆχυν τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, παραγεγραμ-  
μένων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν γινομένων τοῖς ἀστροῖς  
ἀνατολῶν τε καὶ δύσεων καὶ τῶν διὰ ταύτας  
ἐπιτελουμένων ἐπισημασιῶν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰγυ-  
πτίους ἀστρολόγους. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κύκλον ὑπὸ  
Καμβύσου καὶ Περσῶν ἔφασαν σεσυλῆσθαι καθ'  
οὓς χρόνους ἐκράτησεν Αἰγύπτου.

6 Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὀσυμανδύου τοῦ βασιλέως τάφον  
τοιούτου γενέσθαι φασίν, ὃς οὐ μόνον δοκεῖ τῇ  
κατὰ τὴν δαπάνην χορηγία πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων  
διενεγκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐπινοίᾳ.

50. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοί φασιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους  
εἶναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρώτους

<sup>1</sup> ὄλον has been suspected. Herlolin conjectured ἕκρον,  
"to the top of the tomb."

<sup>2</sup> πάχος all editors. Capps conjectures πλάτος.

in the underworld that to the end of his days he had  
lived a life of piety and justice towards both men  
and gods. Next to the library and separated from  
it by a party wall is an exquisitely constructed hall,  
which contains a table with couches for twenty and  
statues of Zeus and Hera as well as of the king;  
here, it would seem, the body of the king is also  
buried. In a circle about this building are many  
chambers which contain excellent paintings of all  
the animals which are held sacred in Egypt. There  
is an ascent leading through these chambers to the  
tomb as a whole. At the top of this ascent there is  
a circular border of gold crowning the monument,  
three hundred and sixty-five cubits in circumference  
and one cubit thick;<sup>1</sup> upon this the days of the year  
are inscribed, one in each cubit of length, and by each  
day the risings and settings of the stars as nature  
ordains them and the signs indicating the effects  
which the Egyptian astrologers hold that they  
produce.<sup>2</sup> This border, they said, had been plun-  
dered by Cambyses and the Persians when he  
conquered Egypt.

Such, they say, was the tomb of Osymandyas the  
king, which is considered far to have excelled all  
others, not only in the amount of money lavished  
upon it, but also in the ingenuity shown by the  
artificers.

50. The Thebans say that they are the earliest of  
all men and the first people among whom philosophy<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In place of "one cubit thick" one should certainly  
expect "one cubit wide." In that case the space for the  
portrayal of each day would be one cubit square.

<sup>2</sup> Here ends the account drawn, except for occasional re-  
marks of Diodorus, from Herodotus.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. in the wider sense of study of knowledge.

φιλοσοφίαν τε εὐρῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἀκριβῆς  
 ἀστρολογίαν, ἅμα καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς συνε-  
 γούσης πρὸς τὸ τηλαυγέστερον ὄραν τὰς ἐπιτολάς  
 2 τε καὶ δύσεις τῶν ἀστρων. ἰδίως δὲ καὶ τὰ  
 περὶ τοὺς μῆνας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς  
 διατετάχθαι.<sup>1</sup> τὰς γὰρ ἡμέρας οὐκ ἄγουσι κατὰ  
 σελήνην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον, τριακονθημέρους  
 μὲν τιθέμενοι τοὺς μῆνας, πέντε δ' ἡμέρας καὶ  
 τέταρτον τοῖς δώδεκα μηνὶν ἐπάγουσι, καὶ τούτῳ  
 τῷ τρόπῳ τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον ἀναπληροῦσιν.  
 ἐμβολίμους δὲ μῆνας οὐκ ἄγουσιν οὐδ' ἡμέρας  
 ὑφαιροῦσι, καθάπερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.  
 περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκλείψεων ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης  
 ἀκριβῶς ἐπεσκεφῆθαι δοκοῦσι, καὶ προρρήσεις  
 περὶ τούτων ποιῶνται, πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 γινόμενα προλέγοντες ἀδιαπτώτως.  
 3 Τῶν δὲ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπογόνων ὄγδοος  
 ὁ<sup>2</sup> προσαγορευθεὶς Οὐχρεὺς ἔκτισε πόλιν Μέμ-  
 φιν, ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον. ἐξε-  
 λέξατο μὲν γὰρ τόπου ἐπικαιρότατον ἀπάσης  
 τῆς χώρας, ὅπου σχιζόμενος ὁ Νεῖλος εἰς πλείονα  
 μέρη ποιεῖ τὸ καλούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος  
 Δέλτα· διὸ καὶ συνέβη τὴν πόλιν εὐκαίρως  
 κειμένην ἐπὶ τῶν κλειθρῶν εἶναι κυριεύουσαν  
 4 τῶν εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἀναπλεόντων. τὸ μὲν  
 οὖν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησε σταδίων  
 ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα, τὴν δ' ὀχυρότητα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Camusatus conjectured διατέτακται, which is adopted by Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς after ὁ omitted by CF.

<sup>1</sup> The Egyptians undoubtedly knew the proper length of the year, but their year was one of 365 days and there is no

and the exact science of the stars were discovered, since their country enables them to observe more distinctly than others the risings and settings of the stars. Peculiar to them also is their ordering of the months and years. For they do not reckon the days by the moon, but by the sun, making their month of thirty days, and they add five and a quarter days<sup>1</sup> to the twelve months and in this way fill out the cycle of the year. But they do not intercalate months or subtract days, as most of the Greeks do. They appear to have made careful observations of the eclipses both of the sun and of the moon, and predict them, foretelling without error all the events which actually occur.

Of the descendants of this king, the eighth, known as Uchoreus, founded Memphis, the most renowned city of Egypt. For he chose the most favourable spot in all the land, where the Nile divides into several branches to form the "Delta," as it is called from its shape; and the result was that the city, excellently situated as it was at the gates of the Delta, continually controlled the commerce passing into upper Egypt. Now he gave the city a circumference of one hundred and fifty stades, and made it

record of their ever officially intercalating a day every four years, as, indeed, Diodorus tells us in the next sentence (op. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I. p. 168). The distinct contribution of the Egyptians to the calendar was the rejection of the lunar month and the recognition that the length of the divisions of the year should be conventional. It was this conventional month which Julius Caesar introduced into the lunar month calendar of the Romans, practically all ancient writers saying in one way or another that the idea for his calendar came from Egypt (cp. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, pp. 32-3).

τὴν εὐχρηστίαν θαυμαστὴν, τοιῶδέ τινα τρόπον  
 5 κατασκευάσας. ῥέοντος γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου περὶ  
 τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπικλύζοντος,  
 ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ νότου προεβάλετο χῶμα παμ-  
 μέγεθες, πρὸς μὲν τὴν πληρωσιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 προβλήματος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολε-  
 μίους ἀκροπόλεως ἔχον τάξιν ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων  
 μερῶν πανταχόθεν ὠρυξε λίμνην μεγάλην καὶ  
 βαθεῖαν, ἣ τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ δεχομένη  
 καὶ πάντα τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τόπον πληροῦσα,  
 πλην ἣ τὸ χῶμα κατεσκευάστω, θαυμαστὴν  
 6 ἐποίησε τὴν ὀχυρότητα. οὕτω δὲ καλῶς ὁ κτίσας  
 αὐτὴν ἐστοχάσατο τῆς τῶν τόπων εὐκαιρίας ὥστε  
 τοὺς ἐξῆς βασιλεῖς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας καταλιπόντας  
 τὰς Θήβας τὰ τε βασίλεια καὶ τὴν οἰκισιν ἐν  
 ταύτῃ ποιεῖσθαι. διόπερ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρό-  
 νων ἤρξατο ταπεινοῦσθαι μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς Θήβας,  
 αὔξεσθαι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Μέμφιν, ἕως Ἀλε-  
 ξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως· τούτου γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ  
 τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν οἰκίσαντος οἱ κατὰ  
 τὸ ἐξῆς βασιλεύσαντες τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάντες  
 7 ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν εἰς τὴν ταύτης αὔξησιν. οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ βασιλεῖοις μεγαλοπρεπέειν, οἱ δὲ νεωρίοις  
 καὶ λιμέσιν, οἱ δ' ἑτέροις ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατα-  
 σκεύασμασιν ἀξιολόγοις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκόσμησαν  
 αὐτὴν ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις πρώτην ἢ  
 δευτέραν ἀριθμεῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην  
 πόλεων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν.

51. Ὁ δὲ τὴν Μέμφιν κτίσας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 χωματος καὶ τῆς λίμνης κατασκευὴν ὑποδόμησε  
 βασίλεια τῶν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ λειπό-  
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remarkably strong and adapted to its purpose by  
 works of the following nature. Since the Nile flowed  
 around the city and covered it at the time of inunda-  
 tion, he threw out a huge mound of earth on the  
 south to serve as a barrier against the swelling of the  
 river and also as a citadel against the attacks of  
 enemies by land; and all around the other sides he  
 dug a large and deep lake, which, by taking up the  
 force of the river and occupying all the space about  
 the city except where the mound had been thrown up,  
 gave it remarkable strength. And so happily did the  
 founder of the city reckon upon the suitability of the  
 site that practically all subsequent kings left  
 Thebes and established both their palaces and  
 official residences here. Consequently from this  
 time Thebes began to wane and Memphis to increase,<sup>1</sup>  
 until the time of Alexander the king; for after he  
 had founded the city on the sea which bears his name,  
 all the kings of Egypt after him concentrated their  
 interest on the development of it. Some adorned it  
 with magnificent palaces, some with docks and  
 harbours, and others with further notable dedications  
 and buildings, to such an extent that it is generally  
 reckoned the first or second city of the inhabited  
 world. But a detailed description of this city we  
 shall set forth in the appropriate period.<sup>2</sup>

51. The founder of Memphis, after constructing  
 the mound and the lake, erected a palace, which,  
 while not inferior to those of other nations, yet was

<sup>1</sup> In common with all the Greek writers, Diodorus knew  
 nothing about the chronological development of Egyptian  
 history. The great period of Thebes was to come with the  
 Eighteenth Dynasty, after 1600 B.C., many centuries sub-  
 sequent to the founding of Memphis.

<sup>2</sup> Alexandria is more fully described in Book 17. 52.

μενα, τῆς δὲ τῶν προβασιλευσάντων μεγα-  
 2 λουψυχίας καὶ φιλοκαλίας οὐκ ἄξια. οἱ γὰρ  
 ἐγγχώριοι τὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ ζῆν χρόνον εὐτελεῖ  
 παντελῶς εἶναι νομίζουσι, τὸν δὲ μετὰ τὴν  
 τελευτὴν δι' ἀρετὴν μνημοκευθόμενον περὶ  
 πλείστον ποιοῦνται, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ζώντων  
 οἰκήσεις καταλύουσι ὀνομάζουσι, ὡς ὀλίγον  
 χρόνον ἐν ταύταις οἰκούντων ἡμῶν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν  
 τετελετηκότων τάφους αἰδίους οἴκους προσαγο-  
 ρεῦουσιν, ὡς ἐν ἄδου διατελούντων τὸν ἄπειρον  
 αἰῶνα· διόπερ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας κατα-  
 σκευῶν ἤττον φροντίζουσι, περὶ δὲ τὰς ταφὰς  
 ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι φιλοτιμίας.

3 Τὴν δὲ προειρημένην πόλιν ὀνομασθῆναι τινὲς  
 φασιν ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὴν  
 βασιλέως. ταύτης δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν ἐρασθῆναι  
 τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον ὁμοιωθέντα ταύρῳ, καὶ  
 γεννηῆσαι τὸν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμασθέντα παρὰ τοῖς  
 ἐγχωρίοις Αἴγυπτου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν σύμπασαν  
 4 χώραν τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας. διαδεξάμενον  
 γὰρ τοῦτον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν γενέσθαι βασιλέα  
 φιλόφθρον καὶ δίκαιον καὶ καθόλου σπου-  
 δαῖον ἐν πᾶσι· διὸ καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιού-  
 μενον ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν τυχεῖν τῆς  
 προειρημένης τιμῆς.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν προειρημένον βασιλέα δώδεκα  
 γενεαῖς ὕστερον διαδεξάμενος τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον  
 ἡγεμονίαν Μοῖρις ἐν μὲν τῇ Μέμφει κατεσκεύασε  
 τὰ βόρεια προπύλαια, τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖα πολλὴ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντα, ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀπὸ δέκα σχοίνων λίμνην ὥρυξε τῇ μὲν εὐχρη-  
 στία θαυμαστήν, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων

no match for the grandeur of design and love of the  
 beautiful shown by the kings who preceded him.  
 For the inhabitants of Egypt consider the period of  
 this life to be of no account whatever, but place the  
 greatest value on the time after death when they will  
 be remembered for their virtue, and while they give  
 the name of "lodgings" to the dwellings of the  
 living, thus intimating that we dwell in them but a  
 brief time, they call the tombs of the dead "eternal  
 homes," since the dead spend endless eternity in  
 Hades; consequently they give less thought to the  
 furnishings of their houses, but on the manner of  
 their burials they do not forgo any excess of zeal.

The aforementioned city was named, according to  
 some, after the daughter of the king who founded it.  
 They tell the story that she was loved by the river  
 Nile, who had assumed the form of a bull, and gave  
 birth to Egyptus, a man famous among the natives  
 for his virtue, from whom the entire land received its  
 name. For upon succeeding to the throne he showed  
 himself to be a kindly king, just, and, in a word,  
 upright in all matters; and so, since he was held by  
 all to merit great approbation because of his good-  
 will, he received the honour mentioned.

Twelve generations after the king just named,  
 Moeris succeeded to the throne of Egypt and built  
 in Memphis itself the north propylaea, which far  
 surpasses the others in magnificence, while ten  
 schoeni<sup>1</sup> above the city he excavated a lake which  
 was remarkable for its utility and an undertaking of

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (2. 6) says that the *schoenus* was an Egyptian  
 measure, equal to sixty stades or approximately seven  
 miles, but according to Strabo (17. 1. 24) it varied from thirty  
 to one hundred and twenty stades. At any rate the Fayûm  
 is about sixty miles from the site of ancient Memphis.

6 ἀπίστον τὴν μὲν γὰρ περίμετρον αὐτῆς φασὶν ὑπάρχειν σταδίων τρισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσιν ὀργυίων πεντήκοντα· ὥστε τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀναλογιζόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κατασκευάσματος εἰκότως ζητήσαι πόσαι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἐν πόσοις ἔτεσι τοῦτο 7 συνετέλεσαν; τὴν δὲ χρεῖαν τὴν ἐκ ταύτης καὶ κοινωφελίαν τοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἰκοῦσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίνοιαν, οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπαίνεσειε τῆς ἀληθείας ἀξίως.

52. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος οὐχ ὥρισμένας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἀναβάσεις, ἣ δὲ χώρα τὴν εὐκαρπίαν παρεσκεύαζεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου συμμετρίας, εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πλεονάζοντος ὕδατος ὥρυξε τὴν λίμνην, ὅπως μῆτε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ῥύσεως ἐπικλύζων ἀκαίρως τὴν χώραν ἔλη καὶ λίμνας κατασκευάζῃ, μῆτ' ἐλάττω τοῦ συμφέροντος τὴν πληρωσιν ποιούμενος τῇ λειψυδρίᾳ τοὺς καρποὺς 2 λυμαίνηται. καὶ διάρρυχα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατεσκεύασεν εἰς τὴν λίμνην ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, τρίπλεθρον δὲ τὸ πλάτος· διὰ δὲ ταύτης ποτὲ μὲν δεχόμενος τὸν ποταμόν, ποτὲ δ' ἀποστρέφων, παρείχετο τοῖς γεωργοῖς τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων εὐκαιρίαν, ἀνοιγομένου τοῦ στόματος καὶ πάλιν κλειομένου φιλοτέχνως καὶ πολυδαπάνως· οὐκ ἐλάττω γὰρ τῶν πενήκοντα ταλάντων δαπανᾶν ἦν ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀνοῖξαι βουλόμενον ἢ κλείσαι τὸ προειρημένον κατασκευάσμα. 3 διαμεμένηκε δ' ἡ λίμνη τὴν εὐχρηστίαν παρεχομένη τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἕως τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατα-

incredible magnitude.<sup>1</sup> For its circumference, they say, is three thousand six hundred stades and its depth in most parts fifty fathoms; what man, accordingly, in trying to estimate the magnitude of the work, would not reasonably inquire how many myriads of men labouring for how many years were required for its completion? And as for the utility of this lake and its contribution to the welfare of all the inhabitants of Egypt, as well as for the ingenuity of the king, no man may praise them highly enough to do justice to the truth.

52. For since the Nile did not rise to a fixed height each year and yet the fruitfulness of the country depended on the constancy of the flood-level, he excavated the lake to receive the excess water, in order that the river might not, by an excessive volume of flow, immoderately flood the land and form marshes and pools, nor, by failing to rise to the proper height, ruin the harvests by the lack of water. He also dug a canal, eighty stades long and three plethra wide,<sup>2</sup> from the river to the lake, and by this canal, sometimes turning the river into the lake and sometimes shutting it off again, he furnished the farmers with an opportune supply of water, opening and closing the entrance by a skilful device and yet at considerable expense; for it cost no less than fifty talents if a man wanted to open or close this work. The lake has continued to serve well the needs of the Egyptians down to our time, and bears

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the great depression known as the Fayûm, into which the Nile flowed during the period of inundation. The control of this flow, as described below, was first undertaken by the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty, especially by Amenemhet III.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. about nine miles long and three hundred feet wide.

σκευάσαντος ἔχει, καλουμένη μέχρι τοῦ νῦν  
 4 Μοίριδος λίμνη. ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς ὀρύττων  
 ταύτην κατέλιπεν ἐν μέσῃ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ τάφον  
 ὠκοδόμησε καὶ δύο πυραμίδας, τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ,  
 τὴν δὲ τῆς γυναικός, σταδίαίας τὸ ὕψος, ἐφ'  
 ὧν ἐπέστησεν εἰκόνας λιθίνας καθήμενας ἐπὶ  
 θρόνου, νομίζων διὰ τούτων τῶν ἔργων ἀθάνα-  
 τον ἑαυτοῦ καταλείψειν τὴν ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ μνήμην,  
 5 τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων γινομένην  
 πρόσοδον ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς μύρα καὶ τὸν  
 ἄλλον καλλωπισμὸν, φεροῦσης τῆς θήρας ἀργυ-  
 6 ρίου τάλαντον ἐκάστης ἡμέρας· εἰκοσι γάρ καὶ  
 δύο γένη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἰχθύων εἶναι,  
 καὶ τοσούτων αὐτῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι πλῆθος ὥστε  
 τοὺς προσκαρτεροῦντας ταῖς ταριχεύαις ὄντας  
 παμπληθεῖς δυσχερῶς περιγίνεσθαι τῶν ἔργων.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν Μοίριδος τοσαύτ' ἰστοροῦσιν  
 Αἰγύπτιοι.

53. Σεσόωσιν δὲ φασιν ὕστερον ἑπτὰ γενεαῖς  
 βασιλεῖα γενόμενον ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας  
 τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἐπιτελέσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ μόνον οἱ συγγρα-  
 φεῖς οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαπεφωνήκασιν πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> This practice is better known in the case of the Persian rulers. Villages in Syria had been given the Queen Mother "for her girdle" (cp. the English "pin-money"; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1. 4. 9), and when Themistocles was received by the Persian king after his exile from Athens three cities of Asia Minor were given him—Magnesia for bread, Lampsacus for wine, and Myus for meat (Thucydides, 1. 138. 5). Herodotus (2. 149) gives the same figure for the income from 184

the name of its builder, being called to this day the Lake of Moeris. Now the king in excavating it left a spot in the centre, where he built a tomb and two pyramids, a stade in height, one for himself and the other for his wife, on the tops of which he placed stone statues seated upon thrones, thinking that by these monuments he would leave behind him an imperishable commemoration of his good deeds. The income accruing from the fish taken from the lake he gave to his wife for her unguents and general embellishment, the value of the catch amounting to a talent of silver daily;<sup>1</sup> for there are twenty-two different kinds of fish in the lake, they say, and they are caught in such abundance that the people engaged in salting them, though exceedingly many, can scarcely keep up with their task.

Now this is the account which the Egyptians give of Moeris.

53. Sesosis,<sup>2</sup> they say, who became king seven generations later, performed more renowned and greater deeds than did any of his predecessors. And since, with regard to this king, not only are the Greek writers at variance with one another but also

the catch, but only for the six months when the water "flows from the lake." A daily catch of the value of more than a thousand dollars and a cost of fifty times that sum for opening the locks seem highly improbable.

<sup>2</sup> Practically all Greek and Latin writers called him Sesostris, and about him stories gathered as about no other ruler in ancient history with the exception of Alexander the Great. "In Greek times Sesostris had long since become but a legendary figure which cannot be identified with any particular king" (J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 189). But certain facts narrated in connection with him were certainly drawn from memories of the reign of Ramses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty.



ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ διὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς αὐτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντες οὐχ ὁμολογούμενα λέγουσιν, ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα τὰ πιθανώτατα καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν σημείοις τὰ μάλιστα συμφωνοῦντα  
 2 διελεθεῖν. γεννηθέντος γὰρ τοῦ Σεσοῶσιος ἐποίησεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπές τι καὶ βασιλικόν<sup>1</sup> τοὺς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν γεννηθέντας παῖδας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Αἴγυπτου συναγαγὼν καὶ τροφούς καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους ἐπιστήσας τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ παιδείαν ὥρισε τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὑπολαμβάνων τοὺς μάλιστα συντραφέντας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς παρρησίας κεκοινωνηκότας εὐνουστάτους καὶ συναγωνιστάς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρίστους  
 3 ἔσεσθαι. πάντα δὲ δαψιλῶς χορηγήσας διεπόνησε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν γυμνασίοις συνεχέσι καὶ πόνοις οὐδενὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐξῆν προσενέγκασθαι τροφήν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον δράμοι σταδίους ἑκατὸν  
 4 καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἀνδρωθέντες ὑπήρξαν ἀθληταὶ μὲν τοῖς σώμασιν εὐρωστοί, ἡγεμονικοὶ δὲ καὶ καρτερικοὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀγωγὴν.  
 5 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Σεσοῶσις ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, συστρατενομένων καὶ τῶν συντρόφων, περὶ τε τὰς θήρας διεπονήθη καὶ ταῖς ἀνδρῖαις καὶ σπανοσιταῖς ἐγκαρτερήσας κατεστρέψατο τὸ ἔθνος ἅπαν τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων,<sup>2</sup> ἀδούλωτον τὸν  
 6 πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονότος· ἔπειτα εἰς τοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν τόπους ἀποσταλεῖς τὴν πλείστην

among the Egyptians the priests and the poets who sing his praises give conflicting stories, we for our part shall endeavour to give the most probable account and that which most nearly agrees with the monuments still standing in the land. Now at the birth of Sesoösis his father did a thing worthy of a great man and a king: Gathering together from over all Egypt the male children which had been born on the same day and assigning to them nurses and guardians, he prescribed the same training and education for them all, on the theory that those who had been reared in the closest companionship and had enjoyed the same frank relationship would be most loyal and as fellow-combatants in the wars most brave. He amply provided for their every need and then trained the youths by unremitting exercises and hardships; for no one of them was allowed to have anything to eat unless he had first run one hundred and eighty stades.<sup>1</sup> Consequently upon attaining to manhood they were all veritable athletes of robustness of body, and in spirit qualified for leadership and endurance because of the training which they had received in the most excellent pursuits.

First of all Sesoösis, his companions also accompanying him, was sent by his father with an army into Arabia, where he was subjected to the laborious training of hunting wild animals and, after hardening himself to the privations of thirst and hunger, conquered the entire nation of the Arabs, which had never been enslaved before his day; and then, on being sent to the regions to the west, he subdued the

<sup>1</sup> About twenty miles.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀράβων Wesseling: Βαρβάρων.

<sup>1</sup> Bekker and Dindorf follow II in omitting ἐποίησεν and adding ἐπραξε after βασιλικόν.

τῆς Λιβύης ὑπήκοον ἐποίησατο, παντελῶς νέος  
 7 ὦν τὴν ἡλικίαν. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος  
 διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ταῖς προκα-  
 8 τεργασθείσαις πράξεσι μετewρισθεὶς, ἐπεβίλετο  
 τὴν οἰκουμένην κατακτήσασθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγου-  
 σιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας θυγατρὸς Ἀθύρτιος  
 παρακληθῆναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων δυναστείαν,  
 ἣν οἱ μὲν συνέσει πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσάν  
 φασὶ διδάξαι τὸν πατέρα ῥαδίως ἐσομένην<sup>1</sup> τὴν  
 στρατείαν, οἱ δὲ μαντικῇ χρωμένην καὶ τὸ μέλλον  
 ἐσεσθαι προγνωσκουσαν ἔκ τε τῆς θυτικῆς καὶ  
 9 τῆς ἐγκοιμήσεως τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἔτι δ' ἔκ<sup>2</sup> τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν γινομένων σημείων. γεγρά-  
 φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ διότι κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ  
 Σεσωώσιος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καθ' ὕπνου δόξαι τὸν  
 "Ἡφαιστον αὐτῷ λέγειν ὅτι πάσης τῆς οἰκου-  
 10 μένης ὁ γεννηθεὶς παῖς κρατήσῃ διὰ ταύτην  
 οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν τὸν μὲν πατέρα τοὺς ἡλικιώτας  
 τοῦ προειρημένου ἀθροῖσαι καὶ βασιλικῆς ἀγω-  
 γῆς ἀξιώσαι, προκατασκευαζόμενον εἰς τὴν τῶν  
 ὄλων ἐπίθεσιν, αὐτὸν δ' ἀνδρωθέντα καὶ τῇ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ προρρήσει πιστεύσαντα κατενεχθῆναι πρὸς  
 τὴν εἰρημένην στρατείαν.

54. Πρὸς δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν πρῶτον μὲν  
 τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν κατεσκεύασε πᾶσι τοῖς  
 κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἡγούμενος δεῖν τοὺς μὲν συστρα-  
 τεύοντας ἐτοίμως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀπο-  
 θνήσκειν, τοὺς δ' ἀπολειπομένους ἐπὶ τῶν  
 πατρίδων μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν, εἰ μέλλει τὴν προαί-

larger part of Libya, though in years still no more than a youth. And when he ascended the throne upon the death of his father, being filled with confidence by reason of his earlier exploits he undertook to conquer the inhabited earth. There are those who say that he was urged to acquire empire over the whole world by his own daughter Athyrtris, who, according to some, was far more intelligent than any of her day and showed her father that the campaign would be an easy one, while according to others she had the gift of prophecy and knew beforehand, by means both of sacrifices and the practice of sleeping in temples,<sup>1</sup> as well as from the signs which appear in the heavens, what would take place in the future. Some have also written that, at the birth of Sesoösis, his father had thought that Hephaestus had appeared to him in a dream and told him that the son who had been born would rule over the whole civilized world; and that for this reason, therefore, his father collected the children of the same age as his son and granted them a royal training, thus preparing them beforehand for an attack upon the whole world, and that his son, upon attaining manhood, trusting in the prediction of the god was led to undertake this campaign.

54. In preparation for this undertaking he first of all confirmed the goodwill of all the Egyptians towards himself, feeling it to be necessary, if he were to bring his plan to a successful end, that his soldiers on the campaign should be ready to die for their leaders, and that those left behind in their native

<sup>1</sup> ἦν before ἐσομένην deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> δ' ἔκ Capps; δέ.

<sup>1</sup> The ancient practice of incubation, during which the god of the temple would grant a revelation through a dream; cp. p. 80, n. 1.

- 2 ρεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἄξειν. διὸ καὶ πάντας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων εὐηργέτει, τοὺς μὲν χρημάτων δωρεαῖς ἐκθεραπεύων, τοὺς δὲ χώρας δόσει, τινὰς δὲ τιμωρίας ἀπολύσει, πάντας δὲ ταῖς ὀμιλίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν τρόπων ἐπιεικείᾳ προσήγετο· τῶν τε γὰρ βασιλικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἅπαντας ἀθόφους ἀφῆκε καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἀργύριον συγκεκλειμένους ἀπέλυσε τοῦ χρέους, ὄντος πολλοῦ πλήθους ἐν ταῖς
- 3 φυλακαῖς. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα μέρη διελὼν, ἃ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι νομοὺς, ἐπέστησεν ἅπασιν νομάρχας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν τε προσόδων τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ διοικῆσοντας ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας μερίδας.
- 4 ἔπελέξατο δὲ καὶ<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ταῖς ῥώμαις διαφέροντας καὶ συνεστήσατο στρατόπεδον ἄξιον τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἐπιβολῆς· κατέγραψε γὰρ πεζῶν μὲν ἑξήκοντα μυριάδας, ἵππεις δὲ δισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ζεύγη δὲ πολεμιστήρια
- 5 δισμύρια καὶ ἑπτακισχίλια. ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμονίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔταξε τοὺς συντρόφους, ἐνηθλιχότας μὲν ἦδη τοῖς πολέμοις, ἀρετὴν δ' ἐξηλωκότας ἕκ παιδῶν, εὖνοιαν δὲ ἀδελφικὴν ἔχοντας πρὸς τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὄντας τὸν ἀριθμὸν πλείους τῶν
- 6 χιλίων καὶ ἑπτακοσίων. πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις κατεκληρούχησε τὴν ἀρίστην τῆς χώρας, ὅπως ἔχοντες ἱκανὰς προσόδους καὶ μηδεὶος ἐνδεεῖς ὄντες ἀσκόσι τὰ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους.

55. Κατασκευάσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ πρῶτους Αἰθίοπας τοὺς πρὸς τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ κατοικοῦντας, καὶ καταπολεμήσας ἠνάγκασε τὸ ἔθνος φάρους τελεῖν ἕβενον καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ τῶν

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lands should not rise in revolt. He therefore showed kindnesses to everyone by all means at his disposal, winning over some by presents of money, others by gifts of land, and others by remission of penalties, and the entire people he attached to himself by his friendly intercourse and kindly ways; for he set free unharmed everyone who was held for some crime against the king and cancelled the obligations of those who were in prison for debt, there being a great multitude in the gaols. And dividing the entire land into thirty-six parts which the Egyptians call nomes, he set over each a nomarch, who should superintend the collection of the royal revenues and administer all the affairs of his division. He then chose out the strongest of the men and formed an army worthy of the greatness of his undertaking; for he enlisted six hundred thousand foot-soldiers, twenty-four thousand cavalry, and twenty-seven thousand war chariots. In command of the several divisions of his troops he set his companions, who were by this time inured to warfare, had striven after a reputation for valour from their youth, and cherished with a brotherly love both their king and one another, the number of them being over seventeen hundred. And upon all these commanders he bestowed allotments of the best land in Egypt, in order that, enjoying sufficient income and lacking nothing, they might sedulously practise the art of war.

55. After he had made ready his army he marched first of all against the Ethiopians who dwell south of Egypt, and after conquering them he forced that people to pay a tribute in ebony, gold and the

<sup>1</sup> τούτων after καὶ deleted by Dindorf.

- 2 ἐλεφάντων τοὺς ὀδόντας. ἔπειτ' εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἀπέστειλε στόλον νεῶν τετρακοσίων, πρῶτος τῶν ἐγχωρίων μακρὰ σκάφη ναυπηγησάμενος, καὶ τὰς τε νήσους τὰς ἐν τοῖς τόποις κατεκτήσατο καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου τὰ παραθάλατταν μέρη κατεστρέψατο μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πεζῇ τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος κατεστρέψατο πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν.
- 3 οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὴν ὕστερον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο κατακτηθεῖσαν χώραν ἐπήλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν ἐκεῖνος οὐ παρέβαλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπήλθε πᾶσαν ἕως ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔθνη μέχρι Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ τοῦ διορίζοντος τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας· ὅτε δὴ φασὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τινὰς καταλειφθέντας περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην συστήσασθαι τὸ τῶν
- 5 Κόλχων ἔθνος. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γένος Αἰγυπτιακόν ἐστι σημεῖον εἶναι τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους παραπλησίως τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, διαμένοντος τοῦ νομίμου παρὰ τοῖς ἀποίκους, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.
- 6 Ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν ὑπήκουον ἐποίησατο καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων τὰς πλείους. διαβὰς δ' εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ διεξίων ἅπασαν τὴν Θράκην ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν δύναμιν διὰ σπάνιον τροφῆς καὶ
- 7 τόπων δυσχωρίας. διόπερ ὄρια τῆς στρατείας ποιησάμενος ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ, στήλας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατακτηθέντων· αὗται δὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχον Αἰγυπτίοις γράμ-

tusks of elephants. Then he sent out a fleet of four hundred ships into the Red Sea,<sup>1</sup> being the first Egyptian to build warships, and not only took possession of the islands in those waters, but also subdued the coast of the mainland as far as India, while he himself made his way by land with his army and subdued all Asia. Not only did he, in fact, visit the territory which was afterwards won by Alexander of Macedonia, but also certain peoples into whose country Alexander did not cross. For he even passed over the river Ganges and visited all of India as far as the ocean, as well as the tribes of the Scythians as far as the river Tanais, which divides Europe from Asia; and it was at this time, they say, that some of the Egyptians, having been left behind near the Lake Maeotis, founded the nation of the Colchi.<sup>2</sup> And the proof which they offer of the Egyptian origin of this nation is the fact that the Colchi practise circumcision even as the Egyptians do, the custom continuing among the colonists sent out from Egypt as it also did in the case of the Jews.

In the same way he brought all the rest of Asia into subjection as well as most of the Cyclades islands. And after he had crossed into Europe and was on his way through the whole length of Thrace he nearly lost his army through lack of food and the difficult nature of the land. Consequently he fixed the limits of his expedition in Thrace, and set up stelae in many parts of the regions which he had acquired; and these carried the following inscription in the Egyptian

<sup>1</sup> Not the present Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

<sup>2</sup> The Tanais river and the Lake Maeotis are the Don and the Sea of Azof respectively, but the country of the Colchi is generally placed in the Caucasus.

μασι τοῖς ἱεροῖς λεγομένοις, “Τῆνδε τὴν χώραν ὄπλοις κατεστρέψατο τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σεσόωσις.”

8 τὴν δὲ στήλην κατεσκεύασεν ἔχουσαν αἰδοῖον ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαχίμοις ἔθνεσιν ἀνδρός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγενεῦσι καὶ δειλοῖς γυναικός, ἀπὸ τοῦ κυριωτέρου μέρους τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς ἐκάστων ψυχῆς φανερω-

9 τάτην τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἔσσεσθαι νομίζων. ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ τόποις καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατεσκεύασεν εἰκόνα λιθίνην, τόξα καὶ λόγχην ἔχουσαν, τῷ μεγέθει τέτταρσι παλαισταῖς μείζονα τῶν τετάρων πηχῶν, ἡλίκος ὦν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτύγγανεν.

10 ἐπιεικῶς δὲ προσενεχθεὶς ἅπασιν τοῖς ὑποταγμένοις καὶ συντελέσας τὴν στρατείαν ἐν ἔτεσιν ἐννέα, τοῖς μὲν ἔθνεσιν κατὰ δύναμιν προσέταξε δωροφορεῖν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, αὐτὸς δ’ ἀθροίσας αἰχμαλώτων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λαφύρων πλῆθος ἀνυπέμβλητον ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, μεγίστας πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ

11 κατεργασμένος. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ πάντα τὰ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ἀναθήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις καὶ σκύλοις ἐκόσμησε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀνδραγαθή-

12 σαντας δωρεαῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐτίμησε. καθόλου δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας οὐ μόνον ἡ συνανδραγαθήσασα δύναμις μεγάλην εὐπορίαν κτησαμένη τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἐποίησατο λαμπράν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἅπασαν συνέβη παντοίας ὠφελείας ἐμπλησθῆναι.

writing which is called “sacred”: “This land the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Sesoösis, subdued with his own arms.” And he fashioned the stele with a representation, in case the enemy people were warlike, of the privy parts of a man, but in case they were abject and cowardly, of those of a woman, holding that the quality of the spirit of each people would be set forth most clearly to succeeding generations by the dominant member of the body.<sup>1</sup> And in some places he also erected a stone statue of himself, armed with bow and arrows and a spear, in height four cubits and four palms, which was indeed his own stature.<sup>2</sup> He dealt gently with all conquered peoples and, after concluding his campaign in nine years, commanded the nations to bring presents each year to Egypt according to their ability, while he himself, assembling a multitude of captives which has never been surpassed and a mass of other booty, returned to his country, having accomplished the greatest deeds of any king of Egypt to his day. All the temples of Egypt, moreover, he adorned with notable votive offerings and spoils, and honoured with gifts according to his merits every soldier who had distinguished himself for bravery. And in general, as a result of this campaign not only did the army, which had bravely shared in the deeds of the king and had gathered great wealth, make a brilliant homeward journey, but it also came to pass that all Egypt was filled to overflowing with benefits of every kind.

unique in this period for its scorn of the conquered negroes, is strikingly reminiscent of the stelae described in this passage and by Herodotus 2. 102.

<sup>2</sup> About seven feet; cp. the bed of Og, king of Bashan (*Deut.* 3. 11), which was nine cubits long and four wide; “is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon?”

<sup>1</sup> H. R. Hall (*The Ancient History of the Near East* <sup>6</sup>, pp. 161-2) gives a translation of a stele set up at Semneh by Senusret III of the Twelfth Dynasty, who is often identified with the Sesoösis of Diodorus, and observes that its language,

56. Ὁ δὲ Σεσοῖσις ἀποστήτας τὰ πλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων τοῖς μὲν συνανδραγαθήσασιν συνεχώρησε τὴν βραστῶνυν καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν κατακτηθέντων ἀγαθῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ φιλόδοξος ὢν καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μνήμης ὀρεγόμενος κατοσκεύασεν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά ταῖς ἐπιτοίαις καὶ ταῖς χορηγίαις, ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἀθάνατον περιποιούντα δόξαν, τοῖς δ' Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ βραστῶνυς.

2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρχάμενος ἠκοδόμησεν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον πόλεσιν ἱερόν θεοῦ τοῦ μάλιστα παρ' ἐκάστοις τιμωμένου. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐργασίας τῶν μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οὐδένα παρέλαβε, δι' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἅπαντα κατοσκεύασε διόπερ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπέγραψεν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐγχώριος εἰς αὐτὰ μεμόχθηκε.

3 λέγεται δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἀλόντας ἀποστήναι τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴ δυναμένους φέρειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ταλαιπωρίας· οὐδὲ καταλαβομένους παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν χωρίον καρτερον διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ τὴν σύγγενυσ χώραν καταφθεῖρειν, τέλος δὲ δοθείσης ἀδείας αὐτοῖς κατοικῆσαι τὸν τόπον, ὃν καὶ ἀπὸ

4 τῆς πατρίδος Βαβυλώνα προσαγορεύσαι. δι' αἰτίας δὲ παραπλησίους φασὶν ὠνομάσθαι καὶ τὴν Τροίαν τὴν ἔτι<sup>1</sup> νῦν οὖσαν παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαον ἐξ Ἴλιου πλέοντα μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ after ἔτι omitted by D and Vogel, retained by Bekker and Dindorf.

56. Sesoösis now relieved his peoples of the labours of war and granted to the comrades who had bravely shared in his deeds a care-free life in the enjoyment of the good things which they had won, while he himself, being ambitious for glory and intent upon everlasting fame, constructed works which were great and marvellous in their conception as well as in the lavishness with which their cost was provided, winning in this way immortal glory for himself and for the Egyptians security combined with ease for all time. For beginning with the gods first, he built in each city of Egypt a temple to the god who was held in special reverence by its inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> On these labours he used no Egyptians, but constructed them all by the hands of his captives alone; and for this reason he placed an inscription on every temple to the effect that no native had toiled upon it. And it is said that the captives brought from Babylonia revolted from the king, being unable to endure the hardships entailed by his works; and they, seizing a strong position on the banks of the river, maintained a warfare against the Egyptians and ravaged the neighbouring territory, but finally, on being granted an amnesty, they established a colony on the spot, which they also named Babylon after their native land. For a similar reason, they say, the city of Troy likewise, which even to this day exists on the bank of the Nile, received its name:<sup>2</sup> for Menelaus, on his voyage from Ilium with a great

name, in perpetuating which the king stopped at no desecration or destruction of the ancient monuments of the country" (J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 443).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo (17. 1. 34) mentions a village of this name near the pyramids.

<sup>1</sup> Few of the great temples of Egypt have not some chamber, hall, colonnade or pylon which bears his (Ramses II)

πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων παραβαλεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τοὺς δὲ Τρῶας ἀποστάντας αὐτοῦ καταλαβέσθαι τινὰ τόπον καὶ διαπολεμῆσαι μέχρι ὅτου συγχωρηθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐκτίσαν πόλιν, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι. οὐκ ἄγνοῶ δ' ὅτι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πόλεων Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος διαφόρως ἰστόρησε, φήσας τῶν μετὰ Σεμιράμιδος παραβαλόντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον τινὰς ἐκτικέναι ταύτας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πατρίδων θεμένους τὴν προσηγορίαν. περὶ δὲ τούτων τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκθέσθαι μετὰ ἀκριβείας οὐ ῥάδιον, τὸ δ' ἀναγραφῆς ἀξιώσασθαι τὰ διαφωνούμενα παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅπως ἀκέραιος ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσις ἀπολείπηται τοῖς ἀναγνώσκουσιν.

57. Ὁ δ' οὖν Σεσόωσις χώματα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατασκεύασας τὰς πόλεις εἰς ταῦτα μετώκισεν, ὅσαι μὴ φυσικῶς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐτύγχανον ἐπηρμένον ἔχουσαι, ὅπως κατὰ τὰς πληρώσεις τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγὰς ἔχωσιν ἀκινδύνους οἱ τε ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτήνη. κατὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἀπὸ Μέμφεως ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὠρύξε πυκνὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διώρυχας, ἵνα τὰς μὲν συγκομιδὰς τῶν καρπῶν ποιῶνται συντόμως καὶ ῥαδίως, ταῖς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν λαῶν ἐπιμιξίαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχη ῥαστώνη καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν πολλὴ δαψίλεια. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους ὄχυρὰν καὶ δυσέμβολον ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν. τὸν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἡ κρατίστη τῆς Αἰγύ-

number of captives, crossed over into Egypt; and the Trojans, revolting from him, seized a certain place and maintained a warfare until he granted them safety and freedom, whereupon they founded a city, to which they gave the name of their native land. I am not unaware that regarding the cities named above Ctesias of Cnidus has given a different account, saying that some of those who had come into Egypt with Semiramis founded them, calling them after their native lands.<sup>1</sup> But on such matters as these it is not easy to set forth the precise truth, and yet the disagreements among historians must be considered worthy of record, in order that the reader may be able to decide upon the truth without prejudice.

57. Now Sesoösis threw up many great mounds of earth and moved to them such cities as happened to be situated on ground that was not naturally elevated, in order that at the time of the flooding of the river both the inhabitants and their herds might have a safe place of retreat. And over the entire land from Memphis to the sea he dug frequent canals leading from the river, his purpose being that the people might carry out the harvesting of their crops quickly and easily, and that, through the constant intercourse of the peasants with one another, every district might enjoy both an easy livelihood and a great abundance of all things which minister to man's enjoyment. The greatest result of this work, however, was that he made the country secure and difficult of access against attacks by enemies; for practically all the best part of Egypt, which

<sup>1</sup> This campaign of Semiramis is described in Book 2. 14; on Ctesias cp. the Introduction, pp. xxvif.

πτου πᾶσα σχεδὸν ἰππᾶσιμος οὔσα καὶ ταῖς  
 συνωρίσιν εὐβάτος ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου διὰ τὸ  
 πλήθος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διωρύχων δυσεφοδω-  
 4 τάτη γέγονεν. εἰτείχισε δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνα-  
 τολὰς νεύουσαν πλευρὰν τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τὰς  
 ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐμβολὰς ἀπὸ  
 Πηλουσίου μέχρι Ἡλιουπόλεως διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου,  
 τὸ μήκος ἐπὶ σταδίους χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους.  
 5 ἐναυπηγήσατο δὲ καὶ πλοῖον κέδρινον τὸ μὲν  
 μήκος πηχῶν διακοσίων καὶ ὄγδοήκοντα, τὴν δ'  
 ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχον τὴν μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐπίχρυσον, τὴν  
 δ' ἔνδοθεν κατηργυρωμένην καὶ τοῦτο μὲν  
 ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ τῷ μάλιστα ἐν Θήβαις τιμω-  
 μένῳ, δύο τε<sup>1</sup> λιθίνους ὀβελίσκους ἐκ τοῦ σκληροῦ  
 λίθου πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν,  
 ἐφ' ὧν ἐπέγραψε τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ  
 τὸ πλήθος τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν  
 καταπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν· ἐν Μέμφει δ' ἐν τῷ  
 τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἱερῷ μονολίθους εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ  
 τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ ὕψος τριάκοντα πηχῶν,  
 τῶν δ' υἱῶν εἴκοσι πηχῶν, διὰ σύμπτωμα τοιοῦδε.  
 8 ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης στρατείας ἀνακάμψαντος εἰς  
 Αἴγυπτον τοῦ Σεσοῦσιος καὶ διατρίβοντος περὶ  
 τὸ Πηλοῦσιον, ἐστιῶν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς μετὰ  
 τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐπιβουλήν συνε-  
 στήσατο· ἀναπαυσάμενον γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 μέθης, ἔχων καλᾶμου ξηροῦ πλήθος ἐκ χρόνου  
 παρεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοῦτο νυκτὸς τῇ σκηνῇ

before this time had been easy of passage for horses and carts, has from that time on been very difficult for an enemy to invade by reason of the great number of canals leading from the river. He also fortified with a wall the side of Egypt which faces east, as a defence against inroads from Syria and Arabia; the wall extended through the desert from Pelusium to Heliopolis, and its length was some fifteen hundred stades. Moreover, he also built a ship of cedar wood, which was two hundred and eighty cubits long and plated on the exterior with gold and on the interior with silver. This ship he presented as a votive offering to the god who is held in special reverence in Thebes, as well as two obelisks of hard stone one hundred and twenty cubits high, upon which he inscribed the magnitude of his army, the multitude of his revenues, and the number of the peoples he had subdued; also in Memphis in the temples of Hephaestus he dedicated monolithic statues of himself and of his wife, thirty cubits high,<sup>1</sup> and of his sons, twenty cubits high, the occasion of their erection being as follows. When Sesoösis had returned to Egypt after his great campaign and was tarrying at Pelusium, his brother, who was entertaining Sesoösis and his wife and children, plotted against them; for when they had fallen asleep after the drinking he piled great quantities of dry rushes, which he had kept in readiness for some time, around the tent in the night and

<sup>1</sup> The account through here of Sesoösis closely follows that given by Herodotus 2. 102 ff. Near Memphis are two colossi of Ramses II, the larger of which was about forty-two feet high, approximately the thirty cubits of Diodorus and of Herodotus 2. 110 (*Baedeker's Egypt*, p. 141).

<sup>1</sup> τὴ Wesseling: δέ.



7 περιθείς, ἐνέπρησεν. ἄφνω δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαντος οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι παρεβοήθουν ἀγεννῶς ὡς ἂν οἰνωμένοι, ὁ δὲ Σεσόωσις ἀμφοτέρας τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν τε παίδων καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάμενος διεξέπεσε διὰ τῆς  
8 φλογός. σωθεῖς δὲ παραδόξως τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐτίμησεν ἀναθήμασι, καθότι προεῖρηται, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸν Ἡφαίστον, ὡς ὑπὸ τούτου τετευχῶς τῆς σωτηρίας.

58. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων περὶ τὸν Σεσόωσιν ὑπαρξάντων δοκεῖ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι τὸ συντελούμενον ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις περὶ  
2 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας. τῶν γὰρ καταπεπολημένων ἐθνῶν οἱ τε τὰς συγκεχωρημένας βασιλείας ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ τὰς μεγίστας ἡγεμονίας παρειληφότες ἀπήντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν τακτοῖς χρόνοις φέροντες δῶρα· οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκδεχόμενος ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτίμα καὶ διαφερόντως προῆγεν, ὅποτε δὲ πρὸς ἱερὸν ἢ πόλιν προσιέναι μέλλοι, τοὺς ἵππους ἀπὸ τοῦ τεθρίππου λύων ὑπεξεύγνυεν ἀντὶ τούτων κατὰ τέτταρας τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας, ἐνδείκνυμενος, ὡς αἴετο, πᾶσιν ὅτι τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων κρατίστους καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν ἐπιφανεστάτους καταπολεμήσας εἰς ἀμίλλαν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἔχει  
3 τὸν δυνάμενον συγκριθῆναι. δοκεῖ δ' οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας τοὺς πρόποτε γενομένους ἐν ἐξουσίαις ὑπερβεβηκέναι ταῖς τε πολεμικαῖς πράξεσι καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τε ἀναθημάτων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν κατεσκευασμένων κατ' Αἴγυπτον. ἔτη δὲ τρία πρὸς τοῖς τριά-

set them afire. When the fire suddenly blazed up, those who had been assigned to wait upon the king came to his aid in a churlish fashion, as would men heavy with wine, but Sesoösis, raising both hands to the heavens with a prayer to the gods for the preservation of his children and wife, dashed out safe through the flames. For this unexpected escape he honoured the rest of the gods with votive offerings, as stated above, and Hephaestus most of all, on the ground that it was by his intervention that he had been saved.

58. Although many great deeds have been credited to Sesoösis, his magnificence seems best to have been shown in the treatment which he accorded to the foreign potentates when he went forth from his palace. The kings whom he had allowed to continue their rule over the peoples which he had subdued and all others who had received from him the most important positions of command would present themselves in Egypt at specified times, bringing him gifts, and the king would welcome them and in all other matters show them honour and special preferment; but whenever he intended to visit a temple or city he would remove the horses from his four-horse chariot and in their place yoke the kings and other potentates, taking them four at a time, in this way showing to all men, as he thought, that, having conquered the mightiest of other kings and those most renowned for their excellence, he now had no one who could compete with him for the prize of excellence. This king is thought to have surpassed all former rulers in power and military exploits, and also in the magnitude and number of the votive offerings and public works which he built in Egypt. And after a reign of thirty-three years

κοῦτα βασιλεύσας ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον, ὑπολιπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων καὶ τοῦτο πράξας οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἱερέουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθαυμάσθη, δόξας τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀκόλουθον πεποιήσθαι τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν.

4 Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δ' ἰσχυσε καὶ διέτεινε τοῖς χρόνοις ἢ δόξα τοῦτου τοῦ βασιλέως ὥστε τῆς Αἰγύπτου πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερον πεσοῦσης ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς σπουδάσαντος ἐν Μέμφει τὴν ἰδίαν εἰκόνα στήσαι πρὸ τῆς<sup>1</sup> Σεσοῦσιος, ὁ μὲν ἀρχιερεὺς ἀντεῖπε λόγῳ προτεθέντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ἱερέων, ἀποφηνάμενος ὡς οὕτω Δαρείος ὑπερβέβηκε τὰς Σεσοῦσιος πράξεις, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὅπως ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἠσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ σπουδάσειν ἔφησεν ὅπως κατὰ μηδὲν ἐκείνου λειψθεῖη βιώσας τὸν ἴσον χρόνον, καὶ παρεκάλει συγκρίνειν τὰς ἡλικιωτίδας πράξεις· τούτου γὰρ δικαιοτάτου ἔλεγχον εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς.

5 Περὶ μὲν οὖν Σεσοῦσιος ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ῥηθείουσιν.

59. Ὁ δ' υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προσηγορίαν ἐαυτῷ περιθέμενος πρᾶξιν μὲν πολεμικὴν ἢ μνήμησιν ἀξίαν οὐδ' ἠντινοῦν συνετελέσατο, συμπτώματι 2 δὲ περιέπεσεν ἰδιάζοντι. ἐστερηθῆ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὀράσεως εἴτε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τῆς φύσεως κοινωνίαν εἶθ', ὡς τινες μυθολογοῦσι, διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀσέβειαν, ἐν ᾧ χειμαζόμενος

he deliberately took his own life, his eyesight having failed him; and this act won for him the admiration not only of the priests of Egypt but of the other inhabitants as well, for it was thought that he had caused the end of his life to comport with the loftiness of spirit shown in his achievements.

So great became the fame of this king and so enduring through the ages that when, many generations later, Egypt fell under the power of the Persians and Darius, the father of Xerxes, was bent upon placing a statue of himself in Memphis before that of Sesos̄sis, the chief priest opposed it in a speech which he made in an assembly of the priests, to the effect that Darius had not yet surpassed the deeds of Sesos̄sis; and the king was far from being angered, but, on the contrary, being pleased at his frankness of speech, said that he would strive not to be found behind that ruler in any point when he had attained his years, and asked them to base their judgment upon the deeds of each at the same age, for that was the fairest test of their excellence.

As regards Sesos̄sis, then, we shall rest content with what has been said.

59. But his son, succeeding to the throne and assuming his father's appellation, did not accomplish a single thing in war or otherwise worthy of mention, though he did have a singular experience.<sup>1</sup> He lost his sight, either because he shared in his father's bodily constitution or, as some fictitiously relate, because of his impiety towards the river, since once when caught in a storm upon it he had

<sup>1</sup> The following folk story, with some variations, is given in Herodotus 2, 111.

<sup>1</sup> πρὸ τῆς Dindorf: πρὸ τῆς τοῦ.

ποτε τὸ φερόμενον ῥεύμα κατηκόντισε· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ἀναγκασθεὶς καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν βοήθειαν, ἐπὶ χρόνους ἰκανοὺς πλείσταις θυσίαις καὶ τιμαῖς τὸ θεῖον ἐξήλασκόμενος οὐδε-  
 3 μίᾳς ἐτύγχανε πολυωρίας· τῷ δεκάτῳ δ' ἔτει μαντείας αὐτῷ γενομένης τιμῆσαι τε τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ γυναῖκός οὐρῷ νίξασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον ἦτις ἑτέρου πείραν ἀνδρὸς οὐκ εἴληφε, τῶν μὲν γυναικῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρξάμενος καὶ πολλὰς ξητάσας οὐδεμίαν εὖρεν ἀδιάφθορον πλὴν κηπουροῦ τινος, ἦν ὑγίης γεγόμενος ἔγχετο· τὰς δ' ἄλλας ζώσας ἐν κόμῃ τινὶ κατέκασεν, ἦν Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ τὸ σύμπτωμα τοῦτο  
 4 προσηγόρευσαν ἱερὰν βῶλον· τῷ δ' ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει θεῷ τὰς χάριτας ἀπονέμων τῆς εὐεργεσίας κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν ὀβελίσκους ἀνέθηκε δύο μονολίθους, τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὀκτώ, τὸ δὲ μῆκος πηχῶν ἑκατόν.

60. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν βασιλεία συχροὶ τῶν διαδεξαμένων τὴν ἀρχὴν τινας οὐδὲν ἐπραξαν ἀναγραφῆς ἄξιον. πολλαῖς δ' ὕστερον γενεαῖς Ἄμασις γεγόμενος βασιλεὺς ἦρχε τῶν ὄχλων βιαίτερον πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐτιμωρεῖτο, συχροὺς δὲ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἐστέρισκε, πᾶσι δ' ὑπεροπτικῶς καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ὑπερηφάνως  
 2 προσεφέρετο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος οἱ πάσχοντες ἐκαρτέρου, οὐ δυνάμενοι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς πλέον ἰσχύοντας· ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀκτισάνης ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπίων βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσε ἐπ' αὐτόν, τότε τοῦ μίσους καιρὸν λα-

hurled a spear into the rushing current. Forced by this ill fortune to turn to the gods for aid, he strove over a long period to propitiate the deity by numerous sacrifices and honours, but received no consideration. But in the tenth year an oracular command was given to him to do honour to the god in Heliopolis and bathe his face in the urine of a woman who had never known any other man than her husband. Thereupon he began with his own wife and then made trial of many, but found not one that was chaste save a certain gardener's wife, whom he married as soon as he was recovered. All the other women he burned alive in a certain village to which the Egyptians because of this incident gave the name Holy Field; and to the god in Heliopolis, out of gratitude for his benefaction, he dedicated, in accordance with the injunction of the oracle, two monolithic obelisks,<sup>1</sup> eight cubits wide and one hundred high.

60. After this king a long line of successors on the throne accomplished no deed worth recording. But Amasis, who became king many generations later, ruled the masses of the people with great  
 harshness; many he punished unjustly, great numbers he deprived of their possessions, and towards  
 all his conduct was without exception contemptuous and arrogant. Now for a time his victims bore up under this, being unable in any way to protect themselves against those of greater power; but when Actisanes,<sup>2</sup> the king of the Ethiopians, led an army against Amasis, their hatred seized the opportunity  
 before the Lateran, is 100 feet high; the 150 feet of Diodorus seems a little too big.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wiedemann (*Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 582, n. 1) thinks that Actisanes is no more than a double of the Ethiopian Sabaco of chap. 65.

<sup>1</sup> One of these obelisks still stands, of red granite of Syene and 66 feet high. The largest obelisk in the world, that  
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- 3 βόντος<sup>1</sup> ἀπέστησαν οἱ πλείστοι. διόπερ ῥαδίως αὐτοῦ χειρωθέντος ἢ μὲν Αἴγυπτος ἔπεσεν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Αἰθιοπίων βασιλείαν, ὃ δ' Ἀκτισάνης ἀνθρωπίνως ἐνέγκας τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπιεικῶς
- 4 προσεφέρετο τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις<sup>2</sup> ὅτε δὴ καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἴδιόν τι περὶ τούτῃ ληστίας, οὔτε θανατώσας τοὺς ἐνόχους οὔτε ὀλοσχερῶς ἀφείλ
- 5 ἀτιμωρήτους· συναγαγὼν γὰρ ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἐν ἐγκλήμασιν ὄντας κακουργίας, καὶ τὴν διάγνωσιν αὐτῶν δικαιοτάτην ποιησάμενος, ἤθροισεν ἅπαντας τοὺς καταδικασμένους, ἀποτεμῶν δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μυκτῆρας κατόκισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς ἐρήμου,<sup>2</sup> κτίσας πόλιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπτώματος τῶν οἰκητόρων Ῥινοκόλουρα προσαγορευθεῖσαν.
- 6 Αὕτη δὲ κειμένη πρὸς τοῖς μεθορίοις τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Συρίας οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ παρήκοντος αἰγιαλοῦ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην
- 7 διαίταν ἀνηκόντων ἐστέρηται· περιέχει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν χώρα πλήρης ἀλμυρίδος, ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ τείχους ὀλίγον ἐστὶν ὕδωρ ἐν φρέασι, καὶ τοῦτο διεφθαρμένον καὶ παντελῶς τῇ γεύσει πικρόν.
- 8 κατόκισε δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ὅπως μῆτε τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιτηδευθέντας βίους διατηροῦντες λυμαίνωνται τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας, μῆτε κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιμιξίας ἀγνοοῦ-
- 9 μνοι λαυθάνωσιν. ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ ἐκρίφέντες εἰς χώραν ἔρημον καὶ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν χρησίμων ἀπορον ἐπενόησαν βίον οἰκεῖον τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐνδείας, ἀναγκαζούσης τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὴν

and most of the Egyptians revolted. As a consequence, since he was easily overcome, Egypt fell under the rule of the Ethiopians. But Actisanes carried his good fortune as a man should and conducted himself in a kindly manner towards his subjects. For instance, he had his own manner of dealing with thieves, neither putting to death such as were liable to that punishment, nor letting them go with no punishment at all; for after he had gathered together out of the whole land those who were charged with some crime and had held a thoroughly fair examination of their cases, he took all who had been judged guilty, and, cutting off their noses, settled them in a colony on the edge of the desert, founding the city which was called Rhinocolura<sup>1</sup> after the lot of its inhabitants.

This city, which lies on the border between Egypt and Syria not far from the sea-coast, is wanting in practically everything which is necessary for man's existence; for it is surrounded by land which is full of brine, while within the walls there is but a small supply of water from wells, and this is impure and very bitter to the taste. But he settled them in this country in order that, in case they continued to practise their original manner of life, they might not prey upon innocent people, and also that they might not pass unrecognized as they mingled with the rest of mankind. And yet, despite the fact that they had been cast out into a desert country which lacked practically every useful thing, they contrived a way of living appropriate to the dearth about them, since nature forced them to devise

<sup>1</sup> λαβόντος Dindorf: λαβόντες.

<sup>2</sup> ἐρήμου D, Bekker, Vogel: ἐρήμου χώρας Vulgate, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. Nose-clipped.

10 ἀπορίαν πάντα μηχανᾶσθαι. καλάμην γὰρ κείροντες ἐκ τῆς ομόρου χώρας, καὶ ταύτην σχίζοντες, λίνα παραμήκη κατεσκευάζον, ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ἰστάντες τὰς θήρας τῶν ὀρτύγων ἐποιοῦντο· φέρονται γὰρ οὗτοι κατ' ἀγέλας μείζονας ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους· οὐς θηρεύοντες ἤθροισον πλῆθος ἱκανὸν εἰς διατροφήν ἑαυτοῖς.

61. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐγγώριον βασιλεία Μένδην, ὃν τινας Μάρρον προσονομάζουσιν. οὗτος δὲ πολεμικὴν μὲν πρᾶξι οὐδ' ἠντιοῦν ἐπετελέσατο, τάφον δ' αὐτῷ κατεσκεύασε τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον λαβύρινθον, οὐχ οὕτω κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων θαυμαστὸν ὡς πρὸς τὴν φιλοτεχνίαν δυσμίμητον· ὁ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν εἰς αὐτὸν οὐ δύναται ῥαδίως τὴν ἔξοδον εὑρεῖν, εἰ μὴ τύχῃ τινὸς ὁδηγοῦ παντελῶς ἔμπειρον. φασὶ δὲ τινας καὶ τὸν Δαίδαλον εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραβαλόντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τέχνην κατασκευάσαι τῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς Κρήτης Μίνῳ λαβύρινθον ὅμοιον τῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐν ᾧ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι τὸν λεγόμενον Μινώταυρον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἠφανίσθη τελείως, εἴτε δυνάστου τινὸς κατασκάφαντος εἴτε τοῦ χρόνου τοῦργον λυμνηναμένου· ὁ δὲ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀκέραιον τὴν ὅλην κατασκευὴν τετήρηκε μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου.

62. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου τελευτήν ἐπὶ γενεᾶς πέντε γενομένης ἀναρχίας τῶν ἀδόξων

every possible means to combat their destitution. For instance, by cutting down reeds in the neighbourhood and splitting them, they made long nets, which they set up along the beach for a distance of many stades and hunted quails; for these are driven in large coveys from the open sea, and in hunting them they caught a sufficient number to provide themselves with food.

61. After the death of this king the Egyptians regained the control of their government and placed on the throne a native king, Mendes, whom some call Marrus. So far as war is concerned this ruler did not accomplish anything at all, but he did build himself a tomb known as the Labyrinth,<sup>1</sup> which was not so remarkable for its size as it was impossible to imitate in respect to its ingenious design; for a man who enters it cannot easily find his way out, unless he gets a guide who is thoroughly acquainted with the structure. And some say that Daedalus, visiting Egypt and admiring the skill shown in the building, also constructed for Minos, the king of Crete, a labyrinth like the one in Egypt, in which was kept, as the myth relates, the beast called Minotaur. However, the labyrinth in Crete has entirely disappeared, whether it be that some ruler razed it to the ground or that time effaced the work, but the one in Egypt has stood intact in its entire structure down to our lifetime.

62. After the death of this king there were no rulers for five generations, and then a man of obscure

<sup>1</sup> This building is described in chap. 66. The classical authors did not agree on the name of its builder and the Mendes or Marrus of Diodorus is otherwise entirely unknown (cp. A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 259).

- τις ἦρήθη βασιλεὺς, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν ὀνομάζουσι Κέτηνα, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι δοκεῖ Πρωτέυς ὁ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν γεγονὼς πόλεμον.
- 2 τούτου δὲ παραδεδομένου τῶν τε πνευμάτων ἔχειν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν μορφήν μεταβάλλειν ὅτε μὲν εἰς ζῶων τύπους, ὅτε δὲ εἰς δένδρον ἢ πῦρ ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων, ὁμολογούμενα τούτοις συμβαίνει καὶ
- 3 τοὺς ἱερεῖς λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἀστρολόγων συμβιώσεως, ἣν ἐποιεῖτο συνεχῶς, ἐμπειρίαν ἐσχηκέναι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τούτων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νομίμου τοῦ παραδεδομένου τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῆς ἰδέας
- 4 μυθολογηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἐν ἔθει γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον δυνάσταις περιτίθεσθαι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντων καὶ ταύρων καὶ δρακόντων προτομάς, σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν δένδρα, ποτὲ δὲ πῦρ, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ θυμιαμάτων εὐδῶν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς οὐκ ὀλίγα, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅμα μὲν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς εὐπρέπειαν κοσμεῖν, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς κατάπληξιν ἄγειν καὶ δεισιδαίμονα διάθεσιν.
- 5 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πρωτέως τελευταίην διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς Ῥέμφις διετέλεσε πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ἐπιμελομένου τῶν προσόδων καὶ σωρεύων πανταχόθεν τὸν πλοῦτον, διὰ δὲ μικροψυχίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἤθους οὔτε εἰς ἀναθηματα θεῶν οὔτ' εἰς εὐεργεσίαν ἀνθρώπων

origin was chosen king, whom the Egyptians call Cetes, but who among the Greeks is thought to be that Proteus<sup>1</sup> who lived at the time of the war about Ilium. Some tradition records that this Proteus was experienced in the knowledge of the winds and that he would change his body, sometimes into the form of different animals, sometimes into a tree or fire or something else, and it so happens that the account which the priests give of Cetes is in agreement with that tradition. For, according to the priests, from the close association which the king constantly maintained with the astrologers, he had gained experience in such matters, and from a custom which has been passed down among the kings of Egypt has arisen the myths current among the Greeks about the way Proteus changed his shape. For it was a practice among the rulers of Egypt to wear upon their heads the forepart of a lion, or bull, or snake as symbols of their rule; at times also trees or fire, and in some cases they even carried on their heads large bunches of fragrant herbs for incense, these last serving to enhance their comeliness and at the same time to fill all other men with fear and religious awe.<sup>2</sup>

On the death of Proteus his son Remphis<sup>3</sup> succeeded to the throne. This ruler spent his whole life looking after the revenues and amassing riches from every source, and because of his niggardly and miserly character spent nothing either on votive offerings to the gods or on benefactions to the inhabi-

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus in his account of Proteus follows Herodotus (2. 112 ff.), who, it has been suggested, may have confused an Egyptian title, *Prouté*, with the familiar "Proteus" (cp. How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, 1. p. 223). Cetes, apparently, cannot be identified with any Egyptian ruler.

<sup>2</sup> On some of these insignia cp. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 38; the snake was the symbol of the Northern Kingdom, the sacred uraeus.

<sup>3</sup> Ramses III, the Rhampsinitus in connection with whom Herodotus (2. 121) recounts the famous tale of the thieves.

6 οὐδὲν ἀνήλωσε. διὸ καὶ γενόμενος οὐ βασιλεὺς ἀλλ' οἰκονόμος ἀγαθὸς ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δόξης ἀπέλιπε πλείστα χρήματα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων· ἀργύρου<sup>1</sup> γὰρ καὶ χρυσοῦ<sup>2</sup> παραδέδοται συναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας ταλάντων.

63. Τούτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐπὶ γενεὰς ἑπτὰ διεδέξαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλεῖς ἀργοὶ παντελῶς καὶ πρὸς ἄνεσιν καὶ τρυφὴν ἅπαντα πράττοντες. διόπερ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἔργον πολυτελὲς οὐδὲ πρᾶξις ἱστορίας ἀξία παραδέδοται πλὴν ἐνὸς Νειλέως, ἀφ' οὗ συμβαίνει τὸν ποταμὸν ὀνομασθῆναι<sup>3</sup> Νεῖλον, τὸ πρὸ τοῦ καλούμενον Αἴγυπτον· οὗτος δὲ πλείστας εὐκαίρους διώρυχας κατασκευάσας καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τοῦ Νείλου φιλοτιμηθεὶς αἷτιος κατέστη τῷ ποταμῷ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας.

2 Ὁ γδοοὺς δὲ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος Χέμμις ὁ Μεμφίτης ἦρξε μὲν ἔτη πεντήκοντα, κατεσκευάσε δὲ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν τριῶν πυραμίδων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἔργοις ἀριθμουμένων.

3 αὐταὶ δὲ κείμεναι κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην τῆς Μέμφεως ἀπέχουσι σταδίους ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῦ δὲ Νείλου πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν τέχνῃ<sup>4</sup> θαυμαστὴν τινα κατάπληξιν παρέχονται  
4 τοῖς θεωμένοις. ἡ μὲν γὰρ μεγίστη τετράπλευρος

<sup>1</sup> ἀργυρίου D, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> χρυσοῦ Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> ὀνομασθῆναι A B D, Bekker, Vogel: ὀνομάσθαι Vulgate, Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> So Reiske: τέχνην χειρουργίαν.

tants. Consequently, since he had been not so much a king as only an efficient steward, in the place of a fame based upon virtue he left a treasure larger than that of any king before him; for according to tradition he amassed some four hundred thousand talents of silver and gold.

63. After Remphis died, kings succeeded to the throne for seven generations who were confirmed sluggards and devoted only to indulgence and luxury. Consequently, in the priestly records, no costly building of theirs nor any deed worthy of historical record is handed down in connection with them, except in the case of one ruler, Nileus, from whom the river came to be named the Nile, though formerly called Aegyptus. This ruler constructed a very great number of canals at opportune places and in many ways showed himself eager to increase the usefulness of the Nile, and therefore became the cause of the present appellation of the river.

The eighth king, Chemmis<sup>1</sup> of Memphis, ruled fifty years and constructed the largest of the three pyramids, which are numbered among the seven wonders of the world. These pyramids, which are situated on the side of Egypt which is towards Libya, are one hundred and twenty stades from Memphis and forty-five from the Nile, and by the immensity of their structures and the skill shown in their execution they fill the beholder with wonder and astonishment. For the largest is in the form of a square and

<sup>1</sup> Chemmis is the Cheops of Herodotus (2. 124), the Khufu of the monuments. Diodorus makes the same mistake as Herodotus in putting the pyramid-builders of the Fourth Dynasty (c. 3000 B.C.) after Ramses III of the Twentieth Dynasty (c. 1200 B.C.).

οὔσα τῷ σχήματι τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως πλευρὰν  
 ἐκάστην ἔχει πλέθρων ἑπτὰ, τὸ δ' ὕψος πλέον  
 τῶν ἕξ πλέθρων· συναγωγὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ'  
 5 ὀλίγον λαμβάνουσα μέχρι τῆς κορυφῆς ἐκάστην  
 πλευρὰν ποιεῖ πηχῶν ἕξ. πᾶσα δὲ στερεοῦ  
 λίθου κατεσκευάσται, τὴν μὲν ἐργασίαν ἔχοντος  
 δυσχερῆ, τὴν δὲ διαμονὴν αἰώνιον· οὐκ ἐλαττόνων  
 γὰρ ἢ χιλίων ἐτῶν, ὡς φασι, διεληλυθότων εἰς  
 τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς βίον, ὡς δὲ ἔτιοι γράφουσι, πλειό-  
 νων ἢ τρισχιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων, διαμένουσι  
 6 μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ λίθοι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς σύνθεσιν καὶ  
 τὴν ὅλην κατασκευὴν ἀσηπτον διαφυλάττοντες.  
 λέγεται δὲ τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀπὸ  
 πολλοῦ διαστήματος κομισθῆναι, τὴν δὲ κατα-  
 σκευὴν διὰ χωμάτων γενέσθαι, μήπω τῶν μηχανῶν  
 7 εἰρημένων κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους· καὶ τὸ  
 θαυμασιώτατον, τηλικούτων ἔργων κατεσκευασ-  
 μένων καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος τόπου παντὸς ἀμμώ-  
 δους ὄντος οὐδὲν ἔχρος οὔτε τοῦ χώματος οὔτε  
 τῆς τῶν λίθων ξεστουργίας ἀπολείπεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> ὥστε  
 δοκεῖν μὴ κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐργασίας,  
 ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὡσπερ ὑπὸ θεοῦ τινος τὸ κατα-  
 σκεῦασμα τεθῆναι πᾶν εἰς τὴν περιέχουσαν ἄμμον.  
 8 ἐπιχειροῦσι δὲ τινες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τερατολογεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ τούτων, λέγοντες ὡς ἕξ ἀλλαν καὶ νίτρον τῶν  
 χωμάτων γεγονότων ἐπαφεθεῖς ὁ ποταμὸς ἔτηξεν  
 9 αὐτὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἠφάνισεν ἄνευ τῆς χειροποιή-  
 του πραγματείας. οὐ μὴν καὶ τάληθές οὕτως

has a base length on each side of seven plethra and a height of over six plethra; it also gradually tapers to the top, where each side is six cubits long.<sup>1</sup> The entire construction is of hard stone, which is difficult to work but lasts for ever; for though no fewer than a thousand years have elapsed, as they say, to our lifetime, or, as some writers have it, more than three thousand four hundred, the stones remain to this day still preserving their original position and the entire structure undecayed. It is said that the stone was conveyed over a great distance from Arabia<sup>2</sup> and that the construction was effected by means of mounds, since cranes had not yet been invented at that time; and the most remarkable thing in the account is that, though the constructions were on such a great scale and the country round about them consists of nothing but sand, not a trace remains either of any mound or of the dressing of the stones, so that they do not have the appearance of being the slow handiwork of men but look like a sudden creation, as though they had been made by some god and set down bodily in the surrounding sand. Certain Egyptians would make a marvel out of these things, saying that, inasmuch as the mounds were built of salt and saltpetre, when the river was let in it melted them down and completely effaced them without the intervention of man's hand. However, there is not a

<sup>1</sup> Including the facing, which has now almost entirely disappeared, the Great Pyramid was originally about 768 feet broad on the base and 482 feet high.

<sup>2</sup> The term "Arabia" also designated the region lying between the Nile and the Red Sea, as in Herodotus (2. 8) and Strabo (17. 1. 34). Apparently all the material for the Great Pyramid came from the immediate neighbourhood (cp. *Baedeker's Egypt*, pp. 124-5).

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολείπεται II, Bekker, Dindorf.



ἔχει, διὰ δὲ τῆς πολυχειρίας τῆς τὰ χώματα βαλοῦσης πάλιν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον εἰς τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν ἀποκατεστάθη τάξιν· τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἕξ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν, ὡς φασί, ταῖς τῶν ἔργων λειτουργίαις προσήδρευσαν, τὸ δὲ πᾶν κατασκευάσμα τέλος ἔσχε μόγις ἑτῶν εἴκοσι διεληθόντων.

64. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Κεφρὴν καὶ ἤρξεν ἔτη ἕξ πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα· ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶν οὐκ ἀδελφόν, ἀλλ' υἱὸν παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, <sup>2</sup> ὀνομαζόμενον Χαβρῦν. συμφωνεῖται δὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι ζηλώσας ὁ διαδεχόμενος τὴν τοῦ προβασιλεύσαντος προαίρεσιν κατεσκεύασε τὴν δευτέραν πυραμίδα, τῇ μὲν κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν τέχνην<sup>1</sup> παραπλησίαν τῇ προειρημένῃ, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει πολὺ λειπομένην, ὡς ἂν τῆς ἐν τῇ βᾶσει <sup>3</sup> πλευρᾶς ἐκάστης οὔσης σταδίαίας. ἐπιγέγραπται δ' ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλωθέντων χρημάτων, ὡς εἰς λίχνα καὶ συρμαῖαν τοῖς ἐργάταις μνηύεται<sup>2</sup> διὰ τῆς γραφῆς τάλαντα δεδαπανῆσθαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων, <sup>4</sup> ἢ δ' ἐλάττων ἀνεπιγράφος μὲν ἔστιν, ἀνάβασιν δ' ἔχει διὰ μιᾶς τῶν πλευρῶν ἐγκεκολαμμένην. τῶν δὲ βασιλέων τῶν κατασκευασάντων αὐτὰς ἑαυτοῖς τάφους συνέβη μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ταῖς <sup>5</sup> βυραμίσις ἐνταφῆναι· τὰ γὰρ πλήθη διὰ τε ταλαιπωρίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ διὰ τὸ τούτους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὠμὰ καὶ βίαια πολλὰ πρᾶξαι δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε τοὺς αἰτίους, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἠπειλεῖ

word of truth in this, but the entire material for the mounds, raised as they were by the labour of many hands, was returned by the same means to the place from which it came; for three hundred and sixty thousand men, as they say, were employed on the undertaking, and the whole structure was scarcely completed in twenty years.<sup>1</sup>

64. Upon the death of this king his brother Cephren<sup>2</sup> succeeded to the throne and ruled fifty-six years; but some say that it was not the brother of Chemmis, but his son, named Chabryes, who took the throne. All writers, however, agree that it was the next ruler who, emulating the example of his predecessor, built the second pyramid, which was the equal of the one just mentioned in the skill displayed in its execution but far behind it in size, since its base length on each side is only a stade.<sup>3</sup> And an inscription on the larger pyramid gives the sum of money expended on it, since the writing sets forth that on vegetables and purgatives for the workmen there were paid out over sixteen hundred talents. The smaller bears no inscription but has steps cut into one side. And though the two kings built the pyramids to serve as their tombs, in the event neither of them was buried in them; for the multitudes, because of the hardships which they had endured in the building of them and the many cruel and violent acts of these kings, were filled with anger against those who had caused their sufferings and openly threatened to tear

<sup>1</sup> The classic description of the building of the pyramids is in Herodotus 2. 124-5.

<sup>2</sup> The Cephren of Herodotus (2. 127), Khafre of the monuments.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* six plethra, while the former was seven.

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: τέχνην χειρουργίαν.

<sup>2</sup> μνηύεται Vogel: καὶ μνηύεται C, Bekker, Dindorf.

διασπάσειν καὶ μεθ' ὕβρεως ἐκρίψειν ἐκ τῶν  
6 τάφων· διὸ καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκάτερος ἐνετείλατο  
τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐν ἀσήμεν τόπῳ καὶ λάθρα  
θάψαι τὸ σῶμα.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς Μυκερίνος,  
ὃν τινες Μεγχερίνων ὀνομάζουσι, υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ  
7 ποιήσαντος τὴν προτέραν πυραμίδα. οὗτος δ'  
ἐπιβαλόμενος τρίτην κατασκευάζειν, πρότερον  
ἐτελεύτησε πρὶν ἢ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον λαβεῖν συντέ-  
λειαν. τῆς μὲν γὰρ βάσεως ἐκάστην πλευρὰν  
ὑπεστήσατο πλέθρων τριῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοίχους ἐπὶ  
μὲν πεντεκαίδεκα δόμους κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ μέλανος  
λίθου τῷ Θηβαϊκῷ παραπλήσιον, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν  
ἀνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ λίθων ὁμοίων ταῖς ἄλλαις πυρα-  
8 μίσιν. τῷ δὲ μεγέθει λειπόμενον τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον  
τῶν προειρημένων τῆ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν τέχνη  
πολὺ διαλλάττει καὶ τῆ τοῦ λίθου πολυτελείᾳ·  
ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον αὐτῆς πλευρὰν  
9 ὁ κατασκευάσας αὐτὴν Μυκερίνος. τοῦτον δὲ  
φασὶ μισήσαντα τὴν τῶν προβασιλευσάντων  
ὠμότητα ζηλώσει βίον ἐπιεικῆ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀρχομένους εὐεργετικόν, καὶ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν συνεχῶς  
ἄλλα τε πλείω δι' ὧν ἦν μάλιστα ἐκκαλέσασθαι  
τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν, καὶ κατὰ  
τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἀναλίσκεν χρημάτων πλήθος,  
διδόντα δωρεὰς τῶν ἐπιεικῶν τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐν  
ταῖς κρίσεσι μὴ κατὰ τρόπον ἀπαλλάττειν.  
10 Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τρεῖς πυραμίδες, ὧν ἐκάστη  
μὲν πλευρὰ πλεθριαία ὑπάρχει, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἔργον

their bodies asunder and cast them in despite out of  
the tombs. Consequently each ruler when dying  
enjoined upon his kinsmen to bury his body secretly  
in an unmarked place.<sup>1</sup>

After these rulers Mycerinus,<sup>2</sup> to whom some give  
the name Mencherinus, a son of the builder of the  
first pyramid, became king. He undertook the  
construction of a third pyramid, but died before the  
entire structure had been completed. The base  
length of each side he made three plethra, and for  
fifteen courses he built the walls of black stone<sup>3</sup> like  
that found about Thebes, but the rest of it he filled  
out with stone like that found in the other pyramids.  
In size this structure falls behind those mentioned  
above, but far surpasses them in the skill displayed  
in its execution and the great cost of the stone; and  
on the north side of the pyramid is an inscription  
stating that its builder was Mycerinus. This ruler,  
they say, out of indignation at the cruelty of his  
predecessors aspired to live an honourable life and  
one devoted to the welfare of his subjects; and he  
continually did many other things which might best  
help to evoke the goodwill of the people towards  
himself, and more especially, when he gave audiences,  
he spent a great amount of money, giving presents to  
such honest men as he thought had not fared in the  
courts of law as they deserved.

There are also three more pyramids, each of which  
is one plethrum long on each side and in general  
grave from robbers," and other considerations all show that  
this cannot have been the case (cp. *Baedeker's Egypt*, pp.  
123, 126).

<sup>2</sup> The Menkaure of the monuments.

<sup>3</sup> The lower courses of the third pyramid are of red granite,  
the "Ethiopian stone" of Herodotus 2. 134.

<sup>1</sup> The remains, such as "massive blocks of granite, placed  
in position after the interment of the mummy to protect the

- παραπλήσιον τῇ κατασκευῇ ταῖς ἄλλαις πλὴν τοῦ μεγέθους· ταύτας δὲ φασὶ τοὺς προειρημένους τρεῖς βασιλεῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις κατασκευάσαι γυναῖξιν.
- 11 'Ομολογεῖται δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔργα πολὺ προέχειν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον οὐ μόνον τῷ βάρει τῶν κατασκευασμάτων καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ
- 12 φιλοτεχνίᾳ τῶν ἐργασαμένων. καὶ φασὶ δεῖν θανμάζειν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας τῶν ἔργων ἢ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς παρασχομένους τὰς εἰς ταῦτα χορηγίας· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἰδίαις ψυχαῖς καὶ ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις, τοὺς δὲ τῷ κληρονομηθέντι πλούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις κακονυχίαις ἐπὶ τέλος
- 13 ἀγαγεῖν τὴν προαίρεσιν. περὶ δὲ τῶν πυραμίδων οὐδὲν ὄλως οὔτε παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις οὔτε παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι συμφωνεῖται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς προειρημένους βασιλεῖς κατασκευάσαι φασὶν αὐτάς, οἱ δὲ ἑτέρους τινάς· οἶον τὴν μὲν<sup>1</sup> μεγίστην ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν Ἀρμαίων, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν
- 14 Ἀμωσιν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην Ἰναρῶν. ταύτην δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσι Ροδώπιδος τάφον εἶναι τῆς ἐταίρας, ἧς φασὶ τῶν νομαρχῶν τινὰς ἐραστὰς γενομένους διὰ φιλοστοργίαν ἐπιτελέσαι κοινῇ τὸ κατασκευάσμα.

65. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους βασιλεῖς

<sup>1</sup> μὲν omitted by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> As regards Rhodopis the theory of H. R. Hall (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 24 (1904), pp. 208-13) is attractive: The Sphinx, the checks of which were tinted red, was called by the Greeks "Rhodopis" ("rosy-cheeked"), and erroneously supposed to be female. Later they took it to be a portrait of the greatest Rhodopis they knew, the rosy-cheeked Doricha (although Athenaeus, 13. 596 B, denies that her name was Doricha), the famous courtesan of the Milesian colony of

construction is like the others save in size; and these pyramids, they say, were built by the three kings named above for their wives.

It is generally agreed that these monuments far surpass all other constructions in Egypt, not only in their massiveness and cost but also in the skill displayed by their builders. And they say that the architects of the monuments are more deserving of admiration than the kings who furnished the means for their execution; for in bringing their plans to completion the former called upon their individual souls and their zeal for honour, but the latter only used the wealth which they had inherited and the grievous toil of other men. But with regard to the pyramids there is no complete agreement among either the inhabitants of the country or the historians; for according to some the kings mentioned above were their builders, according to others they were different kings; for instance, it is said that Armaeus built the largest, Amosis the second, and Inaros the third. And this last pyramid, some say, is the tomb of the courtesan Rhodopis,<sup>1</sup> for some of the nomarchs<sup>2</sup> became her lovers, as the account goes, and out of their passion for her carried the building through to completion as a joint undertaking.

65. After the kings mentioned above Bocchoris<sup>3</sup>

Naucratis in the Delta (cp. Herodotus 2. 134 ff.). The infatuation for her of Sappho's brother Charaxus invoked Sappho's rebuke; cp. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca*, I. p. 205 (L.C.L.).

<sup>2</sup> The governors of the provinces (nomes) of Egypt.

<sup>3</sup> On Bocchoris cp. chaps. 79 and 94. His Egyptian name was Bokenranef (c. 726-c. 712 B.C.), the second of the two kings of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (cp. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3. 276 f.).

διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Βόκχορις, τῷ μὲν σώματι παντελῶς εὐκαταφρόνητος, ἀγχινοῖα δὲ πολὺ 2 διαφέρων τῶν προβασιλευσάντων. πολλοῖς δ' ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Αἰγύπτου Σαβάκων, τὸ μὲν γένος ὄν Αἰθίοψ, εὐσεβεία δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι πολὺ διαφέρων τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. 3 τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικείας αὐτοῦ λάβουσι τινες ἂν τεκμήριον τὸ τῶν νομίμων προστίμων ἄραι τὸ μέγιστον, 4 λέγω δὲ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν στέρησιν· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου<sup>1</sup> τοὺς καταδικασθέντας ἠνάγκαζε λειτουργεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι δεδεμένους, καὶ διὰ τούτων πολλὰ μὲν χῶματα κατεσκεύαζεν, οὐκ ὀλίγας δὲ διώρυχας ἄρτυεν εὐκαίρους· ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κολαζομένοις τὸ τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπότομον ἠλαττωκέαι, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν ἀντὶ προστίμων ἀνωφελῶν μεγάλην εὐχρηστίαν περιπεποιηκέαι.<sup>2</sup> 5 τὴν δὲ τῆς εἰσεβείας ὑπερβολὴν συλλογίσαιτ' ἂν τις ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὄνειρον φαντασίας καὶ 6 τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσεως. ἔδοξε μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνου λέγειν αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Θῆβαις θεὸν ὅτι βασιλεύειν οὐ δυνήσεται τῆς Αἰγύπτου μακαρίως οὐδὲ πολὺν χρόνον, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας διατεμῶν διὰ μέσων αὐτῶν διέλθῃ μετὰ 7 τῆς θεραπείας. πολλάκις δὲ τούτου γινομένου μεταπεμφόμενος πανταχόθεν τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔφη λυπεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μένων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν

<sup>1</sup> θανατοῦ Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> πεποιηκέαι Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Shabaka (c. 712—c. 700 B.C.), the first king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

succeeded to the throne, a man who was altogether contemptible in personal appearance but in sagacity far surpassed all former kings. Much later Egypt was ruled by Sabaco,<sup>1</sup> who was by birth an Ethiopian and yet in piety and uprightness far surpassed his predecessors. A proof of his goodness may be found in his abolition of the severest one of the customary penalties (I refer to the taking of life); for instead of executing the condemned he put them in chains at forced labour for the cities, and by their services constructed many dykes and dug out not a few well-placed canals; for he held that in this way he had reduced for those who were being chastised the severity of their punishment, while for the cities he had procured, in exchange for useless penalties, something of great utility. And the excessiveness of his piety may be inferred from a vision which he had in a dream and his consequent abdication of the throne. For he thought that the god of Thebes told him while he slept that he would not be able to reign over Egypt in happiness or for any great length of time, unless he should cut the bodies of all the priests in twain and accompanied by his retinue pass through the very midst of them.<sup>2</sup> And when this dream came again and again, he summoned the priests from all over the land and told them that by his presence in the country he was offending the god;

<sup>2</sup> This story is reminiscent of the belief that one may be preserved from harm by passing between the parts of a sacrificed animal; cp. *Genesis*, 15. 10, 17; *Jeremiah*, 34. 18-19, and the account in Herodotus (7. 39) of the son of Pythius, whose body was cut in two and one half set on the right side of the road and the other on the left, that the Persian army might pass between them on its way to the conquest of Greece.

αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα προστάττειν κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον.  
 8 ἀπελθὼν οὖν βούλεσθαι καθαρὸς παντὸς μύσουσ  
 ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ζῆν τῇ πεπρωμένη μᾶλλον ἢ λυπῶν  
 τὸν κύριον καὶ μίανασ ἀσεβεῖ φόνῳ τὸν ἴδιον  
 βίον ἄρχειν τῆς Αἰγύπτου· καὶ πέρασ τοῖσ ἐγχω-  
 ρίοισ ἀποδοῦσ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰσ τὴν  
 Αἰθιοπίαν.

66. Ἄναρχίασ δὲ γενομένησ κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτου  
 ἐπ' ἔτη δύο, καὶ τῶν ὄχλων εἰσ ταραχὰσ καὶ  
 φόνοσ ἐμφυλίοσ τρεπομένων, ἐποίησαντο συνω-  
 μοσίαν οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων δώδεκα· συνε-  
 δρεύσαντες δὲ ἐν Μέμφει καὶ συνθήκασ γραφά-  
 μενοι περὶ τῆσ πρὸσ ἀλλήλοσ ὁμονοίασ καὶ  
 2 πίστεωσ ἀνέδειξαν ἑαυτοῦσ βασιλεῖσ. ἐπ' ἔτη  
 δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα κατὰ τοῦσ ὄρκουσ καὶ τὰσ  
 ὁμολογίασ ἄρξαντες καὶ τὴν πρὸσ ἀλλήλοσ  
 ὁμόνοίαν διατηρήσαντες, ἐπεβάλοντο κατασκευά-  
 σαι κοινὸν ἑαυτῶν τάφον, ἵνα καθάπερ ἐν τῷ ζῆν  
 εὖνοοῦντες ἀλλήλοισ τῶν ἴσων ἐτύγχανον τιμῶν,  
 οὕτω καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ τῶν  
 σωματῶν κειμένων τὸ κατασκευασθὲν μνήμα κοινῇ  
 3 περιέχη τὴν τῶν ἐνταφέντων δόξαν. εἰσ ταύτην  
 δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν φιλοκαλοῦντες ἔσπευσαν ὑπερ-  
 βαλέσθαι τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἅπαντα τοῦσ πρὸ  
 αὐτῶν. ἐκλεξάμενοι γὰρ τόπον παρὰ τὸν εἰσπλου  
 τὸν εἰσ τὴν Μοίριδοσ<sup>1</sup> λίμνην ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ κατε-  
 σκευάζον τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῶν καλλίστων λίθων, καὶ  
 τῷ μὲν σχήματι τετράγωνον ὑπεστήσαντο, τῷ  
 δὲ μεγέθει σταδίαίαν ἐκάστην πλευράν, ταῖσ δὲ  
 γλυφαῖσ καὶ ταῖσ ἀλλαισ χειρουργίαισ ὑπερβολὴν

for were that not the case such a command would not be given to him in his sleep. And so he would rather, he continued, departing pure of all defilement from the land, deliver his life to destiny than offend the Lord, stain his own life by an impious slaughter, and reign over Egypt. And in the end he returned the kingdom to the Egyptians and retired again to Ethiopia.

66. There being no head of the government in Egypt for two years, and the masses betaking themselves to tumults and the killing of one another, the twelve most important leaders formed a solemn league among themselves, and after they had met together for counsel in Memphis and had drawn up agreements setting forth their mutual goodwill and loyalty they proclaimed themselves kings. After they had reigned in accordance with their oaths and promises and had maintained their mutual concord for a period of fifteen years, they set about to construct a common tomb for themselves, their thought being that, just as in their lifetime they had cherished a cordial regard for one another and enjoyed equal honours, so also after their death their bodies would all rest in one place and the memorial which they had erected would hold in one embrace the glory of those buried within. Being full of zeal for this undertaking they eagerly strove to surpass all preceding rulers in the magnitude of their structure. For selecting a site at the entrance to Lake Moeris in Libya<sup>1</sup> they constructed their tomb of the finest stone, and they made it in form a square but in magnitude a stade in length on each side; and in the carvings and, indeed, in all the workmanship they left nothing wherein

<sup>1</sup> Μοίριδοσ Wesseling: μόριδοσ.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. on the west side of the Nile.

- 4 οὐκ ἀπέλιπον τοῖς ἐπιγυωμένοις. εἰσελθόντι μὲν γὰρ τὸν περίβολον οἶκος ἦν περίστυλος, ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς ἐκ τετταράκοντα κίωνων ἀναπληρουμένης, καὶ τούτου μονόλιθος ἦν ὀροφή, φάτναις διαγεγλυμμένη καὶ γραφαῖς διαφόροις πεποικιλμένη.
- 5 μένη. εἶχε δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν βασιλέων ὑπομνήματα καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσιῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ταῖς καλλίσταις γραφαῖς φιλοτέχνης δεδημιουργημένα. καθόλου δὲ τοιαύτην τῇ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ τηλικαύτην τῷ μεγέθει τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ τάφου λέγεται ποιήσασθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ὥστ' εἰ μὴ πρό τοῦ συντελέσαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν κατελύθησαν, μηδεμίαν ἂν ὑπερβολὴν ἑτέροις πρὸς κατασκευὴν ἔργων ἀπολιπεῖν.
- 7 Ἀρξάντων δὲ τούτων τῆς Αἰγύπτου πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη συνέβη τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἓνα περιστῆναι
- 8 διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Ψαμμήτιχος ὁ Σαΐτης, εἰς ὧν τῶν δώδεκα βασιλέων καὶ τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν μερῶν κυριέων, παρέειχετο φορτία πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμπόροις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς τε Φοίνιξι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι.
- 9 διὰ δὲ<sup>1</sup> τοιούτου τρόπου τά τε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας λυσιτελῶς διατιθέμενος καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι φνομένων μεταλαμβάνων, οὐ μόνον εὐπορίαν εἶχε μεγάλην ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλίαν
- 10 πρὸς ἔθνη καὶ δυνάστας, διὰ δὲ ταῦτά φασι φθονήσαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς πόλεμόν ἐξευγεῖν. ἔτιοι δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων μυθολογοῦσι χρῆσμον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἡγε-

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ after δὲ deleted by Dindorf.

succeeding rulers could excel them.<sup>1</sup> For as a man passed through the enclosing wall he found himself in a court surrounded by columns, forty on each side, and the roof of the court consisted of a single stone, which was worked into coffers<sup>2</sup> and adorned with excellent paintings. This court also contained memorials of the native district of each king and of the temples and sacrificial rites therein, artistically portrayed in most beautiful paintings. And in general, the kings are said to have made the plan of their tomb on such an expensive and enormous scale that, had they not died before the execution of their purpose, they would have left no possibility for others to surpass them, so far as the construction of monuments is concerned.

After these kings had reigned over Egypt for fifteen years it came to pass that the sovereignty devolved upon one man for the following reasons. Psammetichus of Sais, who was one of the twelve kings and in charge of the regions lying along the sea, furnished wares for all merchants and especially for the Phoenicians and the Greeks; and since in this manner he disposed of the products of his own district at a profit and exchanged them for those of other peoples, he was not only possessed of great wealth but also enjoyed friendly relations with peoples and rulers. And this was the reason, they say, why the other kings became envious and opened war against him. Some of the early historians,<sup>3</sup> however, tell this fanciful story: The generals had

Twelfth Dynasty (cp. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I. p. 309; J. H. Breasted, p. 194).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. ornamental panels were deeply recessed in the stone.

<sup>3</sup> The account is given by Herodotus 2. 151 f.

<sup>1</sup> This is the Labyrinth which was mentioned before in chap. 61. It was the seat of the central government, and was not built by the "twelve kings," but by Amenemhet III of the

μόσῳ, ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν ἐκ χαλκῆς φιάλης πρῶτος ἐν Μέμφει σπείσῃ τῷ θεῷ, κρατήσῃ αὐτὸν πάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου· τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον, ἐξευγκαντος ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῶν ἱερέων τινὸς φιάλας ἔνδεκα<sup>1</sup> χρυσᾶς, περιελόμενον τὴν περικεφαλαίαν  
 11 σπείσαι. ὑπιδόμενος<sup>2</sup> οὖν τοὺς συνάρχοντας τὸν πραχθὲν ἀποκτείνει μὲν αὐτὸν μὴ βουλευθῆναι, φνυγαδεῦσαι δὲ καὶ προστάξαι διατρίβειν ἐν τοῖς  
 12 ἔλεσι τοῖς παρὰ θάλατταν. εἶτε δὴ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν εἶτε διὰ τὸν φθόνον, καθότι προεῖρηται, γενομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς, ὁ μὲν<sup>3</sup> Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκ τε τῆς Καρίας καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας μισθοφόρους μεταπεμψάμενος ἐνίκησε παρατάξει περὶ πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μώμεμφιν, τῶν δ' ἀντιταξαμένων βασιλέων οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνῆρέθησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Λιβύην ἐκδιωχθέντες οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἴσχυσαν ἀμφισβητήσαι.

67. Τῆς δ' ὅλης βασιλείας κυριεύσας ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος τῷ μὲν ἐν Μέμφει θεῷ τὸ πρὸς ἕω προπύλαιον κατεσκεύασε καὶ τῷ ναῷ τὸν περίβολον, κολοπτοῦς ὑποστήσας αὐτὶ τῶν κίωνων δωδεκαπήχεις· τοῖς δὲ μισθοφόροις χωρὶς τῶν ὁμολογημένων συντάξεων δωρεῆς τε ἀξιολόγους ἀπένευμε καὶ τὰ καλούμενα στρατόπεδα τόπον οἰκεῖν ἔδωκε καὶ χώραν πολλὴν κατεκληρούχησε μικρὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος· οὓς ἐντεύθεν Ἀμασις ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἔτεσι βασι-

received an oracle to the effect that the first one of their number to pour a libation from a bronze bowl to the god in Memphis should rule over all Egypt, and when one of the priests brought out of the temple eleven<sup>1</sup> golden bowls, Psammetichus took off his helmet and poured the libation from it. Now his colleagues, although suspecting his act, were not yet ready to put him to death, but drove him instead from public life, with orders that he should spend his days in the marshes along the sea. Whether they fell out for this reason or because of the envy which, as mentioned above, they felt towards him, at any rate Psammetichus, calling mercenaries from Caria and Ionia, overcame the others in a pitched battle near the city called Momemphis, and of the kings who opposed him some were slain in the battle and some were driven out into Libya and were no longer able to dispute with him for the throne.

67. After Psammetichus had established his authority over the entire kingdom he built for the god in Memphis the east propylon and the enclosure about the temple, supporting it with colossi<sup>2</sup> twelve cubits high in place of pillars; and among the mercenaries he distributed notable gifts over and above their promised pay, gave them the region called The Camps to dwell in, and apportioned to them much land in the region lying a little up the river from the Pelusiac mouth; they being subsequently removed thence by Amasis, who reigned

<sup>1</sup> Reading ἔνδεκα (αα') with Herodotus 2. 151 for the δώδεκα (ιβ') of the MSS.; cp. E. Evers, *Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Quellenbenützung bei Diodor*, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπιδόμενος Dindorf; ὑπειδόμενος.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν Vogel; μὲν γὰρ Vulgate, Bekker; μὲν οὖν Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> All former editors retain the reading "twelve" of the MSS.; but the parallel account in Herodotus gives the number as "eleven," thus furnishing the occasion for the use of his helmet by Psammetichus.

<sup>2</sup> Here are meant square pillars with an attached statue in front; cp. p. 167, n. 3.

- 2 λέυσας ἀνέστησε καὶ κατάρκισεν εἰς Μέμφιν. διὰ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων κατωρθωκῶς τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος τούτοις τὸ λοιπὸν μάλιστα<sup>1</sup> ἐνεπίστευε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διετέλεσε ξηνο-
- 3 τροφῶν μεγάλας δυνάμεις. στρατεύσαντος δ' εἰς τὴν Συρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρατάξεις τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους προτιμῶντος καὶ τάττοντος εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη, τοὺς δ' ἐγχωρίους ἀτιμότερον ἄγοντος καὶ τὸν εὐάνυμον τόπον ἀπονέμοντος τῆς φάλαγγος, οἱ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ τὴν ὑβρίν παροξυνθέντες καὶ γενόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος πλείους τῶν εἰκοσι μυριάδων ἀπέστησαν καὶ προήγγον ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίας, κεκρικότες ἰδίαν χώραν ἑαυτοῖς
- 4 κατακτᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεμψέ τινας τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀτιμίας, ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς, αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐδίωξε πλοίοις.
- 5 προαγόντων δ' αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερβαλλόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἐδέϊτο μετανοῆσαι καὶ τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν πατρίδων, ἔτι
- 6 δὲ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ὑπεμίμησεν. οἱ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἀναβοήσαντες καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς τὰς ἀσπίδας πατάξαντες ἔφασαν, ἕως ἂν κυριεύωσι τῶν ὄπλων, ῥαδίως εἰρήσειν πατρίδας· ἀναστειλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰ γεννητικὰ μέρη<sup>1</sup> τοῦ σώματος δεῖξαντες οὔτε γυναικῶν οὔτε τέκνων ἀπορήσειν ἔφασαν ταῦτ' ἔχοντας.
- 7 τοιαύτη δὲ μεγαλοψυχία χρησάμενοι καὶ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> μόρια G, Bekker, Dindorf.

many years later, and settled by him in Memphis.<sup>1</sup> And since Psammetichus had established his rule with the aid of the mercenaries, he henceforth entrusted these before others with the administration of his empire and regularly maintained large mercenary forces. Once in connection with a campaign in Syria, when he was giving the mercenaries a more honourable place in his order of battle by putting them on the right wing and showing the native troops less honour by assigning them the position on the left wing of the phalanx, the Egyptians, angered by this slight and being over two hundred thousand strong, revolted and set out for Ethiopia, having determined to win for themselves a country of their own. The king at first sent some of his generals to make excuse for the dishonour done to them, but since no heed was paid to these he set out in person after them by boat, accompanied by his friends. And when they still continued their march along the Nile and were about to cross the boundary of Egypt, he besought them to change their purpose and reminded them of their temples, their homeland, and of their wives and children. But they, all crying aloud and striking their spears against their shields, declared that so long as they had weapons in their hands they would easily find homelands; and lifting their garments and pointing to their genitals they said that so long as they had those they would never be in want either of wives or of children. After such a display of high courage and of utter disdain for

Tell Defenneh on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, now a canal. The mercenaries were thus strategically placed at the Syrian entrance into Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> A similar account is in Herodotus (2. 154), who locates (2. 30) the Camps more precisely at Daphnae, the modern



φρονήσαντες τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεγίστων εἶναι δοκούντων, καταλάβοντο μὲν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τὴν κρατίστην, κατακληρουχῆσαντες δὲ πολλὴν χώραν ἐν ταύτῃ κατόκησαν.

8 Ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις οὐ μετρίως ἐλυπήθη, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διατάξας καὶ τῶν προσόδων ἐπιμελούμενος πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίαν ἐποίη-  
9 σατο. εὐηργέτει δὲ καὶ τῶν ξένων τοὺς ἐθελουτῆν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀποδημοῦντας, καὶ φιλέλλην ὧν διαφερόντως τοὺς υἱοὺς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἐδίδαξε παιδείαν καθόλου δὲ πρώτος τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον βασιλέων ἀνέφξε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην<sup>2</sup> χώραν ἐμπόρια καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπλέουσι ξένοις  
10 παρείχετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τούτου δυναστεύσαντες ἄβατον ἐποίουν τοῖς ξένοις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοὺς μὲν φονεύοντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδουλοῦμενοι τῶν  
11 καταπλέοντων. καὶ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὸν Βούσιριν ἀσέβεια διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀξενίαν διεβοήθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐκ οὐσα μὲν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνομίας εἰς μῦθον πλάσμα καταχωρισθεῖσα.

68. Μετὰ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον ὕστερον τέτταρσι γενεαῖς Ἀπρίης ἑβασίλευσεν ἔτη δυσὶ πλείω τῶν εἴκοσι. στρατεύσας δὲ δυνάμεσις ἀδραῖς πεζαῖς τε καὶ ναυτικαῖς ἐπὶ Κύπρου καὶ Φοινίκην,

<sup>1</sup> ἐθελουτῆν Kälker: ἐθελουτί.

<sup>2</sup> Reiske would delete ἄλλην, as is done by Bekker and Dindorf, or read ἄλην.

<sup>1</sup> This story of the Deserters is given by Herodotus (2. 30), but in less detail.

what among other men is regarded as of the greatest consequence, they seized the best part of Ethiopia, and after apportioning much land among themselves they made their home there.<sup>1</sup>

Although Psammetichus was greatly grieved over these things, he put in order the affairs of Egypt, looked after the royal revenues, and then formed alliances with both Athens and certain other Greek states. He also regularly treated with kindness any foreigners who sojourned in Egypt of their own free will, and was so great an admirer of the Hellenes that he gave his sons a Greek education; and, speaking generally, he was the first Egyptian king to open to other nations the trading-places throughout the rest<sup>2</sup> of Egypt and to offer a large measure of security to strangers from across the seas. For his predecessors in power had consistently closed Egypt to strangers, either killing or enslaving any who touched its shores. Indeed, it was because of the objection to strangers on the part of the people that the impiety of Busiris became a byword among the Greeks, although this impiety was not actually such as it was described, but was made into a fictitious myth because of the exceptional disrespect of the Egyptians for ordinary customs.

68. Four generations after Psammetichus, Apries <sup>588-566</sup> was king for twenty-two years. He made a campaign with strong land and sea forces against Cyprus <sup>B.C.</sup>

\* This reading of the MSS., which has disturbed some editors, may properly be retained. It is understood from the beginning of the chapter that Psammetichus could allow foreigners to trade only in the regions of which he was governor. Upon becoming king he extends that privilege over "the rest" of Egypt.

Σιδώνα μὲν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, τὰς δ' ἄλλας τὰς  
 ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ πόλεις καταπληξάμενος προσηγά-  
 γητο· ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ μεγάλη Φοινικὰς  
 τε καὶ Κυπρίους, καὶ λαφύρων ἀθροίσας πλῆθος  
 2 ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δύναμιν  
 πέμψας ἀδρᾶν τῶν ὁμοειδῶν ἐπὶ Κυρήνην καὶ  
 Βάρκην, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῆς ἀποβαλὼν,  
 ἀλλοτρίους ἔσχε τοὺς διασωθέντας· ὑπολαβόντες  
 γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ συντάξαι τὴν στρατείαν,  
 ὅπως ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχῃ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων,  
 3 ἀπέστησαν. ἀποσταλεῖς δὲ πρὸς τοὺτους ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως Ἄμασις, ἀνὴρ ἐμφανὴς Αἰγύπτιος,  
 τῶν μὲν ῥηθέντων<sup>1</sup> ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν  
 ἠμέλησε, τουναντίον δ' ἐκείνους προτρεψάμενος  
 εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα συναπέστη καὶ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς  
 4 ἠρέθη. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ἐγχωρίων ἀπάντων συνεπιθεμένων, ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 διαπορούμενος ἠναγκάσθη καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 5 μισθοφόροις, ὄντας εἰς τρισμύριους. γενομένης  
 οὖν παρατάξεως περὶ τὴν Μάρειαν κώμην, καὶ  
 τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων, ὁ μὲν  
 Ἄπρις ζωγρηθεὶς ἀνύχθη καὶ στραγγαλισθεὶς<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐτελεύτησεν, Ἄμασις δὲ διατάξας τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν ὡς ποτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν, ἦρχε  
 νομίμως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ μεγάλης ἐτύγχανεν  
 6 ἀποδοχῆς. κατεστρέψατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ  
 πόλεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθή-  
 μασι ἀξιολόγοις. βασιλεύσας δ' ἔτη πέντε

and Phoenicia, took Sidon by storm, and so terrified the other cities of Phoenicia that he secured their submission; he also defeated the Phoenicians and Cyprians in a great sea-battle and returned to Egypt with much booty. After this he sent a strong native force against Cyrenê and Barcê and, when the larger part of it was lost, the survivors became estranged from him; for they felt that he had organized the expedition with a view to its destruction in order that his rule over the rest of the Egyptians might be more secure, and so they revolted. The man sent by the king to treat with them, one Amasis, a prominent Egyptian, paid no attention to the orders given him to effect a reconciliation, but, on the contrary, increased their estrangement, joined their revolt, and was himself chosen king.<sup>1</sup> When a little later all the rest of the native Egyptians also went over to Amasis, the king was in such straits that he was forced to flee for safety to the mercenaries, who numbered some thirty thousand men. A pitched battle accordingly took place near the village of Maria and the Egyptians prevailed in the struggle; Apries fell alive into the hands of the enemy and was strangled to death, and Amasis, arranging the affairs of the kingdom in whatever manner seemed to him best, ruled over the Egyptians in accordance with the laws and was held in great favour. He also reduced the cities of Cyprus and adorned many temples with noteworthy votive offerings. After a reign of fifty-five years he ended

<sup>1</sup> Amasis (Ahmose II of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty) reigned 569—526-5 B.C., the first three years of his reign coinciding with the last three years of Apries.

<sup>2</sup> *στραγγαλισθεὶς* Dindorf: *στραγγαλήθεις*.

<sup>1</sup> Bekker and Dindorf, following Wesseling, read *ῥηθεισῶν* and retain *ἐντολῶν* of the MSS. after *ὁμόνοιαν*; Vogel following Eichstädt, retains *ῥηθέντων* of the MSS. and deletes *ἐντολῶν*.

πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον καθ' ὃν χρόνον Καμβύσης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσε ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἑξηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἑνῖκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Καμαριναῖος.

69. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐν Αἴγύπτῳ βασιλείων πράξεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων διεληλύθαμεν ἀρκούντως μέχρι τῆς Ἀμασίδος τελευτῆς, τὰς λοιπὰς ἀναγράφομεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις·

2 περὶ δὲ τῶν νομίμων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον νῦν διέξιμεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ τε παραδοξότατα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὠφελῆσαι δυνάμενα τοὺς ἀναγιώσκοντας. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν ἔθῶν τῶν γενομένων παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἑγχωρίοις ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς

3 Ἕλλησιν οὐ μετρίως ἐθανυμάσθη· διόπερ οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ δοξασθέντων ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραβαλεῖν, ἵνα μετασχῶσι τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὡς

4 ἀξιολόγων ὄντων. καίπερ γὰρ τῆς χώρας τὸ παλαιὸν δυσεπιβίτου τοῖς ξένοις οὕσης διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, ὅμως ἔσπευσαν εἰς αὐτὴν παραβαλεῖν τῶν μὲν ἀρχαιοτάτων Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ὁ ποιητῆς Ὀμηρος, τῶν δὲ μεταγενεστέρων ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος, ἔτι δὲ

5 Σόλων ὁ νομοθέτης. λέγουσι τοίνυν Αἴγύπτιοι παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν τε τῶν γραμμάτων εὑρεσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄστρον παρατήρησιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν γεωμετρίαν θεωρήματα καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας εὑρεθῆναι,

6 νόμους τε τοὺς ἀρίστους τεθῆναι. καὶ τούτων μεγίστην ἀπόδειξιν φασιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Αἴγύπτου

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his days at the time when Cambyses, the king of the Persians, attacked Egypt, in the third year of the Sixty-third Olympiad, that in which Parmenides of Camarina won the "stadion."<sup>1</sup>

69. Now that we have discussed sufficiently the deeds of the kings of Egypt from the very earliest times down to the death of Amasis, we shall record the other events in their proper chronological setting; but at this point we shall give a summary account of the customs of Egypt, both those which are especially strange and those which can be of most value to our readers. For many of the customs that obtained in ancient days among the Egyptians have not only been accepted by the present inhabitants but have aroused no little admiration among the Greeks; and for that reason those men who have won the greatest repute in intellectual things have been eager to visit Egypt in order to acquaint themselves with its laws and institutions, which they considered to be worthy of note. For despite the fact that for the reasons mentioned above strangers found it difficult in early times to enter the country, it was nevertheless eagerly visited by Orpheus and the poet Homer in the earliest times and in later times by many others, such as Pythagoras of Samos and Solon the lawgiver.<sup>2</sup> Now it is maintained by the Egyptians that it was they who first discovered writing and the observation of the stars, who also discovered the basic principles of geometry and most of the arts, and established the best laws. And the best proof of all this, they say, lies in the fact that Egypt for more than four

<sup>1</sup> The famous foot-race at Olympia, 606½ feet long.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. for Orpheus, chap. 23, for Homer, chap. 12, for Pythagoras and Solon, chap. 98.

πλείω τῶν ἑπτακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ἐτῶν βασιλεύσαι τοὺς πλείους ἐγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν χώραν εὐδαιμονεστάτην ὑπάρξει τῆς ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι μὴ οὐ τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρωμένων κρατίστοις ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἐπιτηδεύμασι. ὅσα μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδοτος καὶ τινες τῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πράξεις συνταξαμένων ἐσχεδιάκασι, ἔκουσίως προκρίναντες τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ παραδοξολογεῖν καὶ μύθους πλάττειν ψυχαγωγίας ἕνεκα, παρήσομεν, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς γεγραμμένα φιλοτίμως ἐξητακότες ἐκθυσόμεθα.

70. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν βίον εἶχον οὐχ ὅμοιον τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν μοναρχικαῖς ἐξουσίαις οἷσι καὶ πάντα πράττουσι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀνυπευθύνως, ἀλλ' ἦν ἅπαντα τεταγμένα νόμων ἐπιταγαῖς, οὐ μόνον τὰ περὶ τοὺς χρηματισμούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν διαγωγὴν καὶ διαίταν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐτ' ἀργυρωνητος οὐτ' οἰκογενῆς δοῦλος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἱερέων υἱοὶ πάντες, ὑπὲρ εἴκοσι μὲν ἔτη γεγονότες, πεπαιδευμένοι δὲ κάλλιστα τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν, ἵνα τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τοῦ σώματος καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα προσεδρεύοντας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔχων ἀρίστους μηδὲν ἐπιτηδὲν φαῦλον οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ πλέον κακίας προβαίνει δυνάστης, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς ὑπηρετήσοντας ἔχη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις. διατεταγμένοι δ' ἦσαν αἱ τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς

thousand seven hundred years was ruled over by kings of whom the majority were native Egyptians, and that the land was the most prosperous of the whole inhabited world; for these things could never have been true of any people which did not enjoy most excellent customs and laws and the institutions which promote culture of every kind. Now as for the stories invented by Herodotus and certain writers on Egyptian affairs, who deliberately preferred to the truth the telling of marvellous tales and the invention of myths for the delectation of their readers, these we shall omit, and we shall set forth only what appears in the written records of the priests of Egypt and has passed our careful scrutiny.

70. In the first place, then, the life which the kings of the Egyptians lived was not like that of other men who enjoy autocratic power and do in all matters exactly as they please without being held to account, but all their acts were regulated by prescriptions set forth in laws, not only their administrative acts, but also those that had to do with the way in which they spent their time from day to day, and with the food which they ate. In the matter of their servants, for instance, not one was a slave, such as had been acquired by purchase or born in the home, but all were sons of the most distinguished priests, over twenty years old and the best educated of their fellow-countrymen, in order that the king, by virtue of his having the noblest men to care for his person and to attend him throughout both day and night, might follow no low practices; for no ruler advances far along the road of evil unless he has those about him who will minister to his passions. And the hours of both the day and night were laid out according to a

νυκτὸς ὥραι, καθ' ἃς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καθήκον  
 ἦν τὸν βασιλέα πράττειν τὸ συντεταγμένον, οὐ  
 4 τὸ δεδογμένον ἑαυτῷ. ἔωθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐγερθέντα  
 λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἔδει πρῶτον τὰς πανταχόθεν ἀπε-  
 σταλμένας ἐπιστολάς, ἵνα δύνηται πάντα κατὰ  
 τρόπον χρηματίζειν καὶ πράττειν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς  
 ἕκαστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συντελουμένων·  
 ἔπειτα λουσάμενον καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς συσσή-  
 μοις μετ' ἐσθήτος λαμπρᾶς κοσμήσαντα τὸ σῶμα  
 θῦσαι τοῖς θεοῖς.  
 5 Τῷ τε βωμῷ προσαχθέντων τῶν θυμάτων ἔθος  
 ἦν τὸν ἀρχιερέα στάντα πλησίον τοῦ βασιλέως  
 εὐχέσθαι μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, περιεστῶτος τοῦ  
 πλήθους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, δοῦναι τὴν τε υἱείαν  
 καὶ τὰλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ διατηροῦντι  
 6 τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους δίκαια. ἀνομολο-  
 γεῖσθαι δ' ἦν ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος  
 ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα διότι πρὸς τε τοὺς θεοὺς  
 εὐσεβῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡμερώτατα  
 διάκειται ἐγκρατῆς τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ  
 μεγαλόψυχος, ἔτι δ' ἀψευδὴς καὶ μεταδοτικὸς  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καθόλου πάσης ἐπιθυμίας κρείτ-  
 των, καὶ τὰς μὲν τιμωρίας ἐλάττους τῆς ἀξίας  
 ἐπιτιθεῖς τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι, τὰς δὲ χάριτας  
 μείζονας τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀποδιδούς τοῖς εὐεργετή-  
 7 τασσι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις  
 διελθὼν ὁ κατευχόμενος τὸ τελευταῖον ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 ἀγνοουμένων ἀρὰν ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα τῶν  
 ἐγκλημάτων ἐξαιρούμενος, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρε-  
 τοῦντας καὶ διδάξαντας τὰ φαῦλα καὶ τὴν βλάβην  
 8 καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀξιῶν ἀποσκήψαι, ταῦτα δ'  
 ἔπραττεν ἅμα μὲν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ θεοφιλή

plan, and at the specified hours it was absolutely  
 required of the king that he should do what the laws  
 stipulated and not what he thought best. For  
 instance, in the morning, as soon as he was awake,  
 he first of all had to receive the letters which had been  
 sent from all sides, the purpose being that he might  
 be able to despatch all administrative business and  
 perform every act properly, being thus accurately  
 informed about everything that was being done  
 throughout his kingdom. Then, after he had bathed  
 and bedecked his body with rich garments and the  
 insignia of his office, he had to sacrifice to the gods.

When the victims had been brought to the altar  
 it was the custom for the high priest to stand near  
 the king, with the common people of Egypt gathered  
 around, and pray in a loud voice that health and  
 all the other good things of life be given the king  
 if he maintains justice towards his subjects. And  
 an open confession had also to be made of each and  
 every virtue of the king, the priest saying that  
 towards the gods he was piously disposed and  
 towards men most kindly; for he was self-controlled  
 and just and magnanimous, truthful, and generous  
 with his possessions, and, in a word, superior to  
 every desire, and that he punished crimes less  
 severely than they deserved and rendered to his  
 benefactors a gratitude exceeding the benefaction.  
 And after reciting much more in a similar vein he  
 concluded his prayer with a curse concerning things  
 done in error, exempting the king from all blame  
 therefor and asking that both the evil consequences  
 and the punishment should fall upon those who  
 served him and had taught him evil things. All  
 this he would do, partly to lead the king to fear

βίον τὸν βασιλέα προτρεπόμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
κατὰ τρόπον ζῆν ἐθίζων οὐ διὰ πικρᾶς νουθετή-  
σεως, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐπαίνων κεχαρισμένων καὶ πρὸς  
9 ἀρετὴν μάλιστα ἀνηκόντων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ  
βασιλέως ἱεροσκοπησαμένου μύσχω καὶ καλ-  
λιερήσαντος, ὁ μὲν ἱερογραμματεὺς παρανεγι-  
νωσκέ τις συμβουλίας συμφερούσας καὶ  
πράξεις ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν βίβλων τῶν ἐπιφανε-  
στάτων ἀνδρῶν, ὅπως ὁ τῶν ὅλων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν  
ἔχων τὰς καλλίστας προαιρέσεις τῇ διανοίᾳ  
θεωρήσας οὕτω πρὸς τὴν τεταγμένην τῶν κατὰ  
10 μέρος τρέπηται διοίκησιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῦ  
χρηματίζειν ἢ κρίνειν ἦν καιρὸς ὠρισμένος, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ τοῦ περιπατήσαι καὶ λούσασθαι καὶ κοιμη-  
θῆναι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ καθόλου τῶν κατὰ  
11 τὸν βίον πραττομένων ἀπάντων. τροφαῖς δ'  
ἔθος ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀπαλαῖς<sup>1</sup> χρῆσθαι, κρέα μὲν  
μύσχων καὶ χηνῶν μόνων<sup>2</sup> προσφερομένους,  
οἴνου δὲ τακτὸν τι μέτρον πίνοντας μὴ δυνάμενον  
12 πλησμονὴν ἀκαιρον ἢ μέθην περιποιῆσαι. κα-  
θόλου δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν διαίταν οὕτως ὑπῆρχε  
συμμέτρως διατεταγμένα ὥστε δοκεῖν μὴ νομο-  
θέτην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν ἰατρῶν συντετα-  
χέναι τῆς ὑγείας στοχαζόμενον.

71. Παραδόξου δ' εἶναι δοκοῦντος τοῦ μὴ  
πᾶσαν ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν τὸν βασιλέα τῆς καθ'  
ἡμέραν τροφῆς, πολλῶ θυμασιώτερον ἦν τὸ  
μῆτε δικάζειν μῆτε χρηματίζειν τὸ τυχόν αὐτοῖς  
ἐξεῖναι, μηδὲ τιμωρήσασθαι μηδένα δι' ὕβριν ἢ  
διὰ θυμὸν ἢ τινα ἄλλην αἰτίαν ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ

the gods and live a life pleasing to them, and partly  
to accustom him to a proper manner of conduct,  
not by sharp admonitions, but through praises that  
were agreeable and most conducive to virtue. After  
this, when the king had performed the divination  
from the entrails of a calf and had found the omens  
good, the sacred scribe read before the assemblage  
from out of the sacred books some of the edifying  
counsels and deeds of their most distinguished men,  
in order that he who held the supreme leadership  
should first contemplate in his mind the most excel-  
lent general principles and then turn to the pre-  
scribed administration of the several functions. For  
there was a set time not only for his holding audiences  
or rendering judgments, but even for his taking a  
walk, bathing, and sleeping with his wife, and, in a  
word, for every act of his life. And it was the  
custom for the kings to partake of delicate food,  
eating no other meat than veal and duck, and  
drinking only a prescribed amount of wine, which  
was not enough to make them unreasonably surfeited  
or drunken. And, speaking generally, their whole  
diet was ordered with such continence that it had  
the appearance of having been drawn up, not by a  
lawgiver, but by the most skilled of their physicians,  
with only their health in view.

71. Strange as it may appear that the king did  
not have the entire control of his daily fare, far  
more remarkable still was the fact that kings were  
not allowed to render any legal decision or transact  
any business at random or to punish anyone through  
malice or in anger or for any other unjust reason,

<sup>1</sup> ἀπαλαῖς Vogel (cp. chap. 84. 5): ἀπλαῖς II, Bekker, Dindorf.

