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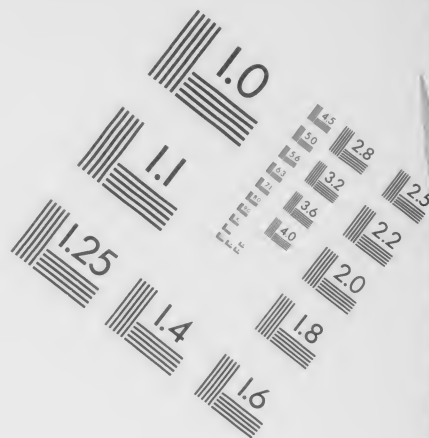
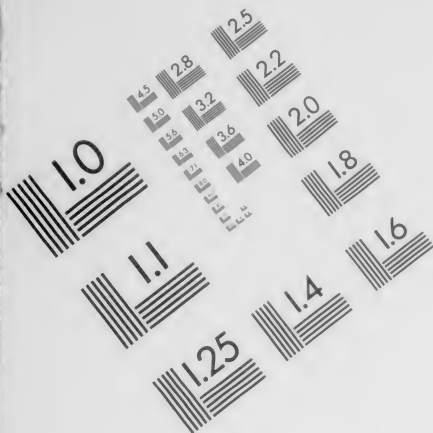
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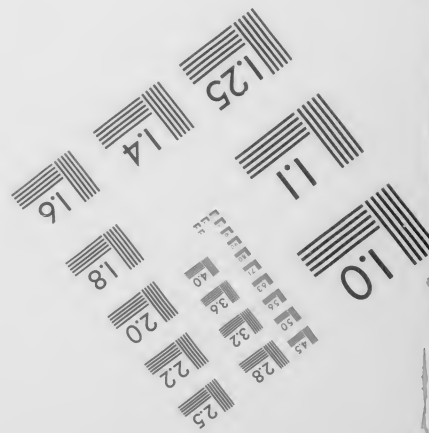
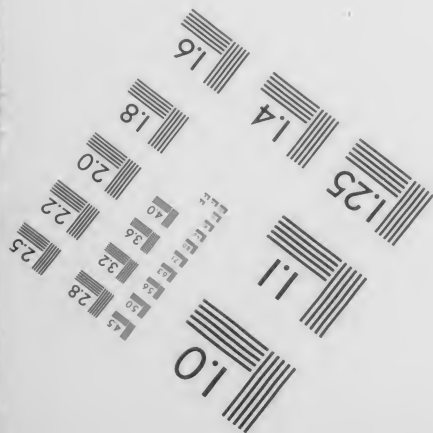
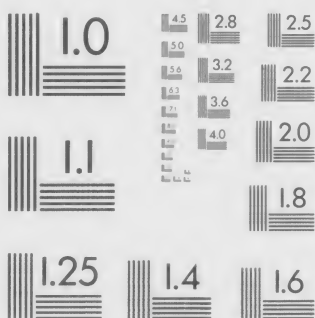
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THE FRAGMENTS

OF THE

PERSIKA OF KTESIAS



THE FRAGMENTS
OF THE
PERSIKA OF KTESIAS

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY
JOHN GILMORE, M. A.

London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND NEW YORK
1888

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P R E F A C E .

IN the following pages I have endeavoured to arrange the remains of the Persika of Ktesias in an intelligible form, and at the same time to bring the light of modern discoveries to bear upon his statements. That no edition exists in which these objects are aimed at must serve as my apology for the present attempt. Doubts have been expressed as to whether what I have designated the "Epitome of Diodorus" is really drawn from Ktesias. These doubts I cannot share, in view of the express statements of Diodorus, and what we know of his practice of wholesale borrowing from other authors (*e.g.* Megasthenes, in ii. 35-42, immediately after the extracts from Ktesias; and Agatharkides, in iii. 18-48). In any case, it seems better to print the doubtful matter, and leave the reader to reject it if he thinks fit. In some cases of greater uncertainty I have given passages which may have been derived from Ktesias in the Notes (see pp. 79, 111, 131).

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I cannot conclude without expressing my obligations to Mr. Thomas V. Keenan, of the Library, Trinity College, Dublin, for his most valuable assistance in the correction of the proofs.

J. G.

October, 1888.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

KTESIAS, the son of Ktesiochus (Lucian, Tzetzes, Suidas, Eudokia), or Ktesiarchus (Suidas, Eudokia) was an Asklepiad (Galen, tom. v. p. 652), and therefore one of a family of hereditary physicians, of Knidus in Karia. He was taken prisoner in battle about B. C. 417, under circumstances of which we are ignorant (Tzetzes, *Hist.*, i. 82 *sq.*, is of course wrong in saying it was at Kunaxa), and became, like Demokedes and Apollonides before him, physician to the Persian court (Diod. ii. 32), especially to Parysatis and her son Artaxerxes II. From his own narrative we learn that he attended Artaxerxes at the Battle of Kunaxa (*Persika*, frag. 34), and cured him of the wound he there received (*id.* frag. 35). He was sent after the battle with Phalinus to urge the Greeks to surrender (*id.* frag. 35), and subsequently used his influence with Parysatis to procure the alleviation of the captivity of the Greek generals (*id.* frag. 41). He subsequently took part in certain negotiations with Evagoras of Salamis (*Epit.* § 94, frag. 44). He returned to Knidus and Sparta about B. C. 398 (*Epit.* § 95), the year to which he brought down his *Persika* (Diod. xiv. 46). At Sparta he seems to have been put on trial, on what charge we are not informed, and was acquitted (*Persika*, § 95).

None of the works of Ktesias have come down to us in a complete state.

The most important was the *Persika* in twenty-three books, the first six of which were devoted to a "history" of the Assyrian and Median empires down to the fall of Astyages; the other seventeen

comprising the history of the Persian empire from its foundation to B. C. 398. The sources and value of the several portions of this work are discussed in the separate Introductions prefixed to the three main divisions. Pamphila, according to Suidas, wrote an epitome of it in three books; but this, like the original work, has perished. We are now indebted for our knowledge of it to (1) an epitome of the first six (or five) books preserved by Diodorus, in the beginning of his second book; (2) an epitome of the last seventeen books, which is included in codex 72 of the *Bibliotheka* of Photius, this is more avowedly an epitome of Ktesias than the work of Diodorus, and avoids the introduction of extraneous matter, but it is much more condensed, occupying only about the same space as Diodorus' epitome of one-third as much of the original; (3) Numerous fragments preserved by various authors. We have thus a very fair general idea of the substance of the *Persika*, but scarcely a sentence of Ktesias' text has come down to us verbatim.

The following are the authors who quote the *Persika*, with the portions preserved by each, and their dates:—

- XENOPHON (B. C. 401), frag. 34*b*.
 DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS (B. C. 317), frag. 20*b*, 21*b*, 36.
 ANTIGONUS OF KARYSTUS (B. C. 250), frag. 9*b*, 56.
 ERATOSTHENES (B. C. 240), frag. 2*a*.
 STRABO (B. C. 24), frag. 2*d*, 9*a*.
 NIKOLAUS (B. C. 14), frag. 19*a*, 21*a*.
 DIODORUS (B. C. 8), Epitome, Books i.–vi.; frag. 8.
 HYGINUS (A. D. 4), frag. 2*b*.
 PLUTARCHUS (A. D. 80), frag. 32, 33, 34*a*, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 53*b*.
 PLINIUS (A. D. 100), frag. 9*d*.
 KEPHALION (A. D. 120), frag. 4*a*, 13.
 THEON (A. D. 130?), frag. 24*b*.
 POLYAENUS (A. D. 163), frag. 24*a*.
 ANONYMOUS, *On Women famous in War*, frag. 2*c*, 20*a*.
 AELIANUS (A. D. 150), frag. 53*a*, 54.
 ATHENAGORAS (A. D. 177), frag. 11.
 POLLUX (A. D. 180), frag. 15*b*.
 APOLLONIUS (2nd century A. D.), frag. 28.

- TERTULLIANUS (A. D. 145), frag. 22.
 SOTION, frag. 9*c*.
 CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS (A. D. 200), frag. 14.
 ATHENAEUS (A. D. 228), frag. 10, 12, 15*a*, 16, 19*b*, 30, 45, 50, 51, 52, 55*a*.
 LONGINUS (A. D. 250), frag. 37.
 ARNOBIUS (A. D. 297), frag. 3.
 EUSEBIUS (A. D. 315), frag. 46*a*.
 HARPOKRATION (A. D. 350?), frag. 17.
 MOSES OF CHORENE (A. D. 431), frag. 46*c*.
 STEPHANUS (A. D. 500), frag. 5, 7, 26, 27, 29, 31.
 HESYCHIUS (A. D. 550), frag. 38.
 AGATHIAS (A. D. 570), frag. 18*a*.
 GEORGIUS SYNKELLUS (A. D. 808), frag. 6, 18*b*, 46*b*.
 PHOTIUS (A. D. 850), Epitome, Books vii.–xxiii.
 TZETZES (A. D. 1150), frag. 1, 4*b*, 20*c*, 23, 24*c*, 25, 49.
 EUSTATHIUS (A. D. 1160), frag. 50*b*, 55*b*.

In the above list it is assumed that the works in which Ktesias is quoted are the genuine productions of the writers to whom they are attributed, though this is not of course always true.

The divisions of the *Persika* into books cannot always be indicated with certainty, as our information on this point is defective, and sometimes contradictory.

To Ktesias are also attributed the following works:—

De Asiaticis Tributis (περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν φόρων)—probably a part of the *Persika*. He may have treated of this subject in connexion with the organization of the provinces under Darius I.

De Montibus (Περὶ ὄρων), and *De Fluminibus* (Περὶ ποταμῶν). These works may possibly have been portions of the *Persika*. It is not certain that they were really by our author.

Periplus (Περίπλους Ἀσίας). Of this, as of the three preceding works, we have only a few fragments.

Indika. The best preserved of Ktesias' works. It was only in one book, but Photius' epitome of it (codex 72) is equal in length to half his epitome of the last seventeen books of the *Persika*, and there are 33 fragments, mostly of considerable length.

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The work contains an account of the natural phenomena of the portions of India known to the Persians (probably Kashmir and the Punjab), and the manners and customs of its inhabitants, but no historical information. Modern commentators have pointed out that some of the most surprising statements contained in it are either misconceptions of actual facts, or are derived from genuine Indian legends (see the notes of Baehr and Müller; Tyehsen, in Heeren's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii.; V. Ball, in *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, vol. iv., and in the *Academy*, vol. xxiii. p. 277, vol. xxv. p. 280, vol. xxvii. p. 155; see also *Academy*, vol. xxix. p. 160).

The present edition does not include the *Indika*, as there is little to add to the works of previous commentators.

Commentarii Medici. Of this work we know very little.

The extant remains of Ktesias do not give us much opportunity of forming an opinion as to his style, but it was admired by ancient critics.

Demetrius, *De Elocut.* § 218:—

Ὅπερ δὲ τῷ Κτησίᾳ ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὡς ἀδολεσχοτέρῳ διὰ τὰς διλογίας πολλαχῆ μὲν ἴσως ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὀρθῶς· πολλαχῆ δὲ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τῆς ἐναργείας τοῦ ἀνδρός.

§ 221:—

καὶ ὅλως δὲ ὁ ποιητῆς οὗτος (scil. Ctesias), ποιητὴν γὰρ αὐτὸν καλοῖται εἰκότως, ἐναργείας δημιουργός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ συμπάσης.

Dionysius Hal. ii. p. 9, Sylb.:

Ἡ δὲ γε (λέξις) τοῦ Κνιδίου συγγραφέως Κτησίῳ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Σωκρατικοῦ Ξενοφῶντος, ἡδέως μὲν ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα, οὐ μὴν καλῶς γε ἐφ' ὅσον ἔδει. λέγω δὲ κοινότερον, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καθάπαξ· ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' ἐκείνους (apud Thucydidem et Antiphontem) ἤρροσταί τινα ἡδέως, καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καλῶς.

Plutarch says he gave a dramatic, or tragic, turn to his narrative.

Photius (at the end of his epitome of the *Persika*):—

Ἔστι δὲ οὗτος ὁ συγγραφεὺς σαφῆς τε καὶ ἀφελῆς λίαν· διὸ καὶ ἡδονὴ αὐτῷ συγκρατός ἐστιν ὁ λόγος· κέχρηται δὲ τῇ Ἰωνικῇ διαλέκτῳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ὅλου, καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνίας τινὰς λέξεις. οὐδὲ πρὸς

ἐκτροπὰς δὲ τινὰς ἀκαίρους ὥσπερ ἐκείνος, ἀπάγει τὸν λόγον. Τῶν μάλιστα γε μύθων, ἐν οἷς ἐκείνῳ λουδορεῖται, οὐδ' οὗτος ἀφίσταται, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγραφομένοις αὐτῷ Ἰνδικα. Ἡ δὲ ἡδονὴ τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ τῶν διηγημάτων αὐτοῦ γίνεται κατασκευῇ, τὸ παθητικὸν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον ἐχούσῃ πολὺ καὶ τὸ ἐγγὺς τοῦ μυθώδους αὐτῷ διαποικίλλειν. καὶ διαλελυμένους δὲ ἐστὶ πλέον τι τοῦ δεόντος αὐτῷ ὁ λόγος, ὡς καὶ εἰς ἰδιωτισμὸν ἐκπίπτειν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἡροδότου λόγος ταύτῃ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τοῦ ἔπους δυνάμει καὶ τέχνῃ κανὼν ἐστὶν Ἰωνικῆς διαλέκτου.

Id. p. 144:—

Τὰ Ἰνδικὰ . . . ἐν οἷς μᾶλλον ἰωνίζει.

The portions of the *Persika* which afford us the best opportunities of judging of Ktesias' style are frag. 13, 19, 20, 21, 32–37, 39–42.

There are not many Ionicisms in the extant remains of this work. Among these may be mentioned:—

Ἀρβάκῳ (frag. 19); Ταννοξάρκῳ (Epit. 42); Ὑστάσπῳ (Epit. 44); Σκυθάρκῳ (Epit. 48); Σπαρτιήτῳ (Epit. 56); ἔρεα (Epit. 74); Ἰδέρνῳ (Epit. 84); Τεριτούχῳ (Epit. 86); δοκέοντα (Epit. 90).

But the readings of the MSS., in cases like this, cannot be depended upon.

Persian words occurring in the *Persika* are:—

κρισκράνοι (Epit. 33); πισάγας (Epit. 72); ἀζαβαρίτης (Epit. 77); κίταρις (Epit. 78); σάραπις (frag. 38); ἀκινάκης (frag. 40); ῥυνδάκης ἢ ῥυντάκης (Epit. 92, frag. 42).

The question of the credibility of Ktesias' Assyrian, Median, and Persian history is fully discussed in the separate introductions and the notes. The progress of Oriental discovery has made the dissertations of Baehr, Müller, and the older commentators on these points almost useless.

Though the ancients generally adopted Ktesias' chronological scheme, they had a low opinion of his veracity, as appears from the long string of unfavourable testimonies cited by Müller from Aristotle, Strabo, Plutarch, Lucian, Arrian, Aelian, Gellius, and Tzetzes. These mostly relate to the *Indika*; but in that work we have less cause to complain of Ktesias than in his Assyrian

history, as he appears to have really related what he was told, though he often exaggerated and made mistakes.

As it is impossible for us to arrive at the exact words used by Ktesias, and immaterial to determine the precise expressions used by other authors in quoting him, I have confined myself in the critical notes to citing various readings which affect the sense or the spelling of proper names. They are mostly taken from Baehr's edition. Baehr's notation of the authorities for the text is as follows :—

Max. Marg.	= Maximus Margunius.
H. St.	= Henricus Stephanus.
D. H.	= David Hoeschelius (editor of Photius' <i>Bibliotheka</i>).
Cod. Mon. (or Mon.)	= Codex Monacensis, No. 30 (a MS. of Photius of the 15th century).