\* μόνων Vogel: μόνων Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

καθὰπερ οἱ περὶ ἐκίστων κείμενοι νόμοι προσ-  
 2 ἔταπτον. ταῦτα δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος πράττοντες  
 οὐχ ὅπως ἠγανάκτουσιν ἢ προσέκοπτον ταῖς  
 ψυχαῖς,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ τὸναντίον ἠγούνοτο ἑαυτοὺς ζῆν  
 3 βίον μακαριώτατον· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἀνθρώ-  
 πους ἐνόμιζον ἀλογίστως τοῖς φυσικοῖς πάθεσι  
 χαριζομένους πολλὰ πράττειν τῶν φερόντων  
 βλάβας ἢ κινδύνους, καὶ πολλάκις ἐπίουσι εἰδότες  
 ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἁμαρτάνειν μηδὲν ἔπτον πράττειν  
 τὰ φαῦλα κατισχυομένους ὑπ' ἐρωτος ἢ μίσους  
 ἢ τινος ἐτέρου πάθους, ἑαυτοὺς δ' ἐξηλωκότας  
 βίον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φρονιμωτάτων ἀνδρῶν προκεκρι-  
 4 μένον ἐλαχίστοις περιπίπτειν ἀνοημασι. τοι-  
 αῦτη δὲ χρωμένον τῶν βασιλέων δικαιοσύνη  
 πρὸς τοὺς ὑποταγαμένους, τὰ πλήθη ταῖς εἰς  
 τοὺς ἠγούμενους εὐνοίαις πᾶσαν συγγενικὴν  
 φιλοστοργίαν ὑπερεβάλλετο· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ  
 σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλήβδην  
 ἅπαντες οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον οὐχ οὕτω γυναικῶν  
 καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
 αὐτοῖς ἀγαθῶν ἐφρόντιζον ὡς τῆς τῶν βασιλέων  
 5 ἀσφαλείας. τοιγαροῦν πλείστον μὲν χρόνον τῶν  
 μνημονουομένων βασιλέων πολιτικὴν κατάστασιν  
 ἐτήρησαν, εὐδαιμονέστατον δὲ βίον ἔχοντες διε-  
 τέλεσαν, ἕως ἔμεινεν ἡ προειρημένη τῶν νόμων  
 σύνταξις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐθνῶν τε πλείστων  
 ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ μεγίστους πλοῦτους ἔσχον, καὶ  
 τὰς μὲν χώρας ἔργοις καὶ κατασκευάσμασιν  
 ἀνυπερβλήτοις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἀναθήμασι πολυ-  
 τέλεσι καὶ παντοίοις ἐκόσμησαν.

72. Καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην δὲ γινόμενα

<sup>1</sup> ψυχαῖς MSS., Vogel: τυχαῖς Dindorf.

but only in accordance with the established laws relative to each offence. And in following the dictates of custom in these matters, so far were they from being indignant or taking offence in their souls, that, on the contrary, they actually held that they led a most happy life; for they believed that all other men, in thoughtlessly following their natural passions, commit many acts which bring them injuries and perils, and that oftentimes some who realize that they are about to commit a sin nevertheless do base acts when overpowered by love or hatred or some other passion, while they, on the other hand, by virtue of their having cultivated a manner of life which had been chosen before all others by the most prudent of all men, fell into the fewest mistakes. And since the kings followed so righteous a course in dealing with their subjects, the people manifested a goodwill towards their rulers which surpassed even the affection they had for their own kinsmen; for not only the order of the priests but, in short, all the inhabitants of Egypt were less concerned for their wives and children and their other cherished possessions than for the safety of their kings. Consequently, during most of the time covered by the reigns of the kings of whom we have a record, they maintained an orderly civil government and continued to enjoy a most felicitous life, so long as the system of laws described was in force; and, more than that, they conquered more nations and achieved greater wealth than any other people, and adorned their lands with monuments and buildings never to be surpassed, and their cities with costly dedications of every description.

72. Again, the Egyptian ceremonies which fol-

τῶν βασιλέων παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις οὐ μικρὰν ἀπόδειξιν εἶχε<sup>1</sup> τῆς τοῦ πλήθους εὐνοίας εἰς τοὺς ἡγουμένους· εἰς ἀνεπαίσθητον γὰρ χάριν ἢ τιμῇ τιθεμένη μαρτυρίαν ἀνόθευτον περιείχε τῆς ἀληθείας. ὅποτε γὰρ ἐκλείπει τις τὸν βίον τῶν βασιλέων, πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κοινὸν ἀνηροῦντο πένθος, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐσθῆτας κατερρήττοντο, τὰ δ' ἱερὰ συνέκλειον καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπέιχον καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς οὐκ ἦγον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο· καταπεπλασμένοι δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς πηλῷ καὶ περιέζωσμένοι σινδόνας ὑποκάτω τῶν μαστῶν ὁμοίως ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες περιῆσαν ἀθροισθέντες κατὰ διακοσίους ἢ τριακοσίους, καὶ τὸν μὲν θρήνον ἐν ῥυθμῷ μετ' ᾧδῆς ποιοῦμενοι δις τῆς ἡμέρας ἐτίμων ἐγκωμίοις, ἀνακαλοῦμενοι τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, τροφήν δ' οὔτε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμψύχων οὔτε τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυροῦ προσεφέροντο, τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ πάσης πολυτελείας ἀπέιχοντο. οὐδεὶς δ' ἄν οὔτε λουτροῖς οὔτ' ἀλείμμασιν οὔτε στρομναῖς προείλετο χρῆσθαι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια προσελθεῖν ἂν ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἀγαπητοῦ τέκνου τελευτήσαντος ἕκαστος περιώδυνος γινόμενος ἐπένθει τὰς εἰρημένας ἡμέρας. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρὸς ταφήν λαμπρῶς παρεσκευασμένοι, καὶ τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν θέντες τὴν τὸ σῶμα ἔχουσαν λάρνακα πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὸν τάφον εἰσόδου, προετίθεσαν κατὰ νόμον τῷ τετελευτηκότι κριτήριον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραχθέντων. δοθείσης δ' ἐξουσίας τῷ βουλομένῳ κατηγορεῖν, οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐνεκωμιάζον ἕκαστα τῶν καλῶς αὐτῷ πραχθέντων διεξιόντες, αἱ δὲ πρὸς

lowed upon the death of a king afforded no small proof of the goodwill of the people towards their rulers; for the fact that the honour which they paid was to one who was insensible of it constituted an authentic testimony to its sincerity. For when any king died all the inhabitants of Egypt united in mourning for him, rending their garments, closing the temples, stopping the sacrifices, and celebrating no festivals for seventy-two days; and plastering their heads with mud and wrapping strips of linen cloth below their breasts, women as well as men went about in groups of two or three hundred, and twice each day, reciting the dirge in a rhythmic chant, they sang the praises of the deceased, recalling his virtues; nor would they eat the flesh of any living thing or food prepared from wheat, and they abstained from wine and luxury of any sort. And no one would ever have seen fit to make use of baths or unguents or soft bedding, nay more, would not even have dared to indulge in sexual pleasures, but every Egyptian grieved and mourned during those seventy-two days as if it were his own beloved child that had died. But during this interval they had made splendid preparations for the burial, and on the last day, placing the coffin containing the body before the entrance to the tomb, they set up, as custom prescribed, a tribunal to sit in judgment upon the deeds done by the deceased during his life. And when permission had been given to anyone who so wished to lay complaint against him, the priests praised all his noble deeds one after another, and

<sup>1</sup> εἶχε Bekker, Voegeli; φέρεi AB, Dindorf.



τὴν ἐκφορὰν συνηγμένοι μυριάδες τῶν ὄχλων ἀκούουσαι συνεπευφήμουν, εἰ τύχοι καλῶς βεβιωκῶς, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦναντίον ἐθορύβουν. καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους ἐναντίωσιν ἀπεστερήθησαν τῆς ἐμφανοῦς καὶ νομίμου ταφῆς· διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεχομένους μὴ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἀρτιρήθεισας αἰτίας δικαιοπραγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον τῆς μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐσομένης ὑβρεῶς τε τοῦ σώματος καὶ βλασφημίας εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν περὶ τοὺς ἀρχαίους βασιλεῖς νομίμων τὰ μέγιστα ταῦτ' ἔστιν.

73. Τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὲ πάσης εἰς πλείω μέρη διηρημένης, ὧν ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ὀνομάζεται νομός, ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ τέτακται νομάρχης ὁ τὴν ἀπάντων ἔχων ἐπιμέλειαν τε καὶ φρουρίδα. τῆς δὲ χώρας ἀπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη διηρημένης τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, μεγίστης ἐντροπῆς τυγχάνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις διὰ τε τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστην σύνεσιν τοὺς ἀνδρας τούτους ἐκ παιδείας εἰσφέρεισθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν προσόδων τὰς τε θυσίας ἀπάσας τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον συντελοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετάς τρέφουσι καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ὄντο δεῖν ἀλλάττειν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τε τῶν αὐτῶν αἰὲ καὶ παραπλησίως

<sup>1</sup> Two instances of this are given in chap. 64.

<sup>2</sup> The Harris Papyrus of the twelfth century B.C. gives the only definite figures of the vast holdings of the temples. They owned at that time about two per cent. of the population

the common people who had gathered in myriads to the funeral, listening to them, shouted their approval if the king had led a worthy life, but if he had not, they raised a clamour of protest. And in fact many kings have been deprived of the public burial customarily accorded them because of the opposition of the people;<sup>1</sup> the result was, consequently, that the successive kings practised justice, not merely for the reasons just mentioned, but also because of their fear of the despoilment which would be shown their body after death and of eternal obloquy.

Of the customs, then, touching the early kings these are the most important.

73. And since Egypt as a whole is divided into several parts which in Greek are called nomes, over each of these a nomarch is appointed who is charged with both the oversight and care of all its affairs. Furthermore, the entire country is divided into three parts, the first of which is held by the order of the priests, which is accorded the greatest veneration by the inhabitants both because these men have charge of the worship of the gods and because by virtue of their education they bring to bear a higher intelligence than others. With the income from these holdings<sup>2</sup> of land they perform all the sacrifices throughout Egypt, maintain their assistants, and minister to their own needs; for it has always been held that the honours paid to the gods should never be changed, but should ever be performed by the same men and in the same manner,

and some fifteen per cent. of the land, not to mention property of other nature, and their power materially increased in the succeeding centuries.

- συντελείσθαι, οὔτε τοὺς πάντων προβουλευομένους  
 4 ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καθόλου γὰρ περὶ  
 τῶν μεγίστων οὗτοι προβουλευόμενοι συνδιατρί-  
 βουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοί, τῶν δὲ  
 εἰσηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γινόμενοι, καὶ διὰ μὲν  
 τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ τῆς ἱεροσκοπίας τὰ μέλ-  
 λοντα προσημαίνοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 5 βιβλίοις ἀναγεγραμμένων πράξεων τὰς ὠφελῆσαι  
 δυναμένας παραναγινώσκοντες. οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ  
 παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν  
 ἱερωσύνην παρέιληπεν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ περὶ τὰς  
 τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς διατρίβουσι, καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐκγόνοις τὴν ὁμοίαν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν παραδι-  
 δόασιν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι πάντων τε ἀτελεῖς καὶ δευ-  
 τερεύοντες μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα ταῖς τε δόξαις καὶ  
 ταῖς ἐξουσίαις.
- 6 Τὴν δὲ δευτέραν μοῖραν οἱ βασιλεῖς παρειλή-  
 φασιν εἰς προσόλους, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τε τοὺς πολέ-  
 μους χορηγοῦσι καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς λαμπρότητα  
 διαφυλάττουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδραγαθήσαντας  
 δωρεαῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τιμῶσι, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας  
 διὰ τὴν ἐκ τούτων εὐπορίαν οὐ βαπτίζουσι ταῖς  
 εἰσφοραῖς.
- 7 Τὴν δὲ μερίδα τὴν τελευταίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ  
 μάχιμοι καλούμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας  
 τὰς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ὑπακούοντες, ἵν' οἱ κινδύ-  
 νουοντες εὐνοῦσταιοι τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὴν κλη-  
 ρονχίαν ὄντες προθύμως ἐπιδέχωνται τὰ συμβαί-  
 8 νοντα κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους δευῖά. ἄτοπον γὰρ  
 ἦν τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν τούτοις  
 ἐπιτρέπειν, ὑπὲρ οὗ δὲ ἀγωνιοῦνται μηδὲν αὐτοῖς  
 ὑπάρχειν κατὰ τὴν χώραν σπουδῆς ἀξίον· τὸ δὲ

and that those who deliberate on behalf of all should not lack the necessities of life. For, speaking generally, the priests are the first to deliberate upon the most important matters and are always at the king's side, sometimes as his assistants, sometimes to propose measures and give instructions, and they also, by their knowledge of astrology and of divination, forecast future events, and read to the king, out of the record of acts preserved in their sacred books, those which can be of assistance. For it is not the case with the Egyptians as it is with the Greeks, that a single man or a single woman takes over the priesthood, but many are engaged in the sacrifices and honours paid the gods and pass on to their descendants the same rule of life. They also pay no taxes of any kind, and in repute and in power are second after the king.

The second part of the country has been taken over by the kings for their revenues, out of which they pay the cost of their wars, support the splendour of their court, and reward with fitting gifts any who have distinguished themselves; and they do not swamp the private citizens by taxation, since their income from these revenues gives them a great plenty.

The last part is held by the warriors, as they are called, who are subject to call for all military duties, the purpose being that those who hazard their lives may be most loyal to the country because of such allotment of land and thus may eagerly face the perils of war. For it would be absurd to entrust the safety of the entire nation to these men and yet have them possess in the country no property to fight for valuable enough to arouse their ardour.

μέγιστον, εὐπορουμένους αὐτοὺς ῥαδίως τεκνοποιήσῃν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πολυανθρωπίαν κατασκευάσειν,<sup>1</sup> ὥστε μὴ προσδεῖσθαι ξενικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν χώραν. ὁμοίως δ' οὗτοι τὴν τάξιν ταύτην ἐκ προγόνων διαδεχόμενοι ταῖς μὲν τῶν πατέρων ἀνδραγαθίαις προτρέπονται πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν, ἐκ παίδων δὲ ζηλωταὶ γινόμενοι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἀνίκητοι ταῖς τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἀποβαίνουσιν.

74. Ἔστι δ' ἕτερα συντάγματα τῆς πολιτείας τρία, τὸ τε τῶν νομέων καὶ τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὸ τῶν τεχνιτῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν γεωργοὶ μικροῦ τινος τὴν καρποφόρον γῆν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ πάντα μαχίμων μισθόμενοι διατελοῦσι τὸν πάντα χρόνον περὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὄντες τῆς χώρας ἐκ νηπίου δὲ συντροφόμενοι ταῖς γεωργικαῖς ἐπιμελείαις πολλὴν προέχουσι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι γεωργῶν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις· καὶ γὰρ τὴν τῆς γῆς φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπίρρυσιν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς καιροὺς τοῦ τε σπόρου καὶ τοῦ θερισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδῆς ἀκριβέστατα πάντων γινώσκουσι, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν προγόνων παρατηρήσεως μαθόντες, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας πείρας διδαχθέντες. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ τῶν νομέων, οἱ τὴν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκ πατέρων ὥσπερ κληρονομίας νόμῳ παραλαμβάνοντες ἐν βίῳ κτηνοτρόφῳ διατελοῦσι πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν προγόνων πρὸς θεραπείαν καὶ διατροφὴν ἀρίστην τῶν βοσκομένων παρειλήφασιν, οὐκ ὀλίγα

<sup>1</sup> κατασκευάσειν Stephanus: κατασκευάζειν.

But the most important consideration is the fact that, if they are well-to-do, they will readily beget children and thus so increase the population that the country will not need to call in any mercenary troops. And since their calling, like that of the priests, is hereditary, the warriors are incited to bravery by the distinguished records of their fathers and, inasmuch as they become zealous students of warfare from their boyhood up, they turn out to be invincible by reason of their daring and skill.<sup>1</sup>

74. There are three other classes of free citizens, namely, the herdsmen, the husbandmen, and the artisans. Now the husbandmen rent on moderate terms the arable land held by the king and the priests and the warriors, and spend their entire time in tilling the soil; and since from very infancy they are brought up in connection with the various tasks of farming, they are far more experienced in such matters than the husbandmen of any other nation; for of all mankind they acquire the most exact knowledge of the nature of the soil, the use of water in irrigation, the times of sowing and reaping, and the harvesting of the crops in general, some details of which they have learned from the observations of their ancestors and others in the school of their own experience. And what has been said applies equally well to the herdsmen, who receive the care of animals from their fathers as if by a law of inheritance, and follow a pastoral life all the days of their existence. They have received, it is true, much from their ancestors relative to the best care and feeding of grazing animals, but to this they add not a little

<sup>1</sup> The fullest account of this warrior caste is in Herodotus 2 164 ff.

δ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸν εἰς ταῦτα ζῆλον προσευρί-  
 σκουσι, καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, διὰ τὴν ὑπερ-  
 βολὴν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα σπουδῆς οἱ τε ὀρνιθοτρόφοι  
 καὶ οἱ χηνοβοσκοὶ χωρὶς τῆς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἀνθρώποις ἐκ φύσεως συντελουμένης γενέσεως  
 τῶν εἰρημένων ζῴων αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας φιλο-  
 τεχνίας ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ὀρνέων ἀθροίζουσιν.  
 6 οὐ γὰρ ἐπώζουσι διὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ  
 παραδόξως χειρουργοῦντες τῇ συνέσει καὶ φιλο-  
 τεχνίᾳ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας οὐκ ἀπολείπονται.  
 6 Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς τέχνας ἰδεῖν ἔστι παρὰ  
 τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μάλιστα διαπεποιημένας καὶ  
 πρὸς τὸ καθήκον τέλος διεκριβωμένας· παρὰ  
 μόνοις γὰρ τούτοις οἱ δημιουργοὶ πάντες οὔτ'  
 ἐργασίας ἄλλης οὔτε πολιτικῆς τάξεως μετα-  
 λαμβάνειν ἐῶνται πλὴν τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων  
 ὄρισμένης καὶ παρὰ τῶν γονέων παραδεδομένης,  
 ὥστε μήτε διδασκάλου φθόνου μήτε πολιτικούς  
 περισπασμούς· μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν ἐμποδίζειν  
 7 αὐτῶν τὴν εἰς ταῦτα σπουδὴν. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰδεῖν ἔστι τοὺς τεχνίτας περὶ πολλὰ  
 τῇ διανοίᾳ περισπωμένους καὶ διὰ τὴν πλεο-  
 νεξίαν μὴ μένοντας τὸ παράπαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἰδίας  
 ἐργασίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφάπτονται γεωργίας, οἱ  
 δ' ἐμπορίας κοινωνοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν  
 τεχνῶν ἀντέχονται, πλείστοι δ' ἐν ταῖς δημοκρα-  
 τικαῖς πόλεσιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας συντρέ-  
 χοντες τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν λυμαίνονται, τὸ δὲ

by reason of their own interest in such matters; and the most astonishing fact is that, by reason of their unusual application to such matters, the men who have charge of poultry and geese, in addition to producing them in the natural way known to all mankind, raise them by their own hands, by virtue of a skill peculiar to them, in numbers beyond telling; for they do not use the birds for hatching the eggs, but, in effecting this themselves artificially by their own wit and skill in an astounding manner, they are not surpassed by the operations of nature.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, one may see that the crafts also among the Egyptians are very diligently cultivated and brought to their proper development; for they are the only people where all the craftsmen are forbidden to follow any other occupation or belong to any other class of citizens than those stipulated by the laws and handed down to them from their parents, the result being that neither ill-will towards a teacher nor political distractions nor any other thing interferes with their interest in their work. For whereas among all other peoples it can be observed that the artisans are distracted in mind by many things, and through the desire to advance themselves do not stick exclusively to their own occupation; for some try their hands at agriculture, some dabble in trade, and some cling to two or three crafts, and in states having a democratic form of government vast numbers of them, trooping to the meetings of the Assembly, ruin the work of the government, while they make a profit for themselves at the expense of

<sup>1</sup> According to Aristotle (*Historia Animalium*, 6, 2) this artificial hatching was effected by burying the eggs in dung.

λυσιτελῆς περιποιούνται παρὰ τῶν μισθοδοτούντων παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις, εἴ τις τῶν τεχνιτῶν μετάσχοι τῆς πολιτείας ἢ τέχνας πλείους ἐργάζοιτο, μεγάλας περιπίπτει τιμωρίας.

8 Τὴν μὲν οὖν διαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὴν τῆς ἰδίας τάξεως ἐπιμέλειαν διὰ προγόνων τοιαύτην ἔσχον οἱ τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦντες.

75. Περὶ δὲ τὰς κρίσεις οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐποιοῦντο σπουδῆν, ἠγούμενοι τὰς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀποφάσεις μεγίστην ῥοπὴν τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ φέρειν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα. δῆλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τῶν μὲν παρανομοῦντων κολαζομένων, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων βοηθείας τυγχανόντων, ἀρίστη διόρθωσις ἔσται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων· εἰ δ' ὁ φόβος ὁ γινόμενος ἐκ τῶν κρίσεων τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν ἀνατρέποιτο χρήμασιν ἢ χάρισιν, ἐσομένην 3 ἑάρων τοῦ κοινού βίου σύγχυσις. διόπερ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἀποδεικνύντες δικαστὰς κοινούς οὐκ ἀπετύγγανον τῆς προαιρέσεως. ἐξ Ἡλίου γὰρ πόλεως καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Μέμφεως δέκα δικαστὰς ἐξ ἐκάστης προέκρινον· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον οὐκ ἐδόκει λείπεσθαι τῶν Ἀθηνησιν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν ἢ τῶν παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις γερόντων. 4 ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέλθοιεν οἱ τριάκοντα, ἐπέκρινον ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἓνα τὸν ἀριστον, καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἀρχιδικαστὴν καθίσταντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ τούτου τόπου

others who pay them their wage,<sup>1</sup> yet among the Egyptians if any artisan should take part in public affairs or pursue several crafts he is severely punished.

Such, then, were the divisions of the citizens, maintained by the early inhabitants of Egypt, and their devotion to their own class which they inherited from their ancestors.

75. In their administration of justice the Egyptians also showed no merely casual interest, holding that the decisions of the courts exercise the greatest influence upon community life, and this in each of their two aspects. For it was evident to them that if the offenders against the law should be punished and the injured parties should be afforded succour there would be an ideal correction of wrongdoing; but if, on the other hand, the fear which wrongdoers have of the judgments of the courts should be brought to naught by bribery or favour, they saw that the break-up of community life would follow. Consequently, by appointing the best men from the most important cities as judges over the whole land they did not fall short of the end which they had in mind. For from Heliopolis and Thebes and Memphis they used to choose ten judges from each, and this court was regarded as in no way inferior to that composed of the Areopagites at Athens or of the Elders<sup>2</sup> at Sparta. And when the thirty assembled they chose the best one of their number and made him chief justice, and in his stead the city sent their tasks to participate in the affairs of the state, apparently being paid by their employers while thus engaged and receiving an additional compensation from the state.

<sup>2</sup> The bodies were known as the Council of the Areopagus and the Gerousia respectively; the latter is described in Book 17. 104.

<sup>1</sup> Speaking as an aristocrat, Diodorus is criticising the democracies of Greece, Athens in all probability being especially in his mind, where the citizens, according to him, leave

ἀπέστειλλεν ἡ πόλις ἕτερον δικαστήν. συντάξεις δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς μὲν δικασταῖς ἰκαναὶ πρὸς διατροφήν ἐχορηγοῦντο, 5 τῷ δ' ἀρχιδικαστῇ πολλαπλάσιοι. ἐφόρει δ' οὗτος περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ χρυσοῦς ἀλύσεως ἡρτημένον ζῳδίων τῶν πολυτελῶν λίθων, ὃ προσηγόρευον Ἀλήθειαν. τῶν δ' ἀμφισβητήσεων ἤρχοντο ἐπειδὴν<sup>1</sup> τὴν τῆς Ἀληθείας εἰκόνα ὃ 5 ἀρχιδικαστῆς πρόσθειτο. τῶν δὲ πάντων νόμων ἐν βιβλίοις ὀκτῶ γεγραμμένων, καὶ τούτων παρακειμένων τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἔθος ἦν τὸν μὲν κατηγοροῦν γράφει καθ' ἐν ὧν ἐνεκάλει καὶ πῶς γέγονε καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἢ τῆς βλάβης, τὸν ἀπολογούμενον δὲ λαβόντα τὸ χρηματισθῆν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἀντιγράψαι πρὸς ἕκαστον ὡς οὐκ ἔπραξεν ἢ πράξας οὐκ ἠδίκησεν ἢ ἀδικήσας ἐλάττονος ζημίας ἀξίός ἐστι 1 τυχεῖν. ἔπειτα νόμιμον ἦν τὸν κατηγοροῦν ἀντιγράψαι καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀπολογούμενον ἀντιθεῖναι. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ἀντιδικῶν τὰ γεγραμμένα δις τοῖς δικασταῖς δόντων, τὸ τηिकाυτ' ἔδει τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα τὰς γνώμας ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀποφαινεσθαι, τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν δὲ τὸ ζῳδίων τῆς Ἀληθείας προστίθεσθαι τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεων.

76. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τὰς κρίσεις πάσας συντελεῖν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, νομίζοντας ἐκ μὲν τοῦ λέγειν τοὺς συνηγόρους πολλὰ τοῖς δικαίους ἐπισκοπήσειν καὶ γὰρ τὰς τέχνας τῶν ῥητόρων καὶ τὴν τῆς ὑποκρίσεως γοητείαν καὶ τὰ τῶν

another judge. Allowances to provide for their needs were supplied by the king, to the judges sufficient for their maintenance, and many times as much to the chief justice. The latter regularly wore suspended from his neck by a golden chain a small image made of precious stones, which they called Truth; the hearings of the pleas commenced whenever the chief justice put on the image of Truth. The entire body of the laws was written down in eight volumes which lay before the judges, and the custom was that the accuser should present in writing the particulars of his complaint, namely, the charge, how the thing happened, and the amount of injury or damage done, whereupon the defendant would take the document submitted by his opponents in the suit and reply in writing to each charge, to the effect either that he did not commit the deed, or, if he did, that he was not guilty of wrongdoing, or, if he was guilty of wrongdoing, that he should receive a lighter penalty. After that, the law required that the accuser should reply to this in writing and that the defendant should offer a rebuttal. And after both parties had twice presented their statements in writing to the judges, it was the duty of the thirty at once to declare their opinions among themselves and of the chief justice to place the image of Truth upon one or the other of the two pleas which had been presented.

76. This was the manner, as their account goes, in which the Egyptians conducted all court proceedings, since they believed that if the advocates were allowed to speak they would greatly becloud the justice of a case; for they knew that the clever devices of orators, the cunning witchery of their

<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὴ Bekker, Dindorf.

κινδυνεύοντων δάκρυα πολλοὺς προτρέπεσθαι παρορᾶν τὸ τῶν νόμων ἀπότομον καὶ τὴν τῆς  
 2 ἀληθείας ἀκρίβειαν θεωρεῖσθαι γοῦν τοὺς ἐπινο-  
 νουμένους ἐν τῷ κρίνειν πολλάκις ἢ δι' ἀπάτην  
 ἢ διὰ ψυχαγωγίαν ἢ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον  
 πάθος συνεκφερομένους τῇ δυνάμει τῶν συνηγο-  
 ρούντων ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν τὰ δίκαια τοὺς  
 ἀντιδίκους ᾤοντο τὰς κρίσεις ἀκριβεῖς ἔσεσθαι,  
 3 γυμνῶν τῶν πραγμάτων θεωρουμένων. οὗτω  
 γὰρ<sup>1</sup> μάλιστα μήτε τοὺς εὐφυεῖς τῶν βραδυ-  
 τέρων πλεονεκτήσει μήτε τοὺς ἐνηθληκότας τῶν  
 ἀπείρων μήτε τοὺς ψεύστας καὶ τολμηροὺς τῶν  
 φιλαλήθων καὶ κατεσταλμένων τοῖς ἤθεσι,  
 πάντας δ' ἐπ' ἴσης τεύξεσθαι τῶν δικαίων,  
 ἰκανὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῶν νόμων λαμβανόντων τῶν  
 μὲν ἀντιδίκων ἐξετάσαι τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλων, τῶν  
 δὲ δικαστῶν συγκρίναι τὰ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων.

77. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ  
 ἀνοικεῖον εἶναι τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας νομί-  
 ζομεν ἐκθέσθαι τῶν νόμων ὅσοι παρὰ τοῖς  
 Αἰγυπτίοις παλαιότητι διήνεγκαν ἢ παρηλλαγ-  
 μένην τάξιν ἔσχον ἢ τὸ σύνολον ὠφέλειαν τοῖς  
 2 φιλαναγνωστοῦσι δύνανται παρασχέσθαι. πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπιόρκων θάνατος ἦν παρ'  
 αὐτοῖς τὸ πρόστιμον, ὡς δύο τὰ μέγιστα ποιούν-  
 των ἀνομήματα, θεοὺς τε ἀσεβοῦντων καὶ τὴν

delivery, and the tears of the accused would influence many to overlook the severity of the laws and the strictness of truth; at any rate they were aware that men who are highly respected as judges are often carried away by the eloquence of the advocates, either because they are deceived, or because they are won over by the speaker's charm, or because the emotion of pity has been aroused in them;<sup>1</sup> but by having the parties to a suit present their pleas in writing, it was their opinion that the judgments would be strict, only the bare facts being taken into account. For in that case there would be the least chance that gifted speakers would have an advantage over the slower, or the well-practised over the inexperienced, or the audacious liars over those who were truth-loving and restrained in character, but all would get their just dues on an equal footing, since by the provision of the laws ample time is taken, on the one hand by the disputants for the examination of the arguments of the other side, and, on the other hand, by the judges for the comparison of the allegations of both parties.

77. Since we have spoken of their legislation, we feel that it will not be foreign to the plan of our history to present such laws of the Egyptians as were especially old or took on an extraordinary form, or, in general, can be of help to lovers of reading. Now in the first place, their penalty for perjurers was death, on the ground that such men are guilty of the two greatest transgressions—being impious towards the gods and overthrowing the

<sup>1</sup> ἂν after γὰρ deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe that the Egyptians are supposed to be familiar with the weaknesses of the Attic courts.

μεγίστην τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις πίστιν ἀνατρε-  
 3 πόντων. ἔπειτα εἴ τις ἐν ὁδῷ κατὰ τὴν χώραν  
 ἰδὼν φονευόμενον ἄνθρωπον ἢ τὸ καθόλου βιαίῳ  
 τι πάσχοντα μὴ ῥύσαιτο δυνατὸς ὢν, θανάτῳ  
 περιπεσεῖν ὀφείλει· εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὸ  
 ἀδύνατον μὴ κατισχύσαι βοηθῆσαι, μηνύσαι γε  
 πάντως ὀφείλε τοὺς ληστὰς καὶ ἐπεξιέναι τὴν  
 παρανομίαν· τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πράξαντα κατὰ  
 τὸν νόμον ἔδει μαστιγοῦσθαι τεταγμένας πληγὰς  
 καὶ πάσης εἶργεσθαι τροφῆς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.  
 4 οἱ δὲ ψευδῶς τινῶν κατηγορήσαντες ὀφείλου  
 τοῦτο παθεῖν ὃ τοῖς συκοφαντηθεῖσιν ἐτέτακτο  
 πρόστιμον, εἴπερ ἔτυχον καταδικασθέντες.  
 5 προσετέτακτο δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις  
 ἀπογράφεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ τίνων  
 ἕκαστος πορίζεται τὸν βίον, καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις  
 ψευσάμενον ἢ πόρον ἄδικον ἐπιτελοῦντα θανάτῳ  
 περιπίπτει ἢ ἀναγκαῖον. λέγεται δὲ τοῦτον  
 τὸν νόμον ὑπὸ Σόλωνος παραβαλόντος εἰς  
 6 Αἰγυπτίον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας μετενεχθῆναι. εἰ δέ τις  
 ἐκούσιως ἀποκτείνει τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἢ τὸν δοῦλον,  
 ἀποθνήσκει τοῦτον οἱ νόμοι προσέταττον, ἅμα  
 μὲν βουλόμενοι μὴ ταῖς διαφοραῖς τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ  
 ταῖς τῶν πράξεων ἐπιβολαῖς εἶργεσθαι πάντας  
 ἀπὸ τῶν φαύλων, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν δούλων  
 φροντίδος ἐθίζοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολὺ μᾶλλον  
 εἰς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους μηδὲν ὄλως ἕξαμαρτίνειν.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Euripides, *Medea*, 412-13: θεῶν δ' οὐκέτι πίστις ἔραρε  
 ("a pledge given in the name of the gods no longer stands  
 firm").

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Herodotus, 2. 177: μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζῴην  
 ("unless he proved that he had a just way of life").

mightiest pledge known among men.<sup>1</sup> Again, if a  
 man, walking on a road in Egypt, saw a person  
 being killed or, in a word, suffering any kind of  
 violence and did not come to his aid if able to do  
 so, he had to die; and if he was truly prevented  
 from aiding the person because of inability, he was  
 in any case required to lodge information against  
 the bandits and to bring an action against their  
 lawless act; and in case he failed to do this as the  
 law required, it was required that he be scourged  
 with a fixed number of stripes and be deprived of  
 every kind of food for three days. Those who brought  
 false accusations against others had to suffer the  
 penalty that would have been meted out to the  
 accused persons had they been adjudged guilty.  
 All Egyptians were also severally required to submit  
 to the magistrates a written declaration of the sources  
 of their livelihood, and any man making a false declara-  
 tion or gaining an unlawful means of livelihood<sup>2</sup> had  
 to pay the death penalty. And it is said that Solon,  
 after his visit to Egypt, brought this law to Athens.<sup>3</sup>  
 If anyone intentionally killed a free man or a slave  
 the laws enjoined that he be put to death; for they,  
 in the first place, wished that it should not be through  
 the accidental differences in men's condition in life  
 but through the principles governing their actions  
 that all men should be restrained from evil deeds,  
 and, on the other hand, they sought to accustom  
 mankind, through such consideration for slaves, to  
 refrain all the more from committing any offence  
 whatever against freemen.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus (2. 177) makes the same statement, but  
 Plutarch (*Solon*, 31), on the authority of Theophrastus,  
 attributes a similar law, not to Solon, but to Peisistratus.



- 7 Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τῶν γονέων τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων τὰ τέκνα θάνατον μὲν οὐχ ὤρισαν, ἡμέρας δὲ τρεῖς καὶ νύκτας ἴσας συνεχῶς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον περιειληφότας τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπομένειν φυλακῆς παρεδρευούσης δημοσίας· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ὑπελήφθη τὸ τοῦ βίου στερῆσαι τοὺς τὸν βίον τοῖς παισὶ δεδωκότας, νουθετήσῃ δὲ μᾶλλον λύπην ἐχούσῃ καὶ μεταμέλειαν ἀποτρέπειν τῶν τοιούτων ἐγχειρημάτων· κατὰ δὲ τῶν τέκνων τῶν γονεῖς φονευσάντων τιμωρίαν ἐξηλλαγμένην ἔθηκαν· ἔδει γὰρ τοὺς καταδικασθέντας ἐπὶ τούτοις καλάμοις ἀξέσι δακτυλιαία μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατατμηθέντας ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις κατακάεσθαι ζώντας· μέγιστον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικημάτων κρίνοντας τὸ βιαίως τὸ ζῆν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῖς δεδωκότων. τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τῶν καταδικασθεισῶν θανάτῳ τὰς ἐγκύους μὴ θανατοῦσθαι πρὶν ἢν τέκωσι· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ νόμιμον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέδειξαν, ἡγούμενοι παντελῶς ἄδικοι εἶναι τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαν τῷ ἀδικήσαντι τῆς αὐτῆς μετέχειν τιμωρίας, καὶ παρανομήματος ἐνὸς γενομένου παρὰ δυοῖν λαμβάνειν τὸ πρόστιμον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατὰ προαίρεσιν πονηρὰν συντελεσθέντος τοῦ ἀδικήματος τὸ μηδεμίαν πω. σύνεσιν ἔχον ὑπὸ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἄγειν κόλασιν, τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ὅτι ταῖς κυούσαις ἰδία τῆς αἰτίας ἐπευνηεγμένης οὐδαμῶς προσήκει τὸ κοινὸν
- 10 πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τέκνον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· ἐπ' ἴσης γὰρ ἂν τις φαύλους διαλάβοι κριτὰς τοὺς τε τὸν ἐνοχον τῷ φόνῳ σώζοντας καὶ τοὺς τὸ μηδὲν ὄλως ἀδικῆσαν συναιροῦντας.

In the case of parents who had slain their children, though the laws did not prescribe death, yet the offenders had to hold the dead body in their arms for three successive days and nights, under the surveillance of a state guard; for it was not considered just to deprive of life those who had given life to their children, but rather by a warning which brought with it pain and repentance to turn them from such deeds. But for children who had killed their parents they reserved an extraordinary punishment; for it was required that those found guilty of this crime should have pieces of flesh about the size of a finger cut out of their bodies with sharp reeds and then be put on a bed of thorns and burned alive; for they held that to take by violence the life of those who had given them life was the greatest crime possible to man. Pregnant women who had been condemned to death were not executed until they had been delivered. The same law has also been enacted by many Greek states, since they held it entirely unjust that the innocent should suffer the same punishment as the guilty, that a penalty should be exacted of two for only one transgression, and, further, that, since the crime had been actuated by an evil intention, a being as yet without intelligence should receive the same correction, and, what is the most important consideration, that in view of the fact that the guilt had been laid at the door of the pregnant mother it was by no means proper that the child, who belongs to the father as well as to the mother, should be despatched; for a man may properly consider judges who spare the life of a murderer to be no worse than other judges who destroy that which is guilty of no crime whatsoever.

11 Τῶν μὲν οὖν φονικῶν νόμων οἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες ἐπιτετεῦχθαι τοιοῦτοί τινες ἦσαν.

78. Τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὁ μὲν περὶ τῶν πολέμων κείμενος κατὰ τῶν τῆν τάξιν λιπόντων ἢ τὸ παραγγελθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μὴ ποιοῦντων ἔταπτε πρόστιμον οὐ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀτιμίαν· εἰ δ' ὕστερον ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ὑπερβάλοιντο τὰς ἀτιμίας, εἰς τὴν προϋπάρξασαν παρρησίαν ἀποκαθίστα, ἅμα μὲν τοῦ νομοθέτου δεινότεραν τιμωρίαν ποιοῦντος τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἢ τὸν θάνατον, ἵνα τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐθίσῃ πάντας κρίνειν τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς μὲν θανατωθέντας ἡγέιτο μῆδὲν ὠφελήσειν τὸν κοινὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμωθέντας ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἰτίους ἔσεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς παρρησίας.

3 καὶ τῶν μὲν τὰ ἀπόρρητα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαγγελιάντων ἐπέταπτεν ὁ νόμος ἐκτέμνεσθαι τὴν γλῶτταν, τῶν δὲ τὸ νόμισμα παρακοπτόντων ἢ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ παραποιούντων ἢ παραγλυφόντων τὰς σφραγίδας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν ψευδεῖς χρηματισμοὺς γραφόντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων τι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, καὶ τῶν τὰς ψευδεῖς συγγραφὰς ἐπιφερόντων, ἀμφοτέρας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόπτεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας, ὅπως οἷς ἕκαστος μέρεσι τοῦ σώματος παρενόμησεν, εἰς ταῦτα κολαζόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν μέχρι τελευτῆς ἀνίατον ἔχη τὴν συμφορὰν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους διὰ τῆς ἰδίας τιμωρίας νουθετῶν ἀποτρέπη τῶν ὁμοίων τι πράττειν.

Now of the laws dealing with murder these are those which are thought to have been the most successful.

78. Among their other laws one, which concerned military affairs, made the punishment of deserters or of any who disobeyed the command of their leaders, not death, but the uttermost disgrace; but if later on such men wiped out their disgrace by a display of manly courage, they were restored to their former freedom of speech.<sup>1</sup> Thus the lawgiver at the same time made disgrace a more terrible punishment than death, in order to accustom all the people to consider dishonour the greatest of evils, and he also believed that, while dead men would never be of value to society, men who had been disgraced would do many a good deed through their desire to regain freedom of speech. In the case of those who had disclosed military secrets to the enemy the law prescribed that their tongues should be cut out, while in the case of counterfeiters or falsifiers of measures and weights or imitators of seals, and of official scribes who made false entries or erased items, and of any who adduced false documents, it ordered that both their hands should be cut off, to the end that the offender, being punished in respect of those members of his body that were the instruments of his wrongdoing, should himself keep until death his irreparable misfortune, and at the same time, by serving as a warning example to others, should turn them from the commission of similar offences.

plied that a man was as good as any other, that he could hold up his head among his fellows. "Position of self-respect and equality" is approximately what it means in this sentence and the following.

<sup>1</sup> The significance of this word, which summed up as well as any the ideal of Greek freedom and of the Athenian democracy, cannot be included in a single phrase. It im-

4 Πικροὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν νόμοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βιασαμένου γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν προσέταξαν ἀποκόπτεσθαι τὰ αἰδοῖα, νομίσαντες τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ πράξει παρανόμῳ τρία τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἐνηρηγῆκέναι, τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν φθορὰν καὶ τὴν τῶν  
5 τέκνων σύγχυσιν· εἰ δέ τις πείσας μοιχεύσαι, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ῥάβδοις χιλίας πληγὰς λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον, τῆς δὲ γυναῖκος τὴν ῥίνα κολοβοῦσθαι, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δεῖν τῆς πρὸς ἀσυγχώρητον ἀκρασίαν καλλωπιζομένης ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα κοσμοῦντα τὴν εὐπρέπειαν.

79. Τοὺς δὲ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων νόμους Βοκχόριδος εἶναι φασι. προστάττουσι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀσύγγραφα δανεισαμένους, ἂν μὴ φάσκωσιν ὀφείλειν, ὁμόσαντας ἀπολύεσθαι τοῦ δανείου, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τοὺς ὄρκους  
2 δεισιδαιμονῶσι προδήλου γὰρ ὄντος ὅτι τῷ πολλᾷκις ὁμόσαντι συμβήσεται τὴν πίστιν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἵνα τῆς εὐχρηστίας μὴ στερηθῇ, περὶ πλείστου πᾶς τις ἄξει<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὴ καταντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρκον· ἔπειθ' ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ νομοθέτης τὴν ὄλην πίστιν ἐν τῇ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ ποιήσας προτρέψεσθαι πάντας σπουδαίους εἶναι τοῖς ἥθεσιν, ἵνα μὴ πίστεως ἀνάξιοι διαβληθῶσι· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδικον ἔκρινεν εἶναι τοὺς χωρὶς ὄρκου πιστευθέντας περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβολαίων ὁμόσαντας μὴ τυγχάνειν πίστεως. τοὺς δὲ μετὰ συγγραφῆς δανείσαντας

<sup>1</sup> ἄξει Cobet : ἔξει.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 65.

Severe also were their laws touching women. For if a man had violated a free married woman, they stipulated that he be emasculated, considering that such a person by a single unlawful act had been guilty of the three greatest crimes, assault, abduction, and confusion of offspring; but if a man committed adultery with the woman's consent, the laws ordered that the man should receive a thousand blows with the rod, and that the woman should have her nose cut off, on the ground that a woman who tricks herself out with an eye to forbidden licence should be deprived of that which contributes most to a woman's comeliness.

79. Their laws governing contracts they attribute to Bocchoris.<sup>1</sup> These prescribe that men who had borrowed money without signing a bond, if they denied the indebtedness, might take an oath to that effect and be cleared of the obligation. The purpose was, in the first place, that men might stand in awe of the gods by attributing great importance to oaths, for, since it is manifest that the man who has repeatedly taken such an oath will in the end lose the confidence which others had in him, everyone will consider it a matter of the utmost concern not to have recourse to the oath lest he forfeit his credit. In the second place, the lawgiver assumed that by basing confidence entirely upon a man's sense of honour he would incite all men to be virtuous in character, in order that they might not be talked about as being unworthy of confidence; and, furthermore, he held it to be unjust that men who had been trusted with a loan without an oath should not be trusted when they gave their oath regarding the same transaction. And whoever lent money along

ἐκώλυε διὰ τοῦ τόκου τὸ κεφάλαιον πλέον ποιεῖν ἢ διπλάσιον.

- 3 Τῶν δὲ ὀφειλόντων τὴν ἔκπραξιν τῶν δανείων ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μόνον ἐποιήσατο, τὸ δὲ σῶμα κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον εἶασεν ὑπάρχειν ἀγώγιμον, ἠγνούμενος δεῖν εἶναι τὰς μὲν κτήσεις τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἢ παρὰ κυρίου τινὸς ἐν δωρεαῖς λαβόντων, τὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν πόλεων, ἵνα τὰς καθηκούσας λειτουργίας ἔχωσιν αἱ πόλεις καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸ<sup>1</sup> στρατιώτην εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προϊόντα κίνδυνον, εἰ τύχοι, πρὸς δάνειον ὑπὸ τοῦ πιστεύσαντος ἀπάγεσθαι, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα
- 4 κινδυνεύειν τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ὁ Σόλων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας μετενεγκεῖν, ὃν ὠνόμασε σεισάχθειαν, ἀπολύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἅπαντας τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι πεπιστευμένων δανείων. μέμφονται δὲ τινες οὐκ ἀλόγως τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομοθετῶν, οἵτινες ὄπλα μὲν καὶ ἄροτρον καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀναγκασιότατων ἐκώλυσαν ἐνέχυρα λαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς δάνειον, τοὺς δὲ τούτους χρησομένους συνεχώρησαν ἀγώγιμους εἶναι.

80. Τπήρχε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κλεπτῶν νόμος παρ' Αἰγυπτίους ἰδιώτατος. ἐκέλευε γὰρ τοὺς μὲν<sup>2</sup> βουλομένους ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν ἐργασίαν

<sup>1</sup> τὸ Bekker : τόν.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν Dindorf : μὴ D, omitted by all other MSS.

with a written bond was forbidden to do more than double the principal from the interest.

In the case of debtors the lawgiver ruled that the repayment of loans could be exacted only from a man's estate, and under no condition did he allow the debtor's person to be subject to seizure, holding that whereas property should belong to those who had amassed it or had received it from some earlier holder by way of a gift, the bodies of citizens should belong to the state, to the end that the state might avail itself of the services which its citizens owed it, in times of both war and peace. For it would be absurd, he felt, that a soldier, at the moment perhaps when he was setting forth to fight for his fatherland, should be haled to prison by his creditor for an unpaid loan, and that the greed of private citizens should in this way endanger the safety of all. And it appears that Solon took this law also to Athens, calling it a "disburdenment,"<sup>1</sup> when he absolved all the citizens of the loans, secured by their persons, which they owed. But certain individuals find fault, and not without reason, with the majority of the Greek lawgivers, who forbade the taking of weapons and ploughs and other quite indispensable things as security for loans, but nevertheless allowed the men who would use these implements to be subject to imprisonment.

80. The Egyptian law dealing with thieves was also a very peculiar one. For it bade any who chose to follow this occupation to enter their names with

granted freedom to all men enslaved for debt, and probably cancelled all debts which involved any form of personal servitude, by these measures effecting the complete freedom of all debt slaves or debt serfs in Attica (cp. Adcock in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 4. p. 37 f.).

<sup>1</sup> The famous *Seisachtheia* ("shaking off of burdens") of Solon in 594 B.C. declared void existing pledges in land,

ἀπογράφεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀρχίφωρα, καὶ τὸ κλαπέν  
 ὁμολόγως ἀναφέρειν παραχρήμα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον,  
 τοὺς δὲ ἀπολέσαντας παραπλησίως ἀπογράφειν  
 αὐτῷ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ἀπολωλότων, προστι-  
 θέντας τὸν τε τόπον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν  
 2 ὥραν καθ' ἣν ἀπώλεσεν.<sup>1</sup> τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ  
 πάντων ἐτοιμῶς εὐρισκομένων, ἔδει τὸν ἀπολέ-  
 σαντα τὸ τέταρτον μέρος τῆς ἀξίας δόντα κτή-  
 σασθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μόνα. ἀδυνατοῦ γὰρ ὄντος  
 τοῦ πάντας ἀποστήσαι τῆς κλοπῆς εὔρε πόρον ὁ  
 νομοθέτης δι' οὗ πᾶν τὸ ἀπολόμενον σωθήσεται  
 μικρῶν διδομένων λύτρων.  
 3 Γαμοῦσι δὲ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς  
 μίαν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅσας ἂν ἕκαστος προαιρήται·  
 καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα τρέφουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 ἕνεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας, ὡς ταύτης μέγιστα  
 συμβαλλομένης πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν χώρας τε καὶ  
 πόλεως, νόθον δ' οὐδένα τῶν γεννηθέντων νομί-  
 ζουσιν, οὐδ' ἂν ἐξ ἀργυρωήτου μητρὸς γεννηθῆ·  
 4 καθόλου γὰρ ὑπειλίφασιν τὸν πατέρα μόνου  
 αἵτιον εἶναι τῆς γενέσεως, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τροφήν  
 καὶ χώραν παρέχεσθαι τῷ βρέφει, καὶ τῶν δέν-  
 δρων ἄρρενα μὲν καλοῦσιν τὰ καρποφόρα, θήλεα  
 δὲ τὰ μὴ φέροντα τοὺς καρπούς, ἐναντίως τοῖς  
 5 Ἕλλησι. τρέφουσιν δὲ τὰ παιδιά μετὰ τιнос  
 εὐχερείας ἀδαπάνου καὶ παντελῶς ἀπίστου·  
 ἐψήματα γὰρ αὐτοῖς χορηγοῦσιν ἕκ τινος μετ'

<sup>1</sup> ἀπώλεσεν A B D, Vogel: ἀπώλεσαν Bekker, Dindorf, ἀπέβαλε II.

the Chief of the Thieves and by agreement to bring to him immediately the stolen articles, while any who had been robbed filed with him in like manner a list of all the missing articles, stating the place, the day, and the hour of the loss. And since by this method all lost articles were readily found, the owner who had lost anything had only to pay one-fourth of its value in order to recover just what belonged to him. For as it was impossible to keep all mankind from stealing, the lawgiver devised a scheme whereby every article lost would be recovered upon payment of a small ransom.

In accordance with the marriage-customs of the Egyptians the priests have but one wife, but any other man takes as many as he may determine;<sup>1</sup> and the Egyptians are required to raise all their children in order to increase the population,<sup>2</sup> on the ground that large numbers are the greatest factor in increasing the prosperity of both country and cities. Nor do they hold any child a bastard, even though he was born of a slave mother; for they have taken the general position that the father is the sole author of procreation and that the mother only supplies the fetus with nourishment and a place to live, and they call the trees which bear fruit "male" and those which do not "female," exactly opposite to the Greek usage. They feed their children in a sort of happy-go-lucky fashion that in its inexpensiveness quite surpasses belief; for they serve them with stews

<sup>1</sup> According to Herodotus (2. 92) monogamy was the prevailing custom, but he was certainly in error so far as the wealthier classes were concerned.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the exposure of children, which was still practised among some Greeks in Diodorus' day, was forbidden.

εὐτελείας ἐτοίμου<sup>1</sup> γινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βύβλου πυθμένων τοὺς δυναμένους εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρύβεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ρίζων καὶ τῶν κανλῶν τῶν ἐλείων τὰ μὲν ὠμά, τὰ δ' ἔψοντες, τὰ δ' ὀπτῶντες, 6 διδῶσιν. ἀνυποδήτων δὲ καὶ γυμνῶν τῶν πλείστων τρεφομένων διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν τόπων, τὴν πᾶσαν δαπάνην οἱ γονεῖς, ἄχρι ἂν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέκνον, οὐ πλείω ποιοῦσι δραχμῶν εἴκοσι. δι' ἧς αἰτίας μάλιστα τὴν Αἴγυπτον συμβαίνει πολυανθρωπία διαφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλείστας ἔχειν μεγάλων ἔργων κατασκευάς.

81. Παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς γράμματα διττά, τὰ τε ἱερά καλούμενα καὶ τὰ κοινότεραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. γεωμετρίαν δὲ 2 καὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκπονοῦσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ποταμὸς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποικίλως μετασχηματίζων τὴν χώραν πολλὰς καὶ παντοίας ἀμφισβητήσεις ποιεῖ περὶ τῶν ὄρων τοῖς γειτνιώσι, ταύτας δ' οὐ βῆδιον ἀκριβῶς ἐξελέγξει μὴ γεωμέτρου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας μεθοδεύ- 3 σαντος. ἢ δ' ἀριθμητικὴ πρὸς τε τὰς κατὰ τὸν βίον οἰκονομίας αὐτοῖς χρησιμεύει καὶ πρὸς τὰ γεωμετρίας θεωρήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγα συμβάλλεται καὶ τοῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν 4 ἐκπονοῦσιν. ἐπιμελοῦς<sup>2</sup> γάρ, εἰ καὶ παρὰ τισιν

<sup>1</sup> μετ' εὐτελείας ἐτοίμου Capps : εὐτελείας ἐτοίμης.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιμελοῦς Dindorf : ἐπιμελῶς.

made of any stuff that is ready to hand and cheap, and give them such stalks of the *byblos* plant as can be roasted in the coals, and the roots and stems of marsh plants, either raw or boiled or baked. And since most of the children are reared without shoes or clothing because of the mildness of the climate of the country, the entire expense incurred by the parents of a child until it comes to maturity is not more than twenty drachmas. These are the leading reasons why Egypt has such an extraordinarily large population, and it is because of this fact that she possesses a vast number of great monuments.

81. In the education of their sons the priests teach them two kinds of writing, that which is called "sacred" and that which is used in the more general instruction.<sup>1</sup> Geometry<sup>2</sup> and arithmetic are given special attention. For the river, by changing the face of the country each year in manifold ways, gives rise to many and varied disputes between neighbours over their boundary lines, and these disputes cannot be easily tested out with any exactness unless a geometer works out the truth scientifically by the application of his experience. And arithmetic is serviceable with reference to the business affairs connected with making a living and also in applying the principles of geometry, and likewise is of no small assistance to students of astrology as well. For the positions and arrangements of the stars as

being that in general use in the time of Diodorus. In common with Herodotus (2. 36), Diodorus fails to distinguish between the first and second.

<sup>2</sup> Here "geometry" is used in its original meaning, "measurement of the earth," and "geometer" below means "surveyor."

<sup>1</sup> There were, in fact, three kinds of Egyptian writing, (1) the hieroglyphic, (2) the hieratic, and (3) the demotic, the last

ἄλλοις, καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις παρατηρήσεις  
 τυγχάνουσιν αἱ τῶν ἄστρον τάξεις τε καὶ κινήσεις·  
 καὶ τὰς μὲν<sup>1</sup> περὶ ἐκάστων ἀναγραφὰς ἐξ ἑτῶν  
 ἀπίστων τῷ πλήθει φυλάττουσιν, ἐκ παλαιῶν  
 χρόνων ἐξηλωμένης παρ' αὐτοῖς τῆς περὶ ταῦτα  
 σπουδῆς, τὰς δὲ<sup>2</sup> τῶν πλανήτων ἀστέρων κινήσεις  
 καὶ περιόδους καὶ στηριγμούς, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐκάστου  
 δυνάμεις πρὸς τὰς τῶν ζώων γενέσεις, τίνων εἰσὶν  
 ἀγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ἀπεργαστικάι, φιλοτιμότατα  
 5 παρατετηρήκασι. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις τῶν αὐτοῖς μελλόντων ἀπαντήσεσθαι κατὰ  
 τὸν βίον προλέγοντες ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν, οὐκ  
 ὀλιγάκις δὲ καρπῶν φθορὰς ἢ τούναντίον πολυ-  
 καρπίας, ἔτι δὲ νόσους κοινὰς ἀνθρώποις ἢ  
 βοσκήμασιν ἐσομένας προσημαίνουσι, σεισμούς τε  
 καὶ κατακλυσμούς καὶ κομητῶν ἀστέρων ἐπι-  
 τολὰς καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον ἔχειν  
 δοκοῦντα τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν, ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου<sup>3</sup>  
 6 παρατηρήσεως γεγενημένης, προγινώσκουσι. φασὶ  
 δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Χαλδαίους, ἀποίκους  
 Αἰγυπτίων ὄντας, τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν τὴν περὶ τῆς  
 ἀστρολογίας παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων μαθόντας τῶν  
 Αἰγυπτίων.  
 7 Τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ παίδων  
 μαθάνει παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἢ συγγενῶν τὰς  
 περὶ ἕκαστον βίον ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καθάπερ προει-  
 ρηκαμὲν γράμματα δ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον διδάσκουσιν<sup>4</sup>  
 οὐχ ἅπαντες, ἀλλ' οἱ τὰς τέχνας μεταχειριζό-  
 μενοι μάλιστα. παλαιστραν δὲ καὶ μουσικὴν

well as their motions have always been the subject of careful observation among the Egyptians, if anywhere in the world; they have preserved to this day the records concerning each of these stars over an incredible number of years, this subject of study having been zealously preserved among them from ancient times, and they have also observed with the utmost avidity the motions and orbits and stoppings of the planets, as well as the influences of each one on the generation of all living things—the good or the evil effects, namely, of which they are the cause. And while they are often successful in predicting to men the events which are going to befall them in the course of their lives, not infrequently they foretell destructions of the crops or, on the other hand, abundant yields, and pestilences that are to attack men or beasts, and as a result of their long observations they have prior knowledge of earthquakes and floods, of the risings of the comets, and of all things which the ordinary man looks upon as beyond all finding out. And according to them the Chaldaeans of Babylon, being colonists from Egypt, enjoy the fame which they have for their astrology because they learned that science from the priests of Egypt.

As to the general mass of the Egyptians, they are instructed from their childhood by their fathers or kinsmen in the practices proper to each manner of life as previously described by us; <sup>1</sup> but as for reading and writing, the Egyptians at large give their children only a superficial instruction in them, and not all do this, but for the most part only those who are engaged in the crafts. In wrestling and music,

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chaps. 43, 70, 74.

<sup>1</sup> μὲν omitted by F, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ Vogel: τε.

<sup>3</sup> πολλοῦ χρόνου Bekker, Vogel: πολυχροῖτον F, Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> διδάσκονται Reiske, Bekker, Dindorf.

οὐ νόμιμόν ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς μαθάνειν ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ παλαίστρᾳ γυμνασίων τοὺς νέους οὐχ ὑγίειαν ἔξειν, ἀλλὰ βῶμην ὀλιγοχρόνιον καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικίνδυνον, τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν νομίζουσιν οὐ μόνον ἄχρηστον ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβεράν, ὡς<sup>1</sup> ἔκθηλυνουσαν τὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων ψυχάς.

82. Τὰς δὲ νόσους προκαταλαμβάνόμενοι θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς καὶ νηστείας καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. <sup>2</sup> φασὶ γὰρ πάσης τροφῆς ἀναδοθείσης τὸ πλεόν εἶναι περιττόν, ἀφ' οὗ γεννᾶσθαι τὰς νόσους ὥστε τὴν προειρημένην θεραπείαν ἀναιροῦσαν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νόσου μάλιστα ἂν παρασκευάσαι <sup>3</sup> τὴν ὑγίειαν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> τῆς χώρας ἐκδημίας θεραπεύονται πάντες οὐδένα μισθὸν ἰδία διδόντες· οἱ γὰρ ἰατροὶ τὰς μὲν τροφὰς ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαμβάνουσι, τὰς δὲ θεραπείας προσάγουσι κατὰ νόμον ἔγγραφον, ὑπὸ<sup>3</sup> πολλῶν καὶ δεδοξασμένων ἰατρῶν ἀρχαίων συγγεγραμμένον. κἂν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς βίβλου νόμοις ἀναγινωσκομένοις ἀκολουθήσαντες ἀδυνατήσωσι σῶσαι τὸν κάμνοντα, ἀθῶοι παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἀπολύονται, εἰδὲν δέ τι παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ποιήσωσι, θανάτου κρίσιν ὑπομένουσιν, ἡγουμένου τοῦ νομοθέτου τῆς ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παρατετηρημένης θεραπείας καὶ συντε-

however, it is not customary among them to receive any instruction at all;<sup>1</sup> for they hold that from the daily exercises in wrestling their young men will gain, not health, but a vigour that is only temporary and in fact quite dangerous, while they consider music to be not only useless but even harmful, since it makes the spirits of the listeners effeminate.

82. In order to prevent sicknesses they look after the health of their bodies by means of drenches, fastings, and emetics,<sup>2</sup> sometimes every day and sometimes at intervals of three or four days. For they say that the larger part of the food taken into the body is superfluous and that it is from this superfluous part that diseases are engendered; consequently the treatment just mentioned, by removing the beginnings of disease, would be most likely to produce health. On their military campaigns and their journeys in the country they all receive treatment without the payment of any private fee; for the physicians draw their support from public funds and administer their treatments in accordance with a written law which was composed in ancient times by many famous physicians. If they follow the rules of this law as they read them in the sacred book and yet are unable to save their patient, they are absolved from any charge and go unpunished; but if they go contrary to the law's prescriptions in any respect, they must submit to a trial with death as the penalty, the lawgiver holding that but few physicians would ever show themselves wiser than the mode of treatment which had been closely followed for a long

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus is contrasting the Egyptian attitude toward these subjects with the emphasis laid upon them in Greek education.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Herodotus 2. 77.

<sup>1</sup> ἂν after ὡς deleted by Hertlein.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπι omitted by F, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ Dindorf: ἀπέ.



ταγμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων τεχνιτῶν ὀλίγους ἂν γενέσθαι συνεωτέρους.

83. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζώων κατ' Αἴγυπτον εἰκότως φαίνεται πολλοῖς παράδοξον τὸ γνωόμενον καὶ ζητήσεως ἄξιον. σέβονται γὰρ ἔνια τῶν ζώων Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν οὐ ζῶντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντα, οἶον αἰλουρούς καὶ τοὺς ἰχνεύμονας καὶ κύνας, ἔτι δ' ἰέρακας καὶ τὰς καλουμένας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἰβεις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς τε λύκους καὶ τοὺς κροκοδείλους καὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα πλείω, περὶ ὧν τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδιδόναι πειρασόμεθα, βραχέα πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διελθόντες.

- 2 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκάστῳ γένει τῶν σεβασμῶν τυγχανόντων ζώων ἀφιέρωται χώρα φέρουσα πρόσσodon ἀρκούσαν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τροφήν αὐτῶν· ποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ θεοῖς τισιν εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν ἐκ τῆς νόσου σωθέντων· ξυρήσαντες γὰρ τὰς τρίχας καὶ πρὸς ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον στήσαντες διδῶσι τὸ νόμισμα τοῖς ἐπιμελομένοις τῶν προειρημένων
- 3 ζώων. οἱ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἰέρακι κρέα κατατέμνοντες καὶ προσκαλούμενοι μεγάλη τῆ φωνῆ πετομένοις ἀναρρίπτουσι, μέχρι ἂν δέξωνται, τοῖς δ' αἰλουροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰχνεύμοσι καταθρύπτοντες τοὺς ἄρτους εἰς γάλα καὶ ποππύζοντες παρατιθέασιν ἢ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου κατατέμνοντες ὡμῶς σιτίζουσιν ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἐκάστῳ γένει τῆν ἀρμόζουσαν τροφήν
- 4 γούσι. τὰς δὲ γνωόμενας περὶ ταῦτα λειτουργίας οὐχ οἶον ἐκκλίνουσιν ἢ τοῖς ὄχλοις γενέσθαι

period and had been originally prescribed by the ablest practitioners.