The *editio princeps* of Ktesias was that of H. Stephanus (1566), almost reproduced at the end of his edition of Herodotus (1570). This contains only the epitome of Photius and a few of the fragments.

The best modern editions are those of Baehr (Frankfurt, 1824) and K. Müller (Paris, Firmin-Didot). Neither of these incorporates the great results obtained by Oriental scholars during the last half century, and they are therefore of little value for the earlier books of the *Persika*. Baehr's edition is characterized by a confusion of arrangement which is perfectly marvellous: for instance, the first six books of the *Persika* are placed at the end of the volume, and there are two distinct numberings of the fragments, one or two of which appear twice. The typography, too, is not all that could be desired, and a great deal of space is taken up by matter which is out of place in an edition not intended for school use; moreover, the book is now, I believe, out of print. Müller's edition is superior in printing and arrangement, though even it is far from perfect in the latter respect. The notes are little more than a series of meagre extracts from those of Baehr, and the work cannot be obtained separately from Dindorf's edition

of Herodotus, the whole forming an expensive and unwieldy volume.

My aim in the present edition has been two-fold—(1) to improve the arrangement of the text, by bringing the fragments and epitome into their proper connexion; (2) to incorporate in the notes the results of modern discoveries, so far as they bear directly or indirectly on the narrative of Ktesias. I have not included the *Indika*, as our knowledge respecting its subject-matter has not increased much in recent years.

In the orthography of proper names I have paid more attention to the general usage of modern scholars than to strict consistency.

INTRODUCTION

TO BOOKS I, II, III.

IN these books, which are known to us chiefly from the epitome in Diodorus, ii. 1-29, Ktesias gave his version of Assyro-Babylonian history down to the capture of Nineveh by the Medes.

Both the chronological scheme and the details of this portion of his work are almost altogether fabulous; but the legends he relates are not, as a rule, in their outline, his own invention, but are derived from Oriental, or occasionally Hellenic sources, and in the selection of his "facts" he was apparently guided by a definite system. The sources alleged by himself for the statements contained in these books, as for those in the other parts of his history, were the *διφθέραι βασιλικαὶ*—the Royal Chronicles of Persia (§ 23, Diod. ii. 22, 5: *Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Μέμνονος τοιαῦτ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἱστορεῖσθαί φασιν οἱ βάρβαροι*: this is an extract from Book ii. or iii.). We have abundant independent evidence of the existence of these chronicles, and he no doubt made use of them in the seventh and following books of the *Persika*, but they could scarcely have contained an account of events before the time of Cyrus. For an earlier period the only Persian works he could have had access to were collections of Iranian legends, either in prose or verse. Such, doubtless, was the nature of the 'chronicles and histories' of Persia from which Firdusi derived the materials of the *Shahnameh*, and of the work which Chorobutus translated into Greek in the fourth century A. D. (Moses Chor., *Hist.* ii. 67), and Ktesias may have intended to include them under the term by which he designates his authority. It is very probable, as we shall presently see, that he used Persian legends for his Median history; but even the high authority of such writers as Dr. Duncker, Prof. Sayce, and M. Lenormant¹ is in-

¹ Duncker repeatedly speaks of Ktesias' narrative as the "Medo-Persian Epos," and even attempts to distinguish the Median and Persian elements; Sayce (*Herodotos*, Introduction, p. xxxiii) says of Ktesias:—"The greater part of his Assyrian history

sufficient to convince me that Ktesias' Assyrian history had the same origin.

The evidence in favour of this view, though now generally received, seems to be far from conclusive. Apart from the statement of Ktesias himself, which is demonstrably false to a certain extent (since the *ἀναγραφαί* he used for his Assyrian history were certainly not βασιλικαί), the only strong argument is that stated by Lenormant in the passage quoted in the note: others, such as that deduced by Duncker (vi. pp. 20, 21, and 45, English translation), from the importance assigned to Baktria, relate at most only to particular incidents, and of course I do not contend that Ktesias may not have worked particular Persian legends into a narrative, the general framework of which was due to other sources.

We have no reason to believe that the Persians ever rationalized the mythology of *foreign* nations to any appreciable extent, and such a proceeding is utterly contrary to the customs of Oriental nations. As for the example cited by Sayce, Rawlinson's explanation of the passage of Herodotus (i. 1) is much more probable, and disposes of all connexion between the Persian story told to the Halikarnassian historian and the Greek myth.¹

My own view of the materials from which Ktesias concocted the Assyrian portion of his history is this:—During the frequent residences of the Persian court at Babylon, Ktesias must have had abundant opportunities of conversing with prominent Babylonians (even if he did not know Babylonian, both he and they must have been acquainted with Persian) about the history of their country. Probably his researches

consists of Assyro-Babylonian myths rationalized and transformed in the manner peculiar to the Persians, of which Herodotus gives us an illustration in the legend of Iô." In his review of Duncker, however (*Academy*, xxii. p. 427), he apparently regards Duncker's view on the subject as exaggerated. Lenormant (*Histoire Anc.*, 9^e édition, vol. iv., p. 117):—Ktesias "s'est fait l'écho de fables narrées à la cour de Suse, en écrivant l'histoire de Ninus et de Sémiramis," the Persian empire consisting of heterogeneous elements, "il fallait donc essayer de rapprocher et de rattacher les uns aux autres les différents peuples en confondant leur souvenirs et leur traditions nationales, et en leur faisant croire que la domination universelle qu'ils subissaient remontait au commencement de toutes choses, en un mot que la grande monarchie perse . . . était cent fois séculaire et avait une divine origine."

¹ Stronger instances might, perhaps, be found in the legends of Perseus as the ancestor of the Persians (Herod. vi. 54, and vii. 150, two distinct accounts); and of Medea as giving name to the Medes (*id.* vii. 62). Both these stories were probably invented by Medizing Greeks at the time of the Persian war, which is indeed suggested by Herodotus vii. 150. Compare Hekataeus fr. 171; Hellanikos fr. 159; Deinias, fr. 21; Apollodorus ii. 4.5.1, &c.; Strabo xi. 13, p. 455; Nikolaus, fr. 13.

would not be very deep; all he wanted was to compose a plausible and interesting narrative. One of the objects he aimed at in his work was to discredit the work of Herodotus, and as Semiramis had been specially named by the latter, he would probably make special inquiries in regard to her. He would hear, as Herodotus had done, of Sammuramat, the wife of Rimmon Nirari III., King of Assyria B. C. 812–783, who is reasonably supposed to have been a Babylonian princess. That she was more than a mere queen-consort is almost certain, from the occurrence of her name along with that of her husband in a dedicatory inscription on a statue of Nebo, erected in a temple at Kalah by Bel-khassilum, the governor, and now in the British Museum.² The monumental evidence for the history of this period is scanty, and it is quite possible she may have occupied the position of regent of Babylon, under her husband's weak successors; and if she were a Babylonian princess, her countrymen would naturally exaggerate her importance. But from this to the extravagant romance of Ktesias is a long step. Having selected the Babylonian queen as his heroine, he proceeded to look out for materials to fill in his romance. Ishtar, the goddess of love, was, as we learn from the sixth book of the Epic of Izdubar, regarded by the Babylonians as having at one time reigned as an earthly queen, and many legends relating to her, both Babylonian and Syrian, were accordingly worked by Ktesias into his "history" of Semiramis.

¹ Herodotus i. 184, ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον (viz., Nitokris, wife of one of the kings of the eighth Babylonian dynasty in the sixth century, B. C.) πέντε πρότερον γενομένη τῆ ὀνόμα ἦν Σεμίραμις. He then proceeds to attribute to her certain embankments at Babylon. Five generations (about 170 years) from the time of Nebuchadrezzar, brings us to about the date of Sammuramat, especially if she survived her husband, and acted as regent under his successors; but Mr. Sayce, who is ever eager to depreciate Herodotus, proposes to adopt Scaliger's conjecture of πενήκοντα for πέντε, though unsupported by any MS. authority, as far as I know. It is contrary to all sound principles of criticism thus to go out of one's way to substitute a false statement for a true one in an author's text, especially in a case like the present, where a scribe, being more likely to be familiar with the legendary date of Ktesias than with Herodotus' correct one, would be more likely to substitute "fifty" for "five" than the contrary; so that, even if Scaliger's reading was supported by some MSS., we should be justified in disregarding it. In an author *later* than Ktesias we might expect to find his date; but his legend of Ninus and Semiramis (under that name) is unknown to any earlier writer. The name Semiramis occurs in the fragments of Berosus; but the text is so corrupt, it is impossible to say where he really placed her (Berosus, ii. fr. 11; iii. fr. 14).

² See, amongst other authorities, Lenormant (*Hist. Anc.* iv., p. 212). Nebo is styled in the inscription, "le protecteur de Raman Nirar, roi du pays d'Assur; le protecteur de Sammuramat l'épouse du palais la souveraine." Lenormant says

Next we have a Persian legend (preserved to us by Hellanikos¹) relating to a Persian (*not* an Assyrian or Babylonian) queen named Atossa, and from this Ktesias derived some of the military achievements of his heroine. The limits of her conquests were evidently fixed with reference to those of the Persian empire in his own time.

The peculiar colouring given to the whole narrative seems, however, to be Greek, due either to Ktesias himself or to Greeks residing at Babylon, rather than Persian. The Persian legend of Atossa may have furnished some materials; but that the rationalization of the exploits of Ishtar, which forms much of Ktesias' story of Semiramis, was due to a Persian epos, seems highly improbable. The nature of the Iranian legends of his time may best be judged by those still preserved by Firdusi and other

Raman Nirar "confia le gouvernement de la Chaldée à sa femme la reine Sammuramat qui résidait à Babylone." There is no direct monumental evidence for this statement (see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i., p. 511, "there is no satisfactory evidence that she had any special connexion with Babylon"), which rests on the testimony of Herodotus, whose veracity is corroborated by the approximate correctness of his dates. Sayce altogether rejects the connexion of Sammuramat with Babylon, and her identity with the Semiramis of Herodotus, from whom Ktesias' Semiramis was evolved. The correctness of the reading, 'Sammuramat,' is almost certain, though it has been disputed, but its meaning is, obscure. Lenormant (iv., p. 128) suggests "shem ram" = *nomen excelsum*. The Syriac (*Semir amis = Columbarum mater*); Arabic (*Sevi = mons* and *Mamin = Columba*); or Sanskrit (*Sami-Ramesi = quae sami arborem colit*) etymologies suggested in Baehr, p. 415, and Muller, are unlikely or impossible. The explanation given by Ktesias (§ 5) favours the explanations which introduce a word meaning "dove." Sayce, in 1868 (see *Journal of Sacred Literature*, n. s., iv., p. 166), spoke of Khamurabi as the "prototype of Semiramis." Robert Brown (*Academy*, xxix., p. 257), who is a follower of Sayce, suggests a connexion between Semiramis (whom he identifies with the Hittite Love goddess) and *sammatu = dove* in Assyrian and also compares Simi a Hittite (?) goddess, rendering the name 'Simi, daughter of Aramis,' the supreme god of Carchemish.

Professor Robertson Smith, in an interesting paper in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1887, compares Shemiramoth, a personal name occurring in the Old Testament. The present introduction was written before Prof. Smith's Paper appeared. With most of his conclusions I am unfortunately unable to agree; they are very unfavourable to Ktesias' veracity. He assumes (on rather insufficient evidence) that Shemiram was a name of the Love goddess. This, if true, was an additional reason why Ktesias should attribute some of her legends and attributes to Semiramis.

¹ Hellanikos, fr. 163a: Πρώτην ἐπιστολὰς συντάξει Ἀτοσσαν τὴν Περσῶν βασιλευσσαν, φησὶν Ἑλληνικός. Fr. 163b: Ἀτοσσα, ταύτην ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀριστοῦ ὡς ἄρβηνα τραφεῖσαν διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, Κρυβοῦσαν δὲ τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπίνοιαν τιάραν πρώτην φορέσαι· πρώτην δὲ καὶ ἀναξυρίδας καὶ τὴν τῶν εὐνοῦχων ὑπουργίαν εὐρεῖν, καὶ διὰ βίβλων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ποιεῖσθαι. Πολλὰ δὲ ὑποτάξασα ἔθνη πολεμικωτάτη καὶ ἀνδρειοτάτη ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ ἐγένετο. Under Belochos, the sixteenth successor of Ktesias' Semiramis, Eusebius (Chronicon in version of S. Jerome, fo. 32) notes "Hujus filia Actosa quae et Semiramis regnat cum patre an. 7."

mediæval Persian writers, of which traces may be found in the *Zendavesta*, and the writings of the early Sassanian period, quoted by Moses of Chorenc. These celebrate the exploits of Iranian kings, not of foreign empires, or Semitic goddesses.¹

Ninus is perhaps to be identified with the god Nin, who is sometimes regarded as the husband of Beltis, a goddess often confused with Ishtar: his character as a god of war and of the chase agrees well with that assigned to the husband of Semiramis. If, with Lenormant and some others, we reject the reading Nin, or Ninip, for the name of this deity, which is by no means certain,² we may regard him merely as the eponymous hero of Nineveh.³ The true derivation of the name of the city is uncertain: in Greek it is spelt in the same way as the name of the husband of Semiramis; in the Assyrian records it is Ninâ, or Ninua, which is variously explained, either as "fish-town"⁴ (from the ideogram with which it is written), or "town of the god Nin,"⁵ or "repose of the gods,"⁶ or "resting place of the god (goddess?) Nana."⁷ It should be noticed that one of Nin's attributes is that of god of the sea, and that he is sometimes confused with Hea, one of whose titles is "the intelligent fish"; while Semiramis is the daughter of a fish goddess, and her first husband is Onnes, or Oannes,⁸ the name by which Berosus (i. frag. 1) designates Hea.

The duration which Ktesias assigned to the Assyro-Babylonian empire, variously given as 1360 (Diod. ii. 21), 1306 (Synkellus, p. 359, and Agathias ii. 25, p. 120), 1305 (Augustinus, *Civ. Dei*, xviii. 4), 1240 (Eusebius, *Chron.* fo. 52) years, was perhaps based on data supplied to him by the Babylonian priests. His fall of Nineveh really corresponds to the event represented by the end of the sixth dynasty of Berosus, and

¹ The view taken by Lenormant (*Hist. Anc.* iv., pp. 125-6) is not very different from that here stated, though he gives much more prominence to the *Persian* element in the legend.

² Lenormant adopts the reading Adar (and in the Appendix, Sandan) in vol. i. of his *Origines de l'histoire*, Delitsch, Guyard, and others adhere to Ninib.

³ The conception of heroes eponymi is peculiarly Greek, and altogether foreign to the Persians. Perseus or Perses and Medeia are unknown to the genuine Persian monuments and traditions.

⁴ Sayce, *Herodotus*, p. 358.

⁵ See Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. i., p. 646.

⁶ Lenormant adopts this interpretation in his *Origines*.

⁷ Budge in *Transactions of Victoria Institute*. He interprets it as "dwelling-place of the god Ninua" in his *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 26.

⁸ Rawlinson, *Herodotus* i., p. 621.

⁹ Explained by Lenormant as = *Ea Khan*, "Ea, the fish."

the era of Nabonassar of Ptolemy, about b. c. 745; but his exaggeration of the duration of the Median empire causes him to antedate it about b. c. 850: the real date of the final fall of Nineveh was in the last decade of the seventh century b. c. The obscurity of the terminal date of Ktesias' Assyrian history makes its initial date also incapable of ascertainment: his own figures lead us to some time about the twenty-second century b. c., about the date fixed by Berosus for the beginning of his third dynasty (compare Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. pp. 420-423).