83. As regards the consecration of animals in Egypt, the practice naturally appears to many to be extraordinary and worthy of investigation. For the Egyptians venerate certain animals exceedingly, not only during their lifetime but even after their death, such as cats,<sup>1</sup> ichneumons and dogs, and, again, hawks and the birds which they call " ibis," as well as wolves and crocodiles and a number of other animals of that kind, and the reasons for such worship we shall undertake to set forth, after we have first spoken briefly about the animals themselves.

In the first place, for each kind of animal that is accorded this worship there has been consecrated a portion of land which returns a revenue sufficient for their care and sustenance; moreover, the Egyptians make vows to certain gods on behalf of their children who have been delivered from an illness, in which case they shave off their hair and weigh it against silver or gold, and then give the money to the attendants of the animals mentioned. These cut up flesh for the hawks and calling them with a loud cry toss it up to them, as they swoop by, until they catch it, while for the cats and ichneumons they break up bread into milk and calling them with a clucking sound set it before them, or else they cut up fish caught in the Nile and feed the flesh to them raw; and in like manner each of the other kinds of animals is provided with the appropriate food. And as for the various services which these animals require, the Egyptians not only do not try to avoid them or feel

<sup>1</sup> The famous discussion of the cats of Egypt is in Herodotus, 2. 66-7.

καταφανείς ἐπαισχύνονται, τούναντίον δ' ὡς  
περὶ<sup>1</sup> τὰς μεγίστας τῶν θεῶν γινόμενοι τιμὰς  
σεμνύνονται καὶ μετὰ σημείων ἰδίων περιέρχονται  
τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν. πόρρωθεν δ' ὄντες  
φανεροὶ τίνων ζώων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὑπὸ  
τῶν ἀπαντῶντων<sup>2</sup> προσκυνοῦνται καὶ τιμῶνται.

- 5 "Ὅταν δ' ἀποθάνῃ τι τῶν εἰρημένων, συνδόνι  
κατακαλύψαντες καὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς τὰ στήθη  
καταπληξάμενοι φέρουσιν εἰς τὰς ταριχείας·  
ἔπειτα θεραπευθέντων αὐτῶν κεδρία καὶ τοῖς  
δυναμένοις εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι καὶ πολυχρόνιον  
τοῦ σώματος τήρησιν θάπτουσιν ἐν ἱεραῖς θήκαις.  
6 ὅς δ' ἂν τούτων τι τῶν ζώων ἐκὼν διαφθείρῃ,  
θανάτῳ περιπίπτει, πλὴν ἐὰν αἰλουρον ἢ τὴν  
ἴβιν ἀποκτείνῃ· ταῦτα δὲ ἐὰν τε ἐκὼν ἐὰν τε  
ἄκων ἀποκτείνῃ, πάντως θανάτῳ περιπίπτει,  
τῶν ὄχλων συντρεχόντων καὶ τὸν πράξαντα  
δεινότερα διατιθέντων, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐνίοτε πρατ-  
7 τόντων ἀνευ κρίσεως. διὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις  
φόβον οἱ θεασάμενοι τεθηγκὸς τι τούτων τῶν  
ζώων ἀποστάντες μακρὰν βοῶσιν ὀδυρόμενοί τε καὶ  
μαρτυρόμενοι κατελιθῆναι αὐτὸ<sup>3</sup> τετελευτηκός,  
8 οὕτω δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὄχλων ψυχαῖς ἐντέθηκεν ἢ  
πρὸς τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα δεισιδαιμονία καὶ τοῖς  
πάθεσιν ἀμεταθέτως ἕκαστος διάκειται πρὸς τὴν  
τούτων τιμὴν, ὥστε καὶ καθ' ὅν χρόνον Πτολε-  
μαῖος μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὐπω

<sup>1</sup> ὡς περὶ Dindorf; ὅπερ eis.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπαντῶντων Wesseling; ἀπάντων.

<sup>3</sup> κατελιθῆναι τὸ Vulgate; Vogel deletes τὸ. Reiske conjectured αὐτὸ and is followed by Bekker and Dindorf.

ashamed to be seen by the crowds as they perform them, but on the contrary, in the belief that they are engaged in the most serious rites of divine worship, they assume airs of importance, and wearing special insignia make the rounds of the cities and the countryside. And since it can be seen from afar in the service of what animals they are engaged, all who meet them fall down before them and render them honour.

When one of these animals dies they wrap it in fine linen and then, wailing and beating their breasts, carry it off to be embalmed; and after it has been treated with cedar oil and such spices as have the quality of imparting a pleasant odour and of preserving the body for a long time,<sup>1</sup> they lay it away in a consecrated tomb. And whoever intentionally kills one of these animals is put to death, unless it be a cat or an ibis that he kills; but if he kills one of these, whether intentionally or unintentionally, he is certainly put to death, for the common people gather in crowds and deal with the perpetrator most cruelly, sometimes doing this without waiting for a trial. And because of their fear of such a punishment any who have caught sight of one of these animals lying dead withdraw to a great distance and shout with lamentations and protestations that they found the animal already dead. So deeply implanted also in the hearts of the common people is their superstitious regard for these animals and so unalterable are the emotions cherished by every man regarding the honour due to them that once, at the time when Ptolemy their king had not as yet been given by the

<sup>1</sup> According to Herodotus (2. 87) this was a less expensive method of embalming.

προσηγόρευτο φίλος, οἱ δ' ὄχλοι πᾶσαν εἰσεφέρουτο σπουδὴν ἐκθεραπεύοντες τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ σπεύδοντες μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἐγκλήματος ἢ πολέμου δοῦναι διὰ τὸν φόβον, ἀποκτείναντος Ῥωμαίου τινὸς αἰλουρου, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πράξαντος, οὐθ' οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τὴν παραίτησιν οὐθ' ὁ κοινὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης φόβος ἴσχυσεν ἐξελεῖσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καί περ  
 9 ἀκουσίως τοῦτο πεπραχότα. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῆς ἡμεῖς ἰστοροῦμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν γεγεννημένην ἡμῖν ἐπιδημίαν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἑορακότες.

84. Ἀπίστων δὲ φαινομένων πολλοῖς τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ μύθοις παραπλησίων πολλῶ παραδοξότερα φανήσεται τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησόμενα. λιμῶ γάρ ποτε πιεζομένων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον φασὶ πολλοὺς ἀλλήλων μὲν ἄψασθαι διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν, τῶν δ' ἀφιερωμένων ζῴων τὸ παράπαν μηδ' αἰτίαν σχεῖν μηδένα προσενη-  
 2 νέχθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν γε καὶ καθ' ἣν ἂν οἰκίαν εὐρεθῆ κύων τετελευτηκῶς, ξυρῶνται πάντες οἱ κατ' οἶκον ὄντες ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ποιοῦνται πένθος, καὶ τὸ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον, ἐὰν οἶνος ἢ σίτος ἢ τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων τυγχάνῃ κείμενον ἐν τοῖς οἰκήμασιν οὐ τὸ ζῆν ἐξέλιπέ τι τῶν θηρίων, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι χρῆσασθαι  
 3 πρὸς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπομείνειαν. κἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ που στρατευόμενοι τύχωσι, λυτρούμενοι τοὺς αἰλουροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἰέρακας κατάγουσιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον· καὶ τοῦτο πράττουσιν ἐνίοτε τῶν  
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Romans the appellation of "friend"<sup>1</sup> and the people were exercising all zeal in courting the favour of the embassy from Italy which was then visiting Egypt and, in their fear, were intent upon giving no cause for complaint or war, when one of the Romans killed a cat and the multitude rushed in a crowd to his house, neither the officials sent by the king to beg the man off nor the fear of Rome which all the people felt were enough to save the man from punishment, even though his act had been an accident. And this incident we relate, not from hearsay, but we saw it with our own eyes on the occasion of the visit we made to Egypt.

84. But if what has been said seems to many incredible and like a fanciful tale, what is to follow will appear far more extraordinary. Once, they say, when the inhabitants of Egypt were being hard pressed by a famine, many in their need laid hands upon their fellows, yet not a single man was even accused of having partaken of the sacred animals. Furthermore, whenever a dog is found dead in any house, every inmate of it shaves his entire body and goes into mourning, and what is more astonishing than this, if any wine or grain or any other thing necessary to life happens to be stored in the building where one of these animals has expired, they would never think of using it thereafter for any purpose. And if they happen to be making a military expedition in another country, they ransom the captive cats and hawks and bring them back to Egypt, and this they do sometimes even when their supply of money

<sup>1</sup> On the date of this incident, cp. the Introduction, p. viii.

4 ἐφοδίω ἀυτοὺς ὑπολιπόντων. τὰ δὲ γινόμενα  
περὶ τὸν Ἄπιον τὸν ἐν Μήμεϊ καὶ τὸν Μνευίδην  
τὸν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν τράγον τὸν  
ἐν Μένδητι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν κροκόδειλον τὸν  
κατὰ τὴν Μοίριδος λίμνην καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν  
τρεφόμενον ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ Λεόντων πόλει, καί  
πολλὰ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα, διηγήσασθαι μὲν εὐχερὲς  
ἀπαγγέλλαντα δὲ πιστευθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς μὲν  
5 τεθεαμένοις δύσκολον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἱεροῖς μὲν  
περιβόλοις τρέφεται, θεραπεύουσι δ' αὐτὰ πολλοί  
τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν τροφὰς διδόντες τὰς  
πολυτέλεσττάτας· σερμίδαλιον γὰρ ἢ χόνδρον  
ἔψοντες ἐν γάλακτι καὶ πέμματα παντοδαπέ  
μέλιτι φυρώντες, καὶ κρέα χήνεια τὰ μὲν ἔψοντες  
τὰ δ' ὀπτῶντες ἀνεκλείπτως χορηγοῦσι, τοῖς δ'  
ὠμοφάγοις πολλὰ τῶν ὀρνέων θηρεύοντες παρα  
βάλλουσι, καὶ τὸ καθόλου μεγάλην εἰσφέροντα  
6 σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς τροφῆς. λου  
τροῖς τε χλιαροῖς χρώμενοι καὶ μύροις τοῖς  
κρατίστοις ἀλείφοντες καὶ παντοδαπὰς εὐωδίας  
θυμῶντες οὐ διαλείπουσι, στρωμνὰς τε τὰς  
πολυτέλεσττάτας καὶ κόσμον εὐπρεπῆ χορη  
γοῦσι, καὶ τῶν συνουσιῶν ὅπως τυγχάνῃ κατὰ  
φύσιν φροντίδα ποιῶνται τὴν μεγίστην, πρὸς  
δὲ τούτοις ὁμοφύλους θηλείας ἐκάστῳ τῶν ζώων  
τὰς εὐειδεστάτας συντρέφουσιν, ἃς παλλακίδας  
προσαγορεύουσι καὶ θεραπεύουσι ταῖς μεγίσταις  
7 δαπάναις καὶ λειτουργίαις. ἐὰν δὲ τελευτήσῃ  
τις<sup>1</sup> πενθοῦσι μὲν ἴσα τοῖς ἀγαπητῶν τέκνων  
στερομένοις, θάπτουσι δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν  
δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν

for the journey is running short. As for the ceremonies connected with the Apis of Memphis, the Mnevis of Heliopolis<sup>1</sup> and the goat of Mendes, as well as with the crocodile of the Lake of Moeris, the lion kept in the City of Lions (Leontopolis), as it is called, and many other ceremonies like them, they could easily be described, but the writer would scarcely be believed by any who had not actually witnessed them. For these animals are kept in sacred enclosures and are cared for by many men of distinction who offer them the most expensive fare; for they provide, with unflinching regularity, the finest wheaten flour or wheat-groats seethed in milk, every kind of sweetmeat made with honey, and the meat of ducks, either boiled or baked, while for the carnivorous animals birds are caught and thrown to them in abundance, and, in general, great care is given that they have an expensive fare. They are continually bathing the animals in warm water, anointing them with the most precious ointments, and burning before them every kind of fragrant incense; they furnish them with the most expensive coverlets and with splendid jewellery, and exercise the greatest care that they shall enjoy sexual intercourse according to the demands of nature; furthermore, with every animal they keep the most beautiful females of the same genus, which they call his concubines and attend to at the cost of heavy expense and assiduous service. When any animal dies they mourn for it as deeply as do those who have lost a beloved child, and bury it in a manner not in keeping with their ability but

<sup>1</sup> The bulls Apis and Mnevis are described in the following chapter.

8 οὐσίας ὑπερβάλλοντες. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου παρεληφότος ἄρτι τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἔτυχεν ἐν Μέμφει τελευτήσας ὁ Ἄπις γῆρα ὁ δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχων αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἠτοιμασμένην χορηγίαν, οὐσαν πάνυ πολλήν, εἰς ταφὴν ἄπασαν ἔδαπάνησε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πεντήκοντα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα προσεδανείσατο. καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ τινες τῶν τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα τρεφόντων εἰς τὰς ταφὰς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν ἑκατὸν τάλαντων δεδαπανήκασιν.

85. Προσθετέον δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ λευπόμενα τῶν γινομένων περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν ταῦρον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ἄπιν. ὅταν γὰρ τελευτήσας ταφῇ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ζητοῦσιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτ' ὄντες ἱερεῖς μόσχον ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα παράσημα  
 2 τὰ παραπλήσια τῷ προϋπάρξαντι ὅταν δ' εὐρεθῇ, τὰ μὲν πλήθη τοῦ πένθους ἀπολύεται, τῶν δ' ἱερέων οἷς ἔστιν ἐπιμελὲς ἀγοῦσι τὸν μόσχον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Νείλου πόλιν, ἐν ἧ τρέφουσιν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα, ἔπειτ' εἰς θαλαμηγὸν ναῦν οἴκημα κεχρυσωμένον ἔχουσιν ἐμβιβάζαντες ὡς θεὸν ἀναγοῦσιν εἰς  
 3 Μέμφιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τέμενος, ἐν δὲ ταῖς προειρημέναις τετταράκονθ' ἡμέραις μόνον ὀρώσω αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πρόσωπον ἰστάμεναι καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἀνασυράμεναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν γεννητικὰ μόρια, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἅπαντα κεκωλυμένον ἔστιν εἰς ὄψιν αὐτὰς ἔρχεσθαι  
 4 τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. τῆς δὲ τοῦ βόδου τούτου τιμῆς αἰτίαν ἔνιοι φέρουσι λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσιρίδος εἰς τούτου ἢ ψυχὴ μετέστη, καὶ διὰ  
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going far beyond the value of their estates. For instance, after the death of Alexander and just subsequently to the taking over of Egypt by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, it happened that the Apis in Memphis died of old age; and the man who was charged with the care of him spent on his burial not only the whole of the very large sum which had been provided for the animal's maintenance, but also borrowed in addition fifty talents<sup>1</sup> of silver from Ptolemy. And even in our own day some of the keepers of these animals have spent on their burial not less than one hundred talents.

85. There should be added to what has been said what still remains to be told concerning the ceremonies connected with the sacred bull called Apis. After he has died and has received a magnificent burial, the priests who are charged with this duty seek out a young bull which has on its body markings similar to those of its predecessor; and when it has been found the people cease their mourning and the priests who have the care of it first take the young bull to Nilopolis, where it is kept forty days, and then, putting it on a state barge fitted out with a gilded cabin, conduct it as a god to the sanctuary of Hephaestus at Memphis. During these forty days only women may look at it; these stand facing it and pulling up their garments show their genitals, but henceforth they are forever prevented from coming into the presence of this god. Some explain the origin of the honour accorded this bull in this way, saying that at the death of Osiris his soul passed into this

<sup>1</sup> The intrinsic value of a talent was about one thousand dollars or two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

ταῦτα διατελεῖ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν αἰεὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναδείξεις αὐτοῦ μεθισταμένη πρὸς τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους· ἔτιοι δὲ λέγουσι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος ὑπὸ Τυφῶνος τὰ μέλη συναγαγοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἰσίω εἰς βούην ξυλλίνην ἐμβαλεῖν βύσσιναν περιβεβλημένην, καὶ διὰ τούτου καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομασθῆναι Βούσιριν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα μυθολογοῦσι περὶ τοῦ Ἀπίδος, ὑπὲρ ὧν μακρὸν ἡγοῦμεθα τὰ<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἕκαστον διεξιέναι.

86. Πάντα δὲ θαυμάσια καὶ μείζω πίστεως ἐπιτελοῦντες οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον εἰς τὰ τιμώμενα ζῷα πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέχοντα τοῖς τὰς αἰτίας τούτων ζητοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱερεῖς αὐτῶν ἀπόρητον τι δόγμα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσι, ὃ προειρηκαμένον ἐν τοῖς θεολογουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τρεῖς αἰτίας ταύτας ἀποδιδόασιν, ὧν τὴν μὲν πρώτην μυθῶδη παντελῶς καὶ τῆς ἀρχαϊκῆς ἀπλότητος οἰκείαν. φασι γὰρ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενομένους θεοὺς, ὀλίγους ὄντας καὶ κατισχυομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀνομίας τῶν γηγενῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὁμοιωθῆναι τισὶ ζῷοις, καὶ διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τρόπου διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἀνόμητον καὶ βίαν αὐτῶν· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον πάντων κρατήσαντας, καὶ τοῖς αἰτίοις τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόντας, ἀφιε-

<sup>1</sup> τὰ Hertlein: τὰ.

animal, and therefore up to this day has always passed into its successors at the times of the manifestation of Osiris;<sup>1</sup> but some say that when Osiris died at the hands of Typhon Isis collected the members of his body and put them in an ox (*bous*), made of wood covered over with fine linen, and because of this the city was called Bousiris. Many other stories are told about the Apis, but we feel that it would be a long task to recount all the details regarding them.

86. Since all the practices of the Egyptians in their worship of animals are astonishing and beyond belief, they occasion much difficulty for those who would seek out their origins and causes. Now their priests have on this subject a teaching which may not be divulged, as we have already stated in connection with their accounts of the gods,<sup>2</sup> but the majority of the Egyptians give the following three causes, the first of which belongs entirely to the realm of fable and is in keeping with the simplicity of primitive times. They say, namely, that the gods who came into existence in the beginning, being few in number and overpowered by the multitude and the lawlessness of earth-born men,<sup>3</sup> took on the forms of certain animals, and in this way saved themselves from the savagery and violence of mankind; but afterwards, when they had established their power over all things in the universe, out of gratitude to the animals which had been responsible for their salvation at the outset,

<sup>1</sup> The Apis Bull was considered the "living soul of Osiris" and, according to Plutarch (*On Isis and Osiris*, 43), was begotten, not by a bull, but by a "generative ray of light, which streamed from the moon and rested upon a cow when she was in heat." Apis was a black bull with a white blaze

upon his forehead; the appearance of a new Apis Bull was regarded as a new manifestation of Osiris upon earth (cp. E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, I. pp. 60, 397 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> In chap. 21.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the Giants.

ρῶσαι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν οἷς ἀφωμοιώθησαν, καὶ καταδείξαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ τρέφειν μὲν ζῶντα πολυτελῶς, θάπτειν δὲ τελευτήσαντα.

4 Δευτέραν δὲ λέγουσιν αἰτίαν, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολλαῖς μάχαις ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἠττηθέντες ἐπενόησαν σύνθημα φορεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ταγμάτων. φασὶν οὖν κατασκευάσαντας εἰκόνας τῶν ζῴων ἃ νῦν τιμῶσι, καὶ πῆξαντας ἐπὶ σαυνῶν, φορεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου γνωρίζειν ἕκαστον ἧς εἴη συντάξεως· μεγάλα δὲ συμβαλλομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς δια τούτων εὐταξίας πρὸς τὴν νίκην, δόξαι τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτία γεγονέναι τὰ ζῶα· χάριν οὖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποδοῦναι βουλομένους εἰς ἔθος κατατάξαι τῶν εἰκασθέντων τότε μηδὲν κτείνειν, ἀλλὰ σεβομένους ἀπονέμειν τὴν προειρημένην ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τιμὴν.

87. Τρίτην δ' αἰτίαν φέρουσι τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως τῶν ζῴων τὴν χρείαν, ἣν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν προσφέρεται πρὸς τὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου 2 καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ θήλειαν βοῦν ἐργάτας τίκτειν καὶ τὴν ἐλαφρὰν τῆς γῆς ἀροῦν, τὰ δὲ πρόβατα δις μὲν τίκτειν καὶ τοῖς ἐρίοις τὴν σκέπην ἅμα καὶ τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην περιποιεῖν, τῷ δὲ γάλακτι καὶ τῷ τυρῷ τροφὰς παρέχασθαι προσήκει ἅμα καὶ δαψιλεῖς. τὸν δὲ κύνα πρὸς τε τὰς θήρας εἶναι χρήσιμον καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυλακὴν· διόπερ τὸν θεὸν τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενον Ἄνουβιν παρεισάγουσι κυνὸς ἔχοντα κεφαλὴν, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι σωματοφύλαξ

they made sacred those kinds whose form they had assumed, and instructed mankind to maintain them in a costly fashion while living and to bury them at death.

The second cause which they give is this—that the early Egyptians, after having been defeated by their neighbours in many battles because of the lack of order in their army, conceived the idea of carrying standards before the several divisions. Consequently, they say, the commanders fashioned figures of the animals which they now worship and carried them fixed on lances, and by this device every man knew where his place was in the array. And since the good order resulting therefrom greatly contributed to victory, they thought that the animals had been responsible for their deliverance; and so the people, wishing to show their gratitude to them, established the custom of not killing any one of the animals whose likeness had been fashioned at that time, but of rendering to them, as objects of worship, the care and honour which we have previously described.

87. The third cause which they adduce in connection with the dispute in question is the service which each one of these animals renders for the benefit of community life and of mankind. The cow, for example, bears workers<sup>1</sup> and ploughs the lighter soil; the sheep lamb twice in the year and provide by their wool both protection for the body and its decorous covering, while by their milk and cheese they furnish food that is both appetizing and abundant. Again, the dog is useful both for the hunt and for man's protection, and this is why they represent the god whom they call Anubis with a dog's head, showing

<sup>1</sup> i.e. oxen.

3 ἦν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ τὴν Ἴσιν. ἔνιοι δὲ  
 φασι τῆς Ἰσιδος προηγουμένους τοὺς κύνας καθ'  
 ὃν καιρὸν ἐξήτει τὸν Ὅσιριν, τὰ τε θηρία καὶ  
 τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἀπείργειν, ἔτι δ' εὐνοϊκῶς  
 διακειμένους συζητεῖν ἄρρομένους· διὸ καὶ τοῖς  
 Ἰσειοῖς προπορεύεσθαι τοὺς κύνας κατὰ τὴν  
 πομπήν, τῶν καταδειξάντων τοῦτο τὸ νόμιμον  
 4 σημαιόντων τὴν παλαιὰν τοῦ ζῦου χίριν. καὶ  
 τὸν μὲν αἴλουρον πρὸς τε τὰς ἀσπίδας θανάσιμα  
 δακνούσας εὐθετον ὑπάρχειν καὶ τᾶλλα δάκετα  
 τῶν ἔρπετῶν, τὸν δ' ἰχνεύμονα τῶν κροκοδείλων  
 παρατηροῦντα τοὺς γόνους τὰ καταληφθέντα τῶν  
 ὠῶν συντρίβειν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιμελῶς καὶ φιλο-  
 5 τίμως ἐνεργεῖν μηδὲν ὠφελούμενον. τοῦτο δ' εἰ  
 μὴ συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γεν-  
 νομένων θηρίων ἄβαστον ἂν γενέσθαι τὸν ποταμόν.  
 ἀπόλλυσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κροκοδείλους αὐτοὺς  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ζῦου παραδόξως καὶ  
 παντελῶς ἀπιστουμένη μεθόδῳ· τοὺς γὰρ ἰχνεύ-  
 μονας κυλιόμενους ἐν τῇ πληρῇ χασκόντων αὐτῶν  
 καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου καθεδύωσιν  
 εἰσπηδᾶν διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰς μέσον τὸ σῶμα·  
 ἔπειτα συντόμως τὴν κοιλίαν διαφαγόντας αὐτοὺς  
 μὲν ἀκινδύνως ἐξίεναι, τοὺς δὲ τοῦτο παθόντας  
 6 νεκροὺς ποιεῖν παραρρήμα. τῶν δ' ὄρνέων τὴν  
 μὲν ἴβιν χρησίμην ὑπάρχειν πρὸς τε τοὺς ὄφεις  
 καὶ τὰς ἀκρίδας καὶ τὰς κάμπας, τὸν δ' ἰέρακα  
 πρὸς τοὺς σκορπίους καὶ κεράστας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ  
 τῶν δακέτων θηρίων τὰ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώ-  
 7 πους ἀναιροῦντα. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγουσι τιμᾶσθαι τὸ  
 ζῦον τοῦτο διὰ τὸ τοὺς μάντεις οἰωνοῖς τοῖς  
 ἰέραξι χρωμένους προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς  
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in this way that he was the bodyguard of Osiris and Isis. There are some, however, who explain that dogs guided Isis during her search for Osiris and protected her from wild beasts and wayfarers, and that they helped her in her search, because of the affection they bore for her, by baying; and this is the reason why at the Festival of Isis the procession is led by dogs, those who introduced the rite showing forth in this way the kindly service rendered by this animal of old. The cat is likewise useful against asps with their deadly bite and the other reptiles that sting, while the ichneumon keeps a look-out for the newly-laid seed of the crocodile and crushes the eggs left by the female, doing this carefully and zealously even though it receives no benefit from the act. Were this not done, the river would have become impassable because of the multitude of beasts that would be born. And the crocodiles themselves are also killed by this animal in an astonishing and quite incredible manner; for the ichneumons roll themselves over and over in the mud, and when the crocodiles go to sleep on the land with their mouths open they jump down their mouths into the centre of their body; then, rapidly gnawing through the bowels, they get out unscathed themselves and at the same time kill their victims instantly.<sup>1</sup> And of the sacred birds the ibis is useful as a protector against the snakes, the locusts, and the caterpillars, and the hawk against the scorpions, horned serpents, and the small animals of noxious bite which cause the greatest destruction of men. But some maintain that the hawk is honoured because it is used as a bird of omen by the soothsayers in predicting to the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo (17. 1. 39) gives much the same account.



8 Αἴγυπτίους. τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις ἱέρακα βιβλίον ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς Θήβας τοῖς ἱερέυσι φοινικῶ ῥάμματι περιειλημένον, ἔχον γεγραμμένας τὰς τῶν θεῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμὰς· διὸ <sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς ἱερογραμματεῖς φορεῖν φοινικοῦν ῥάμμα καὶ πτερόν ἱέρακος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. τὸν δ' αἰτὸν Θηβαῖοι τιμῶσι διὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἄξιον.

88. Τὸν δὲ τράγον ἀπεθέωσαν, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι τὸν Πρίαπον, διὰ τὸ γεννητικὸν μόριον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζῷον εἶναι τοῦτο κατωφερέστατον πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας, τὸ δὲ μόριον τοῦ σώματος τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αἷτιον τιμᾶσθαι προσηκόντως, ὡς ἂν ὑπάρχον ἀρχέγονον τῆς τῶν ζῴων φύσεως.  
2 καθόλου δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον οὐκ Αἴγυπτίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγους καθιερωκέναι κατὰ τὰς τελετάς, ὡς αἷτιον τῆς τῶν ζῴων γενέσεως· τοὺς τε ἱερεῖς τοὺς παραλαβόντας τὰς πατρικὰς ἱεροσύνας κατ' Αἴγυπτον τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον μυεῖσθαι. καὶ τοὺς Πᾶνας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σατύρους φασὶν ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας τιμᾶσθαι παρ' ἀνθρώποις· διὸ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἀνατιθέναι τοὺς πλείστους ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐντεταμένους καὶ τῇ τοῦ τράγου φύσει παραπλησίας· τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦτο παραδεδῶσθαι πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας ὑπάρχειν ἐνεργέστατον· ἐκείνοις <sup>2</sup> οὖν διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐμφάσεως χάριν ἀποδιδόναι περὶ τῆς πολυτεκνίας τῆς ἐαυτῶν.

Egyptians events which are to come. Others, however, say that in primitive times a hawk brought to the priests in Thebes a book wrapped about with a purple band, which contained written directions concerning the worship of the gods and the honours due to them; and it is for this reason, they add, that the sacred scribes wear on their heads a purple band and the wing of a hawk. The eagle also is honoured by the Thebans because it is believed to be a royal animal and worthy of Zeus.

88. They have deified the goat, just as the Greeks are said to have honoured Priapus,<sup>1</sup> because of the generative member; for this animal has a very great propensity for copulation, and it is fitting that honour be shown to that member of the body which is the cause of generation, being, as it were, the primal author of all animal life. And, in general, not only the Egyptians but not a few other peoples as well have in the rites they observe treated the male member as sacred, on the ground that it is the cause of the generation of all creatures; and the priests in Egypt who have inherited their priestly offices from their fathers are initiated first into the mysteries of this god. And both the Pans and the Satyrs, they say, are worshipped by men for the same reason; and this is why most peoples set up in their sacred places statues of them showing the phallus erect and resembling a goat's in nature, since according to tradition this animal is most efficient in copulation; consequently, by representing these creatures in such fashion, the dedicants are returning thanks to them for their own numerous offspring.

<sup>1</sup> *See* Vogel: *διόπερ* Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐκείνοις* Bekker, Vogel: *ἐκείνων* Vulgate, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Priapus is discussed in Book 4. 6.

4 Τους δὲ ταύρους τοὺς ἱερούς, λέγω δὲ τὸν τε Ἄπιν καὶ τὸν Μνεῦιν, τιμᾶσθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς θεοῖς, Ὅσιριδος καταδείξαντος, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν τῆς γεωργίας χρείαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν εὐρόντων τοὺς καρποὺς τὴν δόξαν ταῖς τούτων ἐργασίαις παραδόσιμον γεγονέναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα. τοὺς δὲ πυρροὺς βούς συγχωρηθῆναι θύειν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιοῦτου τῷ χρώματι γεγονέναι Τυφῶνα τὸν ἐπιβουλευσάντα μὲν Ὅσιριδι, τυχόντα δὲ τιμωρίας ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος διὰ τὸν τάνδρὸς φόνον. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δὲ τοὺς ὀμοχρωμάτους τῷ Τυφῶνι τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων φασὶ θύεσθαι πρὸς τῷ τάφῳ τῷ<sup>1</sup> Ὅσιριδος τῶν μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίων ὀλίγους τινας εὐρίσκεσθαι πυρροὺς, τῶν δὲ ξένων τοὺς πλείους· διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς Βουσιρίδος ξενοκτονίας παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμισχῦσαι τὸν μῦθον, οὐ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνομαζομένου Βουσιρίδος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ὅσιριδος τάφου ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν προσηγορίαν κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων διάλεκτον.

6 Τους δὲ λύκους τιμᾶσθαι λέγουσι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς κύνας τῆς φύσεως ὁμοιότητα· βραχὺ γὰρ διαλάττοντας αὐτοὺς ταῖς φύσεσι ταῖς ἐπιμιξίαις ζωογονεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων. φέρουσι δ' Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἄλλην αἰτίαν τῆς τοῦ ζώου τούτου τιμῆς μυθικωτέραν τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν φασὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ὄρου μελλούσης

The sacred bulls—I refer to the Apis and the Mnevis—are honoured like the gods, as Osiris commanded, both because of their use in farming and also because the fame of those who discovered the fruits of the earth is handed down by the labours of these animals to succeeding generations for all time. Red oxen, however, may be sacrificed, because it is thought that this was the colour of Typhon, who plotted against Osiris and was then punished by Isis for the death of her husband. Men also, if they were of the same colour as Typhon, were sacrificed, they say, in ancient times by the kings at the tomb of Osiris; however, only a few Egyptians are now found red in colour, but the majority of such are non-Egyptians, and this is why the story spread among the Greeks of the slaying of foreigners by Busiris, although Busiris was not the name of the king but of the tomb of Osiris, which is called that in the language of the land.<sup>1</sup>

The wolves are honoured, they say, because their nature is so much like that of dogs, for the natures of these two animals are little different from each other and hence offspring is produced by their interbreeding. But the Egyptians offer another explanation for the honour accorded this animal, although it pertains more to the realm of myth; for they say that in early times when Isis, aided by her son

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (2. 45) denies the existence of human sacrifices and there was probably none in his day. But the sacrifice of captives is attested by the monuments of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, and J. G. Frazer (*The Golden Bough*, 2. pp. 254 ff.) finds in this account of Diodorus and a similar story given by Plutarch (*On Isis and Osiris*, 73), on the authority of Manetho, evidence for the annual sacrifice of a red-haired man to prevent the failure of the crops.

<sup>1</sup> τῷ Vogel: τοῦ B, Bekker, Dindorf.

διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς Τυφῶνα παραγενέσθαι βοηθὸν ἐξ ᾄδου τὸν Ὀσιριν τῷ τέκνῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ λύκῳ τὴν ὄψιν ὁμοιωθέντα· ἀναιρεθέντος οὖν τοῦ Τυφῶνος τοὺς κρατήσαντας καταδείξαι τιμῶν τὸ ζῶον οὐ τῆς ὄψεως ἐπιφανείσης τὸ νικᾶν  
 7 ἐπηκολούθησεν. ἔτιοι δὲ λέγουσι, τῶν Αἰθιοπίων στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀθροισθείσας παμπληθεῖς ἀγέλας λύκων ἐκδιώξαι τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὑπὲρ πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἐλεφαντίνην· διὸ καὶ τὸν τε νομὸν ἐκείνου Λυκοπολίτην ὀνομασθῆναι καὶ τὰ ζῶα τὰ προειρημένα τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς.

89. Λεῖπεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς τῶν κροκοδείλων ἀποθεώσεως, ὑπὲρ ἧς οἱ πλείστοι διαποροῦσι πῶς τῶν θηρίων τούτων σαρκοφαγούντων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνομοθετήθη τιμῶν ἴσα  
 2 θεοῖς τοὺς τὰ δεινότερα διατιθέντας. φασὶν οὖν τῆς χώρας τὴν ὀχυρότητα παρέχεσθαι μὴ μόνου τὸν ποταμὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ληστὰς τοὺς τε<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ Λιβύης μὴ τολμᾶν διανήχεσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον, φοβουμένους τὸ πλήθος τῶν θηρίων· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι πολεμουμένων τῶν ζῴων καὶ διὰ τῶν σαγηνευόντων  
 3 ἄρδην ἀναιρεθέντων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἰστορούμενος περὶ τῶν θηρίων τούτων. φασὶ γάρ τινας τῶν ἀρχαίων τινα βασιλέων, τὸν πρῶτον κυνῶν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Μοίριδος καλουμένην λίμνην, ἐπειθ' ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου παραδόξως ἀνα-

<sup>1</sup> τε deleted by Wesseling and all subsequent editors; retained by Vogel.

Horus, was about to commence her struggle with Typhon, Osiris came from Hades to help his son and his wife, having taken on the guise of a wolf; and so, upon the death of Typhon, his conquerors commanded men to honour the animal upon whose appearance victory followed. But some say that once, when the Ethiopians had marched against Egypt, a great number of bands of wolves (*lykoi*) gathered together and drove the invaders out of the country, pursuing them beyond the city named Elephantine; and therefore that nome was given the name Lycopolite<sup>1</sup> and these animals were granted the honour in question.

89. It remains for us to speak of the deification of crocodiles, a subject regarding which most men are entirely at a loss to explain how, when these beasts eat the flesh of men, it ever became the law to honour like the gods creatures of the most revolting habits. Their reply is, that the security of the country is ensured, not only by the river, but to a much greater degree by the crocodiles in it; that for this reason the robbers that infest both Arabia and Libya do not dare to swim across the Nile, because they fear the beasts, whose number is very great; and that this would never have been the case if war were continually being waged against the animals and they had been utterly destroyed by hunters dragging the river with nets. But still another account is given of these beasts. For some say that once one of the early kings whose name was Menas, being pursued by his own dogs, came in his flight to the Lake of Moeris, as it is called, where, strange as it may seem, a crocodile took him on his

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "of the City of the Wolves."

ληφθέντα εἰς τὸ πέραν ἀπενεχθῆναι. τῆς δὲ σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόναι βουλόμενον τῷ ζῳῷ πόλιν κτίσαι πλησίον ὀνομάσαντα Κροκοδείλων· καταδείξαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐγγχωρίοις ὡς θεοὺς τιμᾶν ταῦτα τὰ ζῶα καὶ τὴν λίμνην αὐτοῖς εἰς τροφήν ἀναθεῖναι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευάσαι πυραμίδα τετράπλευρον ἐπιστήσαντα, καὶ τὸν θαυμαζόμενον παρὰ πολλοῖς λαβύρινθον οἰκοδομήσαι.

4 Παραπλήσια δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγουσιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν, ὅτι γὰρ τῆς ὠφελείας ἕνεκα τῆς εἰς τὸν βίον οὕτως ἑαυτοὺς εἰθίκασι, φανερὸν εἶναι πᾶσι<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τοῦ πολλὰ τῶν ἐδωδίων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίου μὴ προσφέρεσθαι. τινὰς μὲν γὰρ φακῶν, τινὰς δὲ κνᾶμων, ἐπίου δὲ τυρῶν ἢ κρομμύων ἢ τιων ἄλλων βρωμάτων τὸ παράπαν μὴ γενέσθαι, πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, δῆλον ποιούντας διότι διδάκτεον ἐστὶν ἑαυτοὺς<sup>2</sup> τῶν χρησίμων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ διότι πάντων πάντα ἐσθιόντων οὐδὲν ἂν ἐξήρκεσε τῶν ἀναλισκομένων. καὶ ἑτέρας δ' αἰτίας φέροντες τινὲς φασι ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν βασιλείων πολλὰκις ἀφισταμένους τοῦ πλήθους καὶ συμφρονοῦντος κατὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων, τῶν βασιλέων τινὰ συνέσει διαφέροντα διελέσθαι μὲν τὴν χώραν εἰς πλείω μέρη καθ' ἕκαστον δ' αὐτῶν καταδείξαι τοῖς ἐγγχωρίοις σέβεσθαι τι ζῶον ἢ τροφῆς τινος μὴ γενέσθαι, ὅπως ἐκάστῳ τὸ μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> πᾶσι Vogel: φασι Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτοὺς Vogel: αὐτοῖς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> In chap. 81 the builder of the Labyrinth is Mendes.

back and carried him to the other side. Wishing to show his gratitude to the beast for saving him, he founded a city near the place and named it City of the Crocodiles; and he commanded the natives of the region to worship these animals as gods and dedicated the lake to them for their sustenance; and in that place he also constructed his own tomb, erecting a pyramid with four sides, and built the Labyrinth which is admired by many.<sup>1</sup>

A similar diversity of customs exists, according to their accounts, with regard to everything else, but it would be a long task to set forth the details concerning them.<sup>2</sup> That they have adopted these customs for themselves because of the advantage accruing therefrom to their life is clear to all from the fact that there are those among them who will not touch many particular kinds of food. Some, for instance, abstain entirely from lentils, others from beans, and some from cheese or onions or certain other foods, there being many kinds of food in Egypt, showing in this way that men must be taught to deny themselves things that are useful, and that if all ate of everything the supply of no article of consumption would hold out. But some adduce other causes and say that, since under the early kings the multitude were often revolting and conspiring against their rulers, one of the kings who was especially wise divided the land into a number of parts and commanded the inhabitants of each to revere a certain animal or else not to eat a certain food, his thought being that, with each group of

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (2. 35) sums up this matter by saying that the Egyptians "have made themselves customs and laws contrary to those of all other men."

τιμώμενον σεβομένων, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφιερωμένων καταφρονούντων, μηδέποτε ὁμοουήσαι δύνονται πάντες οἱ κατ' Αἴγυπτον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων φανερὸν εἶναι· πάντας γὰρ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφέρεσθαι, προσκόπτουτας ταῖς εἰς τὰ προειρημένα παρανομίαις.

90. Φέρουσι δὲ καὶ τινες τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν ζώων ἀφιερώσεως. συναγομένων γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ θηριώδους βίου, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους κατεσθίειν καὶ πολεμεῖν, αἰεὶ τοῦ πλέον δυναμένου τὸν ἀσθενέστερον κατισχύοντος· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς τῆ ῥώμῃ λιπομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος διδαχθέντας ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ ποιῆσαι σημεῖον ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὕστερον καθιερωθέντων ζώων· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον τῶν αἰεὶ δεδιότων συντρεχόντων, οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητον τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις γίνεσθαι τὸ σύστημα· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιούντων διαστῆναι μὲν τὰ πλήθη κατὰ συστήματα, τὸ δὲ ζῶον τὸ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐκάστοις γεγόμενον αἴτιον τιμῶν τυχεῖν ἰσοθεῖν, ὡς τὰ μέγιστ' εὐηργετηκός· διόπερ ἄχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνη διεστηκότα τιμᾶν τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ζώων καθιερωθέντα.

Καθόλου δὲ φασὶ τὸν Αἰγυπτίους ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους εὐχαρίστως διακείσθαι πρὸς πᾶν τὸ εὐεργετοῦν, νομίζοντας μεγίστην ἐπικουρίαν εἶναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς εὐεργέτας χάριτος· ὄηλον γὰρ εἶναι διότι πάντες

people revering what was honoured among themselves but despising what was sacred to all the rest, all the inhabitants of Egypt would never be able to be of one mind. And this purpose, they declare, is clear from the results; for every group of people is at odds with its neighbours, being offended at their violations of the customs mentioned above.

90. Some advance some such reason as the following for their deification of the animals. When men, they say, first ceased living like the beasts and gathered into groups, at the outset they kept devouring each other and warring among themselves, the more powerful ever prevailing over the weaker; but later those who were deficient in strength, taught by expediency, grouped together and took for the device upon their standard one of the animals which was later made sacred; then, when those who were from time to time in fear flocked to this symbol, an organized body was formed which was not to be despised by any who attacked it. And when everybody else did the same thing, the whole people came to be divided into organized bodies, and in the case of each the animal which had been responsible for its safety was accorded honours like those belonging to the gods, as having rendered to them the greatest service possible; and this is why to this day the several groups of the Egyptians differ from each other in that each group honours the animals which it originally made sacred.

In general, they say, the Egyptians surpass all other peoples in showing gratitude for every benefaction, since they hold that the return of gratitude to benefactors is a very great resource in life; for it is clear that all men will want to bestow their

πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν ὀρμήσουσι τούτων μάλιστα παρ'  
οἷς ἂν ὀρώσι κάλλιστα θησαυρισθησομένας τὰς  
3 χάριτας. διὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας δοκοῦσιν  
Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν βασιλεῖς προσκυνεῖν τε  
καὶ τιμᾶν ὡς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντας θεοὺς, ἅμα  
μὲν οὐκ ἀνευ δαιμονίου τινὸς προνοίας νομίζοντες  
αὐτοὺς τετευχέναι τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἐξουσίας, ἅμα  
δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους τε καὶ δυναμένους τὰ μέγιστ'  
εὐεργετεῖν ἠγούμενοι θείας μετέχειν φύσεως.

4 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζώων εἰ καὶ  
πεπλευνάκαμεν, ἀλλ' οὖν γε τὰ μάλιστα θαυ-  
μαζόμενα τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις νόμιμα διεκρινή-  
καμεν.

91. Οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἂν τις πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ  
τοὺς τετελευτηκότας νόμιμα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
θαυμάσαι τὴν ἰδιότητα τῶν ἔθων. ὅταν γάρ τις  
ὑποθάνῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι  
πάντες καταπλαττόμενοι πηλῷ τὰς κεφαλὰς  
περιέρχονται τὴν πόλιν θρηγνύντες, ἕως ἂν ταφῆς  
τύχῃ τὸ σῶμα. οὐ μὴν οὔτε λουτρῶν οὔτε οἴνου  
οὔτε τῆς ἄλλης τροφῆς ἀξιολόγου μεταλαμβά-  
νουσιν, οὔτε ἐσθῆτας λαμπρὰς περιβάλλονται.  
2 τῶν δὲ ταφῶν τρεῖς ὑπάρχουσι τάξεις, ἧ τε πολυ-  
τελεστάτη καὶ μέση καὶ ταπεινοτάτη. κατὰ μὲν  
οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἀναλίσκεσθαί φασι ἀργυρίου  
τάλαντον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν μνᾶς εἴκοσι,  
κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην παντελῶς ὀλίγον τι  
3 δαπάνημα γίνεσθαί λέγουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὰ  
σώματα θεραπεύοντές εἰσι τεχνῖται, τὴν ἐπιστή-  
μην ταύτην ἐκ γένους παρεληφότες· οὗτοι δὲ  
γραφὴν ἐκάστου τῶν εἰς τὰς ταφὰς δαπανωμένων  
τοῖς οἰκέτοις τῶν τετελευτησάντων προσενέγκαντες

benefactions preferably upon those who they see  
will most honourably treasure up the favours they  
bestow. And it is apparently on these grounds  
that the Egyptians prostrate themselves before  
their kings and honour them as being in very truth  
gods, holding, on the one hand, that it was not  
without the influence of some divine providence that  
these men have attained to the supreme power, and  
feeling, also, that such as have the will and the  
strength to confer the greatest benefactions share  
in the divine nature.

Now if we have dwelt over-long on the topic of  
the sacred animals, we have at least thoroughly  
considered those customs of the Egyptians that men  
most marvel at.

91. But not least will a man marvel at the peculi-  
arity of the customs of the Egyptians when he  
learns of their usages with respect to the dead. For  
whenever anyone dies among them, all his relatives  
and friends, plastering their heads with mud, roam  
about the city lamenting, until the body receives  
burial. Nay more, during that time they indulge in  
neither baths, nor wine, nor in any other food worth  
mentioning, nor do they put on bright clothing.  
There are three classes of burial, the most expensive,  
the medium, and the most humble. And if the first  
is used the cost, they say, is a talent of silver, if  
the second, twenty minae, and if the last, the expense  
is, they say, very little indeed. Now the men who  
treat the bodies are skilled artisans who have  
received this professional knowledge as a family  
tradition; and these lay before the relatives of the  
deceased a price-list of every item connected with

ἐπερωτῶσι τινα τρόπον βούλονται τὴν θεραπείαν  
 4 γενέσθαι τοῦ σώματος. διομολογησάμενοι δὲ  
 περὶ πάντων καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν παραλαβόντες, τοῖς  
 τεταγμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν κατειθισμένην ἐπιμέλειαν  
 τὸ σῶμα παραδιδόασιν. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ γραμ-  
 ματεὺς λεγόμενος τεθέντος χαμαὶ τοῦ σώματος  
 ἐπὶ τὴν λαγόνα περιγράφει τὴν εὐώνυμον ὄσον  
 δεῖ διατεμεῖν· ἔπειτα δ' ὁ λεγόμενος παρασχίστης  
 λίθον ἔχων Αἰθιοπικὸν καὶ διατεμὼν ὡς ὁ<sup>1</sup> νόμος  
 κελεύει τὴν σάρκα, παραχρῆμα φεύγει δρόμῳ,  
 διωκόντων τῶν συμπαρόντων καὶ λίθοις βαλλόν-  
 των, ἔτι δὲ καταρωμένῳ καὶ καθαπερεὶ τὸ μύσος  
 εἰς ἐκείνον τρεπόντων· ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ μιση-  
 τὸν εἶναι πάντα τὸν ὁμοφύλῳ σώματι βίαν προσ-  
 φέροντα καὶ τραύματα ποιῶντα καὶ καθόλου τι  
 κακὸν ἀπεργαζόμενον.

5 Οἱ ταριχευταὶ δὲ καλούμενοι πάσης μὲν τιμῆς  
 καὶ πολυωρίας ἀξιοῦνται, τοῖς τε ἱερεῦσι συνόντες  
 καὶ τὰς εἰς ἱερὸν εἰσόδους ἀκωλύτως ὡς καθαροὶ  
 ποιῶνται· πρὸς δὲ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ παρεσχισ-  
 μένου σώματος ἀθροισθέντων αὐτῶν εἰς καθήσει  
 τὴν χεῖρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ νεκροῦ τομῆς εἰς τὸν  
 θώρακα καὶ πάντα ἐξαιρεῖ<sup>2</sup> χωρὶς νεφρῶν καὶ  
 καρδίας, ἕτερος δὲ καθαίρει τῶν ἐγκοιλίων ἕκα-  
 στον κλύζων οἴνῳ φοινικεῖῳ καὶ θυμιάμασι.  
 6 καθόλου δὲ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κεδρία

<sup>1</sup> ὡς δὲ Vogel: ὅσα Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξαιρεῖ Dindorf: ἐξάγει.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "one who rips up lengthwise," i.e. opens by slitting

<sup>2</sup> The same name is given this knife in Herodotus, 2. 86, whose description of embalming, although not so detailed as

the burial, and ask them in what manner they wish the body to be treated. When an agreement has been reached on every detail and they have taken the body, they turn it over to men who have been assigned to the service and have become inured to it. The first is the scribe, as he is called, who, when the body has been laid on the ground, circumscribes on the left flank the extent of the incision; then the one called the slitter<sup>1</sup> cuts the flesh, as the law commands, with an Ethiopian stone<sup>2</sup> and at once takes to flight on the run, while those present set out after him, pelting him with stones, heaping curses on him, and trying, as it were, to turn the profanation on his head; for in their eyes everyone is an object of general hatred who applies violence to the body of a man of the same tribe or wounds him or, in general, does him any harm.

The men called embalmers, however, are considered worthy of every honour and consideration, associating with the priests and even coming and going in the temples without hindrance, as being undefiled. When they have gathered to treat the body after it has been slit open, one of them thrusts his hand through the opening in the corpse into the trunk and extracts everything but the kidneys and heart, and another one cleanses each of the viscera, washing them in palm wine and spices. And in general, they carefully dress the whole body for over

that of Diodorus, supplements it in many respects. It was probably of obsidian or flint, such as are frequently found in graves with mummies. For the use of such primitive implements in ancient religious ceremonies, cp. *Joshua*, 5. 3: "Make thee knives of flint and circumcise again the children of Israel a second time."

καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνη καὶ κιννάμωμον καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολυχρόνιον τήρησιν,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι θεραπεύσαντες δὲ<sup>2</sup> παραδιδόασιν τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῦ τετελευτηκότος οὕτως ἕκαστον τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἀκέραιον τετηρημένον ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς βλεφάροις καὶ ταῖς ὀφρύσι τρίχας διαμένειν καὶ τὴν ὄλην πρόσοψιν τοῦ σώματος ἀπαράλλακτον εἶναι καὶ τὸν τῆς μορφῆς τύπον γνωρίζεσθαι διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ἐν οἰκῆμασι πολυτελέσι φυλάττοντες τὰ σώματα τῶν προγόνων, κατ' ὄψιν ὁρῶσι τοὺς γενεαῖς πολλαῖς τῆς ἑαυτῶν γενέσεως προτετελευτηκότας, ὥστε ἑκάστων τὰ τε μεγέθη καὶ τὰς περιοχὰς τῶν σωμάτων, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς τῆς ὄψεως χαρακτῆρας ὁρωμένους παράδοξον ψυχαγωγίαν παρέχεσθαι καθάπερ συμβεβιωκότας τοῖς θεωμένοις.<sup>3</sup>

92. Τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος θάπτεσθαι σώματος οἱ συγγενεῖς προλέγουσι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς ταφῆς τοῖς τε δικασταῖς καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσιν, ἔτι δὲ φίλοις τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, καὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται ὅτι διαβαίνειν μέλλει τὴν λίμνην, λέγοντες τοῦνομα τοῦ μετηλλαχότος. ἔπειτα παραγενομένων δικαστῶν δυσι πλειόνων<sup>4</sup> τῶν τετρακοντα, καὶ καθισάντων ἐπὶ τινος ἡμικυκλίου κατεσκευασμένου πέραν τῆς λίμνης, ἥ μὲν βάρη καθέλκεται, κατεσκευασμένη πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> τήρησιν Wesseling : τηρήσειν D, τηρεῖν II.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ Vogel : omitted by Vulgate, Bokker, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> θεωμένοις Dindorf : θεωρούμενοις.

thirty days, first with cedar oil and certain other preparations, and then with myrrh, cinnamon, and such spices as have the faculty not only of preserving it for a long time but also of giving it a fragrant odour. And after treating the body they return it to the relatives of the deceased, every member of it having been so preserved intact that even the hair on the eyelids and brows remains, the entire appearance of the body is unchanged, and the cast of its shape is recognizable. This explains why many Egyptians keep the bodies of their ancestors in costly chambers and gaze face to face upon those who died many generations before their own birth, so that, as they look upon the stature and proportions and the features of the countenance of each, they experience a strange enjoyment, as though they had lived with those on whom they gaze.

92. When the body is ready to be buried the family announces the day of interment to the judges and to the relatives and friends of the deceased, and solemnly affirms that he who has just passed away—"giving his name"—"is about to cross the lake." Then, when the judges, forty-two in number,<sup>1</sup> have assembled and have taken seats in a hemicycle which has been built across the lake, the *baris*<sup>2</sup> is launched, which has been prepared in advance by men espe-

<sup>1</sup> These judges correspond to the forty-two judges or assessors before each of whom the dead man must declare in the next world that he had not committed a certain sin (*Book of the Dead*, Chap. CXXV).

<sup>2</sup> The name given the scows used on the Nile and described in Herodotus 2. 96.

<sup>4</sup> πλειόνων Dindorf : πλείω.



ταύτην ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐφέστηκε δὲ  
 ταύτῃ ὁ πορθμείος, ὃν Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 3 διάλεκτον ὀνομάζουσι χάρωνα. διὸ καὶ φασιν  
 Ὀρφέα τὸ παλαιὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον παραβαλόντα  
 καὶ θεασάμενον τοῦτο τὸ νόμιμον, μυθοποιῆσαι  
 τὰ καθ' ἄδου, τὰ μὲν μιμησάμενον, τὰ δ' αὐτὸν  
 ἰδία πλασάμενον· ὑπὲρ<sup>1</sup> οὐ τὰ κατὰ μέρος  
 4 μικρὸν ὑστερον ἀναγράφομεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ  
 τῆς βάρους εἰς τὴν λίμνην καθέλκυσθείσης,  
 πρὶν ἢ τὴν λάρνακα τὴν τὸν νεκρὸν ἔχουσαν εἰς  
 αὐτὴν τίθεσθαι, τῷ βουλομένῳ κατηγορεῖν ὁ  
 νόμος ἐξουσίαν δίδωσιν. ἔαν μὲν οὖν τις παρελ-  
 θῶν ἐγκαλέσῃ καὶ δείξῃ βεβιωκότα κακῶς, οἱ  
 μὲν κριταὶ τὰς γνώμας πᾶσιν<sup>2</sup> ἀποφαίνονται, τὸ  
 δὲ σῶμα εἴργεται τῆς εἰθισμένης ταφῆς· ἔαν δ' ὁ  
 ἐγκαλέσας δόξῃ μὴ δικαίως κατηγορεῖν, μεγάλοις  
 5 περιπίπτει προστίμοις, ὅταν δὲ μηδεὶς ὑπα-  
 κούσῃ κατήγορος ἢ παρελθῶν γνωσθῆ συκοφάντης  
 ὑπάρχειν, οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς ἀποθήμενοι τὸ πένθος  
 ἐγκωμιάζουσι τὸν τετελευτηκότα, καὶ περὶ μὲν  
 τοῦ γένους οὐδὲν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἅπαντας ὁμοίως ἐν-  
 γενεῖς εἶναι τοὺς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, τὴν δ' ἐκ παιδὸς  
 ἀγωγὴν καὶ παιδείαν διελθόντες, πάλιν ἀνδρὸς  
 γεγονότος τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἔτι δὲ  
 τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ  
 διεξέρχονται, καὶ παρακαλοῦσι τοὺς κάτω θεοὺς  
 δέξασθαι σύννοικον τοῖς εὐσεβέσι· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος  
 ἐπευφημεῖ καὶ ἀποσεμνύνει τὴν δόξαν τοῦ τετε-

cially engaged in that service, and which is in the  
 charge of the boatman whom the Egyptians in their  
 language call *charon*.<sup>1</sup> For this reason they insist  
 that Orpheus, having visited Egypt in ancient  
 times and witnessed this custom, merely invented  
 his account of Hades, in part reproducing this prac-  
 tice and in part inventing on his own account; but  
 this point we shall discuss more fully a little later.<sup>2</sup>  
 At any rate, after the *baris* has been launched into  
 the lake but before the coffin containing the body  
 is set in it, the law gives permission to anyone who  
 wishes to arraign the dead person. Now if anyone  
 presents himself and makes a charge, and shows that  
 the dead man had led an evil life, the judges announce  
 the decision to all and the body is denied the cus-  
 tomary burial; but if it shall appear that the accuser  
 has made an unjust charge he is severely punished.  
 When no accuser appears or the one who presents  
 himself is discovered to be a slanderer, the relatives  
 put their mourning aside and laud the deceased.  
 And of his ancestry, indeed, they say nothing, as  
 the Greeks do, since they hold that all Egyptians are  
 equally well born, but after recounting his training and  
 education from childhood, they describe his righteous-  
 ness and justice after he attained to manhood, also  
 his self-control and his other virtues, and call upon  
 the gods of the lower world to receive him into the  
 company of the righteous; and the multitude shouts  
 its assent and extols the glory of the deceased, as of

<sup>1</sup> Professor J. A. Wilson, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, kindly writes me: "There is no evidence to support the statement of Diodorus that the Egyptians called the underworld ferryman, or any boatman connected with death, *Charon*."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 96.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ Vogel: περὶ C F, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> πᾶσιν omitted by C F, Bekker, Dindorf.

λευτηκότος, ὡς τὸν αἰῶνα διατρίβειν μέλλοντος  
 6 καθ' ἄδου μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν. τὸ δὲ σῶμα  
 τιθέασιν οἱ μὲν ἰδίους ἔχοντες τάφους ἐν ταῖς  
 ἀποδεδειγμέναις θήκαις, οἷς δ' οὐχ ὑπάρχουσι  
 τάφων κτίσεις, καινὸν οἶκημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τὴν  
 ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀσφαλέστατον τῶν  
 τοίχων ὀρθὴν ἰστάσι τὴν λάρνακα, καὶ τοὺς  
 κωλυομένους δὲ διὰ τὰς κατηγορίας ἢ πρὸς  
 δάνειον ὑποθήκας θάπτεσθαι τιθέασι κατὰ τὴν  
 ἰδίαν οἰκίαν οὐς ὕστερον ἐνίοτε παίδων παῖδες  
 εὐπορήσαντες καὶ τῶν τε συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν  
 ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσαντες μεγαλοπρεποῦς ταφῆς  
 ἀξιοῦσι.

93. Σεμνότατον δὲ διείληπται παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις  
 τὸ τοὺς γονεῖς ἢ τοὺς προγόνους φανῆναι περιττό-  
 τερον τετιμηκότας εἰς τὴν αἰῶνον οἴκησιν μετα-  
 στάντας. νόμιμον δ' ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ  
 δίδοναι τὰ σῶματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων γονέων  
 εἰς ὑποθήκην δανείου τοῖς δὲ μὴ λυσαμένοις  
 ὄνειδος τε τὸ μέγιστον ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ μετὰ τὴν  
 2 τελευτὴν στέρησις ταφῆς. θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις  
 προσηκόντως τοὺς ταῦτα διατάξαντας, ὅτι τὴν  
 ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τὴν σπουδαιότητα τῶν ἡθῶν οὐκ  
 ἐκ τῆς τῶν ζώντων ὁμιλίας μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν τετελευτηκότων ταφῆς καὶ θεραπείας ἐφ'  
 ὅσον ἦν ἐνδεχόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνοικιοῦν  
 3 ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνες μύθοις  
 πεπρασμένοις καὶ φήμαις διαβεβλημένοις τὴν  
 περὶ τούτων πίστιν παρέδωκαν,<sup>1</sup> τὴν τε τῶν  
 εὐσεβῶν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν πονηρῶν τιμωρίαν  
 τοιγαροῦν οὐχ οἷον ἰσχύσαι δύναται ταῦτα  
 προτρέψασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριστον  
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one who is about to spend eternity in Hades among  
 the righteous. Those who have private sepulchres  
 lay the body in a vault reserved for it, but those who  
 possess none construct a new chamber in their own  
 home, and stand the coffin upright against the  
 firmest wall. Any also who are forbidden burial  
 because of the accusations brought against them or  
 because their bodies have been made security for a  
 loan they lay away in their own homes; and it some-  
 times happens that their sons' sons, when they have  
 become prosperous and paid off the debt or cleared  
 them of the charges, give them later a magnificent  
 funeral.

93. It is a most sacred duty, in the eyes of the  
 Egyptians, that they should be seen to honour their  
 parents or ancestors all the more after they have  
 passed to their eternal home. Another custom of  
 theirs is to put up the bodies of their deceased  
 parents as security for a loan; and failure to repay  
 such debts is attended with the deepest disgrace as  
 well as with deprivation of burial at death. And a  
 person may well admire the men who established  
 these customs, because they strove to inculcate in  
 the inhabitants, so far as was possible, virtuousness  
 and excellence of character, by means not only of  
 their converse with the living but also of their burial  
 and affectionate care of the dead. For the Greeks  
 have handed down their beliefs in such matters—in  
 the honour paid to the righteous and the punishment  
 of the wicked—by means of fanciful tales and dis-  
 credited legends; consequently these accounts not  
 only cannot avail to spur their people on to the best

<sup>1</sup> παρέδωκαν Vogel: παραδεδώκασι B, Bekker, Dindorf.

βίον, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων χλευαζόμενα πολλῆς καταφρονήσεως τυγχάνουσι.  
 4 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις οὐ μυθώδους, ἀλλ' ὄρατῆς τοῖς μὲν πονηροῖς τῆς κολάσεως, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς τῆς τιμῆς οὐσης, καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀμφότεροι τῶν ἑαυτοῖς προσηκόντων ὑπομιμνήσκονται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτου τοῦ τρόπου ἡ<sup>1</sup> μεγίστη καὶ συμφωρωτάτη διάρθρωσις γίνεται τῶν ἠθῶν. κρατίστους δ', οἶμαι, τῶν νόμων ἡγήτεον οὐκ ἐξ ὧν εὐπορωτάτους, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπιεικεστάτους τοῖς ἦθεσι καὶ πολιτικωτάτους συμβήσεται γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

94. Ῥητέον δ' ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν γενομένων νομοθετῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον τῶν οὕτως ἐξηλλαγμένα καὶ παράδοξα νόμιμα καταδειξάντων. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν παλαιάν τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον βίου κατάστασιν, τὴν μυθολογουμένην γεγονέναι ἐπὶ τε τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἠρώων, πείσαι φασι πρῶτον ἐγγράπτοις νόμοις χρῆσασθαι τὰ πλήθη τὸν Μνευην, ἄνδρα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινότατον τῶν μνημονομένων. προσποιηθῆναι δ' αὐτῷ τὸν Ἑρμῆν δεδωκέναι τούτους, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους ἐσομένους, καθάπερ παρ' Ἑλλησι ποιῆσαι φασιν ἐν μὲν τῇ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκούργον, τὸν μὲν παρὰ Διός, τὸν δὲ παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος φήσαντα  
 2 τούτους παρειληφέναι. καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔθνεσι παραδέδοται τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον

life, but, on the contrary, being scoffed at by worthless men, are received with contempt. But among the Egyptians, since these matters do not belong to the realm of myth but men see with their own eyes that punishment is meted out to the wicked and honour to the good, every day of their lives both the wicked and the good are reminded of their obligations and in this way the greatest and most profitable amendment of men's characters is effected. And the best laws, in my opinion, must be held to be, not those by which men become most prosperous, but those by which they become most virtuous in character and best fitted for citizenship.

94. We must speak also of the lawgivers who have arisen in Egypt and who instituted customs unusual and strange. After the establishment of settled life in Egypt in early times, which took place, according to the mythical account, in the period of the gods and heroes, the first, they say, to persuade the multitudes to use written laws was Mneves,<sup>1</sup> a man not only great of soul but also in his life the most public-spirited of all lawgivers whose names are recorded. According to the tradition he claimed that Hermes had given the laws to him, with the assurance that they would be the cause of great blessings, just as among the Greeks, they say, Minos did in Crete and Lycurgus among the Lacedaemonians, the former saying that he received his laws from Zeus and the latter his from Apollo. Also among several other peoples tradition says that this kind of a device was used and was the cause of much good to such as

<sup>1</sup> ἢ Bekker, Vogel : omitted by Vulgate and Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Apparently Mneves is only a variant of the name Menas of chaps. 43 and 45 (cp. A. Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, p. 163, n. 1).

γενέσθαι τοῖς πεισθείσι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀριανοῖς Ζαθραύστην ἰστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδοῖναι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀθανάτιζοσι Ζάλμοξιν ὡσαύτως τὴν κοινὴν Ἔστίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωυσῆν τὸν Ἰαῷ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν, εἶτε θανμαστήν καὶ θεῖαν ὄλωσ ἔννοιαν εἶναι κρίναντας τὴν μέλλουσαν ὠφελῆσειν ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος, εἶτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δύναμιν τῶν εὐρεῖν λεγομένων τοῦ νόμου ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν ὄχλον μᾶλλον ὑπακούσεσθαι διαλαβόντας.

- 3 Δεύτερον δὲ νομοθέτην Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ γενέσθαι Σάσυχιν, ἄνδρα συνέσει διαφέροντα. τοῦτον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι νόμοις ἄλλα τε προσθεῖναι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν τιμὴν ἐπιμελέστατα διατάξαι, εὐρετὴν δὲ καὶ γεωμετρίας γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀστρον θεωρίαν τε καὶ παρατήρησιν διδάξαι τοὺς ἐγχωρίους.
- 4 τρίτον δὲ λεγοῦσι Σεσόωσιν τὸν βασιλέα μὴ μόνον τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις ἐπιφανεστάτας κατεργάσασθαι τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὸ μάχιμον ἔθνος νομοθεσίαν συστήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τὰ περὶ τὴν στρατείαν σύμ-
- 5 παντα διακοσμήσαι. τέταρτον δὲ νομοθέτην φασὶ γενέσθαι Βόκχοριν τὸν βασιλέα, σοφόν

believed it. Thus it is recorded that among the Arians Zathraustes<sup>1</sup> claimed that the Good Spirit gave him his laws, among the people known as the Getae who represent themselves to be immortal Zalmoxis<sup>2</sup> asserted the same of their common goddess Hestia, and among the Jews Moyses referred his laws to the god who is invoked as Iao.<sup>3</sup> They all did this either because they believed that a conception which would help humanity was marvellous and wholly divine, or because they held that the common crowd would be more likely to obey the laws if their gaze were directed towards the majesty and power of those to whom their laws were ascribed.

A second lawgiver, according to the Egyptians, was Sasychis,<sup>4</sup> a man of unusual understanding. He made sundry additions to the existing laws and, in particular, laid down with the greatest precision the rites to be used in honouring the gods, and he was the inventor of geometry and taught his countrymen both to speculate about the stars and to observe them. A third one, they tell us, was the king Sesóosis,<sup>5</sup> who not only performed the most renowned deeds in war of any king of Egypt but also organized the rules governing the warrior class<sup>6</sup> and, in conformity with these, set in order all the regulations that have to do with military campaigns. A fourth lawgiver, they say, was the king Bocchoris,<sup>7</sup> a wise

<sup>1</sup> This pronunciation seems to reflect a Hebrew form Yahu; cp. *Psalms* 68. 4. "His name is Jah."

<sup>2</sup> Sasychis is the Asychis of Herodotus (2. 136), identified with Shepseskaf of the Fourth Dynasty by H. R. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*<sup>2</sup>, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. chaps. 53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. chap. 73.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned before in chaps. 45, 65, 79.

<sup>1</sup> This form of the name is much nearer to the old Iranian form, Zarathustra, than the later corruption Zoroaster.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (4. 93 ff.) gives more details about Zalmoxis, or Gebeleizis, as he also calls him, and the Getae "who pretend to be immortal." Strabo (7. 3. 5) calls him Zamolxis and makes him a former slave of Pythagoras, a story already known to Herodotus and rejected by him.

τινα καὶ πανουργία διαφέροντα. τούτου οὖν διατάξαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων ἐξακριβῶσαι γενέσθαι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὕτω συνετὸν ὥστε πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαγνωσθέντων διὰ τὴν περιττότητα μνημονεύεσθαι μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν τῷ μὲν σώματι παντελῶς ἀσθενῆ, τῷ δὲ τρόπῳ πάντων φιλοχρηματώτατον.

95. Μετὰ δὲ τούτου προσελθεῖν λέγουσι τοῖς νόμοις Ἄμασιν τὸν βασιλέα, ὃν ἰστοροῦσι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νομάρχας διατάξαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκονομίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου. παραδέδοτα δὲ συνετὰ τε γεγονέναι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιεικῆς καὶ δίκαιος ὢν ἕνεκα καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους αὐτῷ περιτεθεικέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ὄντι γένους βασιλικοῦ. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους, σπουδάζοντας περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀγῶνα, πρὸς βεβητὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσοντας πῶς ἂν γένοιτο δικαιοτάτος τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν, ἔαν μηδεὶς Ἡλείος ἀγωνίζηται.

3 Πολυκράτους δὲ τοῦ Σαμίων δυνάστου συνθεμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν, καὶ βιαίως προσφερομένου τοῖς τε πολίταις καὶ τοῖς εἰς Σάμον καταπλέουσι ξένοις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λέγεται πρὸς βεβητὰς ἀποστείλαντα παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μετριότητα οὐ προσέχοντος δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγους ἐπιστολὴν γράφει τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν ξενίαν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλυόμενον οὐ γὰρ βούλεσθαι λυπηθῆναι συντόμως ἑαυτὸν, ἀκριβῶς

sort of a man and conspicuous for his craftiness. He drew up all the regulations which governed the kings and gave precision to the laws on contracts; and so wise was he in his judicial decisions as well, that many of his judgments are remembered for their excellence even to our day. And they add that he was very weak in body, and that by disposition he was the most avaricious of all their kings.

95. After Bocchoris, they say, their king Amasis<sup>1</sup> gave attention to the laws, who, according to their accounts, drew up the rules governing the nomarchs and the entire administration of Egypt. And tradition describes him as exceedingly wise and in disposition virtuous and just, for which reasons the Egyptians invested him with the kingship, although he was not of the royal line. They say also that the citizens of Elis, when they were giving their attention to the Olympic Games, sent an embassy to him to ask how they could be conducted with the greatest fairness, and that he replied, "Provided no man of Elis participates." And though Polycrates, the ruler of the Samians, had been on terms of friendship with him, when he began oppressing both citizens and such foreigners as put in at Samos, it is said that Amasis at first sent an embassy to him and urged him to moderation; and when no attention was paid to this, he wrote a letter in which he broke up the relations of friendship and hospitality that had existed between them; for he did not wish, as he said, to be plunged into grief in a short while, knowing right

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 68. The story of the embassy of Eleans is given more fully in Herodotus (2. 160), where, however, the Egyptian king consulted is called Psammis.

<sup>1</sup> Ὀλυμπικὸν Vogel: Ὀλυμπιακὸν C, Bekker, Dindorf.

εἰδῶτα διότι<sup>1</sup> πλησίον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὸ κακῶς παθεῖν οὕτω προεστηκότι τῆς τυραννίδος. θαυμασθῆναι δ' αὐτόν φασι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι διὰ τε τὴν ἐπιεικειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ Πολυκράτει ταχέως ἀποβῆναι τὰ ρηθέντα.

4 Ἐκτον δὲ λέγεται τὸν Ξέρξου πατέρα Δαρείων τοῖς νόμοις ἐπιστήναι τοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μισήσαντα γὰρ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν εἰς τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱερά γενομένην ὑπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ προβασιλεύσαντος ζηλώσαι βίον ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλόθεον. ὀμιλήσαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ μεταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς τε θεολογίας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένων πράξεων ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἱστορήσαντα τὴν τε μεγαλοψυχίαν τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐνοίαν μιμήσασθαι τὸν<sup>4</sup> ἐκείνων βίον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τηλικαύτης τυχεῖν τιμῆς ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ζῶντα μὲν θεῶν προσαγορεύεσθαι<sup>5</sup> μόνον τῶν ἀπάντων βασιλέων, τελευτήσαντα δὲ τιμῶν τυχεῖν ἴσων τοῖς τὸ παλαιὸν νομιμώτατα βασιλεύσασι κατ' Αἴγυπτον.

6 Τὴν μὲν οὖν κοινὴν νομοθεσίαν συντελεσθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν τῆς διαδεδομένης παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις πολλὰ τῶν καλῶς ἔχειν δοκούτων νομίμων φασὶ κινήθῆναι, Μακεδόνων ἐπικρατησάντων καὶ καταλυσάντων εἰς τέλος τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ἐγχωρίων.

<sup>1</sup> διότι Vogel: ὅτι Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς Vogel: αὐτὸν Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν after θεολογίας added by C, Bekker, Dindorf.

well as he did that misfortune is near at hand for the ruler who maintains a tyranny in such fashion. And he was admired, they say, among the Greeks both because of his virtuous character and because his words to Polycrates were speedily fulfilled.

A sixth man to concern himself with the laws of the Egyptians, it is said, was Darius the father of Xerxes; for he was incensed at the lawlessness which his predecessor, Cambyses, had shown in his treatment of the sanctuaries of Egypt, and aspired to live a life of virtue and of piety towards the gods. Indeed he associated with the priests of Egypt themselves, and took part with them in the study of theology and of the events recorded in their sacred books; and when he learned from these books about the greatness of soul of the ancient kings and about their goodwill towards their subjects he imitated their manner of life. For this reason he was the object of such great honour that he alone of all the kings was addressed as a god by the Egyptians in his lifetime, while at his death he was accorded equal honours with the ancient kings of Egypt who had ruled in strictest accord with the laws.

The system, then, of law used throughout the land was the work, they say, of the men just named, and gained a renown that spread among other peoples everywhere; but in later times, they say, many institutions which were regarded as good were changed, after the Macedonians had conquered and destroyed once and for all the kingship of the native line.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν Reiske: τῶν.

<sup>5</sup> προσαγορεύεσθαι Bekker, Vogel: προσαγορευθῆναι II, Dindorf.

96. Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων ρητέον ὅσοι τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησι δεδοξασμένων ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ παρέβαλον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, ἵνα τῶν ἐνταῦθα νομίμων καὶ τῆς<sup>1</sup> παιδείας μετάσχωσιν. οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς τῶν Αἴγυπτίων ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις παραβαλεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς<sup>2</sup> τὸ παλαιὸν Ὀρφέα τε καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Μελάμποδα καὶ Δαίδαλον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὀμηρὸν τε τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Λυκούργον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, ἔτι δὲ Σόλωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον, ἔλθειν δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν τὸν Σάμιον καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν Ἐῦδοξον, ἔτι δὲ Δημόκριτον τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην καὶ Οἰνοπίδην τὸν Χίου. πάντων δὲ τούτων σημεῖα δεικνύουσι τῶν μὲν εἰκόνας, τῶν δὲ τόπων ἢ κατασκευασμάτων ὁμώνυμους προσηγορίας, ἐκ τε τῆς ἐκάστῃ ζηλωθείσης παιδείας ἀποδείξεις φέρουσι, συνιστάντες ἐξ Αἴγυπτου μετενηχῆθαι πάντα δι' ὧν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐθαυμάσθησαν.

<sup>4</sup> Ὀρφέα μὲν γὰρ τῶν μυστικῶν τελετῶν τὰ πλείστα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πλάνην ὀργαζόμενα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐν ἄδου μυθοποιῶν ἀπενέγκασθαι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὀσίριδος τελετὴν τῇ Διούσῳ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος τῇ τῆς Δημητρος ὁμοιότητι ὑπάρχειν, τῶν ὀνομάτων μόνον<sup>3</sup> ἐνῆλλαγμένων· τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν ἄδου τιμωρίας καὶ τοὺς τῶν εὐσεβῶν λιμῶνας καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰδωλο-

96. But now that we have examined these matters, we must enumerate what Greeks, who have won fame for their wisdom and learning, visited Egypt in ancient times, in order to become acquainted with its customs and learning. For the priests of Egypt recount from the records of their sacred books that they were visited in early times by Orpheus, Musaeus, Melampus, and Daedalus, also by the poet Homer and Lycurgus of Sparta, later by Solon of Athens and the philosopher Plato, and that there also came Pythagoras of Samos and the mathematician Eudoxus,<sup>1</sup> as well as Democritus of Abdera and Oenopides<sup>2</sup> of Chios. As evidence for the visits of all these men they point in some cases to their statues and in others to places or buildings<sup>3</sup> which bear their names, and they offer proofs from the branch of learning which each one of these men pursued, arguing that all the things for which they were admired among the Greeks were transferred from Egypt.

Orpheus, for instance, brought from Egypt most of his mystic ceremonies, the orgiastic rites that accompanied his wanderings, and his fabulous account of his experiences in Hades. For the rite of Osiris is the same as that of Dionysus and that of Isis very similar to that of Demeter, the names alone having been interchanged; and the punishments in Hades of the unrighteous, the Fields of the Righteous, and the fantastic conceptions, current among the

<sup>1</sup> The famous astronomer, geographer, and mathematician of Cnidus, pupil of Plato. His stay in Egypt is well attested.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. p. 336, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, according to Strabo (17. 1. 29), in Heliopolis were pointed out the houses where Plato and Eudoxus had stopped.

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Vogel: omitted Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτοὺς Vogel: αὐτοῖς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> μόνων Vogel: μόνον Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

ποιίας ἀναπεπλάσμενας παρεισαγαγεῖν μιμησά-  
μενον τὰ γινόμενα περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τὰς κατ'  
6 Αἴγυπτον. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ψυχοπομπὸν Ἑρμῆν  
κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν νόμιμον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνα-  
γαγόντα τὸ τοῦ Ἄπιδος σῶμα μέχρι τινὸς παρα-  
διδόναι τῷ περικειμένῳ τὴν τοῦ Κερβέρου προτο-  
μῆν. τοῦ δ' Ὀρφῆως τοῦτο καταδείξαντος παρὰ  
τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸν Ὀμηρον ἀκολούθως τοῦτω  
θεῖναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν

Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήμιος ἐξεκαλεῖτο  
ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων, ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσίν.

εἶτα πάλιν ὑποβάντα λέγειν

παρ' δ' ἴσαν Ὀκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα  
πέτρην,  
ἠδὲ παρ' Ἥελιοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον Ὀνειρίων  
ἦσαν αἶψα δ' ἴκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα,  
ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων.

7 Ὀκεανὸν μὲν οὖν καλεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ τὸ  
τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν διάλεκτον  
Ὀκεανὸν λέγειν τὸν Νεῖλον, Ἥλιου δὲ πύλας  
τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν, λειμῶνα δ'  
ὀνομάζειν,<sup>1</sup> τὴν μυθολογουμένην οἴκησιν τῶν  
μετηλλαχότων, τὸν παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τόπον τὴν  
καλουμένην μὲν Ἀχερουσίαν, πλησίον δὲ οὖσαν  
τῆς Μέμφεως, ὄντων περὶ αὐτὴν λειμώνων καλ-  
λίστων, ἔλους καὶ λωτοῦ καὶ καλάμου. ἀκο-  
λούθως δ' εἰρήσθαι καὶ τὸ κατοικεῖν τοὺς  
τελευτήσαντας ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις διὰ τὸ  
τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ταφὰς τὰς πλείστας καὶ  
μεγίστας ἐνταῦθα γίνεσθαι, διαπορθμεομένων

<sup>1</sup> δ' ὀνομάζειν Eichstädt: δι' νομίζειν.

many, which are figments of the imagination—all these were introduced by Orpheus in imitation of the Egyptian funeral customs. Hermes, for instance, the Conductor of Souls, according to the ancient Egyptian custom, brings up the body of the Apis to a certain point and then gives it over to one who wears the mask of Cerberus. And after Orpheus had introduced this notion among the Greeks, Homer<sup>1</sup> followed it when he wrote:

Cyllenian Hermes then did summon forth  
The sniters' souls, holding his wand in hand.

And again a little further<sup>2</sup> on he says:

They passed Oceanus' streams, the Gleaming  
Rock,  
The Portals of the Sun, the Land of Dreams;  
And now they reached the Meadow of Asphodel,  
Where dwell the Souls, the shades of men  
outworn.

Now he calls the river "Oceanus"<sup>3</sup> because in their language the Egyptians speak of the Nile as Oceanus; the "Portals of the Sun" (*Heliopylai*) is his name for the city of Heliopolis; and "Meadows," the mythical dwelling of the dead, is his term for the place near the lake which is called Acherousia, which is near Memphis, and around it are fairest meadows, of a marsh-land and lotus and reeds. The same explanation also serves for the statement that the dwelling of the dead is in these regions, since the most and the largest tombs of the Egyptians are situated there, the

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey* 24. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 11-14.

<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact the only name for the Nile in Homer is *Aίγυπτος*.



μὲν τῶν νεκρῶν διὰ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης, τιθεμένων δὲ τῶν σωματίων εἰς τὰς ἐνταῦθα κειμένας θήκας.

8 Συμφωνεῖν δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καθ' ἄδου μυθολογούμενα τοῖς ἔτι νῦν γινόμενοις κατ' Αἴγυπτον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ διακομίζον τὰ σώματα πλοῖον βάρην καλεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἐπίβαθρον<sup>1</sup> τῷ πορθμῆι δίδοσθαι, καλουμένῳ 9 κατὰ τὴν ἐγγχώριον διάλεκτον χάρωνι. εἶναι δὲ λέγουσι πλησίον τῶν τόπων τούτων καὶ σκοτίας Ἐκάτης ἱερὸν καὶ πύλας Κωκυτοῦ καὶ Ἀθήης διελημμένας χαλκοῖς ὀχεύουσιν. ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πύλας Ἀληθείας, καὶ πλησίον τούτων εἶδωλον ἀκέφαλον ἐστάναι Δίκης.

97. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεμυθοποιημένων διαμένει παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις, διατηρουμένης ἔτι τῆς προσηγορίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ 2 πράττειν ἐνεργείας. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθῶν πόλει, πέραν τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τῆς Μέμφεως, πίθον εἶναι τετρημένον, εἰς ὃν τῶν ἱερέων ἔξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὕδωρ φέρειν 3 εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου· τὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὄκνον<sup>2</sup> μυθοποιεῖαν δέικνυσθαι πλησίον κατὰ τινα πανήγυριν συντελουμένην, πλέκοντος μὲν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρχὴν σχοινίου μακρὰν, πολλῶν δ' ἐκ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ῥόμισμα τὸν ὀβαλὸν after ἐπίβαθρον deleted by Schäfer.

<sup>2</sup> Ὄκνον Stephanus: ἕνον.

dead being ferried across both the river and Lake Acherousia and their bodies laid in the vaults situated there.

The other myths about Hades, current among the Greeks, also agree with the customs which are practised even now in Egypt. For the boat which receives the bodies is called *baris*,<sup>1</sup> and the passenger's fee is given to the boatman, who in the Egyptian tongue is called *charon*. And near these regions, they say, are also the "Shades," which is a temple of Hecate, and "portals" of Cocytus and Lethe, which are covered at intervals with bands of bronze.<sup>2</sup> There are, moreover, other portals, namely, those of Truth, and near them stands a headless statue<sup>3</sup> of Justice.

97. Many other things as well, of which mythology tells, are still to be found among the Egyptians, the name being still preserved and the customs actually being practised. In the city of Acanthi, for instance, across the Nile in the direction of Libya one hundred and twenty stades from Memphis, there is a perforated jar to which three hundred and sixty priests, one each day, bring water from the Nile;<sup>4</sup> and not far from there the actual performance of the myth of Ocnus<sup>5</sup> is to be seen in one of their festivals, where a single man is weaving at one end of a long

<sup>3</sup> The Greek word may mean "statue" and "shade," the latter meaning occurring in the last line of the passage above from Homer.

<sup>4</sup> This is a reference to the fifty daughters of Danaus, who after death were condemned to the endless labour of pouring water into vessels with holes.

<sup>5</sup> Ocnus was another figure of the Greek underworld who was represented as continually labouring at the weaving of a rope which was devoured by an unseen ass behind him as rapidly as it was woven.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 92; *baris* is also a Greek word for boat.

<sup>2</sup> The bronze bands would resemble the rays of the "Portals of the Sun," in the passage from Homer cited above.

- 4 ὀπίσω λυόντων τὸ πλεκόμενον. Μελάμποδα δὲ φασὶ μετενεγκεῖν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὰ Διονύσω νομιζόμενα τελεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ Κρόνου μυθολογούμενα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Τιτανομαχίας καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν. τὸν δὲ Δαίδαλον λέγουσιν ἀπομιμήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίθου πλοκὴν τοῦ διαμένοντος μὲν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καιροῦ, οἰκοδομηθέντος δὲ, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασιν, ὑπὸ Μένδητος, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μάρρου τοῦ βασιλέως, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον τῆς Μίνω βασιλείας.
- 6 τὸν τε ῥυθμὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀνδριάντων τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῖς ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου κατασκευασθείσι παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι. τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον πρόπυλον ἐν Μέμφει τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου Δαίδαλον ἀρχιτεκτονῆσαι, καὶ θαυμασθέντα τυχεῖν εἰκόνας ξυλίνης κατὰ τὸ προεირημένον ἱερὸν ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶ δεδημιουργημένης, πέρασ δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐφυῖαν ἀξιώθηντα μεγάλης δόξης καὶ πολλὰ προσεξευρόντα τυχεῖν ἰσοθέων τιμῶν, κατὰ γὰρ μίαν τὴν πρὸς τῇ Μέμφει νήσων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἱερὸν εἶναι Δαιδάλου τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.
- 7 Τῆς δ' Ὀμήρου παρουσίας ἄλλα τε σημεῖα φέρουσι καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τῆς Ἑλένης γενομένην παρὰ Μενελάω Τηλεμάχου φαρμακείαν καὶ λήθην τῶν συμβεβηκότων κακῶν. τὸ γὰρ νηπενθὲς φάρμακον, ὃ λαβεῖν φησιν ὁ ποιητῆς τὴν Ἑλένην ἐκ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Θηβῶν παρὰ Πολυ-

rope and many others beyond him are unravelling it. Melampus also, they say, brought from Egypt the rites which the Greeks celebrate in the name of Dionysus, the myths about Cronus and the War with the Titans, and, in a word, the account of the things which happened to the gods. Daedalus, they relate, copied the maze of the Labyrinth which stands to our day and was built, according to some, by Mendes,<sup>1</sup> but according to others, by king Marrus, many years before the reign of Minos. And the proportions of the ancient statues of Egypt are the same as in those made by Daedalus among the Greeks. The very beautiful propylon of the temple of Hephaestus in Memphis was also built by Daedalus, who became an object of admiration and was granted a statue of himself in wood, which was made by his own hands and set up in this temple; furthermore, he was accorded great fame because of his genius and, after making many discoveries, was granted divine honours; for on one of the islands off Memphis there stands even to this day a temple of Daedalus, which is honoured by the people of that region.

And as proof of the presence of Homer in Egypt they adduce various pieces of evidence, and especially the healing drink which brings forgetfulness of all past evils, which was given by Helen to Telemachus in the home of Menelaüs. For it is manifest that the poet had acquired exact knowledge of the "nepenthic"<sup>2</sup> drug which he says Helen brought from Egyptian Thebes, given her by Polydamna the

κακῶν ἐπιληθον ἀπάντων. "Straightway she cast into the wine of which they were drinking a drug to quiet all pain and strife, and bring forgetfulness of every ill" (tr. Murray in L.C.L.).

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 61.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "quieting pain." Cp. *Odyssey* 4. 220-21: αὐτὴν ἔρ' ἐς οἶνον βάλε φάρμακον, ἔνθεν ἔπινον, νηπενθέε τ' ἄχολόν τε,

δάμνης τῆς Θῶνος γυναικός, ἀκριβῶς ἐξητακῶς φαίνεται ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ γυναικας τῇ προειρημένῃ δυνάμει χρῆσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ παρὰ μόναις ταῖς Διοσπολίτισιν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης φάρμακον εὐρῆσθαι φασὶ τὰς δὲ Θῆβας καὶ Διὸς πόλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπάρχειν. τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην ὀνομάζεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις χρυσὴν ἐκ παλαιᾶς παραδόσεως, καὶ πεδίον εἶναι καλούμενον χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μώμεμφιν.

9 τὰ τε περὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν μυθολογούμενα περὶ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ τὴν εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐκεδήμιαν ἐκείθεν αὐτὸν μετενεγκεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Διὸς πραιοῦσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τινας πάλιν ἐπιστρέφειν, ὡς ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος τὴν τε συνουσίαν τῶν θεῶν τούτων, ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν ναῶν ἀνακομιζομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ὄρος ἄνθεσι παντοίοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων κατεστρωμένον.

98. Καὶ Λυκοῦργον δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Σόλωνα πολλὰ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου νομίμων εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν κατατάξαι νομοθεσίας. Πυθαγόραν τε τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωμετρίαν θεωρήματα καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμούς, ἔτι δὲ τὴν εἰς πᾶν ζῆον τῆς ψυχῆς μεταβολὴν μαθεῖν παρ' Αἰγυπτίων. ὑπολαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔτη διατρίψαι πέντε καὶ πολλὰ διδασχθῆναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν. τὸν τε Οἰνοπίδην ὁμοίως συνδιατρίψαντα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι

wife of Thon; for, they allege, even to this day the women of this city use this powerful remedy, and in ancient times, they say, a drug to cure anger and sorrow was discovered exclusively among the women of Diospolis; but Thebes and Diospolis, they add, are the same city. Again, Aphrodite is called "golden"<sup>1</sup> by the natives in accordance with an old tradition, and near the city which is called Momemphis there is a plain<sup>2</sup> of golden Aphrodite." Likewise, the myths which are related about the dalliance of Zeus and Hera and of their journey to Ethiopia he also got from Egypt; for each year among the Egyptians the shrine of Zeus is carried across the river into Libya and then brought back some days later, as if the god were arriving from Ethiopia; and as for the dalliance of these deities, in their festal gatherings the priests carry the shrines of both to an elevation that has been strewn with flowers of every description.<sup>3</sup>

98. Lycurgus also and Plato and Solon, they say, incorporated many Egyptian customs into their own legislation. And Pythagoras learned from Egyptians his teachings about the gods, his geometrical propositions and theory of numbers, as well as the transmigration of the soul into every living thing. Democritus<sup>3</sup> also, as they assert, spent five years among them and was instructed in many matters relating to astrology. Oenopides likewise passed some time

<sup>1</sup> The Homeric passage which Diodorus has in mind is in the 14th Book of the *Iliad* (ll. 346 ff.): "The son of Kronos clasped his consort in his arms. And beneath them the divine earth sent forth fresh new grass, and dewy lotus, and crocus, and hyacinth, thick and soft . . ." (tr. Lang, Leaf, Myers).

<sup>2</sup> Democritus of Abdera, the distinguished scientist of the fifth century B.C., author of the "atomic" theory.

<sup>1</sup> A reference to the epithet constantly used by Homer to describe Aphrodite.

καὶ ἀστρολόγοις μαθεῖν ἄλλα τε καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον ὡς λοξὴν μὲν ἔχει τὴν πορείαν, ἐναντίαν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀστροῖς τὴν  
 4 φορὰν ποιεῖται. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐδοξὸν ἀστρολογησάντα παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκδόντα τυχεῖν ἀξιολόγου δόξης.

5 Τῶν τε ἀγαλματοποιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς μάλιστα διωνομασμένους διατετριφέναι παρ' αὐτοῖς Τηλεκλέα καὶ Θεόδωρον, τοὺς Ῥοίκου μὲν νιούς, κατασκευάσαντας δὲ τοῖς Σαμίσις τὸ  
 6 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου ξῖδανον. τοῦ γὰρ ἀγάλματος ἐν Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Τηλεκλέους ἱστορεῖται τὸ ἤμισυ δημιουργηθῆναι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἔφεσον ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ Θεοδώρου τὸ ἕτερον μέρος συντελεσθῆναι· συντεθέντα δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ μέρη συμφωνεῖν οὕτως ὥστε δοκεῖν ὑφ' ἐνὸς τὸ πᾶν ἔργον συντετελέσθαι.<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> ἔργον συντετελέσθαι Vogel: ὄμα κατασκευάσθαι OF, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Oenopides of Chios was a mathematician and astronomer of the fifth century B.C. According to this statement he observed the obliquity of the ecliptic, which we now know to be about 23½°. The fact that the sun's motion on the celestial sphere is slower than that of the stars causes an apparently retrograde movement of the sun relative to the stars.

<sup>2</sup> Doubtless the cult statue.

<sup>3</sup> The following sentences are perplexing. The translator is comforted by the knowledge that they have vexed others who are more experienced both in Egyptian art and in Greek. This passage has been discussed last by Heinrich Schäfer (*Von ägyptischer Kunst*<sup>2</sup>, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 350-51), and the remarks and translation of so distinguished an authority on Egyptian art deserve to be cited, and in the original.

with the priests and astrologers and learned among other things about the orbit of the sun, that it has an oblique course and moves in a direction opposite to that of the other stars.<sup>1</sup> Like the others, Eudoxus studied astrology with them and acquired a notable fame for the great amount of useful knowledge which he disseminated among the Greeks.

Also of the ancient sculptors the most renowned sojourned among them, namely, Telecles and Theodoros, the sons of Rhoecus, who executed for the people of Samos the wooden<sup>2</sup> statue of the Pythian Apollo. For one half of the statue, as the account is given, was worked by Telecles in Samos, and the other half was finished by his brother Theodoros at Ephesus; and when the two parts were brought together they fitted so perfectly that the whole work had the appearance of having been done by one man. This<sup>3</sup>

"Ich würde die Stelle aus Diodor dem Sizilier (um 50 v. Chr.), die nicht so einfach ist wie sie scheint, am liebsten nur griechisch abdrucken, aber damit wäre dem Leser nicht gedient; ich muss zeigen, wie ich sie auffasse. W. Schubart und U.v. Wilamowitz bin ich dafür dankbar, dass sie, denen der ägyptische Sachverhalt nicht so klar vor Augen steht, mich an einigen Stellen davor bewahrt haben, ihn in Diodors Worte hineinzuzeigen. Ein Trost in meiner Verlegenheit ist mir gewesen, dass v. Wilamowitz mir schrieb, 'Die Übersetzung der Diodorstelle ist in der Tat knifflisch, da er seine Vorlage, Heraklit [a slip of the pen for "Hecataeus"—Tr.] von Abdera (um 300 v. Chr.), verschwommen wiedergibt und überhaupt ein so miserabler Skribent ist.' Ich wage folgende freie Übersetzung:

... Dieses Werkverfahren (nämlich Statuen aus einzeln gefertigten Hälften zusammensetzen) soll bei den Hellenen nirgends in Gebrauch sein, dagegen bei den Ägyptern meistens angewendet werden. (Nur dort sei es denkbar.) Bei ihnen nämlich bestimme man den symmetrischen Bau der Statuen nicht nach der freien Entscheidung des Auges, wie bei den

δὲ τὸ γένος τῆς ἐργασίας παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλησι  
 μηδαμῶς ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις  
 7 μάλιστα συντελεῖσθαι. παρ' ἐκείνοις γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὄρασιν φαντασίας τὴν συμ-  
 μετρίαν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κρίνεσθαι, καθάπερ  
 παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τοὺς λίθους  
 κατακλίνωσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ μερίσαντες κατεργάζονται,  
 τὸ τηλικαῦτα τὸ ἀνάλογον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαχίστων  
 8 ἐπὶ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνεσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς  
 σώματος τὴν κατασκευὴν εἰς ἓν καὶ εἴκοσι μέρη  
 καὶ προσέτι τέταρτον διαιρουμένους τὴν ὅλην  
 ἀποδιδόναι συμμετρίαν τοῦ ζώου. διόπερ ὅταν  
 περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους οἱ τεχνῖται πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 συνῶνται, χωρισθέντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σύμφωνα  
 κατασκευάζουσι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἔργων οὕτως  
 ἀκριβῶς ὥστε ἑκπληξίον παρέχειν τὴν ἰδιότητα  
 9 τῆς πραγματείας αὐτῶν. τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ  
 ξόανον συμφώνως τῇ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φιλοτεχνίᾳ  
 κατὰ τὴν κορυφὴν<sup>2</sup> διχοτομούμενον διορίζει

<sup>1</sup> κατακλίνωσι Bekker, Vogel: Dindorf conjectured κατα-  
 κλίνωσι.

<sup>2</sup> κορυφὴν Rhodomann: ὄροφην.

Hellenen, sondern, nachdem man die Blöcke hingelegt und gesondert zugerichtet habe, hielten sich die Arbeiter dann, jeder innerhalb seiner Hälfte, aber auch in bezug auf die andere, an dieselben Verhältnisse von den kleinsten bis zu den grössten Teilen. Sie zerlegten nämlich die Höhe des ganzen Körpers in einundzwanzig und ein Viertel Teile, und erreichten so den symmetrischen Aufbau der Menschengestalt. Hätten sich also die (beiden) Bildhauer einmal über die Grösse (der Statue) geeinigt, so stimmten sie, selbst von einander getrennt, die Einzelmasse ihrer Werkteile so genau zueinander, dass man ganz verblüfft sei über dieses ihr eigentümliches Verfahren. So bestehe das Kultbild in Samos, etc."

<sup>1</sup> No explanation of the "twenty-one and one-fourth"

method of working is practised nowhere among the Greeks, but is followed generally among the Egyptians. For with them the symmetrical proportions of the statues are not fixed in accordance with the appearance they present to the artist's eye, as is done among the Greeks, but as soon as they lay out the stones and, after apportioning them, are ready to work on them, at that stage they take the proportions, from the smallest parts to the largest; for, dividing the structure of the entire body into twenty-one parts and one-fourth<sup>1</sup> in addition, they express in this way the complete figure in its symmetrical proportions. Consequently, so soon as the artisans agree as to the size of the statue, they separate and proceed to turn out the various sizes assigned to them, in such a way that they correspond, and they do it so accurately that the peculiarity of their system excites amazement.<sup>2</sup> And the wooden statue in Samos, in conformity with the ingenious method of the Egyptians, was cut into two parts from the top of the head down to the private parts

parts has been found in any modern writer. W. Deonna (*Dédale ou la Statue de la Grèce Archaique*, 2 vols., Paris, 1930) translates this sentence, and then adds (I. p. 229): "Mais l'étude de l'art égyptien révèle que celui-ci a connu, comme tout autre art, des proportions très variables, tantôt courtes, tantôt élancées, suivant les temps, et souvent à même époque, et qu'il n'est pas possible de fixer un canon précis."

<sup>2</sup> Since the Egyptian artist had no idea of perspective, each part of a figure, or each member of a group, was portrayed as if seen from directly in front. Therefore the first training of an artist consisted in the making of the separate members of the body, which accounts for the many heads, hands, legs, feet, which come from the Egyptian schools of art. Schäfer (*l.c.*, p. 316, cp. p. 388) suggests that this practice may have given Diodorus the idea that the Egyptians made their statues out of previously prepared blocks of stone.

τοῦ ζώου τὸ μέσον μέχρι τῶν αἰδοίων, ἰσάζον  
ὁμοίως ἑαυτῷ πάντοθεν εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ λέγουσι  
κατὰ τὸ πλείστον παρεμφερές τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις,  
ὡς ἂν τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἔχον παρατεταμένας, τὰ δὲ  
σκέλη διαβεβηκότα.

10 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἱστορουμένων  
καὶ μνήμης ἀξίων ἀρκεῖ τὰ ῥηθέντα· ἡμεῖς δὲ  
κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου πρόθεσιν τὰς  
ἐξῆς πράξεις καὶ μυθολογίας ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην  
διέξιμεν, ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν  
τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις πραχθέντα.

and the statue was divided in the middle, each part exactly matching the other at every point. And they say that this statue is for the most part rather similar to those of Egypt, as having the arms stretched stiffly down the sides and the legs separated in a stride.

Now regarding Egypt, the events which history records and the things that deserve to be mentioned, this account is sufficient; and we shall present in the next Book, in keeping with our profession at the beginning of this Book, the events and legendary accounts next in order, beginning with the part played by the Assyrians in Asia.

**BOOK II**

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν  
Διοδώρου βίβλων

Περὶ Νίνου τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν  
καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέντων.

Περὶ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος γενέσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν  
αὐξήσεως.

Ὡς Νίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔγημε τὴν Σεμίραμιν διὰ τὴν  
ἄρετὴν αὐτῆς.

Ὡς Σεμίραμις τελευτήσαντος Νίνου διαδεξαμένη τὴν  
βασιλείαν πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας πράξεις ἐπετελέεσατο.

Κτίσις Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν κατασκευῆς  
ἀπαγγελία.<sup>1</sup>

Περὶ τοῦ κρεμαστοῦ λεγομένου κήπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν παραδόξων.

Στρατεία Σεμιράμιδος εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰθιοπίαν, ἔτι  
δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικήν.

Περὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων ταύτης <sup>2</sup> τῶν βασιλευσάντων κατὰ  
τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς τρυφῆς τε καὶ ῥαθυμίας.

Ὡς ἔσχατος Σαρδανάπαλλος ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τρυφῆν  
ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Ἀρβάκου τοῦ Μήδου.

Περὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τῆς παρατηρήσεως τῶν  
ἀστρῶν.

Περὶ τῶν βασιλείων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ τῆς περὶ  
τούτων διαφωνίας παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις.

Περὶ τοποθεσίας τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν  
φυσόμενων καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἰνδοῖς νομίμων.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπαγγελία omitted by D, Vogel.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ after ταύτης deleted by Dindorf.

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BOOK  
OF DIODORUS

On Ninus, the first king in Asia, and his deeds  
(chaps. 1-3).

On the birth of Semiramis and her rise (chaps.  
4-5).

How King Ninus married Semiramis because of  
her outstanding ability (chap. 6).

How Semiramis, ascending the throne on the death  
of Ninus, accomplished many great deeds (chap. 7).

The founding of Babylon and an account of its  
building (chaps. 7-9).

On the hanging garden, as it is called, and the  
other astonishing things in Babylonia (chaps. 10-13).

The campaign of Semiramis against Egypt,  
Ethiopia, and India (chaps. 14-20).

On her descendants who were kings in Asia and  
their luxury and sluggishness (chaps. 21-22).

How Sardanapallus, the last king, because of his  
luxuriousness lost his throne to Arbaces the Mede  
(chaps. 23-28).

On the Chaldaeans and their observation of the  
stars (chaps. 29-31).

On the kings of Media and the disagreement of  
historians upon them (chaps. 32-34).

On the topography of India and the products of  
the land, and on the customs of the Indians (chaps.  
35-42).



## DIODORUS OF SICILY

Περὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ Ἀμαζόνων καὶ Ὑπερβορέων.

Περὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν φησόμενων καὶ  
μυθολογουμένων.

Περὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν  
εὐρεθεισῶν.

## CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BOOK

On the Scythians, Amazons, and Hyperboreans  
(chaps. 43-47).

On Arabia, and the products of the land and its  
legends (chaps. 48-54).

On the islands which have been discovered to the  
south in the ocean (chaps. 55-60).

## ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

1. Ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης βίβλος τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως οὕσα πρώτη περιέχει τὰς κατ' Αἴγυπτον πράξεις· ἐν αἷς ὑπάρχει τὰ τε περὶ τῶν θεῶν παρ' Αἴγυπτίους μυθολογούμενα καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου φύσεως καὶ τὰλλα τὰ περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου παραδοξολογούμενα, πρὶς δὲ τούτοις περὶ τε τῆς κατ' Αἴγυπτον χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων τὰ ὑφ' ἑκάστου πραχθέντα. ἐξῆς δὲ κατετάχθησαν αἱ κατασκευαὶ τῶν πυραμίδων τῶν ἀναγραφομένων ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ θαυμαζομένοις ἔργοις. ἔπειτα<sup>1</sup> διήλθομεν περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐτι δὲ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζώων παρ' Αἴγυπτίους τὰ θαυμαζόμενα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ περὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων νόμιμα, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι τῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ θαυμαζομένων παραβαλόντες εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων μαθόντες μετήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

3 ἐν ταύτῃ δ' ἀναγράφομεν τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γενομένας πράξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίας ποιησάμενοι.

4 Τὸ παλαιὸν τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπῆρχον ἐγχώριοι βασιλεῖς, ὧν οὔτε πρᾶξις ἐπίσημος οὔτε ὄνομα μνημονεύεται. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν εἰς ἱστορίαν καὶ μῆμην παραδεδομένων ἡμῖν Νίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεγάλας πράξεις ἐπετελέσατο·

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## BOOK II

THE preceding Book, being the first of the whole work, embraces the facts which concern Egypt, among which are included both the myths related by the Egyptians about their gods and about the nature of the Nile, and the other marvels which are told about this river, as well as a description of the land of Egypt and the acts of each of their ancient kings. Next in order came the structures known as the pyramids, which are listed among the seven wonders of the world. After that we discussed such matters connected with the laws and the courts of law, and also with the animals which are considered sacred among the Egyptians, as excite admiration and wonder, also their customs with respect to the dead, and then named such Greeks as were noted for their learning, who, upon visiting Egypt and being instructed in many useful things, thereupon transferred them to Greece. And in this present Book we shall set forth the events which took place in Asia in the ancient period, beginning with the time when the Assyrians were the dominant power.

In the earliest age, then, the kings of Asia were native-born, and in connection with them no memory is preserved of either a notable deed or a personal name. The first to be handed down by tradition to history and memory for us as one who achieved great deeds is Ninus, king of the Assyrians, and of him

<sup>1</sup> ἔπειτα Bekker, Vogel : ἔπειτα δὲ D, Dindorf.

περὶ οὐ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφειν πειρασόμεθα. γενόμενος γὰρ φύσει πολεμικός καὶ ζηλωτῆς τῆς ἀρετῆς καθώπλισε τῶν νέων τοὺς κρατίστους γυμνάσας δ' αὐτοὺς πλείονα χρόνον συνήθεις ἐποίησε πάσῃ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις. 5 συστησάμενος οὖν στρατόπεδον ἀξιόλογον συμμαχίαν ἐποίησατο πρὸς Ἀριαῖον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἣ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐδόκει πληθεῖν ἀλκίμων ἀνδρῶν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ καθόλου τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος φιλελευθέρον καὶ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον προσδεχόμενον ἐπηλυν ἡγεμόνα· διόπερ οὐθ' οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὕστερον οὐθ' οἱ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καίπερ πλείστον ἰσχύσαντες, ἠδυνήθησαν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος καταδουλώσασθαι. 6 καθόλου γὰρ ἡ Ἀραβία δυσπολέμητός ἐστι ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσι διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἔρημον αὐτῆς εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀνυδρον καὶ διειλημμένην φρέασι κεκρυμμένοις καὶ μόνοις τοῖς ἔγχωρίοις γνωριζόμενοις. 7 ὁ δ' οὖν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Νίνος τὸν δυναστεύοντα τῶν Ἀράβων παραλαβὼν ἐστράτευσεν μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίους κατοικοῦντας ἄμορον ἄωρον κατ' ἐκείνους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους ἡ μὲν οὖν οὐσα Βαβυλῶν οὐκ ἦν ἐκτισμένη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ὑπῆρχον ἄλλαι πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι· ῥαδίως δὲ χειρωσάμενος τοὺς ἔγχωρίους διὰ τὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνων ἀπειρώς ἔχειν, τοῦτοις μὲν ἔταξε τελεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὀρισμένους φόρους, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων λαβὼν 8 μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αἰχμάλωτον ἀπέκτεινε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλοῖς πληθεσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάτους ποιήσας 350

we shall now endeavour to give a detailed account. For being by nature a warlike man and emulous of valour, he supplied the strongest of the young men with arms, and by training them for a considerable time he accustomed them to every hardship and all the dangers of war. And when now he had collected a notable army, he formed an alliance with Ariaeus, the king of Arabia, a country which in those times seems to have abounded in brave men. Now, in general, this nation is one which loves freedom and under no circumstances submits to a foreign ruler; consequently neither the kings of the Persians at a later time nor those of the Macedonians, though the most powerful of their day, were ever able to enslave this nation. For Arabia is, in general, a difficult country for a foreign army to campaign in, part of it being desert and part of it waterless and supplied at intervals with wells which are hidden and known only to the natives.<sup>1</sup> Ninus, however, the king of the Assyrians, taking along the ruler of the Arabians as an ally, made a campaign with a great army against the Babylonians whose country bordered upon his—in those times the present city of Babylon had not yet been founded, but there were other notable cities in Babylonia—and after easily subduing the inhabitants of that region because of their inexperience in the dangers of war, he laid upon them the yearly payment of fixed tributes, but the king of the conquered, whom he took captive along with his children, he put to death. Then, invading Armenia in great force and laying waste some of its cities, he struck terror

<sup>1</sup> Arabia and its peoples are more fully described in chaps. 48 ff.

κατεπλήξατο τοὺς ἐγχωρίους διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Βαρζάνης, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξίωμαχον ὄντα, μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων ἀπήντησε καὶ πᾶν ἔφησε ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον. ὁ δὲ Νίνος μεγαλοψύχως αὐτῷ χρησάμενος τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν καὶ φίλου ὄντα πέμπει στρατιάν καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ. αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξήμενος ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν. ὁ δὲ ταύτης βασιλεὺς Φάρνος παραταξάμενος ἀξιολόγῳ δυνάμει καὶ λειψθείς, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πλείους<sup>1</sup> ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τέκνων ἑπτὰ καὶ γυναικὸς αἰχμάλωτος ληφθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη.

2. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ Νίνῳ προχωρούντων δεινὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχε τοῦ καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Τανάιδος καὶ Νείλου ὡς ἐπίπαν γὰρ τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσιν ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐροία<sup>2</sup> τὴν τοῦ πλείους ἐπιθυμίαν παρίσθησι. διόπερ τῆς μὲν Μηδίας σατράπην ἓνα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπέηκε τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔθνη καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ χρόνον ἑπτακαιδεκαετῆ καταναλώσας πλὴν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Βακτριανῶν

2 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κύριος ἐγένετο. τὰς μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕκαστα μάχας ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπάντων τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων οὐδεὶς τῶν συγγραφέων ἀνέγραψε, τὰ δ' ἐπισημότερα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀκολουθῶς Κτησία τῷ Κνιδίῳ πειρασόμεθα συντόμως ἐπίδραμεῖν.

3 Κατεστρέψατο μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραθαλαττίου

into the inhabitants; consequently their king Barzanes, realizing that he was no match for him in battle, met him with many presents and announced that he would obey his every command. But Ninus treated him with great magnanimity, and agreed that he should not only continue to rule over Armenia but should also, as his friend, furnish a contingent and supplies for the Assyrian army. And as his power continually increased, he made a campaign against Media. And the king of this country, Pharnus, meeting him in battle with a formidable force, was defeated, and he both lost the larger part of his soldiers, and himself, being taken captive along with his seven sons and wife, was crucified.

2. Since the undertakings of Ninus were prospering in this way, he was seized with a powerful desire to subdue all of Asia that lies between the Tanais<sup>1</sup> and the Nile; for, as a general thing, when men enjoy good fortune, the steady current of their success prompts in them the desire for more. Consequently he made one of his friends satrap of Media, while he himself set about the task of subduing the nations of Asia, and within a period of seventeen years he became master of them all except the Indians and Bactrians. Now no historian has recorded the battles with each nation or the number of all the peoples conquered, but we shall undertake to run over briefly the most important nations, as given in the account of Ctesias of Cnidus.<sup>2</sup>

Of the lands which lie on the sea and of the others

<sup>1</sup> The Don.

<sup>2</sup> On Ctesias see the Introduction, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>1</sup> πλείους Vogel: πλείστους Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> εὐροία Herwerden: ἐπύροια.

καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς χώρας τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην, ἔτι δὲ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Λυκίαν, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις τὴν τε Καρίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ Λυδίαν, προσηγάγετο δὲ τὴν τε Τρωάδα καὶ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίαν καὶ Προποντιίδα καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνη βάρβαρα κατοικοῦντα μέχρι Ταυρίδος, ἐκυρίευσε δὲ τῆς τε Καδουσίῳν χώρας καὶ Ταύρων, ἔτι δ' Ἑρκανίων καὶ Δραγγῶν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Δερβίκων καὶ Καρμανίων καὶ Χωρομναίων, ἔτι δὲ Βορκανίων καὶ Παρθυαίων, ἐπήλθε δὲ καὶ τὴν Περσίδα καὶ τὴν Σουσιανὴν καὶ τὴν καλομένην Κασπιανὴν, εἰς ἣν εἰσι εἰσβολαὶ στεναὶ παντελῶς, διὸ καὶ προσαγορεύονται Κάσπιαὶ πύλαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἔθνῶν προσηγάγετο, περὶ ὧν μακρὸν ἂν εἶη λέγειν. τῆς δὲ Βακτριανῆς οὐσῆς δυσεισβόλου καὶ πλήθῃ μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν ἐχούσης, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ πονήσας ἄπρακτος ἐγένετο, τὸν μὲν πρὸς Βακτριανοὺς πῶλεμον εἰς ἕτερον ἀνεβάλετο καιρὸν, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις ἀναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἐξελέξατο τόπον εὖθετον εἰς πόλεως μεγάλης κτίσιν.

3. Ἐπιφανεστάτας γὰρ πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατειργασμένος ἔσπευδε τηλικαύτην κτίσαι τὸ μέγεθος πόλιω ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτὴν εἶναι μεγίστην τῶν τότε οὐσῶν κατὰ πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ἕτερον ἐπιβαλό-  
2 μενον ῥαδίως ἂν ὑπερθέσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεῖα τιμήσας δώροις καὶ λαφύροις μεγαλοπρεπέσω ἀπέλιψε μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατιᾶς  
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which border on these, Ninus subdued Egypt and Phoenicia, then Coele-Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, and also Caria, Phrygia, and Lydia; moreover, he brought under his sway the Troad, Phrygia on the Hellespont, Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and all the barbarian nations who inhabit the shores of the Pontus as far as the Tanais; he also made himself lord of the lands of the Cadusii, Tapyri, Hyrcanii, Drangi, of the Derbici, Carmanii, Choromnaei, and of the Borcanii, and Parthyaei; and he invaded both Persis and Susiana and Caspiana, as it is called, which is entered by exceedingly narrow passes, known for that reason as the Caspian Gates. Many other lesser nations he also brought under his rule, about whom it would be a long task to speak. But since Bactriana was difficult to invade and contained multitudes of warlike men, after much toil and labour in vain he deferred to a later time the war against the Bactriani, and leading his forces back into Assyria selected a place excellently situated for the founding of a great city.

3. For having accomplished deeds more notable than those of any king before him, he was eager to found a city of such magnitude, that not only would it be the largest of any which then existed in the whole inhabited world, but also that no other ruler of a later time should, if he undertook such a task, find it easy to surpass him. Accordingly, after honouring the king of the Arabians with gifts and rich spoils from his wars, he dismissed him and his contingent to

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Μυσίαν after Φρυγίαν, omitted by D, is deleted by Kallenberg, *Textkritik und Sprachgebrauch Diodors*, 1. 4.

εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις  
καὶ παρασκευὰς πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀθροίσας  
παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἔκτισε πόλιν εὖ  
τετειχισμένην, ἑτερόμηκες αὐτῆς ὑποστησάμενος  
τὸ σχῆμα. εἶχε δὲ τῶν μὲν μακροτέρων πλευρῶν  
ἑκατέραν ἢ πόλιν ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα σταδίων,  
3 τῶν δὲ βραχυτέρων ἐνεήκοντα, διὸ καὶ τοῦ  
σὺμπαντος περιβόλου συσταθέντος ἐκ σταδίων  
τετρακοσίων καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐ  
διεψεύσθη τηλικαύτην γὰρ πόλιν οὐδεὶς ὕστερον  
ἔκτισε κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν  
περὶ τὸ τεῖχος μεγαλοπρέπειαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
ὑψος εἶχε τὸ τεῖχος ποδῶν ἑκατὸν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος  
τρισὶν ἄρμασιν ἰππιάσιμον ἦν· οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες  
πύργοι τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν χίλιοι καὶ πεντα-  
κόσιοι, τὸ δ' ὑψος εἶχον ποδῶν διακοσίων.  
4 κατόκισε δ' εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν μὲν Ἀσσυρίων τοὺς  
πλείστους καὶ δυνατωτάτους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων  
ἔθνῶν τοὺς βουλομένους. καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν  
ὠνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Νίνον, τοῖς δὲ κατοικισθεῖσι  
πολλῆν τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας προσώρισεν.  
4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ὁ Νίνος  
ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βακτριανήν, ἐν ἣ Σεμίραμιν  
ἔγημε τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἀπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν  
ὧν παρειλήφαμεν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ περὶ αὐτῆς  
προειπεῖν πῶς ἐκ ταπεινῆς τύχης εἰς τηλικαύτην  
προήχθη δόξαν.

<sup>1</sup> The city of Nineveh, which lay on the east bank of the Tigris, not on the Euphrates. Strabo (16. 1. 3) says that it was "much greater" than Babylon, whose circuit, as given below (7. 3), was 360 stades.

<sup>2</sup> It is believed with reason that behind the mythical figure of Semiramis, made famous by Greek and Roman legend,  
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return to their own country and then, gathering his forces from every quarter and all the necessary material, he founded on the Euphrates river a city<sup>1</sup> which was well fortified with walls, giving it the form of a rectangle. The longer sides of the city were each one hundred and fifty stades in length, and the shorter ninety. And so, since the total circuit comprised four hundred and eighty stades, he was not disappointed in his hope, since a city its equal, in respect to either the length of its circuit or the magnificence of its walls, was never founded by any man after his time. For the wall had a height of one hundred feet and its width was sufficient for three chariots abreast to drive upon; and the sum total of its towers was one thousand five hundred, and their height was two hundred feet. He settled in it both Assyrians, who constituted the majority of the population and had the greatest power, and any who wished to come from all other nations. And to the city he gave his own name, Ninus, and he included within the territory of its colonists a large part of the neighbouring country.

4. Since after the founding of this city Ninus made a campaign against Bactriana, where he married Semiramis,<sup>2</sup> the most renowned of all women of whom we have any record, it is necessary first of all to tell how she rose from a lowly fortune to such fame.

"a sort of Assyrian Catherine II, distinguished equally in war and for sensuality" (How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, 1. p. 143), lies the historical Sanmu-ramat, who was queen-regent in the opening years of the reign of her son Adad-nirari III, 811-782 B.C. About her in the course of the centuries gathered many attributes of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar; her son greatly extended the Assyrian power (see *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3. pp. 27 f., 183-4).

- 2 Κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν τοίνυν ἔστι πόλις Ἀσκάλων, καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ἀπόθεν λίμνη μεγάλη καὶ βαθεῖα πλήρης ἰχθύων. παρὰ δὲ ταύτην ὑπάρχει τέμενος θεᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Σύροι Δερκετοῦν· αὕτη δὲ τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἔχει γυναικός, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἰχθύος διὰ τινος τοιαύτας αἰτίας. μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἐγχωρίων τὴν Ἀφροδίτην προσκόψασαν τῇ προεξημένη θεᾷ δεινὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔρωτα νεανίσκου τινὸς τῶν θύοντων οὐκ ἀειδοῦς· τὴν δὲ Δερκετοῦν μινεῖσαν τῷ Σύρῳ γεννηθεῖσαι μὲν θυγατέρα, κατασχυνθεῖσαι δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις τὸν μὲν νεανίσκον ἀφανίσαι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον εἰς τινὰς ἐρήμους καὶ πετρώδεις τόπους ἐκθεῖναι.<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτὴν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσχύνην καὶ λύπην ῥίψασαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην μετασχηματισθῆναι τὸν τοῦ σώματος τύπον εἰς ἰχθύν· διὸ καὶ τοὺς Σύρους μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπέχεσθαι τούτου τοῦ ζώου καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἰχθύς ὡς θεούς. περὶ δὲ τὸν τόπον ὅπου τὸ βρέφος ἐξετέθη πλήθους περισσετέρων ἐννεοτευούτος παραδόξως καὶ δαιμονίως ὑπὸ τούτων τὸ παιδίον διατρέφεσθαι· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ταῖς πτέρυξι περιεχούσας τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βρέφους πανταχόθεν θύλπειν, τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν συνεγγυς ἐπαύλων, ὅποτε τηρήσειαν τοὺς τε βουκόλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομεῖς ἀπόντας,<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ στόματι φερούσας γάλα διατρέφειν παρασταζούσας ἀνά

<sup>1</sup> So Rhodomann: ἐκθεῖναι ἐν αἷς πολλοῦ πλήθους περισσετέρων ἐννεοσεύειν εἰσθότος παραδόξως τροφῆς καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν τὸ βρέφος ("where a great multitude of doves were wont to have their nests and where the babe came upon nourishment and safety in an astounding manner"). Almost the very same words are repeated in the following sentence.

Now there is in Syria a city known as Ascalon, and not far from it a large and deep lake, full of fish. On its shore is a precinct of a famous goddess whom the Syrians call Derceto;<sup>1</sup> and this goddess has the head of a woman but all the rest of her body is that of a fish, the reason being something like this. The story as given by the most learned of the inhabitants of the region is as follows: Aphrodite, being offended with this goddess, inspired in her a violent passion for a certain handsome youth among her votaries; and Derceto gave herself to the Syrian and bore a daughter, but then, filled with shame of her sinful deed, she killed the youth and exposed the child in a rocky desert region, while as for herself, from shame and grief she threw herself into the lake and was changed as to the form of her body into a fish; and it is for this reason that the Syrians to this day abstain from this animal and honour their fish as gods. But about the region where the babe was exposed a great multitude of doves had their nests, and by them the child was nurtured in an astounding and miraculous manner; for some of the doves kept the body of the babe warm on all sides by covering it with their wings, while others, when they observed that the cowherds and the other keepers were absent from the nearby steadings, brought milk therefrom in their beaks and fed the babe by putting it drop

<sup>1</sup> Another name for the Phoenician Astarte. Herodotus (1. 105) calls the goddess of Ascalon the "Heavenly Aphrodite."

<sup>2</sup> ἀπόντας Ursinus, Vogel: omitted ACDFG; ἀπόντας all other MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.

5 μέσον τῶν χειλῶν. ἐνιαυσίου δὲ τοῦ παιδίου  
 γενομένου καὶ στερεωτέρας τροφῆς προσδε-  
 μένου, τὰς περιστερὰς ἀποκιζούσας ἀπὸ τῶν  
 τυρῶν παρέχεσθαι τροφήν ἀρκοῦσαν. τοὺς δὲ  
 νομεῖς ἐπανιόντας καὶ θεωροῦντας περιβεβρω-  
 μένους τοὺς τυροὺς θαυμάσαι τὸ παράδοξον  
 παρατηρήσαντας οὖν καὶ μαθόντας τὴν αἰτίαν  
 6 εὐρεῖν τὸ βρέφος, διαφέρων τῷ κάλλει. εὐθύς  
 οὖν αὐτὸ κομίσαντας εἰς τὴν ἑπαυλιν δωρήσασθαι  
 τῷ προεστηκότῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν κτηνῶν, ὄνομα  
 Σίμμα· καὶ τοῦτον ἀτεκνον ὄντα τὸ παιδίον  
 τρέφειν ὡς θυγάτριον μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας,  
 ὄνομα θέμενον Σεμίραμιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον παρωνομασμένον ἀπὸ τῶν  
 περιστερῶν, ἃς ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων οἱ κατὰ  
 Συρίαν ἅπαντες διέτελεσαν ὡς θεὰς τιμῶντες.

5. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τῆς Σεμιρά-  
 μιδος μυθολογούμενα σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἤδη  
 δ' αὐτῆς ἡλικίαν ἐχούσης γάμου καὶ τῷ κάλλει  
 πολὺ τὰς ἄλλας παρθένους διαφερούσης, ἀπε-  
 στάλη παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπαρχος ἐπισκεφόμενος  
 τὰ βασιδικὰ κτήνη· οὗτος δ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν  
 Ὀννης, πρῶτος δ' ἦν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ  
 συνεδρίου καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἀπάσης ἀποδεδειγμένος  
 ὑπαρχος. ὃς καταλύσας παρὰ τῷ Σίμμα καὶ  
 θεωρήσας τὴν Σεμίραμιν ἐθηρεύθη τῷ κάλλει  
 διὸ καὶ τοῦ Σίμμα καταδεθθεὶς αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν  
 παρθένον εἰς γάμον ἔννομον, ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς  
 Νίνον, καὶ γήμας ἐγέννησε δύο παῖδας, Ἐπατίην  
 2 καὶ Ἰδάσπην. τῆς δὲ Σεμιράμιδος ἐχούσης καὶ  
 τὰλλα ἀκόλουθα τῆ περι τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπεία, συνέ-  
 βαινε τὸν ἄνδρα τελῶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς δεδουλωσθαι,  
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by drop between its lips. And when the child was a  
 year old and in need of more solid nourishment,  
 the doves, pecking off bits from the cheeses, supplied  
 it with sufficient nourishment. Now when the keepers  
 returned and saw that the cheeses had been nibbled  
 about the edges, they were astonished at the strange  
 happening; they accordingly kept a look-out, and  
 on discovering the cause found the infant, which  
 was of surpassing beauty. At once, then, bringing  
 it to their steadings they turned it over to the keeper  
 of the royal herds, whose name was Simmas; and  
 Simmas, being childless, gave every care to the rear-  
 ing of the girl, as his own daughter, and called her  
 Semiramis, a name slightly altered from the word  
 which, in the language of the Syrians, means  
 "doves," birds which since that time all the  
 inhabitants of Syria have continued to honour as  
 goddesses.

5. Such, then, is in substance the story that is told  
 about the birth of Semiramis. And when she had  
 already come to the age of marriage and far surpassed  
 all the other maidens in beauty, an officer was sent  
 from the king's court to inspect the royal herds;  
 his name was Onnes, and he stood first among the  
 members of the king's council and had been appointed  
 governor over all Syria. He stopped with Simmas,  
 and on seeing Semiramis was captivated by her  
 beauty; consequently he earnestly entreated Simmas  
 to give him the maiden in lawful marriage and took  
 her off to Ninus, where he married her and begat  
 two sons, Hyapates and Hydaspes. And since the  
 other qualities of Semiramis were in keeping with  
 the beauty of her countenance, it turned out that  
 her husband became completely enslaved by her,



καὶ μὴδὲν ἀνευ τῆς ἐκείνης γνώμης πράττοντα κατευστοχεῖν ἐν πάσι.

- 3 Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτίσιν τῆς ὠμωνύμου πόλεως συνετέλεσε, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Βακτριανούς ἐπεχείρησεν. εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ τε πλήθη καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν ἔχουσαν πολλοὺς τόπους ἀπροσίτους διὰ τὴν ὄχυρότητα, κατέλεξεν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἔθνῶν στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῆς πρότερον στρατείας ὑποτετευχώς ἦν, ἔσπευδε πολλαπλασίονι παραγενέσθαι δυνάμει πρὸς τὴν Βακτριανήν. συναχθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς πανταχόθεν ἠριθμήθησαν, ὡς Κτησίας ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἀναγέγραφε, πεζῶν μὲν ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδες, ἵππέων δὲ μῆ πλείους τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων, ἄρματα δὲ δρεπανηφόρα μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα τῶν μυρίων ἑξακοσίων.
- 5 "Ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἄπιστον τοῖς αὐτόθεν ἀκούσασιν τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιᾶς, οὐ μὴν ἀδύνατόν γε φανήσεται τοῖς ἀναθεωροῦσι τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας μέγεθος καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν ἔθνῶν. εἰ γάρ τις ἀφείδῃ τὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας Δαρείου στρατείαν μετὰ ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδων καὶ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ἀναριθμήτοις πλήθεσι, τὰς ἐχθὰς<sup>1</sup> καὶ πρῆμν συντελεσθείσας πράξεις ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης σκέψαιτο,
- 6 τάχιον ἂν πιστὸν ἠγήσαιτο τὸ βῆθῆν. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Διονύσιος ἐκ μῆας τῆς τῶν

and since he would do nothing without her advice he prospered in everything.

It was at just this time that the king, now that he had completed the founding of the city which bore his name, undertook his campaign against the Bactrians. And since he was well aware of the great number and the valour of these men, and realized that the country had many places which because of their strength could not be approached by an enemy, he enrolled a great host of soldiers from all the nations under his sway; for as he had come off badly in his earlier campaign, he was resolved on appearing before Bactriana with a force many times as large as theirs. Accordingly, after the army had been assembled from every source, it numbered, as Ctesias has stated in his history, one million seven hundred thousand foot-soldiers, two hundred and ten thousand cavalry, and slightly less than ten thousand six hundred scythe-bearing chariots.

Now at first hearing the great size of the army is incredible, but it will not seem at all impossible to any who consider the great extent of Asia and the vast numbers of the peoples who inhabit it. For if a man, disregarding the campaign of Darius against the Scythians with eight hundred thousand<sup>1</sup> men and the crossing made by Xerxes against Greece with a host beyond number,<sup>2</sup> should consider the events which have taken place in Europe only yesterday or the day before, he would the more quickly come to regard the statement as credible. In Sicily, for instance, Dionysius led forth on his

<sup>1</sup> ἐχθῆς Vogel; χθῆς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (4. 87) makes the number 700,000, exclusive of the fleet.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 11. 3.

Συρακοσίων πόλεως ἐξήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς στρατείας πεζῶν μὲν δώδεκα μυριάδας, ἵππεις δὲ μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς ἐξ ἑνὸς λιμένος τετρακοσίας, ὧν ἦσαν ἔνιαί τετρήρεις καὶ πενήρεις.<sup>7</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μικρὸν πρὸ τῶν Ἀννιβαϊκῶν καιρῶν, προορώμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, κατέγραψαν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπιτηδείους εἰς<sup>1</sup> στρατείαν πολίτας τε καὶ συμμάχους, ὧν ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς μικρὸν ἀπέλιπε τῶν ἑκατὸν μυριάδων· καίτοι γ' ἕνεκα πλήθους ἀνθρώπων τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὄλην οὐκ ἂν τις συγκρίνειε πρὸς ἓν ἔθνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς οὐν περὶ τὰς πόλεις οὐσης ἐρημίας τεκμαιρομένους τὴν παλαιὰν τῶν ἔθνῶν πολυανθρωπίαν.

6. Ὁ δ' οὖν Νίνος μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἠναγκάζεται, δυσεισβόλων τῶν τόπων καὶ στενῶν ὄντων, κατὰ<sup>2</sup> μέρος ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν. ἡ γὰρ Βακτριανὴ χώρα πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις οἰκουμένη πόλεσι μίαν μὲν εἶχεν ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἐν ἧ συνέβαινον εἶναι καὶ τὰ βασιλεία· αὕτη δ' ἑκαλείτο μὲν Βάκτρα, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐχρύστητι πολὺ πασῶν διέφερε. βασιλεύων δ' αὐτῆς Ὁξυάρτης κατέγραψεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν

<sup>1</sup> τὴν after εἰς omitted by CD and deleted by Vogel: retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus assumes that his readers are familiar with the fact that the vessel constituting the body of this fleet was the trireme, the standard warship of the period of Dionysius (fourth century B.C.); the quadriremes and quinqueremes were the next two larger classes. The complement of the trireme was

campaigns from the single city of the Syracusans one hundred and twenty thousand foot-soldiers and twelve thousand cavalry, and from a single harbour four hundred warships, some of which were quadriremes and quinqueremes;<sup>1</sup> and the Romans, a little before the time of Hannibal, foreseeing the magnitude of the war, enrolled all the men in Italy who were fit for military service, both citizens and allies, and the total sum of them fell only a little short of one million; and yet as regards the number of inhabitants a man would not compare all Italy with a single one of the nations of Asia.<sup>2</sup> Let these facts, then, be a sufficient reply on our part to those who try to estimate the populations of the nations of Asia in ancient times on the strength of inferences drawn from the desolation which at the present time prevails in its cities.

6. Now Ninus in his campaign against Bactriana with so large a force was compelled, because access to the country was difficult and the passes were narrow, to advance his army in divisions. For the country of Bactriana, though there were many large cities for the people to dwell in, had one which was the most famous, this being the city containing the royal palace; it was called Bactra, and in size and in the strength of its acropolis was by far the first of them all. The king of the country, Oxyartes, had

at least 200 men, which makes a minimum for the fleet of 80,000 rowers and marines. The larger vessels would, of course, carry larger crews. According to Polybius (1. 26) the quinqueremes of the Romans in the third century B.C. carried 500 rowers and 120 marines.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius (2. 24. 16) estimates the total number of Romans and allies capable of bearing arms at this time (c. 225 B.C.) as 700,000 foot-soldiers and 70,000 cavalry.

ἡλικία στρατείας ὄντας, οἱ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἡθροίσ-  
 3 θησαν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας. ἀναλαβὼν  
 οὖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαντήσας  
 περὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, εἶπασε μέγας τῆς τοῦ Νίνου  
 στρατίας εἰσβαλεῖν ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδοξεν ἰκανὸν ἀπο-  
 βεβηκέναι τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πεδίον,  
 ἐξέταξε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης  
 ἰσχυρὰς οἱ Βακτριανοὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τρεψά-  
 μενοι καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων  
 ὄρων ποιησάμενοι διέφθειραν τῶν πολεμίων εἰς  
 4 δέκα μυριάδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάσης τῆς δυνά-  
 μεως εἰσβαλοῦσης, κρατούμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσι  
 κατὰ πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἕκαστοι ταῖς ἰδίαις  
 πατρίσι βοηθήσαντες. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας ὁ  
 Νίνος ἐχειρώσατο ῥαδίως, τὰ δὲ Βάκτρα διὰ τε  
 τὴν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευὴν  
 ἠδυνάτει κατὰ κράτος ἐλείν.

5 Πολυχρονίου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης,<sup>1</sup> ὁ  
 τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἀνὴρ, ἐρωτικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὴν  
 γυναῖκα καὶ συστρατευόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετ-  
 επέμφατο τὴν ἀνθρωπον. ἡ δὲ συνέσει καὶ τόλμῃ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν συντείνουσι  
 κεχορηγημένη καιρὸν ἔλαβεν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν  
 6 ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν  
 ὁδὸν μέλλουσα διαπορεύεσθαι στολὴν ἐπραγ-  
 ματεύσατο δι' ἧς οὐκ ἦν διαγνώναι τὸν περι-  
 βεβλημένον πότερον ἀνὴρ ἔστιν ἢ γυνή. αὕτη  
 δ' ἦν εὐχρηστος αὐτῇ πρὸς τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς  
 καύμασι ὁδοπορίας, εἰς τὸ διατηρῆσαι τὸν τοῦ  
 σώματος χρῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πράττειν  
 ὁ βούλοιο χρείας, εὐκίνητος ὄσα καὶ νεανικῇ,

<sup>1</sup> γινομένης Gemistus : γενομένης.

enrolled all the men of military age, and they had  
 been gathered to the number of four hundred  
 thousand. So taking this force with him and meeting  
 the enemy at the passes, he allowed a division of the  
 army of Ninus to enter the country; and when he  
 thought that a sufficient number of the enemy had  
 debouched into the plain he drew out his own forces  
 in battle-order. A fierce struggle then ensued in  
 which the Bactrians put the Assyrians to flight, and  
 pursuing them as far as the mountains which over-  
 looked the field, killed about one hundred thousand  
 of the enemy. But later, when the whole Assyrian  
 force entered their country, the Bactrians, over-  
 powered by the multitude of them, withdrew city by  
 city, each group intending to defend its own homeland.  
 And so Ninus easily subdued all the other cities, but  
 Bactra, because of its strength and the equipment for  
 war which it contained, he was unable to take by  
 storm.

But when the siege was proving a long affair the  
 husband of Semiramis, who was enamoured of his  
 wife and was making the campaign with the king,  
 sent for the woman. And she, endowed as she was  
 with understanding, daring, and all the other  
 qualities which contribute to distinction, seized the  
 opportunity to display her native ability. First of  
 all, then, since she was about to set out upon a journey  
 of many days, she devised a garb which made it im-  
 possible to distinguish whether the wearer of it was a  
 man or a woman. This dress was well adapted to her  
 needs, as regards both her travelling in the heat, for  
 protecting the colour of her skin, and her convenience  
 in doing whatever she might wish to do, since it  
 was quite pliable and suitable to a young person, and,

καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοσαύτη τις ἐπὴν αὐτῇ χάρις<sup>1</sup>  
 ὥσθ' ὕστερον Μήδους ἠγησαμένους τῆς Ἀσίας  
 φορεῖν τὴν Σεμιράμιδος στολήν, καὶ μετὰ ταύτ'  
 7 ὁμοίως Πέρσας. παραγενομένη δ' εἰς τὴν Βακτρια-  
 νην καὶ κατασκεψαμένη τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν,  
 ἑώρα κατὰ μὲν τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς εὐεφόδους τῶν  
 τόπων προσβολὰς γινομένας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀκρό-  
 πολιν οὐδένα προσίοντα διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, καὶ  
 τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελοιπότητας τὰς ἐνταῦθα φυλακὰς  
 καὶ παραβοηθούνας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κάτω τειχῶν  
 8 κινδυνεύουσι. διόπερ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν στρατιω-  
 τῶν τοὺς πετροβατεῖν εἰωθότας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων  
 διὰ τινος χαλεπῆς φάραγγος προσαναβάσα, κατ-  
 ἐλάβετο μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῖς πολιορκ-  
 οῦσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ πεδίου τεῖχος ἐσήμηνεν. οἱ  
 δ' ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἀκρας καταπλα-  
 γέντες ἐξέλιπον τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν  
 ἀπέγνωσαν.  
 9 Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γυναικὸς  
 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μεγάλας δωρεαῖς αὐτὴν ἐτίμησε,  
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἀνθρώπου σχῶν  
 ἐρωτικῶς ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ἄνδρα πείθειν ἑκουσίως  
 αὐτῷ παραχωρήσαι, ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτὴ ταύτης  
 τῆς χάριτος αὐτῷ συνοικεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα  
 10 Σωσάνην. δυσχερῶς δ' αὐτοῦ φέροντος, ἠπει-  
 λησεν ἐκκόψει τὰς ὀράσεις μὴ προχείρως ὑπη-  
 ρετοῦντος τοῖς προστάγμασιν. ὁ δὲ Ὀννης ἄμα

<sup>1</sup> χάρις before τις D, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> The Median dress was distinguished from that of the Greeks by its covering for the head, a long coat with sleeves

in a word, was so attractive that in later times the Medes, who were then dominant in Asia, always wore the garb of Semiramis, as did the Persians after them.<sup>1</sup> Now when Semiramis arrived in Bactriana and observed the progress of the siege, she noted that it was on the plains and at positions which were easily assailed that attacks were being made, but that no one ever assaulted the acropolis because of its strong position, and that its defenders had left their posts there and were coming to the aid of those who were hard pressed on the walls below. Consequently, taking with her such soldiers as were accustomed to clambering up rocky heights, and making her way with them up through a certain difficult ravine, she seized a part of the acropolis and gave a signal to those who were besieging the wall down in the plain. Thereupon the defenders of the city, struck with terror at the seizure of the height, left the walls and abandoned all hope of saving themselves.

When the city had been taken in this way, the king, marvelling at the ability of the woman, at first honoured her with great gifts, and later, becoming infatuated with her because of her beauty, tried to persuade her husband to yield her to him of his own accord, offering in return for this favour to give him his own daughter Sosanē to wife. But when the man took his offer with ill grace, Ninus threatened to put out his eyes unless he at once acceded to his commands. And Onnes, partly out of fear of the

extending to the hands, trousers, and boots. Strabo (II. 13. 9) expressed the contempt generally felt for it by the Greeks when, in observing that the Persians adopted this garb, he adds that "they submitted to wear feminine robes instead of going naked or lightly clad, and to cover their bodies all over with clothes."

μὲν τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς δέϊσας, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα περιπεσὼν λύττη τιπὶ καὶ μανία, βρόχον ἑαυτῷ περιθεὶς ἀνεκρέμασε. Σεμίραμις μὲν οὖν διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας εἰς βασιλικὸν ἦλθε πρόσχημα.

7. Ὁ δὲ Νίνος τοὺς τε ἐν Βάκτροις παρέλαβε θησαυροὺς, ἔχοντας πολὺν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσόν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανὴν καταστήσας ἀπέλυσε τὰς δυνάμεις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γεννήσας ἐκ Σεμράμιδος υἱὸν Νινύαν ἐτελεύτησε, τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολιπὼν βασίλισσαν. τὸν δὲ Νίνον ἢ Σεμίραμις ἔθαψεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χῶμα παμμέγεθες, οὐ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἦν ἐννέα σταδίων, τὸ δ' εὖρος, ὡς 2 φησι Κτησίας, δέκα. διὸ καὶ τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένης ἀπὸ πολλῶν σταδίων ἐφαίνετο τὸ χῶμα καθαπερεὶ τις ἀκρόπολις· ὃ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φασὶ διαμείνειν, καίπερ τῆς Νίνου κατεκαμμένης ὑπὸ Μῆδων, ὅτε κατέλυσαν τὴν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείαν.

Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις, οὐσα φύσει μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ φιλοτιμουμένη τῇ δόξῃ τὸν βεβασιλευκότα πρὸ αὐτῆς ὑπερθέσθαι, πόλιν μὲν ἐπεβάλετο κτίζειν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, ἐπιλεξαμένη δὲ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ τεχνίτας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν παρασκευασμένη, συνήγαγεν ἕξ ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἔργων συντέλειαν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας διακοσίας.

<sup>1</sup> In 612 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The following picture of Babylon serves to show the impression which this great city, whose "circuit was that more

king's threats and partly out of his passion for his wife, fell into a kind of frenzy and madness, put a rope about his neck, and hanged himself. Such, then, were the circumstances whereby Semiramis attained the position of queen.

7. Ninus secured the treasures of Bactra, which contained a great amount of both gold and silver, and after settling the affairs of Bactriana disbanded his forces. After this he begat by Semiramis a son Ninyas, and then died, leaving his wife as queen. Semiramis buried Ninus in the precinct of the palace and erected over his tomb a very large mound, nine stades high and ten wide, as Ctesias says. Consequently, since the city lay on a plain along the Euphrates, the mound was visible for a distance of many stades, like an acropolis; and this mound stands, they say, even to this day, though Ninus was razed to the ground by the Medes when they destroyed the empire of the Assyrians.<sup>1</sup>

Semiramis, whose nature made her eager for great exploits and ambitious to surpass the fame of her predecessor on the throne, set her mind upon founding a city in Babylonia, and after securing the architects of all the world and skilled artisans and making all the other necessary preparations, she gathered together from her entire kingdom two million men to complete the work.<sup>2</sup> Taking the

of a nation than of a city" (Aristotle, *Politics*, 3. 3. 5), made upon the Greeks. The older city was badly damaged by the sack of Sennacherib (c. 689 B.C.). The same ruler, however, commenced the work of rebuilding it, a task which was continued by successive kings of Assyria. The Chaldaean Nebuchadrezzar (605-562 B.C.) further embellished it, making it the most magnificent city of Asia, and it is his city which was known to the classical writers.

3 ἀπολαβοῦσα δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν εἰς μέσον περιεβάλετο τείχος τῇ πόλει σταδίων ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων, διειλημμένον πύργοις πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις,<sup>1</sup> ὡς φησι Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος, ὡς δὲ Κλείταρχος καὶ τῶν ὕστερων μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τινὲς ἀνέγραψαν, τριακοσίων ἑξήκοντα πέντε σταδίων καὶ προστιθέασιν ὅτι τῶν ἴσων ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸν ἑμαυτὸν οὐσῶν ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν  
4 τῶν σταδίων ὑποστήσασθαι. ὁπτάς δὲ πλίνθους εἰς ἀσφαλτον ἐνδυσσάμενη τείχος κατεσκεύασε τὸ μὲν ὕψος, ὡς μὲν Κτησίας φησί, πενήκοντα ὀργυίων, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι τῶν νεωτέρων ἔγραψαν, πηχῶν πενήκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος πλέον ἢ δυσὶν ἄρμασιν ἰππασίμων πύργους δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν διακοσίους καὶ πενήκοντα, τὸ δ' ὕψος<sup>2</sup> καὶ πλάτος ἐξ ἀναλόγου τῷ βάρει τῶν  
5 κατὰ τὸ τείχος ἔργων. οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ τηλικούτου τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιβόλου καθεστῶτος ὀλίγους πύργους κατεσκεύασεν ἐπὶ πολὺν γὰρ τόπον τῆς πόλεως ἔλεσι περιεχομένης, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον οὐκ ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ πύργους οἰκοδομεῖν, τῆς φύσεως τῶν ἐλῶν ἱκανῆν παρεχομένης ὄχυρότητα. ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὁδὸς πάντη κατελέλειπτο δίπλεθρος.

<sup>1</sup> So Eichstädt, who deletes after *μεγάλοις*: "And such was the massiveness of the works that the width of the walls was sufficient to allow six chariots to drive abreast upon it, and their height was unbelievable to those who only hear of it."

<sup>2</sup> Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.*, s.v. *Kleitarchos*, frg. 10, adds *ὀργυίων* after *ὕψος* and adopts the reading of ABD and

Euphrates river into the centre she threw about the city a wall with great towers set at frequent intervals, the wall being three hundred and sixty stades<sup>1</sup> in circumference, as Ctesias of Cnidus says, but according to the account of Cleitarchus and certain of those who at a later time crossed into Asia with Alexander, three hundred and sixty-five stades;<sup>2</sup> and these latter add that it was her desire to make the number of stades the same as the days in the year. Making baked bricks fast in bitumen she built a wall with a height, as Ctesias says, of fifty fathoms, but, as some later writers have recorded, of fifty cubits,<sup>3</sup> and wide enough for more than two chariots abreast to drive upon; and the towers numbered two hundred and fifty, their height and width corresponding to the massive scale of the wall. Now it need occasion no wonder that, considering the great length of the circuit wall, Semiramis constructed a small number of towers; for since over a long distance the city was surrounded by swamps, she decided not to build towers along that space, the swamps offering a sufficient natural defence. And all along between the dwellings and the walls a road was left two plethra wide.

<sup>1</sup> About forty miles.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus (1. 178) makes the circuit of the walls 480 stades, Strabo (16. 1. 5) 385, although this number has been generally taken by editors to be an error of the MSS. for 365, thus bringing him into agreement with Cleitarchus and Quintus Curtius 5. 4.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. either 300 feet high or 75 feet high. Herodotus, *l.c.*, gives the height as 200 "royal cubits" (c. 335 feet).

*Tzetzes, Chil.* 9. 569: τὸ δ' ὕψος ὀργυίων ἑξήκοντα, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι τῶν νεωτέρων φασί, πηχῶν ἑξήκοντα ("their height being sixty fathoms, but, as some later writers say, sixty cubits").

8. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομίας ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων στάδιον διεμέτρησε, δοῦσα τὴν ἰκανὴν εἰς τοῦτο χορηγίαν καὶ διακελευσαμένη τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν 2 ἐνιαυτῷ. ὧν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθέν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, τούτων μὲν ἀπεδέξατο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, αὐτὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στενώτατον μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν σταδίων πέντε τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν, εἰς βυθὸν φιλοτέχνως καθέισα τοὺς κίονας, οἱ διεστῆκεσαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πόδας δώδεκα. τοὺς δὲ συννειδομένους λίθους τὸρμοις σιδηροῖς διελάμβανε, καὶ τὰς τούτων ἄρμονίας ἐπλήρου μόλιβδον ἐνθήκουσα. τοῖς δὲ κίοσι πρὸ τῶν τὸ ρεῦμα δεχομένων πλευρῶν γωνίας προκατεσκεύασεν ἐχούσας τὴν ἀπορροὴν περιφερῆ καὶ συνδεδεμένην κατ' ὀλίγον ἕως τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κίονα πλάτους, ὅπως αἱ μὲν περὶ τὰς γωνίας ὀξύτητες τέμνωσι τὴν καταφορὰν τοῦ ρεύματος, αἱ δὲ περιφέρειαι τῇ τούτου βία συνείκουσαι πραῦνωσι τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ 3 ποταμοῦ. ἡ μὲν οὖν γέφυρα, κεδρίναις καὶ κυπαριττίναις δοκοῖς, ἔτι δὲ φοινίκων στελέχεσιν ὑπερμεγέθεσι κατεστεγασμένη καὶ τριάκοντα ποδῶν οὔσα τὸ πλάτος, οὐδενὸς ἐδόκει τῶν Σεμιράμιδος ἔργων τῇ φιλοτεχνίᾳ λείπεσθαι. ἐξ ἑκατέρου δὲ μέρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ κρηπίδα

<sup>1</sup> Some of the piers of this "most ancient stone bridge of which we have any record" have been discovered. They are twenty-one metres long, nine wide, and are placed nine metres

8. In order to expedite the building of these constructions she apportioned a stade to each of her friends, furnishing sufficient material for their task and directing them to complete their work within a year. And when they had finished these assignments with great speed she gratefully accepted their zeal, but she took for herself the construction of a bridge<sup>1</sup> five stades long at the narrowest point of the river, skilfully sinking the piers, which stood twelve feet apart, into its bed. And the stones, which were set firmly together, she bonded with iron cramps, and the joints of the cramps<sup>2</sup> she filled by pouring in lead. Again, before the piers on the side which would receive the current she constructed cutwaters whose sides were rounded to turn off the water and which gradually diminished to the width of the pier, in order that the sharp points of the cutwaters might divide the impetus of the stream, while the rounded sides, yielding to its force, might soften the violence of the river.<sup>3</sup> This bridge, then, floored as it was with beams of cedar and cypress and with palm logs of exceptional size and having a width of thirty feet, is considered to have been inferior in technical skill to none of the works of Semiramis. And on each side of the river she built an expensive

apart. An inscription of Nebuchadrezzar ascribes this bridge to his father Nabopolassar (R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* (Eng. transl.), pp. 197-99).

<sup>2</sup> Or "of the stones" (so Liddell-Scott-Jones). But the use of cramps and dowels, sunk into the stones and made fast by pouring in molten lead, was the accepted bonding method in the classic period of Greek architecture, and dove-tailed wooden cramps laid in bitumen have been found in Babylon (Koldewey, *l.c.*, p. 177).

<sup>3</sup> The sides of the piers, as remains show, were convex at the north ends and then sharply receded to a point.

πολυτελή κατεσκεύασε παραπλησίαν κατὰ τὸ πλάτος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα.

Ἰκκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ βασιλεία διπλᾶ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους τῆς γεφύρας, ἐξ ὧν ἅμ<sup>1</sup> ἔμελλε τὴν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν κατοπεύσειν<sup>2</sup> καὶ καθαπερεὶ τὰς κλείς ἕξει τῶν ἐπικαιροτάτων τῆς πόλεως τόπων. τοῦ δ' Εὐφράτου διὰ μέσης τῆς Βαβυλώνος ῥέοντος καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καταφερομένου, τῶν βασιλείων τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἔνευε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀμφότερα δὲ πολυτελῶς κατεσκεύαστο. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ<sup>3</sup> πρὸς ἑσπέραν κειμένου μέρους ἐποίησε τὸν πρῶτον περίβολον ἑξήκοντα σταδίων, ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πολυτελέσι τείχεσιν ὠχυρωμένον, ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου. ἕτερον δ' ἐντὸς τούτου κυκλοτερεῖ κατεσκεύασε, καθ' ὃν ἐν ὠμαῖς ἔτι ταῖς πλίνθοις διετιτύπωτο θηρία παντοδαπὰ τῇ τῶν χρωμάτων φιλοτεχνία τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπομιμούμενα· οὗτος δ' ὁ περίβολος ἦν τὸ μὲν μῆκος σταδίων τετταράκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐπὶ τριακοσίας<sup>4</sup> πλίνθους, τὸ δ' ὕψος, ὡς Κτησίας φησὶν, ὀργυῶν πενήκοντα· τῶν δὲ πύργων ὑπῆρχε τὸ ὕψος ὀργυῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἐνδοτέρω περίβολον, ὃς περιείχευ ἀκρόπολιν, ἧς ἡ μὲν περίμετρος ἦν σταδίων εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ ὕψος<sup>5</sup> καὶ πλάτος τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπεραίρον τοῦ μέσου τείχους τὴν

<sup>1</sup> μὲν after ἅμα deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> κατοπεύσειν Dindorf: κατοπεύειν.

<sup>3</sup> eis τὸ after γὰρ deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> τριακοσίας Dindorf: τριακοσίους. <sup>5</sup> ὕψος Wurm: μῆκος.

quay<sup>1</sup> of about the same width as the walls and one hundred and sixty stades long.

Semiramis also built two palaces on the very banks of the river, one at each end of the bridge, her intention being that from them she might be able both to look down over the entire city and to hold the keys, as it were, to its most important sections. And since the Euphrates river passed through the centre of Babylon and flowed in a southerly direction, one palace faced the rising and the other the setting sun, and both had been constructed on a lavish scale. For in the case of the one which faced west she made the length of its first or outer circuit wall sixty stades, fortifying it with lofty walls, which had been built at great cost and were of burned brick. And within this she built a second, circular in form,<sup>2</sup> in the bricks of which, before they were baked, wild animals of every kind had been engraved, and by the ingenious use of colours these figures reproduced the actual appearance of the animals themselves; this circuit wall had a length of forty stades, a width of three hundred bricks, and a height, as Ctesias says, of fifty fathoms; the height of the towers, however, was seventy fathoms. And she built within these two yet a third circuit wall, which enclosed an acropolis whose circumference was twenty stades in length, but the height and width of the structure surpassed the dimensions of the middle circuit wall.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Herodotus 1. 180.

<sup>2</sup> Koldewey (*l.c.*, p. 130) holds that the Greek word may not be translated "circular," preferring "annular, enclosed in itself, not open on one side, like the outer peribolos," his reason being that a "circular peribolos is found nowhere in Babylon."



κατασκευὴν. ἐνήσαν δ' ἐν τε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ  
 τείχεσι ζῶα παντοδαπὰ φιλοτέχνως τοῖς τε  
 χρώμασι καὶ τοῖς τῶν τύπων ἀπομιμήμασι  
 κατασκευασμένα· τὸ δ' ὄλον ἐπεποιήτο κυνήγιον  
 παντοίων θηρίων ὑπάρχον πλήρες, ὧν ἦσαν τὰ  
 μεγέθει πλέον ἢ πηχῶν τεττάρων. κατασκευά-  
 στο δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ Σεμίραμις ἀφ' ἵππου  
 πάρδαλιν ἀκοντίζουσα, καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ὁ  
 ἀνὴρ Νίνος παίων ἐκ χειρὸς λέοντα λογχῆ.  
 7 ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ πύλας τριττὰς,<sup>1</sup> ὧν ὑπῆρχον  
 διτταὶ<sup>2</sup> χαλκαὶ διὰ μηχανῆς ἀνοιγόμεναι.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ βασιλεια καὶ τῷ μεγέθει  
 καὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς πολὺ προείχε τῶν ὄντων  
 ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἐκεῖνα γὰρ εἶχε  
 τὸν μὲν περίβολον τοῦ τείχους τριάκοντα στα-  
 δίων ἐξ ὀπτιῆς πλίνθου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰ ζῶα  
 φιλοτεχνίας χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας Νίνου καὶ Σεμι-  
 ράμιδος καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων, ἔτι δὲ Διὸς, ὃν καλοῦ-  
 σιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι Βῆλον· ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ παρα-  
 τάξεις καὶ κυνήγια παντοδαπὰ, ποικίλην ψυχα-  
 γωγίαν παρεχόμενα τοῖς θεωμένοις.

9. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐκλεξα-  
 μένη τὸν ταπεινότετον τόπον ἐποίησε δεξαμενὴν  
 τετράγωνον, ἧς ἦν ἐκάστη πλευρὰ σταδίων  
 τριακοσίων, ἐξ ὀπτιῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου  
 κατασκευασμένην καὶ τὸ βάθος ἔχουσαν ποδῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐφ' after τριττὰς deleted by Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> διτταὶ Wurm: διαίται.

<sup>1</sup> Koldewey (*l.c.*, pp. 129-31) identifies this palace with what he calls the Persian Building, and finds traces of the three circuit walls (*periboloi*). It is a striking coincidence that among the fragments of glazed bricks depicting a chase of

On both the towers and the walls there were again animals of every kind, ingeniously executed by the use of colours as well as by the realistic imitation of the several types; and the whole had been made to represent a hunt, complete in every detail, of all sorts of wild animals, and their size was more than four cubits. Among the animals, moreover, Semiramis had also been portrayed, on horseback and in the act of hurling a javelin at a leopard, and nearby was her husband Ninus, in the act of thrusting his spear into a lion at close quarters.<sup>1</sup> In this wall she also set triple gates, two of which were of bronze and were opened by a mechanical device.

Now this palace far surpassed in both size and details of execution the one on the other bank of the river. For the circuit wall of the latter, made of burned brick, was only thirty stades long, and instead of the ingenious portrayal of animals it had bronze statues of Ninus and Semiramis and their officers, and one also of Zeus, whom the Babylonians call Belus;<sup>2</sup> and on it were also portrayed both battle-scenes and hunts of every kind, which filled those who gazed thereon with varied emotions of pleasure.

9. After this Semiramis picked out the lowest spot in Babylonia and built a square reservoir, which was three hundred stades long on each side; it was constructed of baked brick and bitumen, and had a

wild animals there was found only one human face, that of a woman in white enamel. "We can scarcely doubt, therefore," he says, "that Diodorus was describing the enamels of the Persian building, and that the white face of a woman is the same that Ctesias recognized as a portrait of Semiramis."

<sup>2</sup> "Zeus Belus" was the name by which the Babylonian Bel-Marduk was known among the Greeks.

- 2 τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. εἰς ταύτην δ' ἀποστρέψασα τὸν ποταμὸν κατασκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰδε βασιλείων εἰς θάτερα διώρυχα· ἐξ ὀπίτης δὲ πλίνθου συνοικοδομήσασα τὰς καμάρας ἐξ ἑκάτερου μέρους ἀσφάλτῳ κατέχρισεν ἠψημένην, μέχρι οὐτὸ πάχος τοῦ χρίσματος ἐποίησε πηχῶν τεττάρων. τῆς δὲ διώρυχος ὑπῆρχον οἱ μὲν τοῖχοι τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ πλίνθους εἴκοσι, τὸ δ' ὕψος χωρὶς τῆς καμφθείσης ψαλίδος ποδῶν δώδεκα, τὸ δὲ
- 3 πλάτος ποδῶν πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐν ἡμέραις δ' ἑπτὰ κατασκευασθείσης αὐτῆς ἀποκατέστησε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν ῥύσιν, ὥστε τοῦ ρεύματος ἐπάνω τῆς διώρυχος φερομένου δύνασθαι τὴν Σεμίραμιν ἐκ τῶν πέραν βασιλείων ἐπὶ θάτερα διαπορεύεσθαι μὴ διαβαίνουσαν τὸν ποταμὸν. ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ πύλας τῇ διώρυχι χαλκᾶς ἐφ' ἑκάτερον μέρος, αἱ διέμειναν μέχρι τῆς<sup>2</sup> Περσῶν βασιλείας.
- 4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει κατασκεύασεν ἱερὸν Διός, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, Βῆλον. περὶ τούτου δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων διαφωνούντων, καὶ τοῦ κατασκευάσματος διὰ τὸν χρόνον καταπεπτωκότος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποφῆνασθαι τὰκριβές. ὁμολογεῖται δ' ὑψηλὸν γεγενῆσθαι καθ' ὑπερβολήν, καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς τῶν ἀστρῶν πεποιθήσθαι παρατηρήσεις, ἀκριβῶς θεωρομένον τῶν τ' ἀνατολῶν καὶ δύσεων διὰ τὸ τοῦ κατασκευά-
- 5 σματος ὕψος. τῆς δ' ὅλης οἰκοδομίας ἐξ ἀσφάλ-

depth of thirty-five feet. Then, diverting the river into it, she built an underground passage-way from one palace to the other; and making it of burned brick, she coated the vaulted chambers on both sides with hot bitumen until she had made the thickness of this coating four cubits. The side walls of the passage-way were twenty bricks thick and twelve feet high, exclusive of the barrel-vault, and the width of the passage-way was fifteen feet. And after this construction had been finished in only seven days she let the river back again into its old channel, and so, since the stream flowed above the passage-way, Semiramis was able to go across from one palace to the other without passing over the river. At each end of the passage-way she also set bronze gates which stood until the time of the Persian rule.

After this she built in the centre of the city a temple<sup>1</sup> of Zeus whom, as we have said, the Babylonians call Belus. Now since with regard to this temple the historians are at variance, and since time has caused the structure to fall in ruins, it is impossible to give the exact facts concerning it. But all agree that it was exceedingly high, and that in it the Chaldeans made their observations of the stars, whose risings and settings could be accurately observed by reason of the height of the structure. Now the entire building was ingeniously constructed at great expense

<sup>1</sup> What follows is a description of the great ziggurat, or stage-tower, of E-temen-ana-ki, the "foundation stone of heaven and earth." According to Herodotus (I. 181) it had eight stories, but E. Unger (*Babylon* (1931), pp. 191 ff.) finds evidence for only seven (cp. the Reconstruction, p. 383). The height of this great structure was nearly 300 feet, and in the course of time there gathered about it the Hebrew myth of the Tower of Babel (cp. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, I, pp. 503 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> οὐδ' D, Vogel : ἴσου C, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν after τῆς omitted by CD, Vogel.

του καὶ πλίνθου πεφίλοτεχνημένης πολυτελῶς, ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς ἀναβάσεως τρία κατεσκευάσεν ἀγάλματα χρυσᾶ σφυρήλατα, Διός, Ἥρας, Ῥέας. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς ἐστήκως ἦν καὶ διαβεβηκός, ὑπάρχον δὲ<sup>1</sup> ποδῶν τετταράκοντα τὸ μήκος σταθμὸν εἶχε χιλίων ταλάντων Βαβυλωνίων· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥέας ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενον χρυσοῦ τὸν ἴσον σταθμὸν εἶχε τῷ προειρημένῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς εἰστήκεσαν λέοντες δύο, καὶ πλησίον ὄφεις ὑπερμεγέθεις ἀργυροί, τριάκοντα ταλάντων ἕκαστος ἔχων τὸ βάρος. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἥρας ἐστήκως ἦν ἀγαλμα, σταθμὸν ἔχον ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κατεῖχε τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄφιν, τῇ δ' ἀριστερᾷ σκῆπτρον λιθοκόλλητον. τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι κοινῇ παρέκειτο τράπεζα χρυσῆ σφυρήλατος, τὸ μὲν μήκος ποδῶν τετταράκοντα, τὸ δ' εὖρος πεντεκαίδεκα, σταθμὸν ἔχουσα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐπέκειντο δύο καρχῆσια, σταθμὸν ἔχοντα τριάκοντα ταλάντων. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ θυμιατήρια τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἴσα, τὸν δὲ σταθμὸν ἐκάτερον ταλάντων τριακοσίων· ὑπῆρχον δὲ καὶ κρατῆρες χρυσοῖ τρεῖς, ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῦ Διὸς εἶλκε τάλαντα Βαβυλῶνια χίλια καὶ διακόσια, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐκάτερος ἑξακόσια. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὕστερον ἐσύλησαν· τῶν δὲ βασιλείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων ὁ χρόνος τὰ μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς ἠφάνισε, τὰ δ' ἐλυμήματο· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος νῦν βραχὺ τι μέρος οἰκεῖται, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐντὸς τείχους γεωργεῖται.

10. Ἐπῆρχε δὲ καὶ ὁ κρεμαστὸς καλούμενος

of bitumen and brick, and at the top of the ascent Semiramis set up three statues of hammered gold, of Zeus, Hera, and Rhea. Of these statues that of Zeus represented him erect and striding forward, and, being forty feet high, weighed a thousand Babylonian talents; that of Rhea showed her seated on a golden throne and was of the same weight as that of Zeus; and at her knees stood two lions, while near by were huge serpents of silver, each one weighing thirty talents. The statue of Hera was also standing, weighing eight hundred talents, and in her right hand she held a snake by the head and in her left a sceptre studded with precious stones. A table for all three statues, made of hammered gold, stood before them, forty feet long, fifteen wide, and weighing five hundred talents. Upon it rested two drinking-cups, weighing thirty talents. And there were censers as well, also two in number but weighing each three hundred talents, and also three gold mixing bowls, of which the one belonging to Zeus weighed twelve hundred Babylonian talents and the other two six hundred each. But all these were later carried off as spoil by the kings of the Persians,<sup>1</sup> while as for the palaces and the other buildings, time has either entirely effaced them or left them in ruins; and in fact of Babylon itself but a small part is inhabited at this time, and most of the area within its walls is given over to agriculture.

10. There was also, beside the acropolis, the Hang-

<sup>1</sup> Babylon was taken by the Persians in 539 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> Vogel follows D in reading δὲ here and deletes it after σταθμὸν.

κῆπος παρὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐ Σεμιράμιδος, ἀλλὰ τινος ὕστερον Σύρου βασιλέως κατασκευάσαντος χάριν γυναικὸς παλλακῆς· ταύτην γὰρ φασιν οὖσαν τὸ γένος Περσίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι λειμῶνας ἐπιζητοῦσαν ἀξιώσαι τὸν βασιλέα μῆψασθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ φυτουργείου φιλοτεχνίας

2 τὴν τῆς Περσίδος χώρας ιδιότητα. ἔστι δ' ὁ παράδεισος τὴν μὲν πλευρὰν ἐκάστην παρεκτείνων εἰς τέτταρα πλέθρα, τὴν δὲ πρόσβασιν ὄρεινὴν καὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἄλλας ἐξ ἄλλων ἔχων,

3 ὥστε τὴν πρόσοψιν εἶναι θεατροειδῆ. ὑπὸ δὲ ταῖς κατασκευασμέναις ἀναβάσεσιν ὠκοδόμηνητο σύρυγγες, ἅπαν μὲν ὑποδεχόμεναι τὸ τοῦ φυτουργείου βάρος, ἀλλήλων δ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀεὶ μικρὸν ὑπερέχουσαι κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν· ἡ δ' ἀνωτάτω σύρυγξ οὖσα πεντήκοντα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος εἶχεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ παραδείσου τὴν ἀνωτάτην ἐπιφάνειαν συνεξιουμένην τῷ περιβόλῳ

4 τῶν ἐπάλλξεων. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν τοῖχοι πολυτελῶς κατασκευασμένοι τὸ πάχος εἶχον ποδῶν ἑκοσι δύο, τῶν δὲ διεξόδων ἐκάστη τὸ πλάτος δέκα. τὰς δ' ὀροφὰς κατεστέγαζον λίθιναι δοκοί, τὸ μὲν μήκος σὺν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχουσαι ποδῶν ἑκαί-

5 δεκα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τεττάρων. τὸ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς δοκοῖς ὀρόφωμα πρῶτον μὲν εἶχεν ὑπεστρωμένον κάλαμον μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφάλτου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πλίνθον ὀπτὴν διπλὴν ἐν γύψῳ δεδεμένην, τρίτην δ' ἐπιβολὴν ἐδέχετο<sup>2</sup> μολιβάς στέγας πρὸς τὸ μὴ δικνεῖσθαι κατὰ βάθος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χώματος νοτίδα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐσεσώρευτο γῆς ἱκανὸν

ing Garden, as it is called, which was built, not by Semiramis, but by a later Syrian king to please one of his concubines; for she, they say, being a Persian by race and longing for the meadows of her mountains, asked the king to imitate, through the artifice of a planted garden, the distinctive landscape of Persia.<sup>1</sup> The park<sup>2</sup> extended four plethra on each side, and since the approach to the garden sloped like a hillside and the several parts of the structure rose from one another tier on tier, the appearance of the whole resembled that of a theatre. When the ascending terraces had been built, there had been constructed beneath them galleries which carried the entire weight of the planted garden and rose little by little one above the other along the approach; and the uppermost gallery, which was fifty cubits high, bore the highest surface of the park, which was made level with the circuit wall of the battlements of the city. Furthermore, the walls, which had been constructed at great expense, were twenty-two feet thick, while the passage-way between each two walls was ten feet wide. The roofs of the galleries were covered over with beams of stone sixteen feet long, inclusive of the overlap, and four feet wide. The roof above these beams had first a layer of reeds laid in great quantities of bitumen, over this two courses of baked brick bonded by cement, and as a third layer a covering of lead, to the end that the moisture from the soil might not penetrate beneath. On all this again earth had been

<sup>1</sup> The "Hanging Gardens" were built by the Chaldaean Nebuchadrezzar (605-562 B.C.) for his wife Amythia, a Median princess.

<sup>2</sup> *Paradeisos*, "park," a word borrowed from the Persian, meant no more than a wooded enclosure.

<sup>1</sup> ἐφ' αὐτῇ Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> ἐδέχετο Vogel: ἐπεδέχετο C, Bekker, Dindorf.

βάθος, ἄρκου<sup>1</sup> ταῖς τῶν μεγίστων δένδρων  
ρίζαις· τὸ δ' ἔδαφος ἐξωμαλισμένον πλήρες ἦν  
παντοδαπῶν δένδρων τῶν δυναμένων κατὰ τε τὸ  
μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χάριν τοὺς θεωμένους  
ψυχαγωγῆσαι. αἱ δὲ σύρυγγες τὰ φῶτα δεχό-  
μηναι ταῖς δι' ἀλλήλων ὑπεροχαῖς πολλὰς καὶ  
παντοδαπὰς εἶχον διαίτας βασιλικὰς· μία δ' ἦν  
ἐκ τῆς ἀνωτάτης ἐπιφανείας διατομὰς ἔχουσα  
καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαντλήσεις τῶν ὑδάτων ὄργανα,  
δι' ὧν ἀνεσπᾶτο πλήθος ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ,  
μηδενὸς τῶν ἔξωθεν τὸ γινόμενον συνιδεῖν δυνα-  
μένου. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ παράδεισος, ὡς προείπον,  
ὑστερον κατεσκευάσθη.

11. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἔκτισε καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις  
παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν τε Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν  
Τίγριν, ἐν αἷς ἐμπόρια κατεσκεύασε τοῖς φορτία  
διακομίζουσι ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ Παραϊτα-  
κηνῆς καὶ πάσης τῆς συνεγγυς χώρας. μετὰ  
γὰρ τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ Γάγγην ὄντες ἐπισημότατοι  
σχεδὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμῶν Εὐφράτης  
καὶ Τίγρις τὰς μὲν πηγὰς ἔχουσι ἐκ τῶν  
Ἀρμενίων ὄρων, διεστήκασι δ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων  
2 σταδίου δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· ἐνεχθέντες  
δὲ διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Παραϊτακηνῆς ἐμβάλλουσι  
εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, ἣν ἀπολαμβάνοντες εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ἄρκου<sup>1</sup> Gemistus; ἀρνούμενον.

<sup>1</sup> Koldewey (*loc. cit.*, pp. 91-100) would identify a vaulted building in a corner of Nebuchadrezzar's palace with this "hanging garden." Certain considerations speak strongly

piled to a depth sufficient for the roots of the largest trees; and the ground, when levelled off, was thickly planted with trees of every kind that, by their great size or any other charm, could give pleasure to the beholder. And since the galleries, each projecting beyond another, all received the light, they contained many royal lodgings of every description; and there was one gallery which contained openings leading from the topmost surface and machines for supplying the garden with water, the machines raising the water in great abundance from the river, although no one outside could see it being done. Now this park, as I have said, was a later construction.<sup>1</sup>

11. Semiramis founded other cities also along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, in which she established trading-places for the merchants who brought goods from Media, Paractacene, and all the neighbouring region. For the Euphrates and Tigris, the most notable, one may say, of all the rivers of Asia after the Nile and Ganges, have their sources in the mountains of Armenia and are two thousand five hundred stades apart at their origin, and after flowing through Media and Paractacene they enter Mesopotamia, which they enclose between them, thus

for this: (1) hewn stone, rarely found elsewhere in Babylon, was used in its construction; (2) the walls, especially the central ones, are unusually thick, as if to bear some heavy burden; (3) the presence of a well, unique among the many found in the ruins of the city, which consists of three adjoining shafts, the two outer and oblong ones presumably being used for an endless chain of buckets, and the central and square shaft serving as an inspection-chamber. L. W. King (*A History of Babylon*, pp. 46-50) recognizes the force of these arguments, but is inclined "to hope for a more convincing site for the gardens." E. Unger (*Babylon*, pp. 216 ff.) accepts the identification of Koldewey.

μέσον αἴτιοι κατέστησαν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτης τῆς  
 προσηγορίας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν  
 διελθόντες<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐξερευνοῦνται θάλατ-  
 3 ταν. μεγάλοι δ' ὄντες καὶ συχρὴν χώραν δια-  
 πορευόμενοι πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς παρέχονται τοῖς  
 ἐμπορικῇ χρωμένοις ἐργασίᾳ· διὸ καὶ συμβαίνει  
 τοὺς παραποταμίους τόπους πλήρεις ὑπάρχειν  
 ἐμπορίων εὐδαιμόνων καὶ μεγάλα συμβαλλομένων  
 πρὸς τὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐπιφάνειαν.  
 4 Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων λίθον  
 ἔτεμε τὸ μὲν μήκος ποδῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τριά-  
 5 κοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος καὶ πάχος εἴκοσι καὶ  
 πέντε· τοῦτον δὲ πολλοὶς πλήθει ζευγῶν  
 ὄρεικῶν τε καὶ βοεικῶν καταγαγούσα πρὸς τὸν  
 ποταμὸν ἐπεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὴν σχεδίαν· ἐπὶ ταύτης  
 δὲ παρακομίσασα<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος μέχρι τῆς  
 Βαβυλωνίας ἔστησεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν ἐπισημο-  
 τάτην ὁδόν, παράδοξον θέαμα τοῖς παριούσιν· ὅν-  
 τινες ὀνομίζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀβελίσκον,  
 ὃν ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ τοῖς κατονομαζομένοις ἔργοις  
 καταριθμοῦσι.

12. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παράδοξον ὄντων θεαμά-  
 των κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οὐχ ἥκιστα θαυμά-  
 ζεται καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γεννωμένης  
 ἀσφάλτου· τοσοῦτον γάρ ἐστιν ὥστε μὴ μόνον  
 ταῖς τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις οἰκοδομίαις  
 διαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλεγόμενον τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ  
 τὸν τόπον ἀφειδῶς ἀρῦεσθαι καὶ ξηραίνοντα

giving this name to the country.<sup>1</sup> After this they  
 pass through Babylonia and empty into the Red Sea.<sup>2</sup>  
 Moreover, since they are great streams and traverse  
 a spacious territory they offer many advantages to  
 men who follow a merchant trade; and it is due to  
 this fact that the regions along their banks are filled  
 with prosperous trading-places which contribute  
 greatly to the fame of Babylonia.

Semiramis quarried out a stone from the mountains  
 of Armenia which was one hundred and thirty feet  
 long and twenty-five feet wide and thick; and this she  
 hauled by means of many multitudes of yokes of  
 mules and oxen to the river and there loaded it on a  
 raft, on which she brought it down the stream to  
 Babylonia; she then set it up beside the most famous  
 street, an astonishing sight to all who passed by.  
 And this stone is called by some an obelisk<sup>3</sup> from its  
 shape, and they number it among the seven wonders  
 of the world.

12. Although the sights to be seen in Babylonia  
 are many and singular, not the least wonderful is the  
 enormous amount of bitumen which the country  
 produces; so great is the supply of this that it not  
 only suffices for their buildings, which are numerous  
 and large, but the common people also, gathering at  
 the place,<sup>4</sup> draw it out without any restriction, and

<sup>1</sup> Meaning the "region between the rivers." Neither of  
 the rivers touches either Media or Paraetacene, which lies  
 between Media and Persis.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the Persian Gulf. For Diodorus, as for Herodotus (cp.  
 1. 1), the "Red Sea" was all the water south of Asia. Our  
 "Red Sea" is the "Arabian Gulf" of Diodorus (cp. 1. 33. 8).

<sup>3</sup> Obelisk is a diminutive of *obelos* ("a spit").

<sup>4</sup> According to Herodotus (1. 179) the place was eight days'  
 journey from Babylon at the source of the river Is, which was  
 a tributary of the Euphrates.

<sup>1</sup> διελθόντες Gemistus: διελόντες.

<sup>2</sup> παρακομίσασα Vogel: κατακομίσασα II, Bekker, Din-  
 dorf.

2 *κάειν ἀντὶ ξύλων. ἀναριθμήτων δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀρρομένων καθάπερ ἕκ τινος πηγῆς μεγάλης ἀκέραιον διαμένει τὸ πλήρωμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πλησίον τῆς πηγῆς ταύτης ἀνάδοσις τῷ μὲν μεγέθει βραχεῖα, δύναμιν δὲ θαυμάσιον ἔχουσα. προβάλλει<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἀτμὸν θειώδη καὶ βαρύν, ᾧ τὸ προσελθὼν ζῶον ἅπαν ἀποθνήσκει, περιπίπτου ὀξεῖα καὶ παραδόξῳ τελευτῇ· πνεύματος γὰρ κατοχῇ χρόνον ὑπομείναν διαφθείρεται, καθάπερ κωλυομένης τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐκφορᾶς ὑπὸ τῆς προσπεσοῦσης ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς δυνάμεως· εὐθὺς δὲ διοιδεῖ καὶ πύμπραται τὸ σῶμα, μάλιστα*  
 3 *τοὺς περὶ τὸν πνεύμονα τόπους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λίμνη στερεὸν ἔχουσα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν τύπον,<sup>2</sup> εἰς ἣν ὅταν τις ἐμβῆ τῶν ἀπείρων, ὀλίγον μὲν νήχεται χρόνον, προϊὼν δ' εἰς τὸ μέσον καθάπερ ὑπὸ τινος βίας κατασπάται· ἑαυτῷ δὲ βοηθῶν καὶ πᾶλιν ἀναστρέφει προαιρούμενος ἀντέχεται μὲν τῆς ἐκβύσεως, ἀντισπωμένῳ δ' ὑπὸ τινος ἔοικε· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπονεκροῦται τοὺς πόδας, εἶτα τὰ σκέλη μέχρι τῆς ὀσφύος, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὄλον τὸ σῶμα νάρκη κρατηθεὶς φέρεται πρὸς βυθόν, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τετελευτηκῶς ἀναβάλλεται.*

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ θαυμαζομένων ἀρκείτω τὰ ρηθέντα.

13. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἀπέθηκε πέρασ, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως· καταντήσασα δὲ πρὸς ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον

drying it burn it in place of wood. And countless as is the multitude of men who draw it out, the amount remains undiminished, as if derived from some immense source. Moreover, near this source there is a vent-hole, of no great size but of remarkable potency. For it emits a heavy sulphurous vapour which brings death to all living creatures that approach it, and they meet with an end swift and strange; for after being subjected for a time to a retention of the breath they are killed, as though the expulsion of the breath were being prevented by the force which has attacked the processes of respiration; and immediately the body swells and blows up, particularly in the region about the lungs. And there is also across the river a lake whose edge offers solid footing, and if any man, unacquainted with it, enters it he swims for a short time, but as he advances towards the centre he is dragged down as though by a certain force; and when he begins to help himself and makes up his mind to turn back to shore again, though he struggles to extricate himself, it appears as if he were being hauled back by something else; and he becomes numbed, first in his feet, then in his legs as far as the groin, and finally, overcome by numbness in his whole body, he is carried to the bottom, and a little later is cast up dead.

Now concerning the wonders of Babylonia let what has been said suffice.

13. After Semiramis had made an end of her building operations she set forth in the direction of Media with a great force. And when she had arrived at

<sup>1</sup> προβάλλει Vogel: προσβάλλει Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> τύπον Reiske: τόπον.

Βαγίστανον πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ κατεσκεύασε παράδεισον, ὃς τὴν μὲν περίμετρον ἦν δώδεκα σταδίων, ἐν πεδίῳ δὲ κείμενος εἶχε πηγὴν μεγάλην, ἐξ ἧς ἀρδύεσθαι συνέβαινε  
 2 τὸ φυτουργεῖον. τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος ἐστὶ μὲν ἱερὸν Διός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν παράδεισον μέρους ἀποτομάδας ἔχει πέτρας εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεινούσας ἑπτακαίδεκα σταδίου. οὐ τὸ κατώτατον μέρος καταξύσασα τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνεχάραξεν εἰκόνα, δορυφόρους αὐτῇ παραστήσασα ἑκατόν. ἐπέγραψε δὲ καὶ Συρίους γράμμασιν εἰς τὴν πέτραν ὅτι Σεμίραμις τοῖς σύγμασι τοῖς τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ὑποζυγίων ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου χῶσασα τὸν προειρημένον κρημνὸν διὰ τούτων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόρειαν προσανέβη.

3 Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀναξέυξασα καὶ παραγενομένη πρὸς Χαύουνα πόλιν τῆς Μηδίας κατενόησεν ἐν τινι μετεώρῳ πεδίῳ πέτραν τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καταπληκτικὴν. ἐνταῦθ' οὖν ἕτερον παράδεισον ὑπερμεγέθη κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν μέσῳ τὴν πέτραν ἀπολαβούσα, καθ' ἣν οἰκοδομήματα πολυτελῆ πρὸς τρυφὴν ἐποίησεν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ τε κατὰ τὸν παράδεισον ἀπεθεώρει φυτουργεῖα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν παρεμβεβληκυῖαν ἐν τῷ  
 4 πεδίῳ. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ συχνὸν ἐνδιατρίψασα χρόνον καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς τρυφὴν ἀγκόντων ἀπολαύσασα, γῆμαι μὲν νομίμως οὐκ ἠθέλη-

the mountain known as Bagistanus,<sup>1</sup> she encamped near it and laid out a park, which had a circumference of twelve stades and, being situated in the plain, contained a great spring by means of which her plantings could be irrigated. The Bagistanus mountain is sacred to Zeus and on the side facing the park has sheer cliffs which rise to a height of seventeen stades. The lowest part of these she smoothed off and engraved thereon a likeness of herself with a hundred spearmen at her side. And she also put this inscription on the cliff in Syrian<sup>2</sup> letters: "Semiramis, with the pack-saddles of the beasts of burden in her army, built up a mound from the plain and thereby climbed this precipice, even to its very ridge."

Setting forth from that place and arriving at the city of Chauon in Media, she noticed on a certain high plateau a rock both of striking height and mass. Accordingly, she laid out there another park of great size, putting the rock in the middle of it, and on the rock she erected, to satisfy her taste for luxury, some very costly buildings from which she used to look down both upon her plantings in the park and on the whole army encamped on the plain. In this place she passed a long time and enjoyed to the full every device that contributed to luxury; she was unwilling, however, to contract a lawful marriage, being afraid

placed there about 516 B.C. to recount the defeat by Darius of the rebellion which broke out in the reign of Cambyses. It stands about five hundred feet above the ground and the magnificent sculptures represent the rebellious satraps, two attendants of the king, and Darius making the gesture of adoration before the sacred symbol of Ahuramazda. See L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistun*.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Assyrian.

<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest mention of the modern Behistun, near the "Gate of Asia" on the old highway between Babylon and Eebatana, Diodorus preserving the original form of the name Bagistana, "place of the Gods" or "of God." The great inscription, which became the Rosetta Stone of cuneiform, was



σεν, εὐλαβουμένη μήποτε στερηθῆ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπιλεγόμενη δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς εὐπρεπεῖα διαφέροντας τοῦτους ἐμίσηγετο, καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτῇ πλησιάζοντας ἠφάνιζε.

- 5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπ' Ἐκβατάνων τὴν πορείαν ποιησαμένη παρεγένετο πρὸς ὄρος τὸ Ζαρκαίου καλούμενον· τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ πολλοὺς παρήκον σταδίους καὶ πλήρες ὄν κρημνῶν καὶ φαράγγων μακρὰν εἶχε τὴν περίουον. ἐφιλοτιμείτο οὖν ἅμα μὲν μνημεῖον ἀθάνατον ἑαυτῆς ἀπολιπεῖν, ἅμα δὲ σύντομον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὁδὸν· διόπερ τοὺς τε κρημνοὺς κατακόψασα καὶ τοὺς κοίλους τόπους χῶσασα σύντομον καὶ πολυτελῆ κατασκεύασεν ὁδόν, ἣ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Σεμράμιδος  
6 καλεῖται. παραγενθεῖσα δ' εἰς Ἐκβάτανα, πόλιν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην, κατασκεύασεν ἐν αὐτῇ πολυτελῆ βασιλεία καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησατο τοῦ τόπου περιττοτέραν. ἀνύδρου γὰρ οὐσῆς τῆς πόλεως καὶ μηδαμοῦ σύνεγγυς ὑπαρχούσης πηγῆς, ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν πᾶσαν κατάρρυτον, ἐπαγαγοῦσα πλείστον καὶ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας τε καὶ  
7 δαπάνης. τῶν γὰρ Ἐκβατάνων ὡς δώδεκα σταδίων ἀπέχον ἔστιν ὄρος ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ὀρόντης, τῇ δὲ τραχύτητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς ὕψος ἀνατείνοντι μεγέθει διάφορον, ὡς ἂν τὴν πρόσβασιν ἔχον ὄρθιον ἕως τῆς ἀκρωρείας σταδίων εἴκοσι πέντε. ἐκ θατέρου δὲ μέρους οὐσῆς λίμνης μεγάλης εἰς ποταμὸν ἐκβαλλούσης, διέσκαψε τὸ προειρημένον  
8 ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ῥίζαν. ἦν δ' ἡ διῶρυξ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ποδῶν πεντεκαίδεκα, τὸ δ' ὕψος τετταράκοντα· δι' ἧς ἐπαγαγοῦσα τὸν ἐκ τῆς λίμνης  
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that she might be deprived of her supreme position, but choosing out the most handsome of the soldiers she consorted with them and then made away with all who had lain with her.

After this she advanced in the direction of Ecbatana and arrived at the mountain called Zarcacus;<sup>1</sup> and since this extended many stades and was full of cliffs and chasms it rendered the journey round a long one. And so she became ambitious both to leave an immortal monument of herself and at the same time to shorten her way; consequently she cut through the cliffs, filled up the low places, and thus at great expense built a short road, which to this day is called the road of Semiramis. Upon arriving at Ecbatana, a city which lies on the plain, she built in it an expensive palace and in every other way gave rather exceptional attention to the region. For since the city had no water supply and there was no spring in its vicinity, she made the whole of it well watered by bringing to it with much hardship and expense an abundance of the purest water. For at a distance from Ecbatana of about twelve stades is a mountain, which is called Orontes and is unusual for its ruggedness and enormous height, since the ascent, straight to its summit, is twenty-five stades. And since a great lake, which emptied into a river, lay on the other side, she made a cutting through the base of this mountain. The tunnel was fifteen feet wide and forty feet high; and through it she brought in the river

<sup>1</sup> The Zagros range.