Ktesias had, however, no knowledge of the true history of the thirteen or fourteen centuries which he assigned as the duration of the Assyrian empire; hence the list of kings from Semiramis to Sardanapalus seems to be purely his own invention. Had he drawn from Persian sources, we should expect to find that each king, as in the *Shahnameh* of Firdusi, reigned, not tens, but hundreds of years: the length actually assigned to each reign in the list is beyond ordinary probability, but at the same time is not impossible, so as to suggest that, having to invent names to cover a certain period, he saved himself trouble by giving as few as possible. The names themselves are of the most heterogeneous character—a few, *e.g.* Balcus, Belochus, and Balatores, are those of Babylonian or Assyrian deities or kings of whom he chanced to hear; others are ordinary Persian names; others, *e.g.* Amyntes, are Greek.

Sardanapalus, as far as his name is concerned, represents Asshur-bani-pal, the last *great* king of Assyria. His existence and his character for luxury were well known to the Greeks, quite independently of the Persians, long before Ktesias' time. At the same time what is related of the luxury and effeminacy of himself and his predecessors may come from a traditional recollection of the weak princes who reigned shortly before b. c. 745, as Lenormant suggests.¹

That Ktesias' details of the destruction of Nineveh are probably founded on fact may be deduced from the authentic account of the siege in the seventh century b. c., preserved by Berosus (ii. frag. 13), and perhaps from the prophecy of Nahum.

¹ *Hist. Anc.* iv., p. 213, "Aussi la mémoire des princes fainéants qui se succédèrent alors sur le trône de Ninive fut elle maudite par les Assyriens et l'écho de cette réprobation est arrivé jusqu'aux Grecs sous la forme d'une légende accréditée par Ctésias, et aussi historiquement fautive que la légende de Ninus et de Sémiramis; Assur-Nirar est le Sardanapale des Grecs."

CTESIAE CNIDII

DE REBUS PERSICIS.

LIBER PRIMUS.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 1 (Diod. ii. 1-4). Τὸ παλαιὸν τοίνυν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπῆρχον ἐγχώριοι βασιλεῖς, ὧν οὔτε πρᾶξις ἐπίσημος οὔτε ὄνομα μνημονεύεται. Πρῶτος δὲ τῶν εἰς ἱστορίαν καὶ μνήμην παραδεδομένων Νίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων,

[Πρῶτος δὲ . . . Νίνος.] So Justin, i. 1; Eusebius, *Chron.* (Latin version), fo. 11 and 15,¹ and perhaps Apollodorus (fr. 68, *Chron. Pasch.* p. 29A). Abydenus (fr. 11) gives Ninus five predecessors—Belus, Babius, Anebis, Arbelus, Chaelus; Kephalion and Kastor, one—Belus; Eusebius in the Armenian version, one—Nebrod (= Nimrod); Moses of Chorene (*Hist.* i. 4), six—Nebroth, whom he identifies with Bel, Anebis, Arbel, Chaijal, Arbel II.; Synkellus, one—Belos. The introduction of these names was due to various causes; the usual scheme of Babylonian mythology made Ninus or Sandan son of Bel; Nimrod is of course

due to the Bible; three of the other four names are geographical, representing Babylon, Arbela, and Kalah, and probably Anebis is so also. To account for the paucity of early records a story was invented that Ninus caused all the records of his predecessors to be collected and burnt (Moses Chor. i. 13. 12). A similar story is told of Nabonassar (Berosus, ii. 11A), and of other princes, *e.g.* Shi-Hwang-Ti, emperor of China, b. c. 212.

The only Greek writer earlier than Ktesias who mentions Ninus is Herodotus, in whom *Nínos* occurs once only, or at most twice, as a personal name: the passages are i. 7, *Κανδαύλης . . . ἀπόγονος δὲ*

¹ But at fo. 10 he makes Belus precede him—"quem Assyrii deum nominavere Saturnum."

μεγάλας πράξεις ἐπετελέσατο· περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφειν πειρασόμεθα. Γενόμενος γὰρ φύσει πολεμικὸς καὶ ζηλωτὴς ἀρετῆς, καθώπλισε τῶν νέων τοὺς κρατίστους· γυμνάσας δ' αὐτοὺς πλείονα χρόνον, συνήθεις ἐποίησε πάσῃ κακοπαθείᾳ καὶ πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις. Συστησάμενος οὖν στρατόπεδον ἀξιόλογον, συμμαχίαν ἐποίησατο πρὸς

Ἄλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου, τοῦ Βήλου, τοῦ Ἄλκαίου, πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδῶν βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδέων, and iii. 155, κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένης πύλας (of Babylon). In the latter passage Νινίων almost certainly means Ninevite (as Κισσίας just below means Kissian), and we may therefore leave it out of consideration.

In the former passage many scholars see evidence for an Assyrian, or at least Semitic descent of the Lydians, a view which Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 345, *seq.*) altogether rejects.¹ Sayce (note on Herodotus i. 7) as usual finds the Hittites in the legend, in which he is perhaps right.

The probable explanation of the genealogy is that the Lydians, after they came in contact with the Assyrians (or if we adopt Sayce's view, at an earlier period even), invented a genealogy for their kings which made them descendants of Nin, the great Assyrian god of war and hunting, and the equivalent of the Greek Herakles; hence they told the

Greeks that their kings were Herakleids; but they, not perceiving the identity of Herakles and Nin, the son of Bel, were obliged to introduce him, with a son whose name is one of his own epithets, at the top of the genealogy, no other place being available for him.

Hence the mention of Ninus in Herodotus gives us no ground for regarding him as anything but a god or demi-god, and we cannot, by counting up generations or otherwise, arrive at any precise date to which Herodotus may have intended to assign him.

The hero of Ktesias also (so far as he is a person at all, and not merely the eponym of the Assyrian capital) derives his attributes and character from those ordinarily assigned to the god Nin, Bar, or Sandan, the Assyrian Herakles, which Ktesias could easily have ascertained from the Babylonian priests. By treating the materials thus supplied much as Diodorus, for instance, has treated Hellenic mythology, and by attributing to

¹ "On the whole it must be concluded that the remarkable genealogy—Hercules, Alcaeus, Belus, Ninus, Agron—contains no atom of truth or meaning, and was the clumsy invention of a Lydian, bent on glorifying the ancient kings of his country, by claiming for them a connection with the mightiest of the heroes both of Asia and of Greece."—Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

Ἀριαῖον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἢ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐδόκει πληθύνειν ἀλκίμων ἀνδρῶν. Ἔστυ δὲ καὶ καθόλου τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος φιλελεύθερον, καὶ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον προσδεχόμενον ἔπηλυν ἡγεμόνα. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Νίνος τὸν δυναστεύοντα τῶν Ἀράβων παραλαβὼν, ἐστράτευσε μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίους, κατοικοῦντας ὄμορον χώραν. Κατ' ἐκείνους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους ἢ μὲν νῦν οὔσα Βαβυλῶν οὐκ ἦν ἐκτισμένη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ὑπῆρχον ἄλλαι πόλεις ἀξιόλογοι. Ῥαδίως δὲ χειρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, διὰ τὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνων ἀπίερος ἔχειν, τούτοις μὲν ἔταξε τελεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὠρισμένους φόρους, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων λαβὼν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αἰχμάλωτον ἀπέκτεινε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλοῖς πλήθεσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐμβαλὼν,

the reign of Ninus almost all the conquests and exploits he had heard of of all the Assyrian kings, with many more, he has constructed the first part of the romance to which he gave the name of Assyrian history. For another portion he worked into the history of a Babylonian queen the legends of the Asiatic Love goddess. The whole treatment is similar to that of the history of Cyrus by Xenophon, but while the *Hygroaedia* was generally recognised among the ancients as a romance, the similar work of Ktesias was unfortunately treated as if it were authentic history. Both used oriental materials, and both have preserved valuable fragments of history; but to separate truth from fiction in either is not always an easy task.

Ἀριαῖον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἀραβίας.] Müller compares the later Arabian royal name Haret (or Hareth),

Aretas in Greek. The Assyrian kings of the seventh dynasty (b.c. 745-640) had frequent wars in Arabia, and apparently met with an obstinate resistance.

Βαβυλῶν οὐκ ἦν ἐκτισμένη.] Our author is probably correct in making Babylon of later origin than many other Babylonian cities. Erech, Ur, Zergul, and Agadé (Sippara) seem to have been capitals before it. It is just possible that the Assyrian conquest of Babylonia here narrated may represent the Semitic conquest of the country which took place at an early (at present uncertain) period of its history.

Εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.] The Armenian historians, with their usual national vanity, while adopting the general outline of the history of Ktesias, give a different colour to these transactions. Belus is killed by the Armenians under Haig (Mos. Chor. i. 10); Aramus,

καὶ τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάτους ποιήσας, κατεπλήξατο τοὺς ἐγχωρίους. Διόπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Βαρζάνης, ὁρῶν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον ὄντα, μετὰ πολλῶν δῶρων ἀπήνησε, καὶ πᾶν ἔφησε ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον. Ὁ δὲ Νίνος μεγαλοψύχως αὐτῷ χρησάμενος, τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἄρχειν, καὶ φίλον ὄντα, πέμπειν στρατιὰν καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ. Ἄει δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενος, ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν, Ὁ δὲ ταύτης βασιλεὺς Φάρνος παραταξάμενος ἀξιολόγῳ δυνάμει, καὶ λειφθείς, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀπέβαλε, καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τέκνων ἑπτὰ καὶ γυναικὸς αἰχμάλωτος ληφθεὶς, ἀνεσταυρώθη.

§ 2 (Diod. ii. 2, 1). Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ Νίνῳ προχωροῦντων, δεινὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχε τοῦ καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν τὴν ἐντὸς Τανάϊδος καὶ Νειλου ὡς ἐπίπαν γὰρ τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσιν ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπίρροια τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν παρίστησι. Διόπερ τῆς μὲν Μηδίας σατράπην ἕνα τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν φίλων κατέστησεν· αὐτὸς δ' ἐπῆει τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔθνη καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ χρόνον ἑπτακαίδεκαετῆ καταναλώσας, πλὴν Ἰνδῶν καὶ Βακτριανῶν,

king of Armenia, defeats, in Assyria, Bar-sam—"quem Barsamum ob fortissimas res gestas in deos ascriptum ad longum tempus Syri coluere."¹ As Rawlinson and others have pointed out, Bar-sam (= "Bar by name") is merely Nin under another name, although Moses distinguishes him from Ninus, whom he makes his contemporary. Armenia, however, appears as a vassal state of Assyria at the death of Ninus.²

εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν] Media was probably not occupied by the Aryans

¹ Moses i. 13.

² Moses i. 14, 1.

till about the eighth century b. c. Pharnus is an Aryan name. Sargon mentions a Median chief, Pharnes, about b. c. 713. The Assyrians first invaded Media about b. c. 840, when the population was chiefly Turanian.

ἀνεσταυρώθη] The cruel punishments ascribed by Ktesias to Ninus and Semiramis were fully in accordance with Assyrian customs. The word here used designates impalement rather than crucifixion. (Compare Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 355.)

τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κύριος ἐγένετο. [Τὰς μὲν οὖν καθ' ἕκαστα μάχας, ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀπάντων τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων, οὐδεὶς τῶν συγγραφέων ἀνέγραψε· τὰ δ' ἐπισημότατα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀκολούθως Κτησίᾳ τῷ Κνιδίῳ πειρασόμεθα συντόμως ἐπιδραμεῖν.] Κατεστρέψατο μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραθαλαττίου καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς χώρας τὴν τε Λίγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην, ἔτι δὲ κοίλην Συρίαν, καὶ Κιλικίαν, καὶ Παμφυλίαν, καὶ Λυκίαν· πρὸς δὲ ταύταις, τὴν τε Καρίαν, καὶ Φρυγίαν, καὶ Μυσίαν, καὶ Λυδίαν. προσηγάγετο δὲ τὴν τε Τρωάδα καὶ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίαν, καὶ Προποντίδα, καὶ Βιθυνίαν, καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνη βάρβαρα κατοικοῦντα μέχρι Τανάϊδος· ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ τῆς τε Καδουσίῳ χώρας καὶ Ταπύρων· ἔτι δ' Ὑρκανίων καὶ

§ 2. τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων] The extent of dominions assigned to Ninus coincides with the empire of Artaxerxes II. Many of the countries named never came under Assyrian rule at all.

Λίγυπτον] Conquered by the Assyrians under Esarhaddon I. and Asshur-bani-pal (b. c. 672-660).

Φοινίκην, ἔτι δὲ κοίλην] The "land of the Khatti," or Akharu, of the Assyrian monuments, repeatedly conquered by the Assyrians from, at least, the time of Tiglathpileser I. (twelfth century b. c.) onwards. The country of the Khatti, Phœnicia, Bethkhumri (Samaria), Edom, Palasta, and Damascus are enumerated amongst the conquests of Rimannirari, husband of the historical Semiramis.

Κιλικίαν] Conquered by Sennacherib, and perhaps earlier.

Παμφυλίαν—Μυσίαν] None of these countries were probably ever

included in the Assyrian Empire.

Λυδίαν] Submitted to Asshur-bani-pal, b. c. 660. Of the other countries west of Assyria enumerated, Kappadokia was inhabited by the Khatti (Hittites) and people of Meshech and Tubal, who were repeatedly conquered by the Assyrians. Of the eastern nations, Elam (Σουσιανῆ) had prolonged wars with Assyria, and was finally subdued by Asshur-bani-pal. It is mentioned amongst the conquests of Rimannirari.

Καδουσίῳ] A tribe near the Caspian, who figure prominently in Books iv.-vi. See Strabo xi. 7, p. 425.

Ὑρκανίων] An Aryan tribe; their country appears as Vehrkana in the Zendavesta, and Varkana in the inscriptions of Dareius I. Probably Βορκανίων is merely a different way of writing the same name. In § 39 we have the name spelt Βαρκανίων. It is impossible

Δραγγῶν πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Δερβίκων, καὶ Καρμανίων, καὶ Χωρομναίων ἔτι δὲ Βορκανίων καὶ Παρθυαίων ἐπήλθε δὲ καὶ τὴν Περσίδα, καὶ Σουσιανήν, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Κασπιανήν· εἰς ἣν εἰσὶν εἰσβολαὶ στεναὶ παντελῶς, διὸ καὶ προσαγορεύονται Κασπίαί πύλαι. Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐλαττόνων ἐθνῶν 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 Βακτριανούς πόλεμον εἰς ἕτερον ἀνεβάλετο καιρόν, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις ἀπαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, ἐξελέξατο τόπον εὐθετον εἰς πόλεως μεγάλης κτίσιν.

to determine which is the correct reading. The latter is nearer the Persian form.

Δραγγῶν. Perhaps the Sarangians of Herodotus iv. 67, Old Persian Zaraka (Rawlinson, *Herodotus* iv. p. 205; Duncker *Hist.* iv. p. 7).

Δερβίκων] See § 37, fr. 29.

Καρμανίων] The Germanians of Herodotus, who makes them a tribe of the Persians: see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. p. 698.

Χωρομναίων] Χωραμναῖοι, fr. 27; Χοραμνίων, § 39.

Παρθυαίων] Παρθίων, § 39.