ποταμὸν ἐπλήρωσε τὴν πόλιν ὕδατος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ.

14. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθε τὴν τε Περσίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν ἅπασαν ἧς ἐπῆρχε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. πανταχοῦ δὲ τὰ μὲν ὄρη καὶ τὰς ἀπορρώγας πέτρας διακόπτουσα κατασκευάσεν ὁδοὺς πολυτελεῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πεδίοις ἐποίει χώματα, ποτὲ μὲν τάφους κατασκευάζουσα τοῖς τελευτῶσι τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ποτὲ δὲ πόλεις ἐν τοῖς ἀναστήμασι κατοικίζουσα. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς στρατοπεδείας μικρὰ χώματα κατασκευάζειν, ἐφ' ὧν καθιστᾶσα τὴν ἰδίαν σκηνὴν ἅπασαν κατώπτενε τὴν παρεμβολήν· διὸ καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν διαμένει τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνης κατασκευασθέντων καὶ καλεῖται Σεμιράμιδος ἔργα.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἐπῆλθε καὶ τῆς Λιβύης τὰ πλείστα καταστρεφάμενης παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἀμμωνα, χρησομένη τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τελευτῆς. λέγεται δ' αὐτῇ γενέσθαι λόγιον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀθανάτου τεύξεσθαι τιμῆς· ὅπερ ἔσεσθαι καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον
- 4 ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῆς Νινύας ἐπιβουλεύσῃ. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενομένη τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐπῆλθε τὰ πλείστα καταστρεφομένη καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν θεωμένη παράδοξα. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ φασὶ λίμνην τετράγωνου, τὴν μὲν περιμετρον ἔχουσαν ποδῶν ὡς ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ τῇ μὲν χροᾷ παραπλήσιον κινναβάρει, τὴν δ' ὄσμην καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἠδέϊαν, οὐκ ἀνόμοιον οἴνω παλαιῷ·

which flowed from the lake, and filled the city with water. Now this is what she did in Media.

14. After this she visited Persis and every other country over which she ruled throughout Asia. Everywhere she cut through the mountains and the precipitous cliffs and constructed expensive roads, while on the plains she made mounds, sometimes constructing them as tombs for those of her generals who died, and sometimes founding cities on their tops. And it was also her custom, whenever she made camp, to build little mounds, upon which setting her tent she could look down upon all the encampment. As a consequence many of the works she built throughout Asia remain to this day and are called Works of Semiramis.<sup>1</sup>

After this she visited all Egypt, and after subduing most of Libya she went also to the oracle of Ammon<sup>2</sup> to inquire of the god regarding her own end. And the account runs that the answer was given her that she would disappear from among men and receive undying honour among some of the peoples of Asia, and that this would take place when her son Ninus should conspire against her. Then upon her return from these regions she visited most of Ethiopia, subduing it as she went and inspecting the wonders of the land. For in that country, they say, there is a lake, square in form, with a perimeter of some hundred and sixty feet, and its water is like cinnabar in colour and the odour of it is exceeding sweet, not unlike that of

Diodorus as well as to-day and are the remains of ancient dwelling sites.

<sup>2</sup> The shrine of Zeus Ammon in the Oasis of Siwah, which is described in Book 17. 50, in connection with the celebrated visit to it of Alexander.

<sup>1</sup> This is obviously an attempt to explain the many mounds which dotted the landscape of this region in the time of 396

δύναμιν δ' ἔχειν παράδοξον· τὸν γὰρ πίνοντα φασὶν εἰς μανίαν ἐμπίπτειν καὶ πάνθ' ἃ πρότερον διέλαθεν ἀμαρτήσας ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγουσιν οὐκ ἂν τις βραδίως συγκατάθοιτο.

15. Ταφὰς δὲ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἰδίως<sup>1</sup> οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ποιοῦνται ταριχεύσαντες γὰρ τὰ σώματα καὶ περιχέαντες αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ἕλον ἰστάσιν ἐπὶ στήλης, ὥστε τοῖς παροῦσι φαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς ἕλου τὸ τοῦ τελευτηκότος  
 2 σώμα, καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος εἴρηκε. Κτησίας δ' ὁ Κνίδιος ἀποφαινόμενος τοῦτον σχεδιάζειν, αὐτὸς φησι τὸ μὲν σῶμα ταριχεύεσθαι, τὴν μέντοι γὰρ ἕλον μὴ περιχεῖσθαι γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασι· κατακαυθήσεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ λυμανθέντα τελέως  
 3 τὴν ὁμοίότητα μὴ δυνήσεσθαι διατηρεῖν. διὸ καὶ χρυσὴν εἰκόνα κατασκευάζουσι κοίλῃν, εἰς ἣν ἐντεθέντος τοῦ νεκροῦ περὶ τὴν εἰκόνα χεῖσθαι τὴν ἕλον· τοῦ δὲ κατασκευάσματος τεθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον διὰ τῆς ἕλου φανῆναι τὸν χρυσὸν  
 4 ἀφωμοιωμένον τῷ τελευτηκῷ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσίους αὐτῶν οὕτω θάπτεσθαι φησι, τοὺς δ' ἐλάττους καταλιπόντας οὐσίας ἀργυρᾶς τυγχάνειν εἰκόνας, τοὺς δὲ πένητας κεραμῆνης· τὴν δὲ ἕλον πᾶσιν ἐξαρκεῖν διὰ τὸ πλείστην γενεᾶσθαι

<sup>1</sup> *Ilias* Bekker, Vogel; *Ilias* Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (3. 24) says nothing of the sort. According to him the body is shrunk and covered with gypsum, which is painted in such a way as to make it resemble a living man; then "they set it within a hollow pillar of *hyelos*." It is difficult to understand how some translators and commentators take this word to mean "porcelain," for Herodotus goes on

old wine; moreover, it has a remarkable power; for whoever has drunk of it, they say, falls into a frenzy and accuses himself of every sin which he had formerly committed in secret. However, a man may not readily agree with those who tell such things.

15. In the burial of their dead the inhabitants of Ethiopia follow customs peculiar to themselves; for after they have embalmed the body and have poured a heavy coat of glass over it they stand it on a pillar, so that the body of the dead man is visible through the glass to those who pass by. This is the statement of Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> But Ctesias of Cnidus, declaring that Herodotus is inventing a tale, gives for his part this account. The body is indeed embalmed, but glass is not poured about the naked bodies, for they would be burned and so completely disfigured that they could no longer preserve their likeness. For this reason they fashion a hollow statue of gold and when the corpse has been put into this they pour the glass over the statue, and the figure, prepared in this way, is then placed at the tomb, and the gold, fashioned as it is to resemble the deceased, is seen through the glass. Now the rich among them are buried in this wise, he says, but those who leave a smaller estate receive a silver statue, and the poor one made of earthenware; as for the glass, there is enough of it for everyone,

to say that "it is quarried by them in abundance and is easy to work." In Herodotus' day it probably meant some transparent stone, perhaps alabaster (cp. M. L. Trowbridge, *Philological Studies in Ancient Glass* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1928), pp. 23 ff.); but by the time of Diodorus *hyelos* was the term used for "glass." Strabo (17. 2. 3) agrees with Diodorus in saying that in one manner of burial the Ethiopians "poured glass over" the bodies of the dead.

κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ τελέως παρὰ τοῖς  
 5 ἐγχωρίοις ἐπιπολάζειν. περὶ δὲ τῶν νομίμων  
 τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθίοψι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γινο-  
 μένων ἐν τῇ τούτων χώρα τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ  
 μνήμης ἄξια μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναγράφομεν, ὅταν  
 καὶ τὰς παλαιὰς αὐτῶν πράξεις καὶ μυθολογίας  
 διεξίωμεν.

16. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις καταστήσασα τά τε κατὰ  
 τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ  
 τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Βάκτρα τῆς Ἀσίας. ἔχουσα δὲ  
 δυνάμεις μεγάλας καὶ πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην ἄγουσα  
 φιλοτίμως ἔσχε πρᾶξαι τι λαμπρὸν κατὰ πόλι-  
 2 μων. πυνθανομένη δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος  
 μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ  
 πλείστην τε καὶ καλλίστην χώραν νέμεσθαι,  
 διανοεῖτο στρατεῦναι εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ἧς ἐβασί-  
 λευε μὲν Σταβροβάτης κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς  
 χρόνους, στρατιωτῶν δ' εἶχεν ἀναρίθμητον  
 πλήθος· ὑπήρχον δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολλοὶ  
 καθ' ὑπερβολὴν λαμπρῶς κεκασμημένοι τοῖς εἰς  
 3 τὸν πόλεμον καταπληκτικοῖς. ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ  
 χώρα διάφορος οὖσα τῷ κάλλει καὶ πολλοῖς  
 διειλημμένη ποταμοῖς ἀρδενεταί τε πολλαχοῦ καὶ  
 διττοῦς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐναντῶν ἐκφέρει καρποῦς·  
 διὸ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιτηδείων τοσοῦτον  
 ἔχει πλήθος ὥστε διὰ παντὸς ἀφθονοῦ ἀπόλαυσιν  
 τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις παρέχεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ μηδεποτε  
 καθ' αὐτὴν γεγενῆσθαι σιτοδείαν ἢ φθορὰν καρπῶν  
 4 διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν τόπων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐλεφάντων ἀπιστον πλήθος, οὐ ταῖς τε ἄλκαϊς  
 καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ῥώμαις πολὺν προέχουσι  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ γινομένων, ὁμοίως δὲ χρυσόν,  
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since it occurs in great abundance in Ethiopia and is quite current among the inhabitants. With regard to the customs prevailing among the Ethiopians and the other features of their country we shall a little later set forth those that are the most important and deserving of record, at which time we shall also recount their early deeds and their mythology.<sup>1</sup>

16. But after Semiramis had put in order the affairs of Ethiopia and Egypt she returned with her force to Bactra in Asia. And since she had great forces and had been at peace for some time she became eager to achieve some brilliant exploit in war. And when she was informed that the Indian nation was the largest one in the world and likewise possessed both the most extensive and the fairest country, she purposed to make a campaign into India.<sup>2</sup> Stabrobates at that time was king of the country and had a multitude of soldiers without number; and many elephants were also at his disposal, fitted out in an exceedingly splendid fashion with such things as would strike terror in war. For India is a land of unusual beauty, and since it is traversed by many rivers it is supplied with water over its whole area and yields two harvests each year; consequently it has such an abundance of the necessities of life that at all times it favours its inhabitants with a bounteous enjoyment of them. And it is said that because of the favourable climate in those parts the country has never experienced a famine or a destruction of crops. It also has an unbelievable multitude of elephants, which both in courage and in strength of body far surpass those of

<sup>1</sup> This is done in Book 3. 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> This campaign was doubted already by the ancient writers; cp. Strabo 15. 1. 5 f.

ἀργύρου, σίδηρον, χαλκόν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λίθων παντοίων καὶ πολυτελῶν ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῇ πλήθος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων σχεδὸν τῶν πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πλοῦτον διατεινόντων.

Ἐπεὶ ὦν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἡ Σεμίραμις ἀκούσασα προήχθη μηδὲν προαδικηθεῖσα τὸν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς  
 5 ἔξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον. ὄρωσα δ' αὐτὴν μεγάλων καθ' ὑπερβολὴν προσδεομένην δυνάμεων, ἔξ-  
 ἔπεμφεν ἀγγέλους εἰς ἀπάσας τὰς σατραπείας,<sup>1</sup>  
 διακελευσαμένη τοῖς ἐπάρχοις καταγράφειν τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, δοῦσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν κατὰ τὰ  
 μεγέθη τῶν ἐθνῶν· προσέταξε δὲ πᾶσι κατασκευάζειν καινὰς πανοπτίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἀπασὶ λαμπρῶς παραγίνεσθαι κεκοσμημένους  
 6 μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος εἰς Βάκτρα. μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ ναυπηγούς ἐκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς παραθαλαττίου χώρας, οἷς ἀφθονοὺς ὕλην μεταγαγούσα διεκελεύσατο  
 7 κατασκευάζειν ποτάμια πλοῖα διαιρετά. ὁ γὰρ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς, μέγιστος ὦν τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῆς ὀρίζων, πολλῶν προσεδεῖτο πλοίων πρὸς τε τὴν διάβασιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀμύνασθαι περὶ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ οὔσης ὕλης ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς περὶ παρακομίζεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα.  
 8 Θεωροῦσα δ' ἡ Σεμίραμις αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐλεφάντων χρεῖα πολὺ λειπομένην, ἐπενοήσατο<sup>2</sup> κατασκευάζειν εἴδωλα<sup>3</sup> τούτων τῶν ζώων, ἐλπίζουσα καταπληθεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς διὰ τὸ νομίζειν

Libya, and likewise gold, silver, iron, and copper; furthermore, within its borders are to be found great quantities of precious stones of every kind and of practically all other things which contribute to luxury and wealth.<sup>1</sup>

When Semiramis had received a detailed account of these facts she was led to begin her war against the Indians, although she had been done no injury by them. And realizing that she needed an exceedingly great force in addition to what she had she despatched messengers to all the satrapies, commanding the governors to enrol the bravest of the young men and setting their quota in accordance with the size of each nation; and she further ordered them all to make new suits of armour and to be at hand, brilliantly equipped in every other respect, at Bactra on the third year thereafter. She also summoned shipwrights from Phoenicia, Syria, Cyprus, and the rest of the lands along the sea, and shipping thither an abundance of timber she ordered them to build river boats which could be taken to pieces. For the Indus river, by reason of its being the largest in that region and the boundary of her kingdom, required many boats, some for the passage across and others from which to defend the former from the Indians; and since there was no timber near the river the boats had to be brought from Bactriana by land.

Observing that she was greatly inferior because of her lack of elephants, Semiramis conceived the plan of making dummies like these animals, in the hope that the Indians would be struck with terror because

<sup>1</sup> σατραπείας Dindorf: στρατοπεδείας.

<sup>2</sup> τι after ἐπενοήσατο deleted by Hertlein.

<sup>1</sup> India is more fully described in chaps. 35 ff.

<sup>3</sup> εἴδωλα Vogel: ἰδίωμα.

αὐτοὺς μὴδ' εἶναι τὸ σύνολον ἐλέφαντας ἐκτὸς  
 9 τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν. ἐπιλέξασα δὲ βοῶν  
 μελάνων τριάκοντα μυριάδας τὰ μὲν κρέα τοῖς  
 τεχνίταις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν κατασκευα-  
 σμάτων ὑπηρεσίαν τεταγμένοις διένειμε, τὰς δὲ  
 βύρσας συρράπτουσα καὶ χόρτον πληροῦσα  
 κατεσκεύασεν εἰδῶλα, κατὰ πᾶν ἀπομιμουμένη  
 τὴν τῶν ζῴων τούτων φύσιν. ἕκαστον δὲ τού-  
 των εἶχεν ἐντὸς ἀνδρα τὸν ἐπιμελησόμενον καὶ  
 κάμηλον, ὑφ' οὗ φερόμενον φαντασίαν τοῖς  
 πόρρωθεν ὁρώσιν ἀληθινῶν θηρίων παρήχεται.  
 10 οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κατασκευάζοντες αὐτῇ τεχνίται  
 προσεκαρτέρουν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν τινι περιβόλῳ  
 περιφραδομημένῳ καὶ πύλας ἔχοντι τηρουμένας  
 ἐπιμελῶς, ὥστε μὴδένα μῆτε τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐξιέναι  
 τεχνιτῶν μῆτε τῶν ἔξωθεν εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς.  
 τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησεν, ὅπως μὴδεὶς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἴδῃ τὸ  
 γινόμενον μὴδὲ διαπέση φήμη πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς περὶ  
 τούτων.

17. Ἐπεὶ δ' αἱ τε νῆες καὶ τὰ θηρία κα-  
 εσκευάσθησαν ἐν τοῖς δυοῖν ἔτεσι, τῷ τρίτῳ  
 μετεπέμψατο τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν  
 Βακτριανήν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς ἀθροισθείσης  
 στρατιᾶς ἦν, ὡς Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἀνέγραψε,  
 πεζῶν μὲν τριακόσθαι μυριάδες, ἵππέων δὲ εἴκοσι<sup>1</sup>  
 2 μυριάδες, ἀρμάτων δὲ δέκα μυριάδες. ὑπήρχον  
 δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ καμήλων ὄχουμένοι, μαχαίρας  
 τετραπήχεις ἔχοντες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἴσοι τοῖς  
 ἄρμασι. ναῦς δὲ ποταμίας κατεσκεύασε διαι-  
 ρετὰς δισχιλίας, αἷς παρεσκευάσατο καμήλους  
 τὰς πεζῆ παρακομιζούσας τὰ σκάφη. ἐφόρου

<sup>1</sup> εἴκοσι Vogel: πεντήκοντα C, Bekker, Dindorf.

of their belief that no elephants ever existed at all apart from those found in India. Accordingly she chose out three hundred thousand black oxen and distributed their meat among her artisans and the men who had been assigned to the task of making the figures, but the hides she sewed together and stuffed with straw, and thus made dummies, copying in every detail the natural appearance of these animals. Each dummy had within it a man to take care of it and a camel and, when it was moved by the latter, to those who saw it from a distance it looked like an actual animal. And the artisans who were engaged in making these dummies for her worked at their task in a certain court which had been surrounded by a wall and had gates which were carefully guarded, so that no worker within could pass out and no one from outside could come in to them. This she did in order that no one from the outside might see what was taking place and that no report about the dummies might escape to the Indians.

17. When the boats and the beasts had been prepared in the two allotted years, on the third she summoned her forces from everywhere to Bactriana. And the multitude of the army which was assembled, as Ctesias of Cnidus has recorded, was three million foot-soldiers, two hundred thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand chariots. There were also men mounted on camels, carrying swords four cubits long, as many in number as the chariots. And river boats which could be taken apart she built to the number of two thousand, and she had collected camels to carry the vessels overland. Camels also bore the dummies

δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων εἶδωλα κάμηλοι, καθότι προεῖρηται πρὸς δ' αὐτὰς τοὺς ἵππους οἱ στρατιῶται συνάγοντες συνήθεις ἐποιοῦν τοῦ μὴ φοβείσθαι τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν θηρίων. τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἔπραξε Περσεὺς ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ὅτε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐμελλε διακινδυνεύειν ἔχοντας ἐκ Λιβύης ἐλέφαντας. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκείνῳ ῥοπήν ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον συνέβη τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτεχνίαν οὔτε Σεμίραμιδι περὶ ὧν ἀκριβέστερον ὁ προῖων λόγος δηλώσει.

4 Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς Σταβροβάτης πυνθανόμενος τὰ τε μεγέθη τῶν ὀνομαζομένων<sup>1</sup> δυνάμεων καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς, ἔσπευδεν ἐν ἅπασιν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν 5 Σεμίραμιν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καλάμου κατασκεύασε πλοῖα ποτάμια τετρακισχίλια· ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ παρά τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλώδεϊς τόπους φέρει καλάμου πλήθος, οὗ τὸ πάχος οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως ἄνθρωπος περιλάβουι λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων κατασκευαζομένας ναῦς διαφόρους κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν ὑπάρχειν, οὐσῆς 6 ἀσήπτου ταύτης τῆς ὕλης. ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄπλων κατασκευῆς<sup>2</sup> πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἤθροισε δύναμιν πολὺν μείζονα τῆς Σεμίραμιδι συναχθείσης.

<sup>1</sup> ὀνομαζομένων Vogel: ἑτομαζομένων F, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> κατασκευῆς Vogel: παρασκευῆς II, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the elephants.

<sup>2</sup> In the Third Macedonian War, 171-167 B.C., Polyænus (4. 20) says that Perscus constructed wooden dummies of 406

of the elephants, as has been mentioned; and the soldiers, by bringing their horses up to these camels, accustomed them not to fear the savage nature of the beasts.<sup>1</sup> A similar thing was also done many years later by Perscus, the king of the Macedonians, before his decisive conflict with the Romans who had elephants from Libya.<sup>2</sup> But neither in his case did it turn out that the zeal and ingenuity displayed in such matters had any effect on the conflict, nor in that of Semiramis, as will be shown more precisely in our further account.

When Stabrobates, the king of the Indians, heard of the immensity of the forces mentioned and of the exceedingly great preparations which had been made for the war, he was anxious to surpass Semiramis in every respect. First of all, then, he made four thousand river boats out of reeds; for along its rivers and marshy places India produces a great abundance of reeds, so large in diameter that a man cannot easily put his arms about them;<sup>3</sup> and it is said, furthermore, that ships built of these are exceedingly serviceable, since this wood does not rot. Moreover, he gave great care to the preparation of his arms and by visiting all India gathered a far greater force than that which had been collected by Semiramis. Fur-

elephants, and that a man within them imitated their trumpeting. The horses of the Macedonians were led up to these and thus accustomed to the appearance and trumpeting of the Roman elephants. Zonaras (9. 22) adds that the dummies were also smeared with an ointment "to give them a dreadful odour."

<sup>3</sup> In Book 17. 90. 5 Diodorus describes trees of India which four men can scarcely get their arms about, and Strabo (15. 1. 56), on the authority of Megasthenes, speaks of reeds some of which are three cubits and others six in diameter.

7 ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ἐλεφάντων θήραν  
καὶ πολλαπλασιάσας τοὺς προὔπαρχοντας, ἐκό-  
8 κτικοῖς λαμπρῶς διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν  
ἔφοδον αὐτῶν διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν  
θωρακίων κατασκευὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνθρωπίνῃ  
φύσει φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

18. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸν πόλε-  
μον κατεσκευάστο, πρὸς τὴν Σεμίραμιν καθ' ὁδὸν  
οὖσαν ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι προ-  
κατάρχεται τοῦ πολέμου μηδὲν ἀδικηθεῖσα·  
πολλά δὲ καὶ ἄρρητα κατ' αὐτῆς ὡς ἑταίρας<sup>2</sup>  
βλασφημήσας διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ θεοὺς  
ἐπιμαρτυράμενος, ἠπέλπει καταπολεμήσας αὐτὴν  
2 σταυρῷ προσηλώσει. ἣ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἀνα-  
γνοῦσα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ καταγελάσασα τῶν  
γεγραμμένων, διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἔφησε τὸν Ἴνδόν  
πειράσσεσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρετῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
προάγουσα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴνδόν  
ποταμὸν παρεγενήθη, κατέλαβε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων  
3 πλοῖα πρὸς μάχην ἑτοιμα. διόπερ καὶ αὐτὴ  
καταρτίσασα ταχέως τὰς ναῦς καὶ πληρώσασα  
τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιβατῶν συνηστίατο κατὰ τὸν  
ποταμὸν ναυμαχίαν, συμφιλοτιμουμένων καὶ  
τῶν παρεμβεβληκότων παρὰ τὸ ρεῖθρον πεζῶν.  
4 ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τοῦ κινδύνου παρατείνοντος  
καὶ προθύμως ἑκατέρων ἀγωνισαμένων, τὸ τελευ-  
ταῖον ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐνίκησε καὶ διέφθειρε τῶν  
πλοίων περὶ χίλια, συνέλαβε δ' αἰχμαλώτους  
5 οὐκ ὀλίγους. ἐπαρθεῖσα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ τὰς ἐν τῷ

thermore, holding a hunt of the wild elephants and multiplying many times the number already at his disposal, he fitted them all out splendidly with such things as would strike terror in war; and the consequence was that when they advanced to the attack the multitude of them as well as the towers upon their backs made them appear like a thing beyond the power of human nature to withstand.

18. When he had made all his preparations for the war he despatched messengers to Semiramis, who was already on the road, accusing her of being the aggressor in the war although she had been injured in no respect; then, in the course of his letter, after saying many slanderous things against her as being a strumpet and calling upon the gods as witnesses, he threatened her with crucifixion when he had defeated her. Semiramis, however, on reading his letter dismissed his statements with laughter and remarked, "It will be in deeds<sup>1</sup> that the Indian will make trial of my valour." And when her advance brought her with her force to the Indus river she found the boats of the enemy ready for battle. Consequently she on her side, hastily putting together her boats and manning them with her best marines, joined battle on the river, while the foot-soldiers which were drawn up along the banks also participated eagerly in the contest. The struggle raged for a long time and both sides fought spiritedly, but finally Semiramis was victorious and destroyed about a thousand of the boats, taking also not a few men prisoners. Elated now by her victory, she reduced to

<sup>1</sup> i. e. and not in words.

<sup>1</sup> τὰ added by Gemistus.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἑταίρας Vogel: ὡς ἑταίρων D, εἰς ἑταιρίαν F and accepted by all editors.



ποταμῷ νήσους καὶ πόλεις ἐξηνδραποδίσαστο, καὶ  
συνήγαγεν αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων ὑπὲρ τὰς δέκα  
μυριάδας.

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς  
ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, προσ-  
ποιούμενος μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ φόβον, τῇ δ'  
ἀληθείᾳ βουλόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους προτρέ-  
6 ψασθαι διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν. ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις,  
κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωρούντων,  
ἔξευξε τὸν ποταμὸν κατασκευάσασα πολυτελεῆ  
καὶ μεγάλην γέφυραν, δι' ἧς ἅπασαν διακο-  
μίσασα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ζεύγματος  
φυλακὴν κατέλιπεν ἀνδρῶν ἑξακισμυρίων, τῇ  
δ' ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ προήγεν ἐπιδιώκουσα τοὺς  
Ἰνδοὺς, προηγουμένων τῶν εἰδώλων, ὅπως οἱ  
τῶν πολεμίων κατάσκοποι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγεί-  
7 λωσι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτῇ θηρίων. οὐ  
διεψεύσθη δὲ κατὰ γε τοῦτο τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἀλλὰ  
τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἐκπεμφθέντων τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς  
ἀπαγγελλόντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρὰ τοῖς  
πολεμίοις ἐλεφάντων, ἅπαντες διηποροῦντο  
πόθεν αὐτῇ συνακολουθεῖ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος θη-  
8 ρίων. οὐ μὴν ἔμεινέ γε τὸ ψεῦδος πλείω χρόνον  
κρυπτόμενον· τῶν γὰρ παρὰ τῇ Σεμιράμιδι  
στρατενομένων τινὲς κατέλιθθησαν νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ  
στρατοπεδείᾳ ῥαθυμούντες τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς·  
φοβηθέντες δὲ τὴν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν τιμωρίαν  
ἠτομόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν κατὰ  
τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πλάνην ἀπήγγειλαν. ἐφ' οἷς  
θαρηῆσας ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τῇ δυνάμει  
διαγγείλας τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων, ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ  
τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους διατάξας τὴν δύναμιν.

slavery the islands in the river and the cities on  
them and gathered in more than one hundred  
thousand captives.

After these events the king of the Indians withdrew  
his force from the river, giving the appearance of  
retreating in fear but actually with the intention of  
enticing the enemy to cross the river. Thereupon  
Semiramis, now that her undertakings were prosper-  
ing as she wished, spanned the river with a costly  
and large bridge, by means of which she got all  
her forces across; and then she left sixty thousand  
men to guard the pontoon bridge, while with the rest  
of her army she advanced in pursuit of the Indians,  
the dummy elephants leading the way in order that  
the enemy's spies might report to the king the  
multitude of these animals in her army. Nor was she  
deceived in this hope; on the contrary, when those  
who had been despatched to spy her out reported to  
the Indians the multitude of elephants among the  
enemy, they were all at a loss to discover from  
where such a multitude of beasts as accompanied  
her could have come. However, the deception did not  
remain a secret for long; for some of Semiramis'  
troops were caught neglecting their night watches in  
the camp, and these, in fear of the consequent punish-  
ment, deserted to the enemy and pointed out to  
them their mistake regarding the nature of the  
elephants. Encouraged by this information, the king  
of the Indians, after informing his army about the  
dummies, set his forces in array and turned about  
to face the Assyrians.

19. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἐπιτε-  
 λούσης, ὡς ἤγγισαν ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα,  
 Σταβροβάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς προαπ-  
 εστελεε πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ἵππεις μετὰ  
 2 τῶν ἀρμάτων. δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βασιλίσσης  
 εὐρώστως τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν ἵππέων, καὶ τῶν  
 κατεσκευασμένων ἐλεφάντων πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος  
 ἐν ἴσοις διαστήμασι τεταγμένον, συνέβαινε  
 3 πτύρεσθαι τοὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἵππους. τὰ γὰρ  
 εἶδωλα πόρρωθεν μὲν ὁμοίαν εἶχε τῆν πρόσψιν  
 τοῖς ἀληθινῶις θηρίοις, οἷς συνήθεις ὄντες οἱ τῶν  
 Ἰνδῶν ἵπποι τεθαρρηκότως προσίππευον τοῖς  
 δ' ἐγγίσασιν ἢ τε ὁσμῇ προσέβαλλεν ἀσυνήθης  
 καὶ τᾶλλα διαφορὰν ἔχοντα πάντα παμμεγέθη  
 τοὺς ἵππους ὀλοσχερῶς συνετάραττε. διὸ καὶ  
 τῶν Ἰνδῶν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπιπτον, οἱ δὲ  
 τῶν ζῴων ἀπειθούντων τοῖς χαλινοῖς ὡς ἐτύχα-  
 4 νεν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξέπιπτον μετὰ τῶν  
 κομιζόντων αὐτοὺς ἵππων. ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις μετὰ  
 στρατιωτῶν ἐπιλέκτων μαχομένη καὶ τῷ προ-  
 τερήματι δεξιῶς χρησαμένη τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐτρέ-  
 ψατο. ὦν φυγόντων πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα Στα-  
 βροβάτης ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ καταπλαγεῖς ἐπήγαγε  
 τὰς τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις, προηγουμένων τῶν ἐλε-  
 φάντων, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τε-  
 ταγμένος καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίστου  
 θηρίου ποιούμενος ἐπήγαγε καταπληκτικῶς ἐπὶ  
 τὴν βασιλίσσαν κατ' αὐτὸν τυχικῶς τεταγμένην.  
 5 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεφάντων ποιη-  
 σάντων ἢ μετὰ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος δύναμις βραχὺν  
 ὑπέστη χρόνον τὴν τῶν θηρίων ἔφοδον τὰ γὰρ  
 ζῶα διάφορα ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ὄντα καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις

19. Semiramis likewise marshalled her forces, and as the two armies neared each other Stabrobates, the king of the Indians, despatched his cavalry and chariots far in advance of the main body. But the queen stoutly withstood the attack of the cavalry, and since the elephants which she had fabricated had been stationed at equal intervals in front of the main body of troops, it came about that the horses of the Indians shied at them. For whereas at a distance the dummies looked like the actual animals with which the horses of the Indians were acquainted and therefore charged upon them boldly enough, yet on nearer contact the odour which reached the horses was unfamiliar, and then the other differences, which taken all together were very great, threw them into utter confusion. Consequently some of the Indians were thrown to the ground, while others, since their horses would not obey the rein, were carried with their mounts pell-mell into the midst of the enemy. Then Semiramis, who was in the battle with a select band of soldiers, made skilful use of her advantage and put the Indians to flight. But although these fled towards the battle-line, King Stabrobates, undismayed, advanced the ranks of his foot-soldiers, keeping the elephants in front, while he himself, taking his position on the right wing and fighting from the most powerful of the beasts, charged in terrifying fashion upon the queen, whom chance had placed opposite him. And since the rest of the elephants followed his example, the army of Semiramis withstood but a short time the attack of the beasts; for the animals, by virtue of their extraordinary courage and the confidence which they felt

<sup>1</sup> ἐτύχαιεν Vogel: ἐτύχαιον ABG, Bekker, Dindorf.

ῥώμαις πεποιθότα πάντα τὸν ὑφιστάμενον  
 6 ῥαδίως ἀνήρει. διόπερ πολὺς καὶ παντοῖος  
 ἐγένετο φόνος, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑποπι-  
 πτόντων, τῶν δὲ τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν ἀνασχιζομένων,  
 ἐνίων δὲ ταῖς προβοσκίσι ἀναρριπτομένων.  
 συχνοῦ δὲ πλήθους νεκρῶν σωρευομένου καὶ τοῦ  
 κινδύνου τοῖς ὀρώσι δεινὴν ἐκπληξιν καὶ φόβον  
 παριστάντος, οὐδεὶς ἔτι μένει ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως  
 ἐτόλμα.

7 Τραπέντος οὖν τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐβιάζετο τὴν Σεμίραμιν.  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπ' ἐκείνην τοξεύσας ἔτυχε  
 τοῦ βραχίονος, ἔπειτ' ἀκουτίσας διήλασε διὰ τοῦ  
 νώτου τῆς βασιλίσσης, πλαγίας ἐνεχθείσης τῆς  
 πληγῆς· διόπερ οὐδὲν παθούσα δεινὸν ἢ Σεμί-  
 8 ραμὶς ταχέως ἀφίππευσε, πολὺν λειπομένον κατὰ  
 τὸ τάχος τοῦ διώκοντος θηρίου. πάντων δὲ  
 φευγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν σχεδιά, τοσοῦτου πλήθους  
 εἰς ἓνα καὶ στενὸν βιαζομένου τόπον οἱ μὲν τῆς  
 βασιλίσσης ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέθνησκον συμ-  
 πατούμενοι καὶ φυρόμενοι παρὰ φύσιν ἀναμίξ  
 ἵππεις τε καὶ πεζοί, τῶν δὲ Ἰνδῶν ἐπικειμένων  
 ὠσμὸς ἐγένετο βίαιος ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας διὰ τὸν  
 φόβον, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐξωθουμένους ἐφ' ἐκάτερα  
 μέρη τῆς γεφύρας ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.  
 9 ἢ δὲ Σεμίραμις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διασωζομένων διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν  
 ἔτυχε τῆς ἀσφαλείας, ἀπέκοψε τοὺς συνέχοντας  
 δεσμούς τὴν γέφυραν ὧν λυθέντων ἢ μὲν σχεδιά  
 κατὰ πολλὰ διαιρεθεῖσα μέρη καὶ συχνοὺς ἐφ'  
 ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσα τῶν διωκόντων Ἰνδῶν ὑπὸ τῆς  
 τοῦ βρέματος σφοδρότητος ὡς ἔτυχε κατηρέχθη,

in their power, easily destroyed everyone who tried to withstand them. Consequently there was a great slaughter, which was effected in various ways, some being trampled beneath their feet, others ripped up by their tusks, and a number tossed into the air by their trunks. And since a great multitude of corpses lay piled one upon the other and the danger aroused terrible consternation and fear in those who witnessed the sight, not a man had the courage to hold his position any longer.

Now when the entire multitude turned in flight the king of the Indians pressed his attack upon Semiramis herself. And first he let fly an arrow and struck her on the arm, and then with his javelin he pierced the back of the queen, but only with a glancing blow; and since for this reason Semiramis was not seriously injured she rode swiftly away, the pursuing beast being much inferior in speed. But since all were fleeing to the pontoon bridge and so great a multitude was forcing its way into a single narrow space, some of the queen's soldiers perished by being trampled upon by one another and by cavalry and foot-soldiers being thrown together in unnatural confusion, and when the Indians pressed hard upon them a violent crowding took place on the bridge because of their terror, so that many were pushed to either side of the bridge and fell into the river. As for Semiramis, when the largest part of the survivors of the battle had found safety by putting the river behind them, she cut the fastenings which held the bridge together; and when these were loosened the pontoon bridge, having been broken apart at many points and bearing great numbers of the pursuing Indians, was carried down in haphazard fashion by the violence of the current

καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν διέφθειρε, τῇ δὲ Σεμίραμιδι πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρεσκεύασε, κωλύσασα τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτὴν διάβασιν.  
 10 μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, διοσημιῶν αὐτῷ γενομένων καὶ τῶν μάντεων ἀποφαινομένων σημαίνεισθαι τὸν ποταμὸν μὴ διαβαίνειν, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχεν, ἣ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἀλλαγὴν ποιησαμένη τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Βάκτρα, δύο μέρη τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποβεβληκυῖα.

20. Μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον ὑπὸ Νινύου τοῦ υἱοῦ δι' εὐνοῦχου τινὸς ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα, καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἀμμωνος λόγιον ἀνανεωσαμένη, τὸν ἐπιβουλευσαντα κακὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο, τὸνναντίον δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παραδούσα καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχοις ἀκούειν ἐκείνου προστάξασα, ταχέως ἠφάνισεν ἑαυτήν, ὡς εἰς θεοῦς κατὰ τὸν χρῆσμον μετα-  
 2 στησομένη. εἶνοι δὲ μυθολογοῦντές φασιν αὐτὴν γενέσθαι περιστερὰν, καὶ πολλῶν ὄρνέων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατακετασθέντων μετ' ἐκείνων ἐκπετασθῆναι διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τὴν περιστερὰν τιμᾶν ὡς θεόν, ἀπαθανατίζοντας τὴν Σεμίραμιν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν βασιλεύσασα τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης πλὴν Ἰνδῶν ἐτελεύτησε τὸν προεἰρημένον τρόπον, βιώσασα μὲν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα δύο, βασιλεύσασα δὲ δύο πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα.

3 Κτησίας μὲν οὖν ὁ Κνίδιος περὶ Σεμίράμιδος τοιαῦθ' ἰστορήκεν. Ἀθηναῖος δὲ καὶ τινες τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων φασὶν αὐτὴν ἑταίραν γεγονέναι εὐπρεπῆ, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἔρωτικῶς  
 4 ἔχειν αὐτῆς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μετρίως αὐτὴν ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνειν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείαις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γυνυσίαν

and caused the death of many of the Indians, but for Semiramis it was the means of complete safety, the enemy now being prevented from crossing over against her. After these events the king of the Indians remained inactive, since heavenly omens appeared to him which his seers interpreted to mean that he must not cross the river, and Semiramis, after exchanging prisoners, made her way back to Bactra with the loss of two-thirds of her force.

20. Some time later her son Ninuas conspired against her through the agency of a certain eunuch; and remembering the prophecy given her by Ammon,<sup>1</sup> she did not punish the conspirator, but, on the contrary, after turning the kingdom over to him and commanding the governors to obey him, she at once disappeared, as if she were going to be translated to the gods as the oracle had predicted. Some, making a myth of it, say that she turned into a dove and flew off in the company of many birds which alighted on her dwelling, and this, they say, is the reason why the Assyrians worship the dove as a god, thus deifying Semiramis. Be that as it may, this woman, after having been queen over all Asia with the exception of India, passed away in the manner mentioned above, having lived sixty-two years and having reigned forty-two.

Such, then, is the account that Ctesias of Cnidus has given about Semiramis; but Athenaeus<sup>2</sup> and certain other historians say that she was a comely courtesan and because of her beauty was loved by the king of the Assyrians. Now at first she was accorded only a moderate acceptance in the palace, but later, when

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing is known about this Athenaeus.

ἀναγορευθεῖσαν γυναῖκα πείσαι τὸν βασιλέα  
 πένθ' ἡμέρας αὐτῇ παραχωρῆσαι τῆς βασιλείας,  
 5 τὴν δὲ Σεμίραμιν ἀναλαβούσαν τὸ τε σκῆπτρον  
 καὶ τὴν βασιλείου στολὴν κατὰ μὲν τὴν  
 πρώτην ἡμέραν εὐοχίαν ποιῆσαι καὶ μεγα-  
 λοπρεπῆ δείπνα, ἐν οἷς τοὺς τῶν δυνάμεων  
 ἡγεμόνας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους πείσαι  
 συμπράττειν ἑαυτῇ τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τοῦ τε  
 πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων ἀνδρῶν ὡς  
 βασιλίσσαν θεραπευόντων τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα κατα-  
 βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν, αὐτὴν δὲ φύσει μεγα-  
 ἐπίβολον οὔσαν καὶ τολμηρὰν κατασχεῖν τὴν  
 ἀρχήν, καὶ μέχρι γῆρας βασιλεύσασαν πολλὰ  
 καὶ μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν  
 κατὰ<sup>1</sup> Σεμίραμιν τοιαύτας ἀντιλογίας εἶναι  
 συμβαίνει παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι.

21. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ταύτης θάνατον Νινύας ὁ  
 Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος υἱὸς παραλαβὼν τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν ἤρχεν εἰρημικῶς, τὸ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ  
 κεκινδυνευμένον τῆς μητρὸς οὐδαμῶς ζηλώσας.  
 2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸν ἅπαντα  
 χρόνον διέτριβεν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὀρώμενος πλὴν  
 τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἰνούχων,  
 ἐξήλου δὲ τρυφὴν καὶ βραθυμίαν καὶ τὸ μηδέποτε  
 κακοπαθεῖν μηδὲ μεριμᾶν, ὑπολαμβάνων βασι-  
 λείας εὐδαίμονος εἶναι τέλος τὸ πάσαις χρῆσθαι  
 3 ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀνεπικωλύτως. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀσφάλ-  
 εϊαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων

<sup>1</sup> Vogel follows D in omitting τὴν after κατὰ.

<sup>1</sup> The following legend contains a reference to the Babylonian Saccæa, which was almost certainly a New Year's festival. A

she had been proclaimed a lawful wife, she persuaded the king to yield the royal prerogatives to her for a period of five days.<sup>1</sup> And Semiramis, upon receiving the sceptre and the regal garb, on the first day held high festival and gave a magnificent banquet, at which she persuaded the commanders of the military forces and all the greatest dignitaries to co-operate with her; and on the second day, while the people and the most notable citizens were paying her their respects as queen, she arrested her husband and put him in prison; and since she was by nature a woman of great designs and bold as well, she seized the throne and remaining queen until old age accomplished many great things. Such, then, are the conflicting accounts which may be found in the historians regarding the career of Semiramis.

21. After her death Ninyas, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, succeeded to the throne and had a peaceful reign, since he in no wise emulated his mother's fondness for war and her adventurous spirit. For in the first place, he spent all his time in the palace, seen by no one but his concubines and the eunuchs who attended him, and devoted his life to luxury and idleness and the consistent avoidance of any suffering or anxiety, holding the end and aim of a happy reign to be the enjoyment of every kind of pleasure without restraint. Moreover, having in view the safety of his crown and the fear

prominent feature of this was the killing of a criminal who had been permitted for five days to wear the king's robes, to sit on his throne, to issue decrees, and even to consort with his concubines, and who, after this brief tenure of office, was scourged and executed. Cp. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Pt. III, *The Dying God*, pp. 113-17.

γινόμενον φόβον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μετεπέμπετο  
 στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν ὠρισμένον καὶ στρατηγὸν  
 4 ἀπὸ ἔθνους ἑκάστου, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκ πάντων  
 ἀθροισθὲν στρατεύματα ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως συνείχεν,  
 ἑκάστου τῶν ἔθνῶν τὸν εὐνούστατον τῶν περὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύων ἡγεμόνα· τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ  
 διεληθόντος μετεπέμπετο πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνῶν  
 5 τοὺς ἴσους στρατιώτας, καὶ τοὺς προτέρους ἀπέ-  
 λυνεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. οὗ συντελουμένον συν-  
 ἔβαινε τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν τεταγμένους ἄπαν-  
 τας<sup>1</sup> καταπεπλήχθαι, θεωροῦντας αἰεὶ μεγάλας  
 δυνάμεις ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ στρατοπεδενομένας καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀφισταμένοις ἢ μὴ πειθαρχοῦσιν ἐτοιμῆν οὐσαν  
 6 τιμωρίαν. τὰς δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀλλαγὰς τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν ἐπενόησεν, ἵνα πρὶν ἢ καλῶς γνωσ-  
 θῆναι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄπαντας  
 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν διαχωρίζεται  
 πατρίδα· ὁ γὰρ πολλὸς χρόνος τῆς στρατείας  
 ἐμπειρίαν τε τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ φρόνημα  
 τοῖς ἡγεμόσι περιτίθει, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἄφορμὰς  
 παρέχεται μεγάλας πρὸς ἀπόστασιν καὶ συνω-  
 7 μοσίαν κατὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων. τὸ δὲ μὴδ' ὑφ'  
 ἐνὸς τῶν ἐξωθεν θεωρεῖσθαι τῆς μὲν περὶ αὐτὸν  
 τρυφῆς ἄγνοιαν παρῆχεται πάντε, καθύπερ δὲ  
 θεὸν ἀόρατον διὰ τὸν φόβον ἕκαστος οὐδὲ λόγῳ  
 βλασφημεῖν ἐτόλμα. στρατηγούς δὲ καὶ σατρα-  
 πας καὶ διοικητὰς, ἔτι δὲ δικαστὰς καθ' ἕκαστον  
 ἔθνος ἀποδείξας καὶ τὰλλα πάντα διατάξας ὡς  
 κατ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν, τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον  
 κατέμειπεν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ.

8 Παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς,

<sup>1</sup> ἄπαντας Vogel: πάντας Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

he felt with reference to his subjects, he used to  
 summon each year a fixed number of soldiers and a  
 general from each nation and to keep the army,  
 which had been gathered in this way from all his  
 subject peoples, outside his capital, appointing as  
 commander of each nation one of the most trust-  
 worthy men in his service; and at the end of the year  
 he would summon from his peoples a second equal  
 number of soldiers and dismiss the former to their  
 countries. The result of this device was that all  
 those subject to his rule were filled with awe, seeing  
 at all times a great host encamped in the open and  
 punishment ready to fall on any who rebelled or would  
 not yield obedience. This annual change of the  
 soldiers was devised by him in order that, before  
 the generals and all the other commanders of the  
 army should become well acquainted with each  
 other, every man of them would have been separated  
 from the rest and have gone back to his own country;  
 for long service in the field both gives the commanders  
 experience in the arts of war and fills them with  
 arrogance, and, above all, it offers great opportunities  
 for rebellion and for plotting against their rulers.  
 And the fact that he was seen by no one outside the  
 palace made everyone ignorant of the luxury of his  
 manner of life, and through their fear of him, as of an  
 unseen god, each man dared not show disrespect of  
 him even in word. So by appointing generals,  
 satraps, financial officers, and judges for each nation  
 and arranging all other matters as he felt at any time  
 to be to his advantage, he remained for his lifetime  
 in the city of Ninus.

The rest of the kings also followed his example, son

παῖς παρὰ πατρός διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπὶ γενεᾷς τριάκοντα ἐβασίλευσαν μέχρι Σαρδαναπάλλου· ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ ἡ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονία μετέπεσεν εἰς Μήδους, ἔτη διαμείνασα πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων,<sup>1</sup> καθάπερ φησὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ.

22. Τὰ δ' ὀνόματα πάντα<sup>2</sup> τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐτῶν ὧν ἕκαστος ἐβασίλευσεν οὐ κατεπίγει γράφειν διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπράχθαι μνήμης ἄξιον. μόνη γὰρ τέτευχεν ἀναγραφῆς ἢ πεμφθεῖσα συμμαχία τοῖς Τρωσὶν ὑπ' Ἀσσυρίων, ἧς ἐστρατήγει Μένμων ὁ Τιθωνοῦ.  
2 Τευτάμου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας, δεῖν ἦν εἰκοστὸς ἀπὸ Νινύου τοῦ Σεμράμιδος, φασὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατεύσαι, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων τῆς Ἀσίας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔτη πλείω τῶν χιλίων. καὶ τὸν μὲν Πρίαμον βαρυνόμενον τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ βασιλεύοντα τῆς Τρωάδος, ὑπέκκοον δ' ὄντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβευτὰς περὶ βοηθείας τὸν δὲ Τευτάμον μυρίους μὲν Αἰθίοπας, ἄλλους δὲ τοσοῦτους Σουσιανούς· σὺν ἄρμασι διακοσίοις ἑξαποστῆλαι, στρατηγὸν ἐπι-  
3 καταστήσαντα Μένμωνα τὸν Τιθωνοῦ, καὶ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι δ' ἐξήκοντα after τριακοσίων deleted by Dindorf; cp. ch. 28. 8.

<sup>2</sup> πάντα Vogel: πάντων F, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>1</sup> Names of kings of Assyria are now known from as early as ca. 2500 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest Greek tradition knew the Ethiopians as "the farthest of men," who dwelt on the stream Oceanus. Hero-

succeeding father upon the throne, and reigned for thirty generations down to Sardanapallus; for it was under this ruler that the Empire of the Assyrians fell to the Medes, after it had lasted more than thirteen hundred years,<sup>1</sup> as Ctesias of Cnidus says in his Second Book.

22. There is no special need of giving all the names of the kings and the number of years which each of them reigned because nothing was done by them which merits mentioning. For the only event which has been recorded is the despatch by the Assyrians to the Trojans of an allied force, which was under the command of Memnon the son of Tithonus. For when Teutamus, they say, was ruler of Asia, being the twentieth in succession from Ninyas the son of Semiramis, the Greeks made an expedition against Troy with Agamemnon, at a time when the Assyrians had controlled Asia for more than a thousand years. And Priam, who was king of the Troad and a vassal of the king of the Assyrians, being hard pressed by the war, sent an embassy to the king requesting aid; and Teutamus despatched ten thousand Ethiopians and a like number of the men of Susiana along with two hundred chariots, having appointed as general Memnon the son of Tithonus.<sup>2</sup> Now Tithonus, who

ca. 1190  
B.C.

dotus (7. 70) speaks of "the Ethiopians of the East," probably meaning the Assyrians. Plato (*Laws* 685 c) also mentions help sent to Priam by the Assyrians. The account here has more of the appearance of genuine history than that in Book 4. 75, where Diodorus reverts to mythology in presenting Tithonus as the son of Laomedon and brother of Priam, and having him travel to the east "as far as Ethiopia," where he begot Memnon by Dawn. When tradition began to place the Homeric Ethiopians in Libya, Memnon came to be associated with Thebes in Egypt.

μὲν Τιθωνὸν, κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τῆς  
 Περσίδος ὄντα στρατηγὸν, εὐδοκίμειν παρὰ τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ μάλιστα τῶν καθεσταμένων ἐπιάρχων,  
 τὸν δὲ Μέμνονα τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντα διαφέρειν  
 ἀνδρεία τε καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι, οἰκοδομῆσαι  
 δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας τὰ ἐν Σούσοις βασιλεία  
 τὰ διαμείναντα μέχρι τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας,  
 κληθέντα δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνου Μεμνόνεια κατασκευάσαι  
 δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρον ὁδὸν τὴν μέχρι  
 4 τῶν νῦν χρόνων ὀνομαζομένην Μεμνόνειαν. ἀρ-  
 φισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον Αἰθίοπες,  
 λέγοντες ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις γεγονέναι τὸν  
 ἄνδρα τοῦτον, καὶ βασιλεία παλαιὰ δεικνύουσιν,  
 ἃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι φασὶ Μεμνόνεια.  
 5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι λέγεται βοηθῆσαι τὸν  
 Μέμνονα μετὰ δισμυρίων μὲν κεζῶν, ἀρμάτων δὲ  
 διακοσίων ὃν θαυμασθῆναί τε δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ  
 πολλοὺς ἀνελεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῶν Ἑλλήνων,  
 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν ἐνεδρευθέντα  
 κατασφαγῆναι τοῦ δὲ σώματος τοὺς Αἰθίοπας  
 ἐγκρατεῖς γενομένους κατακτασάι τε τὸν νεκρὸν  
 καὶ τὰ ὄσπ' ἀπὸ Τιθωνὸν ἀποκομίσαι, περὶ  
 μὲν οὖν Μέμνονος τοιαῦτ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς  
 ἀναγραφαῖς ἱστορεῖσθαι φασιν οἱ βάρβαροι.

23. Σαρδανάπαλλος δὲ τριακοστὸς μὲν ὢν  
 ἀπὸ Νίνου τοῦ συστήσαμένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν,  
 ἔσχατος δὲ γενόμενος Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς, ὑπερή-  
 ρεν ἅπαντας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τρυφῆ καὶ ραθυμίας.  
 χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν ἐξωθεν ὀρᾶσθαι  
 βίον ἔζησε γυναικὸς, καὶ διαιωμένος μὲν μετὰ

was at that time general of Persis, was the most  
 highly esteemed of the governors at the king's court,  
 and Memnon, who was in the bloom of manhood,  
 was distinguished both for his bravery and for his  
 nobility of spirit. He also built the palace in the  
 upper city of Susa which stood until the time of the  
 Persian Empire and was called after him Memnonian;  
 moreover, he constructed through the country a  
 public highway which bears the name Memnonian  
 to this time. But the Ethiopians who border upon  
 Egypt dispute this, maintaining that this man was  
 a native of their country, and they point out an  
 ancient palace which to this day, they say, bears the  
 name Memnonian. At any rate, the account runs that  
 Memnon went to the aid of the Trojans with twenty  
 thousand foot-soldiers and two hundred chariots;  
 and he was admired for his bravery and slew many  
 Greeks in the fighting, but was finally ambushed  
 by the Thessalians and slain; whereupon the  
 Ethiopians recovered his body, burned the corpse,  
 and took the bones back to Tithonus. Such is the  
 account concerning Memnon that is given in the  
 royal records, according to what the barbarians  
 say.

23. Sardanapallus, the thirtieth in succession from  
 Ninus, who founded the empire, and the last king of  
 the Assyrians, outdid all his predecessors in luxury and  
 sluggishness.<sup>1</sup> For not to mention the fact that he  
 was not seen by any man residing outside the palace,  
 he lived the life of a woman, and spending his days

(cp. chaps. 25 ff.). Sin-shar-ishkun, the last king of Assyria,  
 was a worthy descendant of his vigorous predecessors on the  
 Assyrian throne, and defended a dying empire with energy.  
 Cp. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 3. pp. 128 ff., 296 f.

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the dissolute Sardanapallus is not  
 borne out by the documents, nor indeed by Diodorus himself



τῶν παλλακίδων, πορφύραν δὲ καὶ τὰ μαλακώ-  
 τата τῶν ἐρίων ταλασιουργῶν, στολήν μὲν  
 γυναικείαν ἐνεδεδύκει, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον καὶ πᾶν  
 τὸ σῶμα ψιμυθίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τῶν  
 ἑταιρῶν ἐπιτηδεύμασι ἀπαλώτερον πάσης γυ.  
 2 ναϊκὸς τρυφερᾶς κατεσκεύαστο. ἐπετηδέυσε δὲ  
 καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἔχειν γυναικῶδη καὶ κατὰ τοὺς  
 πότους οὐ μόνον ποτῶν καὶ βρωτῶν τῶν δυνα-  
 μένων μάλιστα τὰς ἡδονὰς παρέχεσθαι συνεχῶς  
 ἀπολαύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀφροδισιακὰς τέρψεις  
 μεταδιώκειν ἀνδρὸς ἅμα καὶ γυναικὸς· ἐχρήτο  
 γὰρ ταῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα συνουσίαις ἀνέδην, τῆς  
 ἐκ τῆς πράξεως αἰσχύνῃς οὐδὲν ὅλως φροντίζων.  
 3 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ προήχθη τρυφῆς καὶ τῆς αἰσχίστης  
 ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας ὥστ' ἐπικηδεῖον εἰς αὐτὸν  
 ποιῆσαι καὶ παραγγεῖλαι τοῖς διαδόχοις τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον  
 ἐπιγράψαι τὸ συγγραφέν μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου βαρβαρι-  
 κῶς, μεθερμηνευθὲν δὲ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τινος Ἑλληνοσ,

εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφους, σὸν θυμὸν ἄεξε<sup>1</sup>  
 τερπόμενος θαλίησιν θανόντι σοι οὔτις ὄνησις.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδὸς εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης  
 βασιλεύσας.  
 ταυτ' ἔχω ὅσσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ'  
 ἔρωτος  
 τέρπν' ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κείνα  
 λείπεται.<sup>2</sup>

4 τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν τὸν τρόπον οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς  
 αἰσχρῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἄεξε Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, III. 453, who preserves the first three lines of the poetry: δείξαι A D, δείξαι B.

in the company of his concubines and spinning purple garments and working the softest of wool, he had assumed the feminine garb and so covered his face and indeed his entire body with whitening cosmetics and the other unguents used by courtesans, that he rendered it more delicate than that of any luxury-loving woman. He also took care to make even his voice to be like a woman's, and at his carousals not only to indulge regularly in those drinks and viands which could offer the greatest pleasure, but also to pursue the delights of love with men as well as with women; for he practised sexual indulgence of both kinds without restraint, showing not the least concern for the disgrace attending such conduct. To such an excess did he go of luxury and of the most shameless sensual pleasure and intemperance, that he composed a funeral dirge for himself and commanded his successors upon the throne to inscribe it upon his tomb after his death; it was composed by him in a foreign language but was afterwards translated by a Greek as follows:

Knowing full well that thou wert mortal born,  
 Thy heart lift up, take thy delight in feasts;  
 When dead no pleasure more is thine. Thus I,  
 Who once o'er mighty Ninus ruled, am naught  
 But dust. Yet these are mine which gave me joy  
 In life—the food I ate, my wantonness,  
 And love's delights. But all those other things  
 Men deem felicities are left behind.

Because he was a man of this character, not only did he end his own life in a disgraceful manner, but he

<sup>2</sup> λείπεται in Athenaeus 336a.

Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίαν ἄρδην ἀνέτρεψε, πολυχροιωτάτην γενομένην τῶν μνημονευομένων.

24. Ἀρβάκης γάρ τις, Μῆδος μὲν τὸ γένος, ἀνδρεία δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι διαφέρων, ἐστρατήγει Μήδων τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπεπομένων εἰς τὴν Νίνου. κατὰ δὲ τὴν στρατείαν γεόμενος συνήθης τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεκλήθη καταλῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίαν. ἦν δ' οὗτος ὄνομα μὲν Βέλεσος, τῶν δ' ἱερέων ἐπισημότατος, οὗς Βαβυλώνιοι καλοῦσι Χαλδαίους, ἐμπειρίαν οὖν ἔχων μεγίστην ἀστρολογίας τε καὶ μαντικῆς προέλεγε τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἀδιὰ πτώτως· διὸ καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Μήδων ὄντι φίλῳ προεῖπεν ὅτι πάντως αὐτὸν δεῖ βασιλεῦσαι πάσης τῆς χώρας ἧς ἄρχει Σαρδανάπαλλος. ὁ δ' Ἀρβάκης ἐπαίνεσας τὸν ἄνδρα, τούτῳ μὲν ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν σατραπείαν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, τῆς πράξεως ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθούσης, αὐτὸς δὲ καθάπερ εἰς τινας θεοῦ φωνῆ μετεωρισθεῖς τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων συνίστατο καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐστιάσεις καὶ κοινὰς ὀμιλίας ἐκτενῶς ἅπαντας παρελάμβανε, φίλιαν κατασκευάζων<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἕκαστον. ἐφιλοτιμήθη δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατ' ὄψιν ἰδεῖν καὶ τὸν τούτου βίον ὅλον κατασκέψασθαι. διόπερ ζούς τιμὴ τῶν εὐνούχων χρυσὴν φιάλην εἰσήχθη

<sup>1</sup> κατασκευάζων Gemistius: ἐγκατασκευάζων.

caused the total destruction of the Assyrian Empire, which had endured longer than any other known to history.

24. The facts are these:<sup>1</sup> A certain Arbaces, a Mede by race, and conspicuous for his bravery and nobility of spirit, was the general of the contingent of Medes which was sent each year to Ninus. And having made the acquaintance during this service of the general of the Babylonians, he was urged by him to overthrow the empire of the Assyrians. Now this man's name was Belesys, and he was the most distinguished of those priests whom the Babylonians call Chaldaeans. And since as a consequence he had the fullest experience of astrology and divination, he was wont to foretell the future unerringly to the people in general; therefore, being greatly admired for this gift, he also predicted to the general of the Medes, who was his friend, that it was certainly fated for him to be king over all the territory which was then held by Sardanapallus. Arbaces, commending the man, promised to give him the satrapy of Babylonia when the affair should be consummated, and for his part, like a man elated by a message from some god, both entered into a league with the commanders of the other nations and assiduously invited them all to banquets and social gatherings, establishing thereby a friendship with each of them. He was resolved also to see the king face to face and to observe his whole manner of life. Consequently he gave one of the eunuchs a golden

<sup>1</sup> The kernel of truth in the account which follows lies in the fact that Nineveh fell before the combined attacks of the Median Cyaxares and the Chaldaean Nabopolassar.

πρὸς τὸν Σαρδανάπαλλον, καὶ τὴν τε τρυφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν γυναικώδη τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζῆλον ἀκριβῶς κατανοήσας κατεφρόνησε μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀξίου, προήχθη δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν δοθεισῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπὸ  
 5 τοῦ Χαλδαίου. τέλος δὲ συνωμοσίαν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὸν Βέλεσσιν, ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν Μήδους ἀποστήσαι καὶ Πέρσας, ἐκείνους δὲ πείσαι Βαβυλωνίους κοινωνῆσαι τῆς πράξεως καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων ἡγεμόνα φίλον ὄντα προσλαβέσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἐπίθεσιν.  
 6 Ὡς δ' ὁ ἐνιαύσιος τῆς στρατείας διεληλύθει χρόνος, διαδοχῆς δ' ἐτέρας ἐλθούσης ἀπελύθησαν οἱ πρότεροι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀρβάκης ἐπέισε τοὺς μὲν Μήδους ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, Πέρσας δ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς συνωμοσίας.<sup>1</sup> παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Βέλεσος τοὺς τε Βαβυλωνίους ἐπίεισε ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Ἀραβίαν παρεστήσατο τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὄντα φίλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ξένον, μετασχεῖν  
 7 τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληθόντος πάντες οὗτοι πλήθος στρατιωτῶν συναγαγόντες ἤκον πανδημεὶ πρὸς τὴν Νίνον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διαδοχὴν ἄγοντες, ὡς ἦν σύνηθες, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ καταλύσοντες τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων  
 8 ἡγεμονίαν. ἀθροισθέντων οὖν τῶν προειρημένων τεττάρων ἔθνων εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ὁ μὲν σύμπας αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ὑπήρχεν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυ-

<sup>1</sup> συνωμοσίας Dindorf: ἡγεμονίας.

bowl as a present and gained admittance to Sardana-pallus; and when he had observed at close hand both his luxuriousness and his love of effeminate pursuits and practices, he despised the king as worthy of no consideration and was led all the more to cling to the hopes which had been held out to him by the Chaldaean. And the conclusion of the matter was that he formed a conspiracy with Belesys, whereby he should himself move the Medes and Persians to revolt while the latter should persuade the Babylonians to join the undertaking and should secure the help of the commander of the Arabs, who was his friend, for the attempt to secure the supreme control.