Τῆς δὲ Βακτριανῆς οὐσῆς δυσεισβόλου] Duncker regards the importance assigned to Bactria in the first three books of Ktesias, as evidence of the Iranian origin of his Assyrian history; it, however, plays an equally important part in

similar Greek narratives of fabulous conquests by Egyptian kings (e. g. Diodorus i. 47, p. 83), where no Iranian element can be suspected. Probably the Baktrians, like the Indians and the Arabs, were selected as a nation of whom the Greeks knew but little, on the principle, "Omne ignotum pro magnifico." Besides, from its fertility and position, it was really one of the wealthiest and most important regions in Asia.¹ Geiger (*Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, ii. p. 19) believes that the military skill and capacity of the Baktrians is referred to in the epithet applied to Bactria in the Avesta *eredhwodrafsha*, "with lofty banners."

Συρίαν] i. e. Assyria, by the confusion usual in Greek writers, except Herodotus.²

¹ See Heeren, *As. Nations*, vol. i. pp. 165-167; Rawlinson, vol. iv. p. 195, § 9.

² Strabo, xvi. 1, p. 533: Δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ τῶν Σύρων ὄνομα διατείνειν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας μέχρι τοῦ Ἰσσηκοῦ κόλπου, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου μέχρι τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὸ παλαιόν. . . . Οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες τὴν Σύρον ἀρχὴν, ὅταν φῶσι, Μήδους μὲν ὑπὸ Περσῶν καταλυθῆναι, Σύρους δὲ ὑπὸ Μήδων, οὐκ ἄλλους τινὰς τοὺς Σύρους λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ Νίνῳ κατασκευασμένους τὸ βασίλειον ἂν ὁ μὲν Νίνος ἦν, ὁ τὴν Νίνον ἐν τῇ Ἀτουρίᾳ κτίσας.

FRAGMENTUM I.

Tzetzes, *Histor.* iii. 83. Ὁ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐκεῖνος . . . τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μοναρχῶν, ἦρχε τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης, ζευγνύων ἐν τῷ ἄρματι τούτους τοὺς βασιλέας, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν συρόμενος, ὥσπερ ὑφ' ἵππων ἄλλοι, καὶ κοσμοκράτωρ καὶ θεὸς ἐκέκλητο τοῖς τότε. Τούτου ποτέ τις βασιλεὺς κατέστειλε τὸν τύφον, τῆς τύχης τὸ ἀσύστατον δι' αἰνιγμῶν προδείξας, Ἐλκων τὸ ἄρμα γὰρ αὐτὸς, τὰς τροχιάς ἑώρα. βραδείαν δὲ τὴν βάδισιν, οὕτως ὄρων, ἐποίει. Ὡς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλεξεν ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐκεῖνος, Τί καταργεῖς πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνθρωπε; τάχει λέγε, ὁ δὲ, Τροχῶν τὰς συστροφὰς βλέπων φησὶν, οὐ τρέχω. Γνοὺς τοιγαροῦν ὁ Σέσωστρις, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐδήλου, συστέλλει τὸ ἀγέρωχον, ἀποζευγνύει τούτους· καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοῖς σύμπασι ἦν πρῶός τε καὶ σώφρων [Κτησίας καὶ . . . ἄλλοι τῆς ἱστορίας μέμνηται . . .]

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 3 (Diod. ii. 3). Ἐπιφανεστάτας γὰρ πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατειργασμένους, ἔσπευδε τηλικαύτην κτίσαι τὸ μέγεθος πόλιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτὴν εἶναι μεγίστην τῶν τότε οὐσῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ἕτερον ἐπιβαλλόμενον ῥαδίως ἂν ὑπερθέσθαι. Τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέα τιμήσας δώροις καὶ λαφύροις μεγαλοπρεπέσω, ἀπέλυσε μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις καὶ παρασκευὰς πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ἔκτισε πόλιν εὐτετειχισμένην, ἔτε-

Frag. 1. Ὁ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς ὁ Σέσωστρις] Perhaps Tzetzes has mixed up Ninus and Sesostris. "Num recte fragmentum huic loco assignaverim, nescio. Aperte tamen Ctesias postquam Aegyptum ab

Assyriis subactam dixerat, lectori in memoriam revocare poterat Sesostrin *Assyriorum quondam dominum*, fortunaeque inconstantiam." —Müller.

§ 3 Ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν.

ρόμηκες αὐτῆς ὑποστησάμενος τὸ σχῆμα. Ἔῤιχε δὲ τῶν μὲν μακροτέρων πλευρῶν ἑκατέραν ἢ πόλις ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων, τῶν δὲ βραχυτέρων, ἐνενήκοντα. Διὸ καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος 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 μεγαλοπρέ-

Ktesias could hardly have made such a mistake as to place Nineveh on the Euphrates. In Nikolaus of Damascus, fr. 9, which is doubtless derived from him, Nineveh is correctly placed on the Tigris. The city was in ruins in Herodotus' time (i. 193, τὸν Τίγρην παρ' ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἰκητο was built), and continued so in the time of Artaxerxes II.¹ In the first century of our era a city was in existence bearing its name, coins of which (of Trajan and Maximinus) bearing the inscriptions NINI. CLAV. and COL. NINIVA CLAUD [IOPOLIS] have been found in Assyria (Layard,

Nineveh and Babylon, pp. 390-91). This city is mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 13, "Ninos vetustissima sedes Assyriae."). Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* i. 19, speaks of Ninus west of the Euphrates. Ammianus mentions a city called Nineveh more than once (xiv. p. 22, "Comagena . . . Hierapoli, vetere Nino et Samosates civitatibus amplis illustris"; xviii. p. 137, "Nineve Adiabene"; xxii. p. 270, "In hac Adiabena Ninus est civitas quae olim Persidis regna possederat nomen Nini potentissimi regis . . . declarans"). Eusebius applies the name to Nisibis, and according to

¹ Xenophon, *Anab.* iii. 4, 6-12: ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῆς ἦν Λάρισσα· ἔκκειν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τεύχους ἦν αὐτῆς τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατὸν, τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίστος δύο παρασάγγαι. ἔκδομητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμίνας· κρηπὶς δ' ὕπην λιθίνη τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μῆδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων . . . ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὴν ἕνα παρασάγγας ἔξ, πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα. Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ἔκκειν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπέκδομητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατὸν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίστος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μῆδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὐτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὐτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

Larissa represents the city usually called Kalah (now *Nimroud*); Mespila probably represents Nineveh, properly so called (now *Kouyunjik* and *Nebbi Yunus*). Sayce, however, *Herodot.* p. 359, rejects both these identifications). From existing remains, and

πειαν. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕψος εἶχε τὸ τεῖχος ποδῶν ἑκατὸν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τρισὶν ἄρμασιν ἰπάσιμον ἦν. Οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες πύργοι τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἦσαν χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τὸ δ' ὕψος εἶχον ποδῶν διακοσίων. Κατάκτισε δ' εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν μὲν Ἀσσυρίων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ δυνατωτάτους, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τοὺς βουλομένους· καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκάλεσεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ Νίνου, τοῖς δὲ κατοικισθεῖσι πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας προσώρισεν.

Moses of Chorene (i. 8, 5) the work from which his authority Maribas Catina compiled his history was found in the Parthian Royal Library at Nineveh, which is distinguished from Nisibis. It is evident, therefore, that in the Roman period the name of Ninus, or Niniva, was applied to several different places, and Diodorus may have heard the name applied to Hierapolis, or some other place near the Euphrates, and changed the statements of Ktesias accordingly.

Asshur, not Nineveh, was the oldest capital of Assyria, and was

succeeded by Kalah. This latter place is, however, included in Ktesias' Nineveh. Nineveh is probably mentioned by name in the records of the 18th Egyptian dynasty.

The dimensions assigned to Nineveh by Ktesias (about sixty miles in circumference) can only be approached by including several adjacent towns, with the thickly peopled districts between them; and the dimensions of the walls apply only to those of the several fortified quarters, or towns of Nineveh, Kalah, &c.¹

from descriptions left us by the Assyrians, we know that these cities were fortified much as described (compare Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 120-122, 638-641). Probably in the most flourishing period of the Assyrian empire the space between these two cities and Dur Sargina (*Khorsabad*), was occupied by almost continuous buildings, the whole bearing the general name of Nineveh, which was thus brought up to dimensions not much short of those given by Ktesias. The passage of Xenophon gives a date at which the fortified quarters of Kalah and Nineveh proper still continued to be inhabited (circ. n. c. 550).

According to Apollodorus (ii. 4, 54) Teutamus, King of Assyria, held his court at Larissa.

¹ According to Rawlinson (*Five Monarchies*, vol. i.), the outer wall of Dur Sargina (*Khorsabad*) was about forty-five feet wide; its basement, to the height of three feet, was of stone; the angles were of squared stone, the blocks being about three feet long and one foot high. The rest of the masonry consisted of small polygonal stones, merely smoothed over the outer face, and uncemented. Above the stone basement was a massive structure of unfaced crude brick.

The fortified quarter at *Kouyunjik* (Nineveh proper), which is the largest, is only about seven or eight miles in circumference.

§ 4 (Diod. ii. 4). Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ὁ Νίνος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βακτριανήν, ἐν ᾗ Σεμίραμιν ἔγημεν, τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἀπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ὧν παρειλήφαμεν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς προειπεῖν, πῶς ἐκ ταπεινῆς

§ 4. Σεμίραμιν] See introduction to Books i.-iii. Semiramis, unlike Ninus, partly represents a real personage, and hence is mentioned by writers like Berossus, who ignore her supposed husband. The legend in the present section is, however, derived from the myths relating to Ishtar or Ashtoreth. It occurs in several different forms.

Part of the narrative of Ktesias is preserved not only in the epitome, but also in a fragment (2) reported by no less than five authors. All these versions give the substance of what Ktesias said in a very general way. Diodorus and Eratosthenes, who alone fix the locality of the myth of Derketo, differ as to it, Diodorus placing it at Askalon in Philistia, Eratosthenes at Bambyke, or Hierapolis, near Carchemish, on the Euphrates. We cannot certainly ascertain which, if either, Ktesias really specified.

In Diodorus, Aphrodite is distinguished from Derketo, but both the latter and Semiramis, as her daughter, are merely the Asiatic goddess of love and war under different aspects. Doves were consecrated to her, and, according

to Ktesias, Semiramis was both nurtured by doves, and eventually changed into a dove (§ 21, fr. 11), and the dove was the bird of Aphrodite. Derketo was the same goddess as Atargatis, the Dea Syra of Hierapolis (Plin. v. 23; Strabo. xvi. 1, pp. 357 and 412), and may have been originally the Hittite form of the Babylonian Ishtar, Nana, and Beltis,¹ and in different aspects she corresponded to the Greek goddesses Aphrodite, Hera, Rhea, and Artemis.

Lenormant (*Hist. Anc.* i. p. 126, *seq.*) observes that the fable of Semiramis having been brought up by doves is the poetic version of an old Asiatic myth, which other writers have preserved in a simpler form: an egg, say they, fell from heaven into the Euphrates, fish brought it to the bank, doves hatched it, and from the shell came out Aphrodite. "Il faut rapprocher de ce mythe la tradition d'après² laquelle la sagesse créatrice planait sous la forme d'une colombe au-dessus des eaux qui portaient la terre. Là encore, la colombe présente le caractère de la force créatrice qui couve d'oeuf du monde, à

¹ See especially Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Essay i. to Book iii.; Sayce, *Herodotus*, pp. 429 *sq.* R. Brown's letter in *Academy*, xxiv. 257, may also be referred to.

² A rationalization of this story is found in Mnaseas' *Asia*, ii. fr. 32 (ap. Athen. l. c.)—Ἔμοι μὲν ἡ Ἀτεργάτις δοκεῖ χαλεπὴ βασίλισσα γεγονέναι, καὶ τῶν λαῶν σκληρῶς ἐπεστατηκέναι, ὥστε καὶ ἀπονομίσαι αὐτοῖς ἰχθὺν μὴ ἐσθίειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀναφέρειν διὰ τὸ

τύχης εἰς τηλικαύτην προήχθη δόξαν. Κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν τοίνυν ἐστὶ πόλις Ἀσκάλων, καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ἄποθεν λίμνη μεγάλη καὶ βαθεῖα, πλήρης ἰχθύων. Παρὰ δὲ ταύτην ὑπάρχει τέμενος θεᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἣν ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Σύροι

la façon d'un oiseau; c'est 'l'enfant amoureux de ses propres principes' de la cosmogonie de Sanconiathon." The dove and the fish, which are found together in this legend, play a great part in the religion of Asia, and are connected with the various forms of the female deity.

Xanthus (fr. 11, *ap.* Athen. viii. cap. 37, Ἡ δὲ γε Ἀτεργάτις, ὑπὸ Μόψου τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἀλοῦσα κατεποντίσθη μετὰ ἰχθύος τοῦ νιού ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἀσκάλωνα λίμνῃ διὰ τὴν ἕβριν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων κατεβρώθη) gives a variation of a part of the Ktesian legend. With this may be compared the story in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s. v. Κάστρος, that the Lydian hero, Kaystrus, went to Syria, and there had Semiramis by Derketo. Sayce (*Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vii. p. 273) cites these stories to illustrate the connection between the Hittites (= Syrians) and Asia Minor, but regards the reading Askalon as erroneous, without assigning any special reason for doing so.

In Ktesias, as reported by Diodorus, Derketo changes into a fish, while Eratosthenes and Hyginus make him say that she was saved by a fish. Possibly he gave con-

flicting accounts; otherwise we must suppose that either Diodorus or Eratosthenes misunderstood him. The account of Ktesias, as reported by Diodorus, is more consistent than either that of the same writer, as reported by Eratosthenes, or the legend given by Xanthus with the fact that the goddess Derketo is represented as half woman, half fish, on the coins of Askalon. I am not aware that there is any such representation on the Hittite sculptures of Carchemish, or on the coins of Hierapolis, the city which succeeded it.

There are plenty of Assyrian, Phoenician, and Greek representations of the dove, with or without the goddess.

But Semiramis in Ktesias is not only the daughter of a goddess who was either changed into a fish, or saved by a fish: her first husband, Onnes, bears nearly the same name as that given by Berossus to his fish god, meaning, according to Lenormant, "Ea the fish," and, at all events, connected with the Babylonian god, Ea, or Hea, who had the epithet, as already mentioned, of "The intelligent fish"; while her second husband probably bears the name of a god—Nin—who had

ἀρέσαι αὐτῇ τὸ βρῶμα. Καὶ διὰ τὸδε νόμιμον ἔτι διαμένειν, ἐπὶν εἴζονται τῇ θεᾷ, ἰχθύς ἀργυροῦς ἢ χρυσοῦς ἀνατιθέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἱερεῖς πᾶσαν ἡμέραν τῇ θεᾷ ἀλήθινους ἰχθύς . . . παρατιθέσθαι . . . οὓς δὲ αὐτοὶ καταναλίσκουσιν οἱ τῆς θεοῦ ἱερεῖς. He then quotes Xanthus, fr. 11.