When the year's time of their service in the king's army<sup>1</sup> had passed and, another force having arrived to replace them, the relieved men had been dismissed as usual to their homes, thereupon Arbaces persuaded the Medes to attack the Assyrian kingdom and the Persians to join in the conspiracy, on the condition of receiving their freedom.<sup>2</sup> Belesys too in similar fashion both persuaded the Babylonians to strike for their freedom, and sending an embassy to Arabia, won over the commander of the people of that country, a friend of his who exchanged hospitality with him, to join in the attack. And after a year's time all these leaders gathered a multitude of soldiers and came with all their forces to Ninus, ostensibly bringing up replacements, as was the custom, but in fact with the intention of destroying the empire of the Assyrians. Now when these four nations had gathered into one place the whole number of them amounted to four hundred thousand

<sup>2</sup> i. e. from the Assyrians.

ριάδας, εἰς μίαν δὲ παρεμβολὴν συνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο κοινῇ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος.

25. Σαρδανάπαλλος δὲ γνοὺς τὴν ἀπόστασιν εὐθὺς ἐξήγαγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δυνάμεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γενομένης ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ παρατάξεως ἐλείφθησαν αἱ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες συνεδιώχθησαν εἰς ὕψος ἀπέχον τῆς Νίνου 2 σταδίων ἐβδομήκοντα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν καταβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ πρὸς μάχην παρασκευαζομένων, ὁ μὲν Σαρδανάπαλλος ἀντιτάξας τὴν ἰδίαν στρατιὰν προαπέστειλε πρὸς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον τοὺς κηρύξοντας διότι Σαρδανάπαλλος τοῖς μὲν ἀνελοῦσιν Ἀρβιάκην τὸν Μῆδον δώσει χρυσοῖο διακόσια 3 τάλαντα, τοῖς δὲ ζῶντα παραδοῦσι χρήματα μὲν δωρήσεται δις τοσαῦτα, τῆς δὲ Μηδίας ὑπαρχον<sup>1</sup> καταστήσει. παραπλησίως<sup>2</sup> δ' ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν δωρεάς τοῖς Βέλεσυν τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἀνελοῦσιν ἢ ζωγρήσασιν. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος τοῖς κηρύγμασι, συνῆψε μάχην, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσε τῶν ἀποστατῶν, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος συνεδιώξεν εἰς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι παρεμβολήν.

4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρβιάκην διὰ τὰς ἡττας ἀθυμοῦντες συνήγαγον τῶν φίλων συνέδριον καὶ 5 προέθηκαν βουλὴν τί δεοὶ πράττειν. οἱ πλείστοι μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν δεῖν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπιέναι καὶ τόπους ὀχυροὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων

men, and when they had assembled into one camp they took counsel together concerning the best plan to pursue.

25. As for Sardanapallus, so soon as he became aware of the revolt, he led forth against the rebels the contingents which had come from the rest of the nations. And at first, when battle was joined on the plain, those who were making the revolt were defeated, and after heavy losses were pursued to a mountain which was seventy stades distant from Ninus; but afterwards, when they came down again into the plain and were preparing for battle, Sardanapallus marshalled his army against them and despatched heralds to the camp of the enemy to make this proclamation: "Sardanapallus will give two hundred talents of gold to anyone who slays Arbaces the Mede, and will make a present of twice that amount to anyone who delivers him up alive and will also appoint him governor over Media." Likewise he promised to reward any who would either slay Belesys the Babylonian or take him alive. But since no man paid any attention to the proclamation, he joined battle, slew many of the rebels, and pursued the remainder of the multitude into their encampment in the mountains.

Arbaces, having lost heart because of these defeats, now convened a meeting of his friends and called upon them to consider what should be done. Now the majority said that they should retire to their respective countries, seize strong positions, and so far as possible prepare there whatever else would be

<sup>1</sup> ὑπαρχον Vogel : ἔπαρχον Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> For παραπλησίως Gemistus, followed by Bekker and Dindorf, conjectured παραπλησίως.

τὴν ἐνδεχομένην παρασκευὴν ποιείσθαι. Βέλεσος δ' ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, φήσας τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῖς σημαίνειν μετὰ πόνων καὶ κακοπαθείας ἐπὶ τέλος ἄξειν τὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ τὰλλα παρακαλέσας ἐνδεχομένως, ἔπεισεν ἅπαντας ὑπομένειν τοὺς κινδύνους. Βασιλέως οὖν τρίτης παρατάξεως πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνίκησε, καὶ τῆς τε παρεμβολῆς τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐκύριευσεν καὶ τοὺς ἠττηθέντας ἐδίωξε μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς Βαβυλωνίας· συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην αὐτὸν λαμπρότατα κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γενέσθαι τραυματίαν. τηλικούτων δ' ἐλαττωμάτων κατὰ τὸ συνεχῆς γινόμενων τοῖς ἀφιστηκόσιν, οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες ἀπελπίσαντες περὶ τῆς νίκης παρεσκευάζοντο διαχωρίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἕκαστοι τόπους. ὁ δὲ Βέλεσος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὴν νύκτα διηγρυπνηκῶς καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστρῶν παρατήρησιν φιλοτιμηθεὶς, ἔφησε τοῖς ἀπηλιπόσι τὰ πράγματα, ἂν πένθ' ἡμέρας ἀναμείνωσιν, αὐτομάτην ἕξει βοήθειαν καὶ μεταβολὴν ἕσεσθαι τῶν ὄλων παμμεγέθη εἰς τοῦναντίον· ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρᾶν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀστρῶν ἐμπειρίας προσημαίνοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ παρεκάλει ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας μείναντας πείραν λαβεῖν τῆς ἰδίας τέχνης καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐεργεσίας.

26. Μετακληθέντων οὖν πάντων πάλιν καὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον χρόνον ἀναμεινάντων, ἤκέ τις ἀπαγγέλλων διότι δύναμις ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἀπεσταλμένη τῷ βασιλεῖ πλησίον ἐστὶ πορευομένη κατὰ σπουδῆν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὴν

useful for the war; but Belesys the Babylonian, by maintaining that the gods were promising them by signs that with labours and hardship they would bring their enterprise to a successful end, and encouraging them in every other way as much as he could, persuaded them all to remain to face further perils. So there was a third battle, and again the king was victorious, captured the camp of the rebels, and pursued the defeated foe as far as the boundaries of Babylonia; and it also happened that Arbaces himself, who had fought most brilliantly and had slain many Assyrians, was wounded. And now that the rebels had suffered defeats so decisive following one upon the other, their commanders, abandoning all hope of victory, were preparing to disperse each to his own country. But Belesys, who had passed a sleepless night in the open and had devoted himself to the observation of the stars, said to those who had lost hope in their cause, "If you will wait five days help will come of its own accord, and there will be a mighty change to the opposite in the whole situation; for from my long study of the stars I see the gods foretelling this to us." And he appealed to them to wait that many days and test his own skill and the good will of the gods.

26. So after they had all been called back and had waited the stipulated time, there came a messenger with the news that a force which had been despatched from Bactriana to the king was near at hand, advancing with all speed. Arbaces, accordingly, decided to go to meet their generals by the shortest route,

ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς  
 κρατίστους καὶ μάλιστ' εὐζώνους, ὅπως, ἂν μὴ  
 διὰ τῶν λόγων τοὺς Βακτριανοὺς δύνωνται πείσαι  
 συναποστήναι, τοῖς ὅπλοις βιάσωνται μετα-  
 3 σχεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. τέλος δὲ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὴν  
 ἐλευθερίαν ἀσμένους ὑπακουσάντων τὸ μὲν πρῶ-  
 του τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως,  
 πάντες ἐν ταύτῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν.  
 4 "Ὅτε δὴ συνέβη τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων  
 τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἀγνοοῦντα,  
 ταῖς δὲ προγεγενημέναις εὐημερίαις μετewρισ-  
 θέντα, τραπήναι πρὸς ἀνεσι, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώ-  
 ταις διαδοῦναι πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἱερέια καὶ πλῆθος  
 οἴνου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων. διόπερ τῆς  
 δυνάμεως ἀπάσης ἐστιωμένης, οἱ περὶ τὸν  
 Ἀρβάκην παρά τινων αὐτομόλων πυθόμενοι τὴν  
 ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων ῥαθυμίαν καὶ  
 μέθην, νυκτὸς ἀπροσδοκῆτως τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐποιή-  
 5 σαντο. προσπεσόντες δὲ συντεταγμένοι μὲν  
 ἀσυντάκτοις, ἔτοιμοι δ' ἀπαρασκευαίσι, τῆς τε  
 παρεμβολῆς ἐκράτησαν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν  
 πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τοὺς ἄλλους μέχρι τῆς πό-  
 6 λεως κατεδίωξαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς  
 Γαλαιμένην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀποδείξας  
 στρατηγόν, αὐτὸς τὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμέ-  
 λειαν ἐποιεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἀποστάται κατὰ τὸ πεδῖον  
 τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παραταξάμενοι δυσὶ μάχαις  
 ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ τὸν τε Γαλαι-  
 μένην ἀνείλον καὶ τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐν τῇ φυγῇ κατέσφαξαν, τοὺς δ' ἀποκλεισθέντας  
 τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανόδου καὶ συναναγκα-  
 σθέντας ἑαυτοὺς ῥιπτεῖν εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην

taking along the best and most agile of his troops, so that, in case they should be unable to persuade the Bactrians by arguments to join in the revolt, they might resort to arms to force them to share with them in the same hopes. But the outcome was that the new-comers gladly listened to the call to freedom, first the commanders and then the entire force, and they all encamped in the same place.

It happened at this very time that the king of the Assyrians, who was unaware of the defection of the Bactrians and had become elated over his past successes, turned to indulgence and divided among his soldiers for a feast animals and great quantities of both wine and all other provisions. Consequently, since the whole army was carousing, Arbaces, learning from some deserters of the relaxation and drunkenness in the camp of the enemy, made his attack upon it unexpectedly in the night. And as it was an assault of organized men upon disorganized and of ready men upon unprepared, they won possession of the camp, and after slaying many of the soldiers pursued the rest of them as far as the city. After this the king named for the chief command Galaemenes, his wife's brother, and gave his own attention to the affairs within the city. But the rebels, drawing up their forces in the plain before the city, overcame the Assyrians in two battles, and they not only slew Galaemenes, but of the opposing forces they cut down some in their flight, while others, who had been shut out from entering the city and forced to leap into

<sup>1</sup> For τέλος δὲ Vogel proposes τούτων δὲ or ὧν, unless, as he suggests, there is a large lacuna.

7 ποταμὸν πλὴν ὀλίγων ἅπαντας ἀνείλον. τοσοῦτο δὲ πλήθος ἦν τῶν φονευθέντων ὥστε τὸ φερόμενον ῥεῦμα κραθὲν αἵματι τὴν χροάν ἐφ' ἱκανὸν τόπον μεταβαλεῖν. ἔπειτα τοῦ βασιλέως συγκλεισθέντος εἰς πολιορκίαν πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀφίστατο, ἐκάστου πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτομολῶντος.

8 Ὁ δὲ Σαρδανάπαλλος ὄρων τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις οὔσαν κινδύνοις, τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς τρεῖς ὄντας καὶ θυγατέρας δύο μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων εἰς Παφλαγονίαν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Κότταν τὸν ἑπαρχον, ὄντα τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐνούστατον, αὐτὸς δὲ βιβλιαφόρους ἀποστέλλας πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένους μετέπετο δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο, ἦν δ' αὐτῷ λόγιον παραδεδομένον ἐκ προγόνων ὅτι τὴν Νίνον οὐδεὶς ἐλεῖ κατὰ κράτος, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ πόλει γένηται πολέμος. ὑπολαμβάνων οὖν τοῦτο μηδέποτε ἔσσεσθαι, ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀντίχε, διανοούμενος ὑπομένειν τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων<sup>1</sup> ἀποσταλησόμενα στρατόπεδα προσδέχεσθαι.<sup>2</sup>

27. Οἱ δ' ἀποστάται τοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐπαρθέντες προσέκειντο μὲν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν τειχῶν οὐδὲν ἠδύναντο βλάψαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πετροβόλοι γὰρ ἢ χελῶνας χωστρίδες ἢ κριοὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μεμηχανημένοι τειχῶν οὕτω κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιρούς

the Euphrates river, they destroyed almost to a man. So great was the multitude of the slain that the water of the stream, mingled with the blood, was changed in colour over a considerable distance. Furthermore, now that the king was shut up in the city and besieged there, many of the nations revolted, going over in each case to the side of liberty.

Sardanapallus, realizing that his entire kingdom was in the greatest danger, sent his three sons and two daughters together with much of his treasure to Paphlagonia to the governor Cotta, who was the most loyal of his subjects, while he himself, despatching letter-carriers to all his subjects, summoned forces and made preparations for the siege. Now there was a prophecy which had come down to him from his ancestors: "No enemy will ever take Ninus by storm unless the river shall first become the city's enemy." Assuming, therefore, that this would never be, he held out in hope, his thought being to endure the siege and await the troops which would be sent from his subjects.

27. The rebels, elated at their successes, pressed the siege, but because of the strength of the walls they were unable to do any harm to the men in the city; for neither engines for throwing stones, nor shelters for sappers,<sup>1</sup> nor battering-rams devised to overthrow walls had as yet been invented at that time. More-

<sup>1</sup> The χελῶνας ("tortoises"; cp. the Roman *testudo*) χωστρίδες were strong moveable sheds or roofs, under whose protection sappers and miners could work. In Book 20. 91. 8 they are contrasted with sheds which carried battering-rams (χελῶνας κριοφόροι).

<sup>1</sup> ὑποτεταγμένων Vogel: ἐπαρχων A B D, Bekker, Dindorf.  
<sup>2</sup> προσδέχεσθαι Vogel: προσδέχετο Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

εὐρηνο. τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ἀπάντων οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολλὴν εἶχον δαψίλειαν, προνοημένου τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου τοῦ μέρους. διὸ καὶ χροαζούσης τῆς πολιορκίας ἐπ' ἔτη μὲν δύο προσέκειντο προσβολὰς ποιοῦμενοι τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδου τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰργουτες· τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἔτει συνεχῶς ὄμβρων μεγάλων καταραγέντων συνέβη τὸν Εὐφράτην μέγαν γενόμενον κατακλύσαι τε μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ σταδίου 2 εἴκοσιν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ βασιλεὺς νομίσας τετελέσθαι τὸν χρησμόν καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ποταμὸν γεγενῆσθαι φανερώς πολέμιον, ἀπέγνω τὴν σωτηρίαν. ἵνα δὲ μή τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχρησίου γένηται, πυρὰν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κατεσκευάσεν ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ τὸν τε χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἅπαντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐσώρευσεν, τὰς δὲ παλλακίδας καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους συγκλείσας εἰς τὸν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πυρᾷ κατεσκευασμένον οἶκον ἅμα τούτοις ἅπασιν ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὰ βασίλεια κατέκαυσεν. 3 οἱ δ' ἀποστάται πυθόμενοι τὴν ἀπώλειαν τὴν Σαρδαναπάλλου, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἐκράτησαν εἰσπεσόντες κατὰ τὸ πεπτωκὸς μέρος τοῦ τείχους, τὸν δ' Ἀρβάκην ἐνδύσαντες τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν προσηγόρευσαν βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἐξουσίαν ἐπέτρεψαν.

28. Ἐνθα δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς συναγωνισμένοις στρατηγοῖς δωρεῖς τε διαδόντος κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ σατράπας ἐθνῶν καθιστάντος, προσελθὼν αὐτῷ Βέλεσος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ὁ προειπὼν ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἔσται τῆς Ἀσίας, τῆς τε εὐεργεσίας

over, the inhabitants of the city had a great abundance of all provisions, since the king had taken thought on that score. Consequently the siege dragged on, and for two years they pressed their attack, making assaults on the walls and preventing the inhabitants of the city from going out into the country; but in the third year, after there had been heavy and continuous rains, it came to pass that the Euphrates, running very full, both inundated a portion of the city and broke down the walls for a distance of twenty stades. At this the king, believing that the oracle had been fulfilled and that the river had plainly become the city's enemy, abandoned hope of saving himself. And in order that he might not fall into the hands of the enemy, he built an enormous pyre<sup>1</sup> in his palace, heaped upon it all his gold and silver as well as every article of the royal wardrobe, and then, shutting his concubines and eunuchs in the room which had been built in the middle of the pyre, he consigned both them and himself and his palace to the flames. The rebels, on learning of the death of Sardanapallus, took the city by forcing an entrance where the wall had fallen, and clothing Arbaces in the royal garb saluted him as king and put in his hands the supreme authority.

28. Thereupon, after the new king had distributed among the generals who had aided him in the struggle gifts corresponding to their several deserts, and as he was appointing satraps over the nations, Belesys the Babylonian, who had foretold to Arbaces that he would be king of Asia, coming to him, reminded him

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus greatly abridged the description of this pyre by Ctesias, since Athenæus (12. 38), who derived his account of it also from Ctesias, gives many more details concerning it.



ὑπέμνησε καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος ἀρχὴν ἠξίον  
 2 δοῦναι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπέσχετο. ἀπεφαί-  
 νετο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ἑαυτὸν εὐχὴν  
 πεποιῆσθαι τῷ Βῆλῳ Σαρδαναπάλλου κρατη-  
 θέντος καὶ τῶν<sup>1</sup> βασιλείων ἐμπυρισθέντων ἀπο-  
 κομιεῖν τὴν σποδὸν τὴν ἐκ τούτων εἰς Βαβυ-  
 λῶνα, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταθέμενον χῶμα κατασκευάσειν  
 τὸ παρεξόμενον τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πλέου-  
 σιν ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα τοῦ καταλύσαντος τὴν  
 3 Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν. τοῦτο δ' ἠτέετο πυθόμενος  
 τινος εὐνούχου τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν,  
 ὃν διαδράντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτομολήσαντα  
 4 κατέκρυψεν. ὁ δ' Ἀρβάκης τούτων οὐδὲν εἰδὼς  
 διὰ τὸ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις συγκατα-  
 καῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὴν τε σποδὸν ἀποκομίσει  
 καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἔχειν ἀτελῆ συνεχώρησεν.  
 εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Βέλεσος πλοῖα παραστησάμενος μετὰ  
 τῆς σποδοῦ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ τε ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ  
 χρυσοῦ συντόμως ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. ὁ  
 δὲ βασιλεὺς, μνησθεὶς αὐτῷ τῆς πράξεως  
 αὐτοφώρου,<sup>2</sup> δικαστὰς ἀπέδειξε τοὺς συναγωνι-  
 5 σάμενους στρατηγούς. τοῦ πράξαντος δ' ὁμοιο-  
 γούτος ἀδικεῖν, τὸ μὲν δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ θάνα-  
 τον κατέγνω, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, μεγαλόψυχος ὢν  
 καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας βουλόμενος ἐπιεικῆ  
 παρέχασθαι, τῶν τε κινδύνων ἀπέλυσε τὸν  
 Βέλεσιν καὶ τὸν ἀποκεκομισμένον ἄργυρον καὶ  
 χρυσὸν ἔχειν συνεχώρησεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν  
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοθείσαν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος

of his good services, and asked that he be given the  
 governorship of Babylon, as had been promised at the  
 outset. He also explained that when their cause  
 was endangered he had made a vow to Belus that, if  
 Sardanapallus were defeated and his palace went up  
 in flames, he would bring its ashes to Babylon, and  
 depositing them near the river and the sacred  
 precinct of the god he would construct a mound  
 which, for all who sailed down the Euphrates, would  
 stand as an eternal memorial of the man who had  
 overthrown the rule of the Assyrians. This request  
 he made because he had learned from a certain  
 eunuch, who had made his escape and come to  
 Belesys and was kept hidden by him, of the facts  
 regarding the silver and gold. Now since Arbaces  
 knew nothing of this, by reason of the fact that all  
 the inmates of the palace had been burned along with  
 the king, he allowed him both to carry the ashes away  
 and to hold Babylon without the payment of tribute.  
 Thereupon Belesys procured boats and at once sent  
 off to Babylon along with the ashes practically all the  
 silver and gold; and the king, having been informed  
 of the act which Belesys had been caught perpetrating,  
 appointed as judges the generals who had served with  
 him in the war. And when the accused acknowledged  
 his guilt, the court sentenced him to death, but the  
 king, being a magnanimous man and wishing to  
 make his rule at the outset known for clemency, both  
 freed Belesys from the danger threatening him and  
 allowed him to keep the silver and gold which he had  
 carried off; likewise, he did not even take from him  
 the governorship over Babylon which had originally

<sup>1</sup> Ἐλλων after τῶν added by Vnlgate, Bokker, Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοφώρου Rhodomann: αὐτοφόρου.

οὐκ ἀφείλετο, φήσας μείζονας εἶναι τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
 6 προγεγενημένας εὐεργεσίας τῶν ὑστερον ἀδικη-  
 ματών. διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιεικείας οὐ τὴν  
 τυχοῦσαν εὐνοίαν ἄμα<sup>1</sup> καὶ δόξαν παρὰ τῶν  
 ἔθνῶν ἀπηνέγκατο, πάντων κρινόντων ἄξιον εἶναι  
 τῆς βασιλείας τὸν οὕτω προσενεχθέντα τοῖς  
 7 ἀδικήσασιν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρβιάκης τοῖς κατὰ τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθεὶς αὐτοὺς μὲν κατὰ  
 κώμας διώκισε, τὰς ἰδίας κτήσεις ἐκάστοις  
 ἀποδοῦς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν.  
 ἔπειτα τὸν τε ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς  
 πυρᾶς ὑπολειφθέντα πολλῶν ὄντα ταλάντων  
 ἀπεκόμισε τῆς Μηδίας εἰς Ἐκβάτανα.

8 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἀπὸ Νίνου  
 διαμείνασα τριάκοντα μὲν γενεάς, ἔτη δὲ πλείω  
 τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, ὑπὸ Μήδων κατελύθη  
 τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον.

29. Ἡμῖν δ' οὐκ ἀνάρμοστον εἶναι δοκεῖ περὶ  
 τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Χαλδαίων καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος  
 αὐτῶν βραχεία διελεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν παραλείπωμεν  
 2 τῶν ἀξίων μνήμης. Χαλδαῖοι τοίνυν τῶν ἀρχαιο-  
 τάτων ὄντες Βαβυλωνίων τῇ μὲν διαιρέσει τῆς  
 πολιτείας παραπλησίαν ἔχουσι τάξιν τοῖς κατ'  
 Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῦσιν, πρὸς γὰρ τῇ θεραπείᾳ τῶν  
 θεῶν τεταγμένοι πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον  
 φιλοσοφοῦσι, μεγίστην δόξαν ἔχοντες ἐν ἀστρο-  
 λογίᾳ. ἀντέχονται δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ μαντικῆς,  
 ποιούμενοι προρρήσεις περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, καὶ  
 τῶν μὲν καθαρμοῦς, τῶν δὲ θυσίας, τῶν δ'  
 ἄλλαις τισὶν ἐπωδαῖς ἀποτροπὰς κακῶν καὶ  
 3 τελειώσεις ἀγαθῶν πειρῶνται πορίζειν. ἐμπειρίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἄμα Dindorf; ἀλλὰ.

been given to him, saying that his former services were greater than his subsequent misdeeds. When this act of clemency was noised about, he won no ordinary loyalty on the part of his subjects as well as renown among the nations, all judging that a man who had conducted himself in this wise towards wrongdoers was worthy of the kingship. Arbaces, however, showing clemency towards the inhabitants of the city, settled them in villages and returned to each man his personal possessions, but the city he levelled to the ground. Then the silver and gold, amounting to many talents, which had been left in the pyre, he collected and took off to Ecbatana in Media.

So the empire of the Assyrians, which had endured from the time of Nínus through thirty generations, for more than one thousand three hundred years, was destroyed by the Medes in the manner described above.

29. But to us it seems not inappropriate to speak briefly of the Chaldaeans of Babylon and of their antiquity, that we may omit nothing which is worthy of record. Now the Chaldaeans, belonging as they do to the most ancient inhabitants of Babylonia, have about the same position among the divisions of the state as that occupied by the priests of Egypt; for being assigned to the service of the gods they spend their entire life in study, their greatest renown being in the field of astrology. But they occupy themselves largely with soothsaying as well, making predictions about future events, and in some cases by purifications, in others by sacrifices, and in others by some other charms they attempt to effect the averting of evil things and the fulfilment of the good. They are

δ' ἔχουσι καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν οἰωνῶν μαντικῆς, ἐντυπῶν τε καὶ τεράτων ἐξηγήσεις ἀποφαίνονται. οὐκ ἀσόφως δὲ ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆν ἱεροσκοπίαν ἄκρως ἐπιτυγχάνειν νομίζοντες.<sup>1</sup>

Τὴν δὲ τούτων μάθησιν ἀπάντων οὐχ ὁμοίαν ποιοῦνται τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐπιτηδεύουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐκ γένους ἢ τούτων φιλοσοφία παραδέδοται, καὶ παῖς παρὰ πατρός διαδέχεται, τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργιῶν πασῶν ἀπολελυμένος. διὸ καὶ γονεῖς ἔχοντες διδασκάλους ἅμα μὲν ἀφθόνως ἅπαντα μαθάνουσι, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις προσέχουσι πιστεύοντες βεβαιότερον. ἔπειτ' εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων συντρεφόμενοι τοῖς μαθήμασι μεγάλην ἔξιν περιποιοῦνται διὰ τε τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας εὐδίδακτον καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθος τοῦ προσκαρτερομένου χρόνου.

5 Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὁ πολλοῖς ἀπαρασκεύως<sup>2</sup> προσιῶν ὀψέ ποτε τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἄπτεται, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς φιλοπονήσας ἀπῆλθε περισπασθεῖς ὑπὸ βιωτικῆς χρείας· ὀλίγοι δὲ τιwes ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδύντες ἐργολαβίας ἔνεκεν παραμένουσι ἐν τῷ μαθήματι, καινοτομοῦντες αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων δογμάτων καὶ  
6 τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀκολουθοῦντες. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι διαμέροντες ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν αἰεὶ βεβαίως ἕκαστα λαμβάνουσι, οἱ δ' Ἑλληνες τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> νομίζοντες D, Vogel: Bekker and Dindorf follow the Vulgate in reading νομίζονται, and think that some words have been lost after ἀσόφως δέ.

<sup>2</sup> πολλοῖς ἀπαρασκεύως Vogel: πολλὸς ἀπάρσκεως.

also skilled in soothsaying by the flight of birds, and they give out interpretations of both dreams and portents. They also show marked ability in making divinations from the observation of the entrails of animals, deeming that in this branch they are eminently successful.

The training which they receive in all these matters is not the same as that of the Greeks who follow such practices. For among the Chaldaeans the scientific study of these subjects is passed down in the family, and son takes it over from father, being relieved of all other services in the state. Since, therefore, they have their parents for teachers, they not only are taught everything ungrudgingly but also at the same time they give heed to the precepts of their teachers with a more unwavering trust. Furthermore, since they are bred in these teachings from childhood up, they attain a great skill in them, both because of the ease with which youth is taught and because of the great amount of time which is devoted to this study.

Among the Greeks, on the contrary, the student who takes up a large number of subjects without preparation turns to the higher studies only quite late, and then, after labouring upon them to some extent, gives them up, being distracted by the necessity of earning a livelihood; and but a few here and there really strip for the higher studies and continue in the pursuit of them as a profit-making business, and these are always trying to make innovations in connection with the most important doctrines instead of following in the path of their predecessors. The result of this is that the barbarians, by sticking to the same things always, keep a firm hold on every detail, while the Greeks, on

κατὰ τὴν ἐργολαβίαν κέρδους στοχαζόμενοι καινὰς αἰρέσεις κτίζουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων θεωρημάτων ἀλλήλοις ἀντιδοξοῦντες διχοροεῖν τοιοῦσι τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν πλανᾶσθαι, τὸν πάντα βίον ἐν αἰῶρα γινομένης<sup>1</sup> καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως πιστεῦσαι δυναμένης βεβαίως· τὰς γοῦν ἐπιφανεστάτας αἰρέσεις τῶν φιλοσόφων εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάξοι, πλείστον ὕσον εὐρήσει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων δοξῶν ἐναντία δοξαζούσας.

30. Οἱ δ' οὖν Χαλδαῖοι τὴν μὲν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν αἰδιὸν φασιν εἶναι καὶ μήτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν ἐσχηκέναι μήτ' ὕστερον φθορὰν ἐπιδέξασθαι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὄλων τάξιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν θεῖα τιλ προνοία γεγονέναι, καὶ νῦν ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ γινομένων οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν οὐδ' αὐτομάτως ἀλλ' ὠρισμένη τιλ καὶ βεβαίως  
2 κεκυρωμένη θεῶν κρίσει συντελεῖσθαι. τῶν δ' ἄστρον πολυχρονοῦς παρατηρήσεις πεποιημένοι, καὶ τὴς ἑκάστου κινήσεις τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἀκριβέστατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπεγνωκότες, πολλὰ τῶν μελλόντων συμβαίνειν προλέγουσι τοῖς  
3 ἀνθρώποις. μεγίστην δὲ<sup>2</sup> φασιν εἶναι θεωρίαν καὶ δύναμιν περὶ τοὺς πέντε ἀστέρας τοὺς πλανήτας καλουμένους, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κοινῇ μὲν ἐρμηνεῖς ὀνομάζουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Κρόνον ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐπιφανέστατον δὲ καὶ πλείστα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> γινομένης Coraës: γενομένης.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ Dindorf: τε.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. to mankind of the will of the gods, as explained below.

<sup>2</sup> Saturn.

the other hand, aiming at the profit to be made out of the business, keep founding new schools and, wrangling with each other over the most important matters of speculation, bring it about that their pupils hold conflicting views, and that their minds, vacillating throughout their lives and unable to believe anything at all with firm conviction, simply wander in confusion. It is at any rate true that, if a man were to examine carefully the most famous schools of the philosophers, he would find them differing from one another to the uttermost degree and maintaining opposite opinions regarding the most fundamental tenets.

30. Now, as the Chaldaeans say, the world is by its nature eternal, and neither had a first beginning nor will at a later time suffer destruction; furthermore, both the disposition and the orderly arrangement of the universe have come about by virtue of a divine providence, and to-day whatever takes place in the heavens is in every instance brought to pass, not at haphazard nor by virtue of any spontaneous action, but by some fixed and firmly determined divine decision. And since they have observed the stars over a long period of time and have noted both the movements and the influences of each of them with greater precision than any other men, they foretell to mankind many things that will take place in the future. But above all in importance, they say, is the study of the influence of the five stars known as planets, which they call "Interpreters"<sup>1</sup> when speaking of them as a group, but if referring to them singly, the one named Cronus<sup>2</sup> by the Greeks, which is the most conspicuous and presages more events and such as are of greater importance than the others,

μέγιστα προσημαίνοντα, καλοῦσιν Ἡλίου τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τέτταρας ὁμοίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ἀστρολόγοις ὀνομάζουσιν, Ἄρεος, Ἀφροδίτης, Ἑρμοῦ, 4 Διός. διὰ τοῦτο δ' αὐτοὺς ἐρμηνεῖς καλοῦσιν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν ὄντων καὶ τεταγμένη πορεία μίαν περιφορὰν ἐχόντων οὗτοι μόνοι πορείαν ἰδίαν ποιούμενοι τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι δεικνύουσιν, ἐρμηνεύοντες τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔννοιαν.<sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς δύσεως, τινὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς χροῆς προσημαίνειν φασὶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς προσέχειν 5 ἀκριβῶς βουλευθείσι ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ πνευμάτων μεγέθη δηλοῦν αὐτούς, ποτὲ δὲ ὄμβρων ἢ καυμάτων ὑπερβολάς, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε κομητῶν ἀστέρων ἐπιτολάς, ἔτι δὲ ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψεις, καὶ σεισμούς, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πάσας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος γεννωμένας περιστάσεις ὠφελίμους τε καὶ βλαβεράς οὐ μόνον ἔθνεσιν ἢ <sup>2</sup> τόποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἰδιώταις.

6 Ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν τοῦτων φορὰν λέγουσι τετάχθαι τριάκοντα ἀστέρας, αὗς προσαγορεύουσι βουλαίους θεοὺς τοῦτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τοὺς ὑπὲρ γῆν τόπους ἐφορᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις τοὺς <sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν, τὰ κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐπισκοποῦντας ἅμα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν συμβαίνοντα· διὰ δ' ἡμερῶν δέκα πέμπεσθαι τῶν μὲν ἄνω πρὸς τοὺς κάτω καθάπερ ἄγγελον ἓνα τῶν ἀστέρων,

<sup>1</sup> ἔννοιαν Dindorf: ἐνοιαν.

<sup>2</sup> ἢ Vogel, following C D F; καὶ Bekker and Dindorf, following the other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> τοὺς added by Reiske.

they call the star of Helius, whereas the other four they designate as the stars of Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Zeus,<sup>1</sup> as do our astrologers. The reason why they call them "Interpreters" is that whereas all the other stars are fixed and follow a single circuit in a regular course, these alone, by virtue of following each its own course, point out future events, thus interpreting to mankind the design of the gods. For sometimes by their risings, sometimes by their settings, and again by their colour, the Chaldaeans say, they give signs of coming events to such as are willing to observe them closely; for at one time they show forth mighty storms of winds, at another excessive rains or heat, at times the appearance of comets, also eclipses of both sun and moon, and earthquakes, and in a word all the conditions which owe their origin to the atmosphere and work both benefits and harm, not only to whole peoples or regions, but also to kings and to persons of private station.

Under the course in which these planets move are situated, according to them, thirty stars,<sup>2</sup> which they designate as "counselling gods"; of these one half oversee the regions above the earth and the other half those beneath the earth, having under their purview the affairs of mankind and likewise those of the heavens; and every ten days one of the stars above is sent as a messenger, so to speak, to the stars

<sup>2</sup> According to Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 43, n. 4, Diodorus has confused here two distinct systems, that of the thirty-six stars known as decans, which Babylonian astrology designated as rulers of ten degrees in each zodiac, and that of the thirty stars which the Egyptians believed to be gods, each of whom presided over one of the thirty days of the month.

<sup>1</sup> Mars, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter.

τῶν δ' ὑπὸ γῆν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνω πάλιν ὁμοίως ἓνα, καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν αὐτοὺς φορὰν ὠρισμένην καὶ 7 περιόδῳ κεκυρωμένην αἰωνίῳ. τῶν θεῶν δὲ τούτων κυρίου εἶναι φασὶ δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὧν ἑκάστῳ μῆνα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων ζῳδίων ἐν προσνέμουσι. διὰ δὲ τούτων φασὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν τὸν τε ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πέντε τοὺς πλάνητας ἀστέρας, τοῦ μὲν ἡλίου τὸν ἴδιον κύκλον ἐν ἑνιαυτῷ τελούντος, τῆς δὲ σελήνης ἐν μηνὶ τὴν ἰδίαν περίοδον διαπορευομένης.

31. Τῶν δὲ πλανήτων ἴδιον ἕκαστον<sup>1</sup> ἔχειν δρόμον καὶ διηλλαγμένως καὶ ποικίλως χρῆσθαι τοῖς τάχεσι καὶ τῇ τῶν χρόνων διαιρέσει. πλείστα δὲ πρὸς τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμβάλλεσθαι τούτους τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ κακὰ· διὰ δὲ τῆς τούτων φύσεώς τε καὶ θεωρίας μάλιστα γινώσκειν τὰ συμβαίοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. πεποιῆσθαι δὲ φασὶ προρρήσεις ἄλλοις 2 τε βασιλευσιν οὐκ ὀλίγοις καὶ τῷ καταπολεμήσαντι Δαρεῖον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα βασιλεύσασιν Ἀντιγόνῳ τε καὶ Σελεύκῳ τῷ Νικάτορι, ἐν ἅπασιν δὲ τοῖς ῥηθείσιμ εὐστοχηκεῖναι δοκοῦσιν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς<sup>2</sup> τὰ κατὰ μέρος 3 ἐν οἰκειότεροις ἀναγράφομεν καιροῖς. προλέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰδιωταῖς τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαίνειν οὕτως εὐστόχως ὥστε τοὺς πειραθέντας θαυμάζειν τὸ γινόμενον καὶ μείζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπου ἡγεῖσθαι.

4 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ζῳδιακὸν κύκλον εἴκοσι καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἴδιον ἕκαστον Vogel: ἕκαστον ἴδιον Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

below, and again in like manner one of the stars below the earth to those above, and this movement of theirs is fixed and determined by means of an orbit which is unchanging for ever. Twelve of these gods, they say, hold chief authority, and to each of these the Chaldaeans assign a month and one of the signs of the zodiac, as they are called. And through the midst of these signs, they say, both the sun and moon and the five planets make their course, the sun completing his cycle in a year and the moon traversing her circuit in a month.

31. Each of the planets, according to them, has its own particular course, and its velocities and periods of time are subject to change and variation. These stars it is which exert the greatest influence for both good and evil upon the nativity of men; and it is chiefly from the nature of these planets and the study of them that they know what is in store for mankind. And they have made predictions, they say, not only to numerous other kings, but also to Alexander, who defeated Darius, and to Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator who afterwards became kings, and in all their prophecies they are thought to have hit the truth. But of these things we shall write in detail on a more appropriate occasion.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, they also foretell to men in private station what will befall them, and with such accuracy that those who have made trial of them marvel at the feat and believe that it transcends the power of man.

Beyond the circle of the zodiac they designate

<sup>1</sup> For prophecies to Alexander *op. Book 17. 112*, and to Antigonus, *Book 19. 55*.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμεῖς Vogel: omitted by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

τέτταρας ἀφορίζουσιν ἀστέρας, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασι, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ὄρωμένους τῶν ζώντων εἶναι καταριθμοῦσι, τοὺς δ' ἀφανείς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωρίσθαι νομίζουσιν, οὓς δικαστὰς τῶν ὄλων προσαγορεύουσιν. ὑπὸ πάντα δὲ τὰ προειρημένα τὴν σελήνην φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἔγγιστα μὲν τῆς γῆς οὖσαν διὰ τὴν βαρύτετητα, διαπορευομένην δ' ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ χρόνῳ τὸν ἑαυτῆς δρόμον, οὐ διὰ τὴν δξύτητα τῆς φορᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα τοῦ κύκλου. ὅτι δὲ τὸ φῶς ἀλλότριον ἔχει καὶ διότι τὰς ἐκλείψεις ποιεῖται διὰ τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς παραπλήσια λέγουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλείψεως ἀσθενεστάτας ἀποδείξεις φέροντες οὐ τολμῶσι προλέγειν οὐδ' ἀκριβῶς ὑπὲρ ταύτης περιγράψαι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς χρόνους. περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἰδιωτάτας ἀποφάσεις ποιοῦνται, λέγοντες ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν σκαφοειδῆ καὶ κοίλην, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ πιθανὰς ἀποδείξεις εὐποροῦσι περὶ τε ταύτης καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον· ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος διεξιέναι τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας ἀλλότριον εἶναι νομίζομεν. τοῦτο μὲντοι γε διαβεβαιώσαιτ' ἂν τις προσηκόντως ὅτι Χαλδαῖοι μεγίστην ἔξιν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι καὶ διότι πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησαντο ταύτης τῆς θεωρίας. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐτῶν, ἐν οἷς φασι τὴν θεωρίαν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον πεποιθῆσθαι τὸ σύστημα τῶν Χαλδαίων, οὐκ ἂν τις ῥαδίως πιστεύσειεν· ἐτῶν γὰρ ἑπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα μυριάδας καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ ταύταις χιλιάδας

twenty-four other stars, of which one half, they say, are situated in the northern parts and one half in the southern, and of these those which are visible they assign to the world of the living, while those which are invisible they regard as being adjacent to the dead, and so they call them "Judges of the Universe." And under all the stars hitherto mentioned the moon, according to them, takes her way, being nearest the earth because of her weight and completing her course in a very brief period of time, not by reason of her great velocity, but because her orbit is so short. They also agree with the Greeks in saying that her light is reflected and that her eclipses are due to the shadow of the earth. Regarding the eclipse of the sun, however, they offer the weakest kind of explanation, and do not presume to predict it or to define the times of its occurrence with any precision. Again, in connection with the earth they make assertions entirely peculiar to themselves, saying that it is shaped like a boat and hollow, and they offer many plausible arguments about both the earth and all other bodies in the firmament, a full discussion of which we feel would be alien to our history. This point, however, a man may fittingly maintain, that the Chaldaeans have of all men the greatest grasp of astrology, and that they have bestowed the greatest diligence upon the study of it. But as to the number of years which, according to their statements, the order of the Chaldaeans has spent on the study of the bodies of the universe, a man can scarcely believe them; for they reckon that, down to

<sup>1</sup> περιγράψαι Wesseling: παραγράψαι.

ὡς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσει γεγονέναι καταριθμοῦσιν, ἀφ' ὅτου τὸ παλαιὸν ἤρξαντο τῶν ἀστρῶν τὰς παρατηρήσεις ποιέεσθαι.

10 Καὶ περὶ μὲν Χαλδαίων ἀρεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθείσιν, ἵνα μὴ μακρότερον ἀποκλωνόμεθα τῆς οἰκείας ἱστορίας· περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας ὡς ὑπὸ Μήδων κατελύθη προειρηκότες ἐπάνειμεν ὅθεν ἐξέβημεν.

32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαφωνοῦσιν οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ τῆς μεγίστης τῶν Μήδων ἡγεμονίας, οἰκείον εἶναι διαλαμβάνομεν τοῖς φιλαλήθως τὰς πράξεις ἱστορεῖν βουλομένοις τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ἱστοριογράφων παρ' ἄλληλα  
2 θείναι. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ξέρηνη γεγονῶς τοῖς χρόνοις φησὶν Ἀσσυρίους ἔτη πεντακόσια πρότερον τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρξαντας ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι, ἔπειτα βασιλεῖα μὲν μηδένα γενέσθαι τὸν ἀμφισβητήσοντα τῶν ὄλων ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεάς, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καθ' ἑαυτὰς ταττομένας διοικέεσθαι δημοκρατικῶς· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλῶν ἐτῶν διεληθόντων αἰρεθῆναι βασιλεῖα παρὰ τοῖς Μήδοις ἄνδρα δικαιοσύνην διάφορον,  
3 ὄνομα Κυαξάρην. τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρήσασαι προσάγεσθαι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους, καὶ τοῖς Μήδοις ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμονίας· ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐκγόνους αἰεὶ προσκατακτωμένους πολλὴν τῆς ὁμοῦρου χώρας αὐξήσασαι τὴν βασιλείαν μέχρι Ἀστυάγουσ τοῦ καταπολεμηθέντος

Alexander's crossing over into Asia, it has been four <sup>334 B.C.</sup> hundred and seventy-three thousand years, since they began in early times to make their observations of the stars.

So far as the Chaldaeans are concerned we shall be satisfied with what has been said, that we may not wander too far from the matter proper to our history; and now that we have given an account of the destruction of the kingdom of the Assyrians by the Medes we shall return to the point at which we digressed.

32. Since the earliest writers of history are at variance concerning the mighty empire of the Medes, we feel that it is incumbent upon those who would write the history of events with a love for truth to set forth side by side the different accounts of the historians. Now Herodotus, who lived in the time of Xerxes,<sup>1</sup> gives this account: After the Assyrians had ruled Asia for five hundred years they were conquered by the Medes, and thereafter no king arose <sup>612 B.C.</sup> for many generations to lay claim to supreme power, but the city-states, enjoying a regimen of their own, were administered in a democratic fashion; finally, however, after many years a man distinguished for his justice, named Cyaxares,<sup>2</sup> was chosen king among the Medes. He was the first to try to attach to himself the neighbouring peoples and became for the Medes the founder of their universal empire; and after him his descendants extended the kingdom by continually adding a great deal of the adjoining country, until the reign of Astyages who was conquered by Cyrus and

<sup>1</sup> King of Persia, 486-464 B.C.; Herodotus was born in the decade 490-80 B.C. The passage is Herodotus I. 95 ff., where, however, the years are given as five hundred and twenty.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus mentions three kings, Deioeces, Phraortes, and Cyaxares, before Astyages. The Cyaxares mentioned here by Diodorus is really the Deioeces of Herodotus I. 96 ff., but Diodorus, in Book 8. 16, mentions a Deioeces, "the king of the Medes."



ὑπὸ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν. περὶ ὧν νῦν ἡμεῖς τὰ κεφάλαια προειρηκότες τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὕστερον ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράφομεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκειοὺς χρόνους ἐπιβάλλομεν κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑπτακαίδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἡρέθη βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Μήδων Κναξάρης καθ' Ἡρόδοτον.

- 4 Κτησίας δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος τοῖς μὲν χρόνοις ὑπῆρξε κατὰ τὴν Κύρου στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν ἀδελφόν, γενόμενος δ' αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀναληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτη διετέλεσε τιμώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. οὗτος οὖν φησὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν, ἐν αἷς οἱ Πέρσαι τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις κατὰ τινα νόμον εἶχον συντεταγμένας, πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ συνταξάμενος<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐξενεγκεῖν. φησὶν οὖν μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίας Μήδους προστῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀρβάκου βασιλευντος τοῦ Σαρδανάπallon καταπολεμήσαντος, καθότι προειρηται. τούτου δ' ἄρξαντος ἔτη δυσὶ λείποντα τῶν τριάκοντα διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν υἱὸν Μανδάκην, ὃν ἄρξει τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτη πενήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ τούτου τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη βασιλεύσαι Σωσαρμον, πενήκοντα δὲ Ἀρτύκαν, δύο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τὸν προσγορευόμενον Ἀρβιάνην, τετταράκοντα δὲ Ἀρταίου.

33. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου συστήναι μέγαν πόλεμον

<sup>1</sup> συνταξάμενος (Gemistus : συνταξάμενον).

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus puts the accession of Deiocees (the Cyaxares of Diodorus) in 699 B.C. (cp. How and Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, I, pp. 333 ff.), if the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus

the Persians. We have for the present given only the most important of these events in summary and shall later give a detailed account of them one by one when we come to the periods in which they fall; for it was in the second year of the Seventeenth Olympiad, according to Herodotus, that Cyaxares was chosen king by the Medes.<sup>1</sup>

Ctesias of Cnidus, on the other hand, lived during the time when Cyrus<sup>2</sup> made his expedition against Artaxerxes his brother, and having been made prisoner and then retained by Artaxerxes because of his medical knowledge, he enjoyed a position of honour with him for seventeen years.<sup>3</sup> Now Ctesias says that from the royal records, in which the Persians in accordance with a certain law of theirs kept an account of their ancient affairs, he carefully investigated the facts about each king, and when he had composed his history he published it to the Greeks. This, then, is his account: After the destruction of the Assyrian Empire the Medes were the chief power in Asia under their king Arbaces, who conquered Sardauapallus, as has been told before.<sup>4</sup> And when he had reigned twenty-eight years his son Maudaces succeeded to the throne and reigned over Asia fifty years. After him Sosarmus ruled for thirty years, Artycas for fifty, the king known as Arbianes for twenty-two, and Artaeus for forty years.

33. During the reign of Artaeus a great war broke occurred in 549 B.C. (cp. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 4, p. 7) and not, as formerly held, in 550.

<sup>2</sup> Cyrus the Younger, the story of whose struggle with his brother for the throne is told in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon.

<sup>3</sup> According to Plutarch (*Artaxerxes*, 11 ff.), Ctesias was already in the king's retinue at the time.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. chaps. 23 ff.

τοῖς Μήδοις πρὸς Καδουσίους διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Παρσώνδην τὸν Πέρσην, θαυμαζόμενον ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ συνέσει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, φίλον τε ὑπάρχει τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ μέγιστον ἰσχύσαι τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βασιλικοῦ συνεδρίου. τοῦτον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔν τιμι κρίσει λυπηθέντα φυγεῖν μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ χιλίων εἰς Καδουσίους, παρ' οἷς ἦν ἐκδεδομένος τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν τῷ μάλιστα δυναστεύοντι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς τόπους. γενόμενον δ' ἀποστάτην καὶ πείσαντα τὸ σὺμπαν ἔθνος ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, αἰρεθῆναι στρατηγὸν διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν. ἔπειτα πυνθανόμενον ἀθροίζομένῃν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μεγάλην δύναμιν, καθοπλίσαι τοὺς Καδουσίους πανδημί, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι πρὸς ταῖς εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβολαῖς ἔχοντα τοὺς σὺμπαντας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἴκοσι μυριάδων. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Ἄρταίου στρατεύσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μυριάσιν ὀγδοήκοντα μάχῃ κρατῆσαι καὶ πλείους μὲν τῶν πεντακισμυρίων ἀνελεῖν, τὴν δ' ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Καδουσίων χώρας. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις θαυμαζόμενον αἰρεθῆναι τε βασιλέα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν συνεχῶς λεηλατεῖν καὶ πάντα τόπον καταφθεῖρειν. μεγάλης δὲ δόξης τυχόντα, καὶ γῆρᾴ μέλλοντα καταστρέφειν τὸν βίον, ἀρὰν θέσθαι παρασησάμενον τὸν διαδεχόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅπως μηδέποτε διαλύσωνται τὴν ἔχθραν Καδουῖοι πρὸς Μήδους· εἰ δὲ συνθουτο ὁμολογίας, ἐξάλειψ γενέσθαι τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ Καδουσίους ἅπαντας. διὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἕλῃ πολεμικῶς ἐσχηκέναι Καδουσίους πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ μηδέποτε τοῖς

out between the Medes and the Cadusii, for the following reasons. Parsondes, a Persian, a man renowned for his valour and intelligence and every other virtue, was both a friend of the king's and the most influential of the members of the royal council. Feeling himself aggrieved by the king in a certain decision, he fled with three thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen to the Cadusii, to one of whom, the most influential man in those parts, he had given his sister in marriage. And now that he had become a rebel, he persuaded the entire people to vindicate their freedom and was chosen general because of his valour. Then, learning that a great force was being gathered against him, he armed the whole nation of the Cadusii and pitched his camp before the passes leading into the country, having a force of no less than two hundred thousand men all told. And although the king Artaeus advanced against him with eight hundred thousand soldiers, Parsondes defeated him in battle and slew more than fifty thousand of his followers, and drove the rest of the army out of the country of the Cadusii. And for this exploit he was so admired by the people of the land that he was chosen king, and he plundered Media without ceasing and laid waste every district of the country. And after he had attained great fame and was about to die of old age, he called to his side his successor to the throne and required of him an oath that the Cadusii should never put an end to their enmity towards the Medes, adding that, if peace were ever made with them, it meant the destruction of his line and of the whole race of the Cadusii. These, then, were the reasons why the Cadusii were always inveterate enemies of the Medes, and had never been

τούτων βασιλεύσιν ὑπήκόους γεγονέναι, μέχρι οὐ Κύρος εἰς Πέρσας μετέστησε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

34. Τῶν δὲ Μήδων βασιλεύσαι μετὰ τὴν Ἀρταίου τελευτὴν Ἀρτύνην μὲν ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι, Ἀστιβάρην δὲ τετταράκοντα. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου Πάρθους ἀποστάντας Μήδων Σάκαις 2 τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίσαι διόπερ συστάντος πολέμου τοῖς Σάκαις πρὸς Μήδους ἐπ' ἔτη πλείω γενέσθαι τε μάχας οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ συχνῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθέντων τὸ τελευταῖον εἰρήνην αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνθέσθαι, Πάρθους μὲν ὑπὸ Μήδους τετάχθαι, τῶν δὲ προὔπαρχόντων ἑκατέρους κυριεύσαντας φίλους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

3 Βασιλεύσαι δὲ τότε τῶν Σακῶν γυναῖκα τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐξηλωκυῖαν καὶ τόλμη τε καὶ πράξει πολὺ διαφέρουσιν τῶν ἐν Σάκαις γυναικῶν, ὄνομα Ζαρίναν. καθόλου μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο γυναικῶν ἀλκίμους ἔχειν καὶ κοινωνούσας τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνων, ταύτην δὲ λέγεται τῷ τε κάλλει γενέσθαι πασῶν ἐκπρεπεστάτην<sup>1</sup> καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ τοῖς 4 κατὰ μέρος ἐγχειρήμασι θαυμαστὴν. τῶν μὲν γάρ πλησιοχωρῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐπηρμένους τῷ θράσει καὶ καταδουλουμένους τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Σακῶν καταπολεμήσαι, τῆς δὲ χώρας πολλὴν ἐξημερῶσαι, καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας κτίσαι, καὶ τὸ συνολον εὐδαιμονέστερον τὸν βίον τῶν ὁμο- 5 ἐθνῶν ποιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκπρεπεστάτην D, Vogel: εὐπρεπεστάτην Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

subjected to the Median kings up to the time when Cyrus transferred the Empire of the Medes to the Persians.

34. After the death of Artaeus, Ctesias continues, Artynes ruled over the Medes for twenty-two years, and Astibaras for forty. During the reign of the latter the Parthians revolted from the Medes and entrusted both their country and their city to the hands of the Sacae. This led to a war between the Sacae and the Medes, which lasted many years, and after no small number of battles and the loss of many lives on both sides, they finally agreed to peace on the following terms, that the Parthians should be subject to the Medes, but that both peoples should retain their former possessions and be friends and allies for ever.

At that time the Sacae were ruled by a woman named Zarina, who was devoted to warfare and was in daring and efficiency by far the foremost of the women of the Sacae. Now this people, in general, have courageous women who share with their husbands the dangers of war, but she, it is said, was the most conspicuous of them all for her beauty and remarkable as well in respect to both her designs and whatever she undertook. For she subdued such of the neighbouring barbarian peoples as had become proud because of their boldness and were trying to enslave the people of the Sacae, and into much of her own realm she introduced civilized life, founded not a few cities, and, in a word, made the life of her people happier. Consequently her countrymen after her

τὴν τελευταίην αὐτῆς χάριν ἀποδιδόντας τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς μνημονεύοντας τάφον οἰκοδομήσαι πολὺ τῶν ὄντων παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα ὑποστησαμένους γὰρ πυραμίδα τρίγωνον τριῶν μὲν σταδίων ἐκάστην πλευρὰν αὐτῆς κατασκευάσαι τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δ' ὕψος σταδίου, εἰς ἃξὺ συνηγμένης τῆς κορυφῆς· ἐπιστήσαι δὲ τῷ τύφῳ καὶ χρυσῆν εἰκόνα κολοπτικὴν, καὶ τιμὰς ἥρωικὰς ἀπονεύσαι, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα μεγαλοπρεπέστερα ποιεῖν τῶν τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῆς συγχωρηθέντων.

6 Ἀστιβάρᾳ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μήδων ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις γῆρα τελευτήσαντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀσπάνδαν τὸν υἱὸν διαδέξασθαι, τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀστυάγην καλούμενον. τούτου δ' ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου καταπολεμηθέντος μεταπεσεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Πέρσας, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν.

7 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν συγγραφέων διαφωνίας ἰκανῶς εἰρησθαι νομίζομεν· περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μυθολογουμένων ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν.

death, in gratitude for her benefactions and in remembrance of her virtues, built her a tomb which was far the largest of any in their land; for they erected a triangular pyramid, making the length of each side three stades and the height one stade, and bringing it to a point at the top; and on the tomb they also placed a colossal gilded statue of her and accorded her the honours belonging to heroes, and all the other honours they bestowed upon her were more magnificent than those which had fallen to the lot of her ancestors.

When, Ctesias continues, Astibaras, the king of the Medes, died of old age in Ecbatana, his son Aspandas, whom the Greeks call Astyages, succeeded to the throne. And when he had been defeated by Cyrus the Persian, the kingdom passed to the Persians. Of them we shall give a detailed and exact account at the proper time.<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the kingdoms of the Assyrians and of the Medes, and concerning the disagreement in the accounts of the historians, we consider that enough has been said; now we shall discuss India and then, in turn, recount the legends of that land.

<sup>1</sup> This was in the Ninth Book.

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<sup>1</sup> A complete Index will appear in the last volume.

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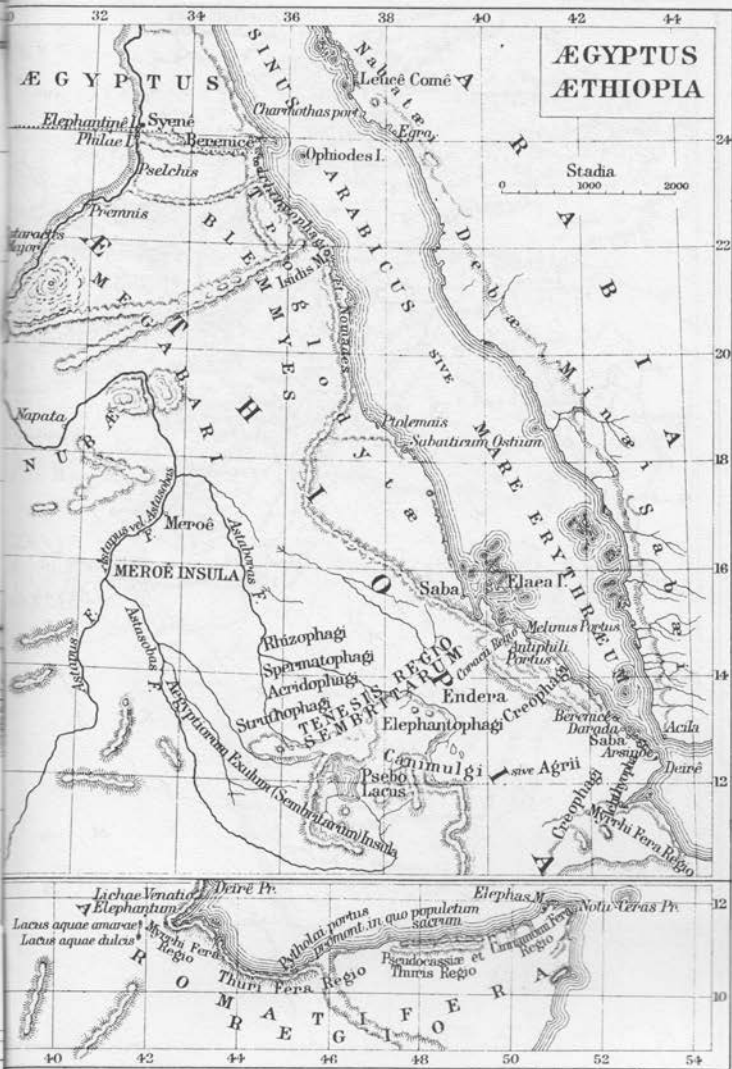
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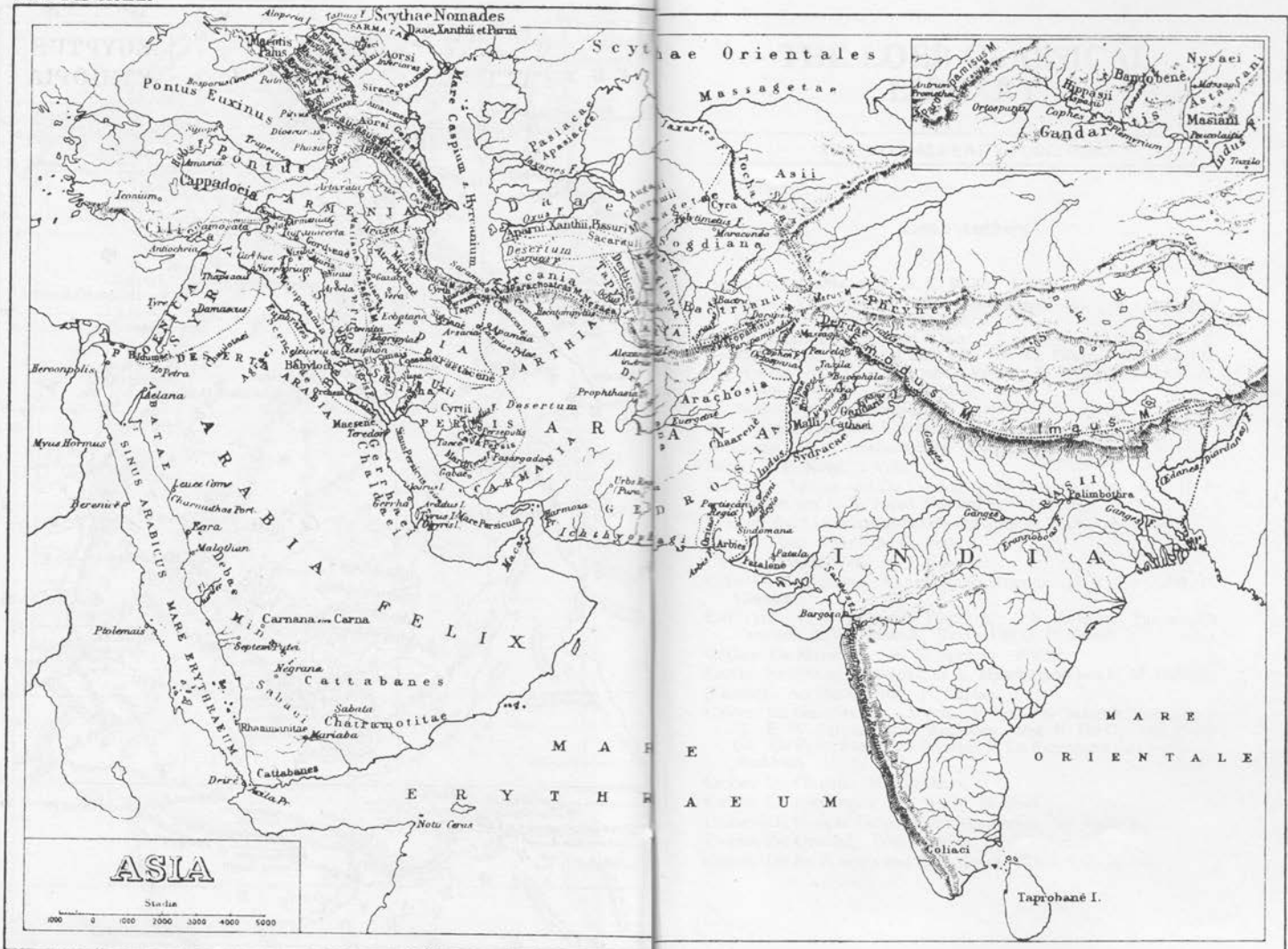
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