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 προειρημένη θεᾷ, δεινὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ἔρωτα νεανίσκου τινος τῶν θυόντων οὐκ ἀειδοῦς· τὴν δὲ Δερκετοῦν μιγείσαν τῷ Σύρῳ, γεννήσαι μὲν θυγατέρα, καταισχνυθείσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις, τὸν μὲν νεανίσκον ἀφανίσαι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον εἰς τινὰς ἐρήμους καὶ πετρώδεις τόπους ἐκθεῖναι, ἐν οἷς πολλοῦ πλήθους περιστερῶν ἐννοσσεύειν εἰωθότος, παραδόξως τροφῆς καὶ σωτηρίας τυχεῖν τὸ βρέφος· ἐαυτὴν δὲ διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην καὶ λύπην ρύψασαν 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 περιστερῶν ἐννοσσεύοντος, παραδόξως καὶ δαιμονίως ὑπὸ τούτων τὸ παιδίον διατρέφεσθαι· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ταῖς πτέρυξι περιεχούσας τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βρέφους πανταχόθεν θάλπειν· τὰς δ' ἐκ τῶν σύνεγγυς ἐπαύλεων, ὅποτε τηρήσαιεν τοὺς τε βουκόλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομεῖς λιπόντας, ἐν τῷ στόματι φερούσας γάλα, διατρέφειν, παρασταζούσας ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν χειλέων. Ἐνιαυσιαίου δὲ τοῦ παιδίου γενομένου, καὶ στερεωτέρας τροφῆς προσδεομένου, τὰς περιστερὰς ἀποκνιζούσας ἀπὸ τῶν τυρῶν παρέχεσθαι τροφήν ἀρκοῦσαν· τοὺς δὲ νομεῖς ἐπανιόντας, καὶ θεωροῦντας περιβεβρωμένους τοὺς τυρούς, θαυμάσαι τὸ παράδοξον. παρατηρήσαντας οὖν καὶ μαθόντας τὴν αἰτίαν, εὐρεῖν τὸ βρέφος διαφέρον τῷ κάλλει. Εὐθὺς οὖν αὐτὸ κομίσαντας

also the character of a fish god, and is one of those represented by a figure half human, half that of a fish, on the Assyrian monuments. (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. pp. 621-624, 641-650.

Deinon (fr. 1, ap. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 1, and Diod., ii. 20), prob-

ably the first writer who adopted the general scheme of Ktesias' history, eliminated the miraculous elements in the birth of Semiramis, representing her as a courtesan whose beauty attracted the notice of Ninus, and who eventually became his queen.

εἰς τὴν ἔπαυλιν, δωρήσασθαι τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν βασιλικῶν κτηνῶν, ὄνομα Σίμμα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ ἄτεκνον 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 διετέλεσαν ὡς θεὰς τιμῶντες.

(Diod. ii. 5). Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τῆς Σεμιράμιδος μυθολογούμενα σχεδὸν τοῦτ' ἐστίν· Ἦδη δ' αὐτῆς ἠλικίαν ἐχούσης γάμου, καὶ τῷ κάλλει πολὺ τὰς ἄλλας παρθένους διαφερούσης, ἀπεστάλη παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπαρχος ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βασιλικὰ κτήνη. Οὗτος δ' ἐκαλείτο 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 καταδεθεῖς αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν παρθένον εἰς γάμον ἔνομον, ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς Νῖνον, καὶ γήμας ἐγέννησε δύο παῖδας, Ταπάτην καὶ Ἰδάσπην. Τῆς δὲ Σεμιράμιδος ἐχούσης καὶ τᾶλλα ἀκόλουθα τῇ περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπείᾳ, συνέβαινε, τὸν ἄνδρα τελῶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς δεδουλωσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνης γνώμης πράττοντα, κατευστοχεῖν ἐν πᾶσι. Καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτίσιν τῆς ὁμωνύμου πόλεως συνετέλεσε, στρατεύει ἐπὶ Βακτριανούς ἐνεχείρησεν. Εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ τε πλήθη καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν ἔχουσιν τόπους πολλοὺς ἀπροσίτους διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα, κατέλεξεν ἐξ πάντων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐθνῶν στρατιωτῶν πλήθος. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πρότερον στρατείαν ἀποτετευχῶς ἦν, ἔσπευδε πολλαπλασίονι παραγενέσθαι δυνάμει πρὸς τὴν Βακτριανήν. Συναχθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς πανταχόθεν, ἠριθμήθησαν, [ὡς Κτησίας ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἀναγράφει] πεζῶν μὲν ἑκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδες, ἰππέων δὲ μᾶ πλείους τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων, ἄρματα δὲ δρεπανηφόρα μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα τῶν μυρίων ἑξακοσίων.

FRAGMENT 2.

(a)
(Eratosthenes Catasterism,
cap. 38).

[ΙΧΘΥΣ. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας καλούμενος ἰχθύς ὃν καὶ πιεῖν λέγουσι τὸ τῆς ὑδρόχου ἐκχύσεως.] ἱστορεῖται δὲ περὶ τούτου [ὡς φησι Κτησίας] εἶναι πρότερον ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ κατὰ τὴν Βαμβύκην, ἐμπεσοῦσης δὲ τῆς Δερκετοῦς νικτός, σῶσαι αὐτὴν ἦν οἱ περὶ τοὺς τόπους οἰκοῦντες Συρίας θεδὸν ἀνόμασαν.

(b)
(Hyginus, Poet. Astron.
ii. 41.)

[Piscis qui Nolius appellatur. Hic videtur ore aquam excipere a signo Aquarii, qui laborantem quondam Isim servasse existimatur: pro quo beneficio simulacrum piscis, et ejus filiarum de quibus antea diximus, inter astra constituit. Itaque] Syri complures pisces non esitant et eorum simulacra inaurata pro diis Penatibus colunt. [De hoc et Ctesias scribit.]

(c)
(De Mulieribus quae bello claruerunt, cap. 1.)

Σεμίραμις. θυγατὴρ μὲν [ὡς φησι Κτησίας] Δερκετοῦς τῆς Συρίας Θεοῦ καὶ Σύρου τινός, ἥτις ἐτράφη ὑπὸ Σίμμα ὄντος ὑπέρτου τοῦ βασιλέως Νίνου. Γαμηθεῖσα δὲ Ὀρνέφ, ὑπάρχη τινὶ βασιλικῷ, εἶχεν υἱούς. Ἐλοῦσα δὲ Βάκτρα μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐπιγνοὺς Νίνος ἤδη γηραιὸς ἦν, ἐγάμησεν. Ἡ δὲ ἐτέκνωσεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Νινύαν παῖδα. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Νίνου θάνατον ἐπέχισε τὴν Βαβυλώνα ὀπτῇ πλίνθῳ καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βήλου ἱερὸν κατασκέυασεν. Ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νινύου ἐτελεύτησεν ἔτη βιώσασα ζ', βασιλεύσασα ἔτη μβ'.

(d) (Strabo, xvi. 4, p. 1132, Almelov.; p. 412, Tauchnitz.) [Αἱ δὲ ὀνομάτων μεταπτώσεις, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν βαρβαρικῶν, πολλαί· καθάπερ τὸν Δαρήκηον Δαρείου ἐκάλεσαν, . . . Ἀταργατὴν δὲ τὴν Ἀθάραν· Δερκετὸ δ' αὐτὴν Κτησίας καλεῖ.]

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 5 (Diod. ii. 6). 'Ο δ' οὖν Νίνος μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν, ἠραγκάζετο, δυσκόλων τῶν τόπων καὶ στενῶν ὄντων, κατὰ μέρος ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν. Ἡ γὰρ Βακτριανὴ χώρα πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας οἰκουμένη πόλεσι, μίαν μὲν εἶχεν ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἐν ἣ συνέβαινε εἶναι τὰ βασίλεια· αὕτη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Βάκτρα, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀχυρότητι πολὺ πασσῶν

διέφερε. Βασιλεύων δ' αὐτῆς Ὀξυάρτης, κατέγραψεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατείας ὄντας, οἱ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἠθροίσθησαν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας. Ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαντήσας περὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, εἶασε μέρος τῆς τοῦ Νίνου στρατιᾶς εἰσβαλεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδοξεν ἱκανὸν ἀποβεβηκέναι τῶν

§ 5. Ὀξυάρτης] The various readings of the mss. of Diodorus are given in the critical note. Ὀξυάρτης occurs as a Baktrian name in Arrianus, *Exped. Alex.* iv. 19, p. 282, *sq.*, and Diod., xviii. 3, in both cases of the father of Roxane, wife of Alexander the Great (in Diodorus he is called "The Baktrian King"; but this was after Alexander's death), Curtius, *Exp. Alex.*, viii. 2, 25, calls the same man Oxartes. Later writers make Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus (Justin, i. 1, "Postremum illi bello cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum, fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia, siderumque motus, diligentissime spectasse." Eusebius, *Chrom.*, vers. lat. fo. 15, "Zoroastes magnus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversus quem Ninus dimicavit), and Arnobius quotes Ktesias with "Zoroastres," in place of Oxyartes. (See fr. 3.)

The classical writers were well

acquainted with the existence of Zoroaster and his writings. They torture his name (Zaruthrustra, or Zarathustra, in Zend, Zerdusht in later Persian) into many strange forms (for example, Zathraustes in Diod. i. 94; Zarades and Zoroades in Agathias,¹ in addition to the common form Ζωρόαστρης), and it is possible that Ὀξυάρτης, or Ζαόρτης may represent it.

Both classical and Oriental writers differ widely as to his date, a point which is still very uncertain, nor do we certainly know in what country he lived, if he was a real person at all, though probability is in favour of Baktria.

In Berosus (ii. fr. 11) he appears as the leader of Median invaders of Babylonia, who founded Berosus' second dynasty about the twenty-fifth century B.C. By Median we are, perhaps, to understand Elamite, the introduction of Zoroaster, whose real date was probably much

¹ Lib. ii.: Ζωρόαστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως . . . οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωρόαδος, ἦτο Ζαράδης (διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία) ὀπνῆκα μὲν ἠκμάσεν τὴν ἀρχὴν. καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγινῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ἰστασπέω, οὕτω δὴ τι ἀπλῶς φασὶ γενεονέαι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατρὸς εἶτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ἠπῆρχεν Ἰστασπῆς, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δ' ἂν καὶ ἐνθῆσε χυρὸν, ὑφηγητῆς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνος, καὶ καθηγεμὼν τῆς μαγκῆς γέγονεν ἀγιστείας, καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς προτέρας ἱερουρίας ἀμείψας, παμμυγεῖς τινὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἀνέθηκε δόξας. This is one of the clearest Greek statements on the subject.

πολεμίῳν πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, ἐξέταξε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. Γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς, οἱ Βακτριανοὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυριοὺς τρεψάμενοι, καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ὄρων ποιησάμενοι, διέφθειραν τῶν πολεμίῳν εἰς δέκα μυριάδας.

later, being due to an inference of the historian. In Moses of Choreno i. 16,¹ his war with the Assyrians appears in a totally different connexion.

Xanthus (or Pseudo-Xanthus), fr. 29, placed Zoroaster 600 years before the time of Xerxes I. (other readings are 6000, 500, and 5000); Hermippus (fr. 79), Theopompus, and Hermodorus placed him 5000 years before the Trojan war; Eudoxus 6000 years before the death of Plato.

Ammianus (xxiii. p. 272) says "Cui scientiam seculis prisca multa ex Chaldaeorum arcana Bactrianus addidit Zoroastes: deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus Darii pater.

The Zendavesta, alike in its earliest and its latest parts, speaks of Spitama Zarathustra (or Zarathrustra) as a religious teacher contemporary with King Vishtâspa, and residing in Baktria (Berekhâtha

in Yasna, xliv. 7, li. 17, and many later passages).

The mediaeval Persian traditions (probably following those of Sassanian times) confused Vishtâspa under the name of Gushtasp with Vishtaspa (Hystaspes), the father of Darius I., or rather with Darius himself, but maintain his connection with Baktria.

They relate that Arjasp, King of Turan, took Balkh (Baktra), and massacred the Zoroastrians, including Lohrasp, father of King Gushtasp. (See Malcolm, *History of Persia*, vol. i., and Duncker, *History of Antiquity*, iv. p. 258.) We have here, perhaps, a version of the same legend which Ktesias has preserved in this passage; and if so, we may regard this as one of the instances in which he has drawn on Iranian traditions to embellish his narrative.

In Firdusi, Zohak, King of

¹ "Ea igitur aestate semper in aquilonias partes . . . profecta (Semiramis), Assyriae Ninivesque praefecturam Zoroastri (Dzaradasht) Mago Medorum principi dedit. Quumque id ita per longum tempus fecisset, universum tandem imperium suum ejus fidei commisit. A filiis autem suis propter impuros et meretricios mores saepe atque acriter reprehensa, cunctos interfecit praeter Ninyam natu minimum, atque amicis et prociis suis imperium atque thesauros despiciens, filios nihilli pendebat. Quippe vir ejus Ninus, non ut fertur mortuus in Ninives regia ab ea sepultus erat, sed ubi impudicitiam ejus ac mores flagitiosos perspexit relicto regno in Cretam confugit. Quum vero filii ejus adoluisse atque intelligentia praediti essent, de omnibus hisce rebus eam commonuerunt, eo animo ut diras ejus libidines coeherent atque efficerent ut regnum et thesauros filiis suis traderet. Quod ea graviter ferens, universos, ut supra diximus, praeter unum Ninyam trucidavit. Ceterum quum Zoroastes in reginam deliquisset, et dissidium inde exoriretur, bello eum Semiramis (Shamirani) accessit; Medus enim dominari et rerum potiri per vim ipse cogitabat. Ingravescendo

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰσβαλοῦσης, κρατούμενοι τοῖς πλῆθεσι, κατὰ πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἕκαστοι ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσι βοηθήσοντες. Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας ὁ Νῆνος ἐχειρώσατο ῥαδίως, τὰ δὲ Βάκτρα διὰ τε τὴν ὀχυρότητα

Babylon, overthrows Jemshid, and cruelly oppresses the Iranians (this is placed at a much earlier period than the reign of Gushtasp); but is at last overcome by Feridun. Lenormant (v. p. 374) says this appears to indicate a period when the old Cushite monarchy of Babylon subdued the Aryans, which seems very doubtful.

Duncker (iv. p. 19, *seq.*) assumes, from the two-humped camel on the black obelisk, that Baktria was included in the dominions of Shalmaneser II. (b. c. 889-823); but of this we cannot be certain; and though he first mentions the Medes among the tribes he defeated, it is doubtful if they were Aryans rather than the Turanian inhabitants of Media.

Of the true history of Zoroaster and the nature of Iranian religion, very various views have been held.

In Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i.

p. 419, the following statement of Sir H. Rawlinson is adopted:—"To discriminate the respective elements of this new faith" (a blending of the Magian and Aryan creeds) "is difficult, but not impossible. The worship of Mithra and Homa, or of the sun and moon, had been cherished by the Arian colonists since their departure from *Kurukhshetra*; their religious chants corresponded with the Vedic hymns. . . . The antagonism of Oromazdes and Arimanes, or of night and darkness, was their own peculiar and independent institution. On the other hand, the origin of all things from *Zerwan* was essentially a Mayian doctrine." (The Magians are assumed to have been the priests of the Turanian races previously occupying Iran.) "The veneration paid to fire and water came from the same source; and the *barsom* of

autem bello, Semiramis a Zoroastre in Armeniam fugam cepit, atque poenas luit; Ninyas enim occasionem nactus matrem necavit, . . . (cap. 17) Cephalionem autem [fr. 2, cf. fr. 1: 'Deinde addit Samiramidis genituram; itemque de Zaravaste Mago Bactrianorum rege, et de bello quo hic a Semiramide superatus est: de annis denique quibus Ninus regnavit'] in memoria habeo . . . Is enim ut alii multi primum Semiramidis ortum tum ejus adversus Zoroastrem bellum, ubi ut refert Semiramis victoriam adeptam est ac deinde bellum Indicum exponit. Nobis autem id certius videtur quod Maribus Catinensis ex Chaldaicis libris indagavit . . . Ad haec nostrae etiam regionis fabulae . . . Syro testimonium dant quae hic Semiramidis mortem narrantes, eam pedibus fugisse tradunt, et siti accensam, aquam petiisse et potasse; ad armatos etiam appropinquasse, torquesque in mare projecisse, unde dictum id nostrum est, Monilia Semiramidis in mari." The last sentence suggests a reminiscence of Ktesias' version of the legend of Derketo.

καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευὰς ἠδυνάτει κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν. Πολυχρονίου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γενομένης, ὁ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἀνὴρ ἐρωτικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, καὶ συστρατευόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετεπέμψατο τὴν ἀνθρωπον. Ἡ δὲ

the Zendavesta is the Magian divin- ing rod. The most important Magian modification, however, was the personification of the old heres- ionym of the Scythic race, and its immediate association with Oromazdes. Under the disguise of *Zara-thustra*, which was the nearest practicable Arian form, *Ziru-ishtar* (or the seed of Venus) became a prophet and law-giver, receiving inspiration from Ahuramazda, and reforming the national religion. The pretended synchronism of this Zara-thushtra with Vishtaspa clearly marks the epoch from which it was designed that reformed Magism should date, an epoch selected doubtless out of deference to the later Achaemenian kings."

We find a very different view in Haug (*Essays on the Parsis*, pp. 286-310. Compare pp. 263-4).

According to him, Zarathustra is a title equivalent to priest, borne by successive teachers; but the special appellation of the original prophet was Spitama Zarathustra, "Zarathustra of the Spitama family (Spitama is by other European scholars translated 'Holy'). The struggle with the adherents of the Vedic creed may have lasted for several centuries before he appeared in Iran, and separated a new community. "He has, there- fore, many claims to be regarded as

the founder of the true Mazday- asnian, or Parsi religion, which ab- sorbed the old religion of the ancient firepriests" (p. 295), or Saoshyantô, of whom he was one. His homo seems to have been in Baktria, called Berekhdha Armaiti in the Gâthas, and Bâkhdhi in the Vendid- dad, his age was not much later than b. c. 1200 (p. 264), only the Gâthas (*Yasna*, 28-35, 43-46, 47-50, 51, 53) can be attributed to him and his immediate followers. His doctrine, as ascertained from these, was based chiefly on mono- theism (p. 301), but with two hostile spirits present everywhere, even in the Supreme Being, Ahuramazda. The remainder of the older *Yasna*, written in the Gâtha dialect, was composed soon after the time of Zarathushtra, and in it the religion has already be- come slightly corrupted. Later still are the Later *Yasna*, the *Vis- parad*, and the *Vendidad*, dating about b. c. 1000-700, and in some parts as late as b. c. 500 (p. 264). In these the Mazdayasnian religion is still further corrupted. Dualism is completed by the separation of the Good and Bad spirits in Ahuramazda, the former being identified with him, the latter made into a hostile power under the name of Angrômain- yush (p. 305, *Vendidad*, farg. 1). Each is provided with a council of

συνέσει καὶ τόλμη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν συντεί- νουσι κεχορηγημένη, καιρὸν ἔλαβεν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μελλουσα διαπορεύεσθαι στολὴν ἐπραγματεύσατο, δι' ἧς οὐκ ἦι

archangels or demons respectively. But Dualism was very likely only the innovation of an influential sect. "A new and fresh proof of the unity of the Supreme Being was required. This was found in the term Zarvan akarana, 'bound- less time,' which we meet with occasionally in the *Zendavesta*"; but the interpretation for proving it means the Supreme Being rests on a grammatical misunderstanding (p. 309). Moreover, the high priests seem to have tried to con- ciliate the men who were willing to forsake the ancient polytheistic religion and its rites. The Soma rite was reintroduced in a modified form (*Haoma*: see *Yasna* ix.-xi. &c.). New invocations addressed to those divine beings who occupied the place of the ancient Devas were composed, and form the substance of the late *Yasna* (p. 259).

Still later are the *Yashts*. "This kind of literature grew up at a time when the Zoroastrian religion had already very much degenerated, and its original monotheism had partially given way to the old gods, who had been stigmatized and

banished by Spitama Zarathustra, but were afterwards transformed into angels. The songs of the bards" (Median bards, whose songs are mentioned by the Greek histor- ians, and were the primary sources of the legends contained in the *Shahnameh*, Haug, p. 194) have, strictly speaking, very little con- cern with the Zoroastrian religion. The tendency of the authors of these *Yashts* was to raise the dignity of the angels to that of Ahuramazda. Zarathustra is reported to have paid them great reverence, of which there is no trace in the *Gathas* (Haug, pp. 262-3).

They may be ascribed to between b. c. 450 and 350, as Gaotema is mentioned in *Fravadin Yasht*, 16, and is to be identified with Gautama Buddha, who died b. c. 543 (Haug, p. 263). The worship of Mithra and Anahita by Artaxerxes II. is also alluded to in his inscription,¹ but never by Dareius I. (p. 263). Haug con- sidered the word *Magava*, which is applied to Zoroastrians in the *Gâthas* (*Yasna*, li. 15), and *Vendid- dad* (iv. 47) as = *Magus*.

¹ At Susa, see Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 372: "Says Artaxerxes, the great king . . . by the aid of Ormazd I placed the images of Tanata and Mithra in the temple. May Ormazd, Tanata, and Mithra protect me with the (other) gods(?)." The form Tanata comes from the Turanian version of the inscription, and is supported by Berosus and Strabo: the Persian has [A]nabata, the Babylonian Anakhitu (see Norris, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, xv. p. 160). The deity intended seems to

διαγνῶναι τὸν περιβεβλημένον πότερον ἀνὴρ ἔστιν ἢ γυνή. Λύτη δ' ἦν εὐχρηστος αὐτῇ πρὸς τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ὁδοιπορίας, εἰς τὸ διατηρῆσαι τὸν τοῦ σώματος χρῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πράττειν ὃ βούλοιο χρείας, εὐκίνητος οὖσα καὶ νεανική· καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοσαύτη τις ἐπὴν αὐτῇ χάρις ὥσθ' ὕστερον Μήδους ἠγησαμένους τῆς Ἀσίας, φορεῖν τὴν Σεμιράμιδος στολήν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁμοίως Πέρσας. Παραγενομένη δ' εἰς τὴν Βακτριανήν, καὶ κατασκευασμένη τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἑώρα κατὰ μὲν τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς εὐεφόδους τῶν τόπων προσβολὰς γινομένας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν

In Duncker (*History of Antiquity*, vol. iv. book vii.) we find a somewhat different view, not very intelligibly expressed. While recognising the superior antiquity of the Gāthas, he does not see much conflict between the religious views expressed there and in the later portions of the Avesta, at p. 146 he says: "We may, without hesitation, draw the inference that Auramazda and Angromainyu did not belong to the original faith of the Arians of Iran. . . . These names belong to a period of reflection. . . . The wavering position which Auramazda takes up in the Avesta towards the old deities shows that he is of later origin. . . . He sacrifices to Tistrya . . . to Ardviçura . . . and to other gods of the old period." (All this is related in the Yashts only).

"From the beginning the evil

have been the Ardviçura of the Avesta, but her worship at Susa resembled that of Ishtar; the Greeks identified her with Artemis (see Polyb. xxxi. 11, where Antiochus' attempt to plunder this temple is described). Compare Berosus, iii. 16. Classical writers mention several successive Zoroastrian writers, one of whom, Osthanes, was, according to Pliny, a contemporary of Xerxes.

one was ranged over against Auramazda as his twin brother" (p. 159). "It is a late speculation, diverging from the Avesta, which formed the good and evil spirits into simple forces, and ranged them against each other with equal powers." His view as to Zarvan-akarana is like Haug's (p. 160).

"In the Gathas we have the nucleus of the conceptions from which the reform of the ancient faith of Iran arose but . . . they have been systematised in the circles of the priests. Hence the contents and prescripts of other parts of the Avesta, which do not present a speculative tendency, are not on that account to be regarded as of later origin than the Gathas—least of all the invocations to the ancient deities" (p. 161).

He explains the statements of the Greeks, that Zoroaster lived

ἀκρόπολιν οὐδένα προσιόντα, διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα· καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελοιπότητας τὰς ἐνταυθοῖ φυλακάς, καὶ παρεπιβοηθοῦντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κάτω τειχῶν κινδυνεύουσι. Διόπερ παραλαβούσα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πετροβατεῖν εἰωθότας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων διὰ τινος χαλεπῆς φάραγγος προσαναβάσα, κατελάβετο μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, καὶ τοῖς πολιορκούσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ πεδῖον τεῖχος ἐσήμηεν. Οἱ δ' ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἄκρας καταπλαγέντες, ἐξέλιπον τὰ τεῖχη, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπέγνωσαν. Τούτου δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλόυσης τῆς πόλεως, ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γυναικός,

6000 years before their time, by the system of cycles of 3000 years mentioned in the Mainyo-i-Khard, and Bundehesh. He regards the Magi as the priests of the Aryans, apparently from the first (p. 90 and p. 243 *seq.*), but he rejects the identity of Maghava, in the Avesta, with Magus, p. 191), and adds (p. 91): "Let us hold firmly . . . that the worship of Auramazda was current among the Persians about the middle of the sixth century b. c.; that the same worship was in force among the Medes . . . about 650 b. c.," and must have been so since, at least, b. c. 750, and that, therefore, the doctrine must have existed in East Iran about b. c. 800, and earlier; and he places the composition of the Avesta in Baktria (p. 31 and p. 136). As the chief Median and Persian cities are not mentioned in the Vendidad, he assigns it to a date before Zoroastrianism reached them (p. 95). He places the latest por-

tion of the Avesta before b. c. 600 (p. 104). ("All the various parts were collected together before the 'Enlightened' [Gautama] began to preach on the Ganges, *i. e.* about the year 600 b. c.") He, therefore, rejects Haug's recognition of Gautama in the Fravardin Yasht, in which he agrees with Geiger.)

Of these various theories, that of Haug is probably on the whole to be preferred. Though some of the details are open to exception, it accounts for all the phenomena better than any other, and is clear and consistent in itself.

Spiegel considers the Avesta to belong to Western Iran, and assigns it to a comparatively late date. De Harlez considers it to belong to Northern Iran (Ragha), and fixes its date as after b. c. 500. Geiger regards it as East Iranian, and wholly pre-Achaemenian, and perhaps even earlier than the Median Empire (*Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, ii. p. 111). The Achae-

¹ P. 191—he regards Athravas as the Eastern, Magush as the Western, name of the priests.

τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτὴν μεγάλας δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἀνθρώπου ἔχων ἐρωτικῶς, ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ἄνδρα πείθειν ἑκουσίως αὐτῷ παραχωρῆσαι, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς χάριτος αὐτῷ συνοικεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα Σωσάνην. Δυσχερῶς δ' αὐτοῦ φέροντος, ἠπέλιθον ἐκκόψειν τὰς ὀράσεις, μὴ προχείρως ὑπηρετοῦντος τοῖς προστάγμασιν. Ὁ δὲ Ὀννης ἅμα μὲν τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς δείσας, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα περιπεσὼν λύσση τινὶ καὶ μανίᾳ, βρόχον ἑαυτῷ περιθεὶς ἀνεκρέμασε. Σεμίραμις μὲν οὖν διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας εἰς βασιλικὸν ἦλθε πρόσχημα.

FRAGMENTUM 3.

(Arnobius *Adv. Gentes*, i. 52). [Age nunc veniat qui super igneam zonam, magis interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori, Bactrianus et ille conveniat, cujus Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo].

(Cf. Id. I. cap. 5: Nos fuimus causa—ut inter Assyrios et Bactrianos Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus non tantum ferro dimicaretur et viribus, verum etiam magicis et Chaldaeorum ex reconditis disciplinis invidia nostra haec fuit?)

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 6 (Diod. ii. 7). Ὁ δὲ Νίνος τοὺς τε ἐν Βάκτροις παρέλαβε θησαυρούς, ἔχοντας πολὺν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσόν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Βακτριανὴν καταστήσας ἀπέλυσε τὰς δυνάμεις. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γεννήσας ἐκ Σεμιράμιδος υἱὸν Νινύαν ἔτε-

menidae, and most of the Persians in their time, were, according to him, non-Zoroastrians (ii. p. 148). αὐτῷ συνοικεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα Σωσάνην] Compare the case of Xerxes and Masistes (Herodotus, iv. 111). § 6. ἐτελεύτησε] The account

λεύτησε, τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολιπὼν βασιλίσσαν. Τὸν δὲ Νίνον ἡ Σεμίραμις ἔθαιψεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χῶμα παμμέγεθες, οὐ τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐννέα ἦν σταδίων, τὸ δ' εὖρος, [ὡς φησι Κτησίας], δέκα. Διὸ καὶ τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένης, ἀπὸ πολλῶν σταδίων ἐφαίνετο τὸ χῶμα, καθαπερὶ τις ἀκρόπολις· ὁ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φασὶ διαμένειν, καίπερ τῆς Νίνου κατεσκευασμένης ὑπὸ Μήδων, ὅτε κατέλυσαν τὴν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείαν. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις, οἶσα φύσει μεγαλεπίβολος, καὶ φιλοτιμονμένη τῇ δόξῃ τὸν βεβασιλευκότα πρότερον ὑπερθέσθαι, πόλιν μὲν ἐπεβάλετο κτίζειν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ· ἐπιλεξαμένη

of Moses of Chorene has been already quoted. Deionon (fr. 1) says that Semiramis, having persuaded her husband to entrust the royal power to her for five days, used it to gain over the magnates and then deposed and imprisoned him.

χῶμα παμμέγεθες] By this is probably meant the Ziggurat, or sacred tower, at Kalah, adjoining a temple, supposed by Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, i. p. 647) to have been Bit-zira, one of the temples known to have been dedicated to Nin in that place. The remains of the Ziggurat are still a conspicuous object in all views of the mound of Nimroud. It is mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4), in a passage already quoted, and the adjoining temple is, perhaps, the temple of 'Hercules,' mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 13, as near "Ninos vetustissima sedes Assyriac." G. Smith (*Assyrian Discoveries*, pp. 75-6) describes the Nimroud Ziggurat as a solid mass of

brickwork, with probably a flight of steps leading up to it on the south side, and with a stone basement, about twenty feet high, and above it a facing of fine kiln-burnt bricks. Ktesias, as usual, exaggerates the dimensions of the 'mound.'

πόλιν κτίζειν] Other classical writers attributed the foundation of Babylon to Belus (Q. Curtius, *Exp. Alex.* v. i., "Semiramis eam condiderat; vel, ut plerique credidere, Belus, cujus regia ostenditur"). Philo Byblius, fr. 17 (ap. Stephanum *Βαβυλῶν*, et Eustathium ad Dionys. 1005). *Βαβυλῶν Περσικὴ πόλις κτίσμα Βαβυλῶνος ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ, παιδὸς Βήλου (al. Μήδου) σοφωτάτου, οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος, ὑπὸ Σεμιράμιδος· ταύτης γὰρ ἀρχαιοτέρα ἔτεσι χιλίους δύο (χιλίοις ὀκτακοσίοις in Eustathius) ὡς Ἐρένιος (scil. Philo). From Philo's *Phoenikiakē Historia*, fr. 1, § 2, συγγράφας ἐπὶ Σεμιράμιδος γέγονε τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλίδος, ἣ πρὸ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν, ἣ κατ' αὐτοὺς γε τοὺς χρόνους γενέσθαι*

δὲ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ τεχνίτας, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν παρασκευασαμένη, συνήγαγεν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείας, πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἔργων συντέλειαν, ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας διακοσίας. Ἀπολαβοῦσα δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν εἰς μέσον, περιεβάλετο τείχος τῇ πόλει σταδίων τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα, διειλημμένον πύργοις πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις, τηλικούτων δ' ἦν τὸ βάρος τῶν ἔργων, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλάτος εἶναι τῶν τειχῶν ἐξ ἄρμασιν ἰππάσιμον, τὸ δ' ὕψος ἀπιστον τοῖς ἀκούουσιν [ὡς φησι Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος]. Ὅπτας δὲ πλίνθους εἰς ἄσφαλτον ἐνδησαμένη, τείχος κατεσκεύασε, τὸ μὲν ὕψος, [ὡς μὲν Κτησίας φησί], πεντήκοντα

ἀναγράφεται, it has been assumed that he placed Semiramis at the time of the Trojan war, *i. e.* about *b. c.* 1200; but he only says she did not live *later*. Ammianus, xxiii. p. 270, endeavours to reconcile the two versions, assigning the citadel to Belus, the walls to Semiramis. The buildings of the city were really the work of a long succession of princes. Most of those which Ktesias assigns to Semiramis were either erected or improved by Nebuchadrezzar.¹

συνήγαγεν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείας] This was in accordance with Assyrian custom: see, for instance, the inscription of Esarhaddon, translated in *Records of the Past*, vol. iii. pp. 109, *sq.*, col. v.

τείχος] Herodotus (i. 178) gives the city a circumference of 480 stadia, Ktesias of 360, Kleitarchus 365, Strabo (xvi. 1, p. 335) of 385,

Curtius (v. 1, 27) of 368. The height is given by Herodotus as 200 cubits, by Ktesias as 50 orguias (= 200 cubits), Strabo 50 cubits, Curtius 50 or 100 cubits. All traces of this outer wall, which must have enclosed a large tract of open country, seem to have disappeared; Oppert assumes that it included Borsippa. (For a description of Babylon generally, see Rawlinson's and Sayce's notes on Herodotus, i. 178-183, and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 570, *seq.*) Sayce identifies the outer wall of Herodotus, which is that here described by Ktesias, with the Nimitti-Bilu of the inscription of Nebuchadrezzar, who claims to have 'finished' it, as well as the inner wall. Sir H. Rawlinson believes the height of the wall not to have exceeded 70 feet.

Ὅπτας δὲ πλίνθους εἰς ἄσφαλτον ἐνδησαμένη] The use of this mode

¹ Berosus, iii. fr. 14 (Ap. Joseph. c. Ap. cap. 20), censures the Greek writers who thought that Babylon was founded by "Semiramis, the Assyrian," and who ascribed to her the wonderful works erected there by Nebuchadrezzar.

ὀργυιῶν, [ὡς δ' ἔνιοι τῶν νεωτέρων ἔγραψαν, πηχῶν πεντήκοντα] τὸ δὲ πλάτος, πλείον ἢ δυσὶν ἄρμασιν ἰππάσιμον, πύργους δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν διακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα, τὸ δ' ὕψος καὶ πλάτος ἐξ ἀναλόγου τῷ βάρει τῶν κατὰ τὸ τείχος ἔργων. Οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ τηλικούτου τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιβόλου καθεστῶτος ὀλίγους πύργους κατεσκεύασεν. Ἐπὶ πολλὴν γὰρ τόπον τῆς πόλεως ἔλεσι περιεχομένης, κατὰ τοῦτον τόπον οὐκ ἔδοξεν αὐτῇ πύργους οἰκοδομεῖν, τῆς φύσεως τῶν ἐλῶν ἰκανὴν παρεχομένης ὀχυρότητα· ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὁδὸς πάντη κατελείπειτο δίπλεθρος.

FRAGMENTUM 4.

(a). (Cephalion, fr. ap. Syncell., p. 167). [μεθ' ὃν Βαβυλῶνα, φησὶν (Cephalion) ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχισε τρόπον ὡς πολλοῖσι λέλεκται Κτησία, Ζήνωνι . . . καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς.]

(b). (Tzetzes, *Hist.* ix. 568). [Ἡ πᾶσα δὲ περίμετρος ὑπήρχε Βαβυλῶνος στάδια τριακόσια ἐξήκοντα, Κτησία . . . Ὑψος πεντηκοντόργυιον τειχῶν κατὰ Κτησίαν . . . φαίνεται δὲ Κτησίας . . . ἀληθέστερα συγγράφειν τῶν ἐτέρων τέως εἰς ἄπερ ἔγραψε περὶ τοῦ Βαβυλῶνος. τριακοσίων γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξήκοντα σταδίων πᾶσαν αὐτῆς περίμετρον ὑπάρχειν διαγράφει . . . ὁ περὶ τὴν περίμετρον γοῦν ἐλαττῶν τὸ μήκος, οὐκ ἂν μακρὸν τοῦ δεόντος παρηύξανε τὰ ὕψη. Ἄλλ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἴσως μὲν κατείδεν ὁ Κτησίας, ἦσαν ἐξηκοντόργυια τότε τειχῶν τὰ ὕψη.]

of building by the Babylonians is well known; but it is not likely that the outer walls of the city were constructed of any more substantial material than sun-dried brick or earth. Berosus (ii. 14) apparently says that the inner rampart was of burnt brick and

asphalt, the outer of brick only; but the passage is obscure.

ἔλεσι περιεχομένης] See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 495; Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, pp. 41, 45, as to the present condition of these marshes.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 7 (Diod. ii. 8). Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομίας, ἐκάστῳ τῶν φίλων στάδιον διεμέτρησε, δοῦσα τὴν ἱκανὴν εἰς τοῦτο χορηγίαν, καὶ διακελευσαμένη τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν ἐνιαυτῷ ὧν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, τούτων μὲν ἀπεδέξατο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, αὐτὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στενότατον μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν σταδίων πέντε τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν, εἰς βυθὸν φιλοτέχνως καθίσασα τοὺς κίονας· οἱ δὲ διεστῆκεισαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πόδας δώδεκα· τοὺς δὲ συνειδομένους λίθους τόρνοις σιδηροῖς διελάμβανε, καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀρμονίας ἐπλήρου μόλιβδον ἐντήκουσα· τοῖς δὲ κίοσι πρὸ τῶν τὸ ρεῦμα δεχομένων πλευρῶν γωνίας προκατεσκεύασεν, ἐχούσας τὴν ἀπορροήν περιφερῆ, καὶ συνδεδεμένην κατ' ὀλίγον ἕως τοῦ κατὰ τὴν κίονα πλατύος· ὅπως αἱ μὲν περὶ τὰς γωνίας ὀξύτητες τέμνωσι τὴν καταφορὰν τοῦ ρεύματος, αἱ δὲ περιφέρειαι τῇ τούτου βίᾳ συνείκουσαι πρᾶννωσι τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν γέφυρα κεδρίναις καὶ κυπαριττίναις δοκοῖς, ἔτι δὲ φοινίκων στελέχεσιν ὑπερμεγέθεσι κατεστεγασμένη, καὶ τριάκοντα ποδῶν οὔσα τὸ πλάτος, οὐδενὸς ἔδοκει τῶν Σεμιράμιδος ἔργων τῇ φιλοτεχνίᾳ λείπεσθαι· ἐξ ἑκατέρου δὲ μέρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ κρηπίδα πολυτελῆ κατεσκεύασε, παραπλησίαν κατὰ τὸ πλάτος τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἐπὶ στάδια ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα. Ὡκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ βασιλεία διπλᾶ παρὰ τὸν

§ 7. γέφυραν] Ascribed by Herodotus to Nitokris (i. 186). If Rawlinson's version is correct, Nebuchadrezzar attributes it, in his standard inscription, to his father.

Βασιλεία διπλᾶ] The same connection between the palaces and some of the inner fortifications

of Babylon is found in the descriptions given by Herodotus (i. 181, ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆα περιβόλῳ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ κ. τ. λ.); Berosus (iii. 14, καὶ τειχίσας ἀξιολογῶς τὴν πόλιν . . . προσκατεσκεύασεν τοῖς πατρικοῖς βασιλείοις ἕτερα βασιλεία

ποταμὸν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους τῆς γεφύρας, ἐξ ὧν ἅμα μὲν ἔμελλε τὴν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν κατοπτεῦειν, καὶ καθαπερεὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἔξειν τῶν ἐπικαιροτάτων τῆς πόλεως τόπων. Τοῦ δ' Εὐφράτου διὰ μέσης τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ῥέοντος καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καταφερομένου, τῶν βασιλείων τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἔνευε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν· ἀμφοτέρω δὲ πολυτελῶς κατεσκεύαστο. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέραν κειμένου μέρους ἐποίησε τὸν πρῶτον περίβολον ἐξήκοντα σταδίων,

ἐχόμενα αὐτῶν, . . . συνετελέσθη ἡμεραῖς πεντεκαίδεκα, as compared with the Standard inscription of Nebuchadrezzar, which calls the edifice constructed in fifteen days a fort); Curtius (*Exp. Alex.*, v. 1, 32, Super arce . . . pensiles horti sunt. The gardens were a part of the palace); and in the Standard inscription of Nebuchadrezzar (ap. Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii. p. 588, "The great palace called Tapratinisi . . . the high place of royalty in the land of Babylon, and in the middle of Babylon, stretching from the Ingur-Bel [the inner wall of the city] to the bed of the Shebil, the eastern canal, and from the bank of the Sippara river to the water of the Yapur-Shapu, which Nabopolassar, my father, built with brick, and raised up; when the reservoir of Babylon was full, the gates of this palace were flooded. I raised the mound of brick on which it was built, and made smooth its platform. . . . The foundations I protected against the water with bricks and mortar; and I finished it completely. Long beams I set up to support it. With pillars and beams

plated with copper and strengthened with iron I built up its gates. . . . As a further defence in war, at the Ingur-Bel, the impregnable outer wall, . . . with two strong lines of brick and mortar. I made a strong fort, 400 ammas square, inside the Nimiti-Bel, the inner defence of the Babylonians. Masonry of brick within them I constructed: with the palace of my father I connected it. . . . In fifteen days I completed it").

This last extract gives the real date of the greater of the two palaces attributed in the text to Semiramis. It is now represented by the *Kāsar* mound, on the east bank of the Euphrates. The lesser palace was erected by Nergal-shar-ezer (B. C. 559-556); its remains are now divided by the river, which has altered its course.

κατοπτεῦειν] Because the palaces, according to the usual Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian custom, stood on raised platforms.

τὸν πρῶτον περίβολον ἐξ ἑκατέρου κ. τ. λ.] Also a work of Nebuchadrezzar (Standard Inscription—"Besides the Ingur-Bel, . . . I constructed, inside Babylon, on the

ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πολυτελέσι τείχεσιν ὠχυρωμένοι, ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου· ἕτερον δ' ἐντὸς τούτου κυκλοτερῆ κατεσκεύασε, καθ' ὃν ἐν ὤμαϊς ἔτι ταῖς πλίνθοις διετετύπωτο θηρία παντοδαπά, τῇ τῶν χρωμάτων φιλοτεχνία, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀπομιμούμενα. Οὗτος δ' ὁ περίβολος ἦν τὸ μὲν μῆκος, σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα· τὸ δὲ πλάτος, ἐπὶ τριακοσίου πλίνθους· τὸ δ' ὕψος, [ὡς Κτησίας φησίν,] ὄργυιῶν πεντήκοντα. Τῶν δὲ πύργων ὑπῆρχε τὸ ὕψος ὄργυιῶν ἑβδομήκοντα. Κατεσκεύασε δὲ τρίτον ἐνδοτέρω περίβολον, ὃς περιείχεν ἀκρόπολιν, ἧς ἡ μὲν περίμετρος ἦν σταδίων εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος καὶ πλάτος τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπεραῖρον τοῦ μέσου τείχους τὴν κατασκευήν. Ἐνήσαν δ' ἐν τε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ τείχεσι ζῶα παντοδαπά φιλοτέχνως τοῖς τε χρώμασι καὶ τοῖς τῶν τύπων ἀπομιμήμασι κατεσκευασμένα. Τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐπεποίητο κνηγίον παντοίων θηρίων ὑπαρχον πλήρες, ὧν ἦσαν τὰ μεγέθη πλείον

eastern side of the river, a fortification . . . a long rampart, 4000 ammas square [*i. e.* about 5 miles, or 44 stadia], as an extra defence. I excavated the ditch: with brick and mortar I bound its bed. . . . I adorned its gates. The folding-doors and the pillars I plated with copper." This description may refer more especially to the inner περίβολος of Ktesias, forty stadia square.)

ἐν ὤμαϊς ἔτι ταῖς πλίνθοις] A description of the enamelled bricks, of which several specimens used for wall decoration have been found in Assyria. (See Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 79, etc.) In Babylon, where stone slabs for paneling were little used (a fragment of one from the *Kasr* at Babylon is figured in Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 508), their employ-

ment was probably even more extensive. Layard found some fragments in the ruins of this very palace (Layard, *op. cit.*, p. 507). Loftus found similar fragments at Susa (*Chaldea and Susiana*, p. 396).

θηρία παντοδαπά] Probably figures of monsters, such as we see in the Assyrian bas-reliefs, and on Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders. Nebuchadrezzar, in a cylinder inscription (see Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 17), says he placed images of mighty birds and poisonous snakes on the threshold of the great gates of one of the fortresses at Babylon.

τρίτον ἐνδοτέρω περίβολον . . . σταδίων κ'] Possibly the fort 400 ammas (about 4 stadia) square of Nebuchadrezzar.

κνηγίον] "A hunting scene," such as are represented in Assyrian

ἢ πηχῶν τεττάρων. Κατεσκεύαστο δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ Σεμίραμις, ἀφ' ἵππου πάρδαλιν ἀκοντίζουσα, καὶ πλησίον αὐτῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ Νίνος παίων ἐκ χειρὸς λέοντα λόγχῃ. Ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ πύλας τρισσάς, ὑφ' ἧν ὑπῆρχον δίαται χάλκεαι διὰ μηχανῆς ἀνοιγόμεναι. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς πολὺ προεῖχε τῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ἐκεῖνα γὰρ εἶχε τὸν μὲν περίβολον τοῦ τείχους τριάκοντα σταδίων ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου· ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰ ζῶα φιλοτεχνίας, χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων, ἔτι δὲ Διός, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι Βῆλον. Ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ παρατάξεις καὶ κνηγία παντοδαπά, ποικίλην ψυχαγωγίαν παρεχόμενα τοῖς θεωμένοις.

§ 8 (Diod. ii. 9). Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐκλεξαμένη τὸν ταπεινότατον τόπον, ἐποίησε δεξαμενὴν τετράγωνον, ἧς ἦν ἐκάστη πλευρὰ σταδίων τριακοσίων, ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεσκευασμένην, καὶ τὸ βάθος ἔχουσαν ποδῶν τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Εἰς ταύτην δ' ἀποστρέψασα τὸν ποταμόν, κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε βασιλείων εἰς θάτερα διώρυγα· ἐξ ὀπτῆς δὲ πλίνθου συνοικο-

reliefs, but in this instance represented by painting or on enamelled bricks.

δίαται χάλκεαι] Compare Nebuchadrezzar's description of the gates.

§ 8. δεξαμενὴν τετράγωνον] The Bâhr-i-Nedjef, according to Loftus (*Chald. and Sus.*, p. 41). He describes it as a great sheet of water, forty miles long, connected with the Euphrates marshes. Herodotus (*i.* 184, *sq.*) attributes the works here described partly to the historical Semiramis and partly to Nitokris, who was perhaps the

wife of Nebuchadrezzar. The reservoir plays an important part in his account of the first Persian capture of Babylon. According to him, Nitokris built the bridge when the river was turned out of its course; and he has no mention of the tunnel here ascribed to Semiramis. The inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar give long, but not very intelligible, accounts of the embankments, or quays, of bitumen and brick, and the reservoirs constructed by himself and his father at Babylon.

δομήσασα τὰς καμάρας, ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἀσφάλτῳ κατέχρισεν ἠψημένῃ, μέχρις ὅτου τὸ πάχου τοῦ χρίσματος ἐποίησε πηχῶν τεσσάρων. Τῆς δὲ διώρυγος ὑπῆρχον οἱ μὲν τοῖχοι τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ πλίνθους εἴκοσι· τὸ δ' ὕψος, χωρὶς τῆς καμφθείσης ψαλίδος, ποδῶν δώδεκα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ποδῶν δεκαπέντε. Ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ ἑπτὰ κατασκευασθείσης αὐτῆς, ἀποκατέστησε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ῥύσιν, ὥστε τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐπάνω τῆς διώρυγος φερομένου, δύνασθαι τὴν Σεμίραμιν ἐκ τῶν πέραν βασιλείων ἐπὶ θάτερα διαπορεύεσθαι, μὴ διαβαίνουσαν τὸν ποταμὸν. Ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ πύλας τῇ διώρυγι χαλκᾶς ἐφ' ἑκάτερον μέρος, αἱ διέμειναν μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείας. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασεν ἱερὸν Διός, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, Βῆλον. [Περὶ δὲ τούτου τῶν συγγραφέων διαφωνούντων, κ. τ. λ.]. Τῆς δ' ὅλης οἰκοδομίας ἐξ ἀσφάλτου καὶ πλίνθου πεφιλοτεχνημένης πολυτελῶς, ἐπ' ἄκρας τῆς ἀναβάσεως τρία κατεσκεύασεν ἀγάλματα χρυσᾶ σφυρήλατα, Διός, Ἡρας, Ῥέας. Τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Διός, ἑστηκὸς ἦν καὶ διαβεβηκός, ὑπαρχον ποδῶν τεσσαράκοντα τὸ μῆκος, σταθμὸν δ' εἶχε χιλίων ταλάντων Βαβυλωνίων· τὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥέας, ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενον χρυσοῦ, τὸν ἴσον σταθμὸν εἶχε τῷ προειρημένῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς εἰστήκεισαν λέοντες δύο, καὶ πλησίον ὄφεις ὑπερμεγέθεις ἀργυροῖ, τριάκοντα ταλάντων ἕκαστος ἔχων τὸ βάρος.

ἱερὸν Διός, ὃν καλοῦσιν . . . Βῆλον] It is still doubtful whether the temple of Belus described by classical writers (Herodotus, i. 181; Strabo, xvi. 1, p. 335; Berossus, iii. 14; Curtius, v. 1, 24, &c.) was identical with the "Temple of the Seven Lights" at Borsippa, the restoration of which, by Nebuchadrezzar, is described in his inscription, and which is now the ruin styled Birs-Nimrud, or

with the ruin at Babylon called Babil. The latter view is now generally accepted. Both buildings were originally Ziggurats, and the description of the classical writers might apply to either. The position assigned by Herodotus (i. 181) to the temple of Belus is, however, inconsistent with the edifice intended by him being that represented by the mound of Babil. Ἡρας] Probably Beltis, who,

Τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡρας ἑστηκὸς ἦν ἀγάλμα, σταθμὸν ἔχον ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων· καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ κατέειχε τῆς κεφαλῆς ὄφιν, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ σκῆπτρον λιθοκόλλητον. Τούτοις δ' ἅπασιν κοινῇ παρέκειτο τράπεζα χρυσῆ σφυρήλατος, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ποδῶν τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δ' εὖρος δεκαπέντε, σταθμὸν ἔκλουσα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐπέκειντο δύο καρχήσια, σταθμὸν ἔχοντα τριάκοντα ταλάντων. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ θυμιατήρια, τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἴσα, τὸν δὲ σταθμὸν ἑκάτερον ταλάντων τριακοσίων. Ὑπῆρχον δὲ καὶ κρατήρες χρυσοῖ τρεῖς, ὧν ὁ μὲν τοῦ Διός εἶλκε τάλαντα Βαβυλώνια χίλια καὶ διακόσια, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἑκάτερος ἑξακόσια. Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὕστερον ἐσύλησαν· τῶν δὲ βασιλείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων ὁ χρόνος τὰ μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς ἠφάνισε, τὰ δ' ἐλυμήνατο. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Βαβυλώνας νῦν βραχὺ τι μέρος οἰκεῖται, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐντὸς τείχους γεωργεῖται.

§ 9 (Diod. ii. 10). Ὑπῆρχε δὲ καὶ ὁ κρεμαστὸς καλούμενος κῆπος παρὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὗ Σεμιράμιδος, ἀλλὰ τινος ὕστερον Σύρου βασιλέως κατασκευάσαντος χάριν γυναικὸς παλλακῆς. Ταύτην γὰρ φασιν οἶσαν τὸ γένος

however, is also generally meant by Rhea.

βραχὺ τι μέρος οἰκεῖται τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐντὸς τείχους γεωργεῖται] This appears to have been always the case: compare Curtius, v. 1, 27. Strabo speaks of it as 'mostly desert' in his time (xvi. 1, p. 336).

§ 9. τινος ὕστερον Σύρου βασιλέως] Viz. Nebuchadrezzar, who constructed them for his Median wife (Berossus, iii. 14). They formed a part of the palace, and are, perhaps, represented by the shapeless masses of brickwork

forming a portion of the *Isar* mound. Gardens such as are here described are represented in Assyrian reliefs (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 232); and the Babylonian gardens are, perhaps, referred to in a passage of the standard inscription of Nebuchadrezzar, where, after describing his works on the palace, he says:—"Inside the brick fortifications another great fortification of long stones (Berossus mentions 'stone structures,' which were very unusual at Babylon, in connection with the hanging gardens; Curtius speaks

Περσίδα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι λειμῶνας ἐπιζητοῦσαν ἀξιῶσαι τὸν βασιλέα μιμήσασθαι διὰ τῆς τοῦ φυτουργίου φιλοτεχνίας 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, ὥστε τὴν πρόσοψιν εἶναι θεατροειδῆ. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς κατεσκευασμέναις ἀναβάσεσιν ᾠκοδόμητο σύριγγες, ἅπαν μὲν ἀναδεχόμεναι τὸ τοῦ φυτουργίου βάρος, ἀλλήλων δ' ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον αἰεὶ μικρὸν ὑπερέχουσαι κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν. ἢ δ' ἀνωτάτη σύριγγξ οὕσα πεντήκοντα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, εἶχεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ παραδείσου τὴν ἀνωτάτην ἐπιφάνειαν, συνεξιουμένην τῷ περιβόλῳ τῶν ἐπάλλεων. Ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν τοῖχοι πολυτελῶς ἠσφαλισμένοι τὸ πάχος εἶχον ποδῶν εἰκοσιδύο, τῶν δ' ἐξόδων ἐκάστη τὸ πλάτος δέκα· τὰς δ' ὀροφὰς κατεστέγαζον λίθιναι δοκοί, τὸ μὲν μῆκος σὺν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχουσαι ποδῶν ἑξ καὶ δέκα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τεσσάρων. 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 ἐπεδέχετο μολιβᾶς στέγας, πρὸς τὸ μὴ διϊκνεῖσθαι κατὰ βάθος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χώματος νοτίδα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐσεσώρευτο γῆς ἱκανὸν βάθος, ἀρκούμενον 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 σύριγγες τὰ φῶτα δεχόμεναι 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 ἐξῶθεν τὸ

of them as 'super arce'), of the size of great mountains I made, like *Shedim* I raised its head."

Περσίδα] Really Median, Amuria, or Amyitis, daughter of Kyaxares.

γινόμενον συνιδεῖν δυναμένου. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ παράδεισος, ὡς προεῖπον, ὕστερον κατεσκευάσθη.

§ 10 (Diod. ii. 11). Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἔκτισε καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν τε Εὐφράτην καὶ τὸν Τίγριν, ἐν αἷς ἐμπόρια κατεσκεύασε τοῖς φορτία διακομίζουσιν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ Παραϊτακηνῆς, καὶ πάσης τῆς σύνεγγυς χώρας. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ Γάγγην ὄντες ἐπισημότατοι σχεδὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμῶν Εὐφράτης καὶ Τίγρις, τὰς μὲν πηγὰς ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων, διεστήκασι δ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σταδίους δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· ἐνεχθέντες δὲ διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Παραϊτακηνῆς, ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν· ἢ ἀπολαμβάνοντες εἰς μέσον, αἰτιοὶ κατέστησαν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ τῆς προσηγορίας· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν διελόντες, εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἐξερέγονται θάλασσαν· μεγάλοι δ' ὄντες καὶ συχνὴν χώραν διαπορευόμενοι, 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. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων λίθον ἔτεμε, τὸ μὲν μῆκος ποδῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα, τὸ πλάτος δὲ καὶ πάχος εἰκοσιπέντε· τοῦτον δὲ πολλοῖς πλήθεσι ζευγῶν ὀρικῶν τε καὶ βοικῶν καταγαγούσα πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐπεβίβασε πρὸς τὴν σχεδίαν· ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ κατακομίσασα κατὰ τοῦ ρεύματος μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλώνος, ἔστησεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν ἐπισημοτάτην ὁδόν, παράδοξον θέαμα τοῖς παριοῦσιν. ὃν τινες ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀβελίσκον, ὃν ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς κατονομαζομένοις ἐργοῖς καταριθμοῦσι.

§ 11 (Diod. ii. 12). Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παραδόξων ὄντων

§ 10. ὀβελίσκον] Several Assyrian obelisks have been found, but none of very large size. Some slabs of Sennacherib represent colossal bulls (far inferior in size,

however, to the monolith here described) being removed; but they are dragged by captives, not by animals.

θεαμάτων κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οὐχ ἥκιστα θαυμάζεται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γεννωμένης ἀσφάλτου. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἔστιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ταῖς τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις οἰκοδομίαις διαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλεγόμενον τὸν λαὸν ἀφειδῶς ἀρύεσθαι, καὶ ξηραίνοντα καίεν αὐτὴ ξύλων. Ἀναριθμητῶν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἀρνομένων, 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. προσβάλλει 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 προσπεσούσης ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς δυνάμεως· εὐθὺς δὲ διοιδεῖ καὶ πύμπραται τὸ σῶμα, μάλιστα τοὺς περὶ τὸν πνεύμονα τόπους. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λίμνη στερεὸν ἔχουσα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν τόπον, εἰς ἣν ὅταν τις ἐμβῆ τῶν ἀπείρων, ὀλίγον μὲν νήχεται χρόνον· προῖων δ' εἰς τὸ μέσον, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τινος βίας κατασπᾶται· ἑαυτῷ δὲ βοηθῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφει προαιρούμενος, ἀντέχεται μὲν τῆς ἐκβάσεως, 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 κρατηθεῖς, φέρεται πρὸς βυθόν, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον τετελευτηκῶς ἀναβάλλεται. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ θαυμαζομένων ἀρκείσθω τὰ ρηθέντα.

§ 12 (Diod. ii. 13). Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπέθηκε πέρας, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνά-

§ 11. ἀσφάλτου] Compare Herodotus, i. 179, with the notes of Rawlinson and Sayce; Strabo, xvi. i. p. 343; Ammianus, xxiii. p. 269. The deadly fountain (hiatus terræ in Ammianus) in its properties resembled the Grotto del Cane in

Italy, Ammianus (*l. c.*), mentions other instances. The deadly lake was, perhaps, merely a bog or quicksand, Ktesias here displaying his usual tendency to exaggerate marvels.

μεως· κατανήσασα δὲ πρὸς ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον Βαγίστανον, πλησίον αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ κατεσκεύασε παράδεισον, ὃς τὴν μὲν περίμετρον ἦν δώδεκα σταδίων, ἐν πεδίῳ δὲ κείμενος εἶχε πηγὴν μεγάλην, ἐξ ἧς ἀρδεύεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ φυτούργιον. Τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος, ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Διός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν παράδεισον μέρους ἀποτομάδας ἔχει πέτρας εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεινούσας στάδια ἑπτακαίδεκα· οὗ τὸ κατώτατον μέρος καταξύσασα, τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνεχάραξεν εἰκόνα, δορυφόρους αὐτῇ παραστήσασα ἑκατόν. Ἐπέγραψε δὲ καὶ Συρίοις γράμμασιν εἰς τὴν πέτραν, ὅτι Σεμίραμις τοῖς σάγμασι τοῖς τῶν ἀκολουθούντων ὑποζυγίων ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου χάσασα τὸν προειρημένον κρημνόν, διὰ τούτων εἰς τὴν ἀκρῶρειαν προσανέβη. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀναζεύξασα, καὶ παραγενομένη πρὸς Χαύονα πόλιν τῆς Μηδίας, κατενόησεν ἐν τινι μετεώρῳ πεδίῳ πέτραν τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καταπληκτικὴν. Ἐνταῦθα οὖν ἕτερον παράδεισον ὑπερμεγέθη κατεσκεύασεν, ἐν μέσῳ τὴν πέτραν ἀπολαβοῦσα· καθ' ἣν οἰκοδομήματα πολυτελῆ πρὸς τρυφὴν ἐπέθηκεν, ἐξ ὧν τά τε κατὰ τὸν παράδεισον ἀπεθλεύρει φυτούργια, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν παρεμβεβληκυῖαν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ συχνὸν ἐνδιατρίψασα χρόνον, καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς τρυφὴν ἀνηκόντων ἀπολαύσασα, γῆμαι μὲν νομίμως οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, εὐλαβουμένη μήποτε στερηθῆ τῆς ἀρχῆς· ἐπιλεγομένη δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς εὐπρεπεῖα

§ 12, and frs. 5 and 6. Βαγίστανον ὄρος, ἔστι μὲν ἱερὸν Διός] Now Behistun, celebrated for the trilingual inscription of Darius I., with the relief accompanying it. There are also some later inscriptions. It is impossible that the meaning of that of Darius could have been unknown to Ktesias. We must suppose that he is here alluding to some earlier—probably Assyrian—sculptures and inscrip-

tion now destroyed. His description points to a stela, with a figure of the king, accompanied by an inscription (such as the Assyrian kings were in the habit of erecting, or sculpturing on rocks, in countries they conquered), with other sculptures, beside it. Bagistan is in Persian "Place of God," so its name is here correctly interpreted.

γῆμαι μὲν νομίμως οὐκ ἠθέλησεν]

διαφέροντας, τούτοις ἐμίσηγο· καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτῆ πλη-
σίασαντας ἠφάνιζε.

FRAGMENTUM 5.

(Stephanus Byz.). [Χαύων χώρα τῆς Μηδίας, Κτησίας
ἐν πρώτῳ Περσικῶν] Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει,
αὐτῆ τε καὶ στρατιὰ, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Χαύονα τῆς Μηδίας.

FRAGMENTUM 6.

(Synecellus, *Chronograph.* p. 64, B, forte hic pertinet,
sed confer *Epit.* § 14, infra). [Τούτων (Ninum) διεδέξατο

This is one of the portions of the narrative of Ktesias most clearly derived from the Babylonian legends of Ishtar. In the sixth book of the Epic of Izdubar, the goddess proposes to take Izdubar as her husband. He refuses, and recites the fate which had befallen her previous lovers. She wronged Dumuzi (Tammuz or Adonis). "Country after country mourn his love. The wild eagle also thou didst love, and then didst strike him, and his wings thou didst break. . . . Thou didst love also a ruler of the country, and continually thou didst break his weapons. Every day he propitiated thee with offerings; thou didst strike him, and to a leopard thou didst change him; his own city drove him away, and his dogs tore his wounds. Thou didst love also Isullanu, the husbandman of thy father; . . . in thy taking him also thou didst turn cruel. Isullanu thy cruelty

resisted: . . . thou didst strike him, and to a pillar (?) thou didst turn him; thou didst place him in the midst of the ground. . . . He riseth not up, he goeth not . . . and me thou dost love, and like to them thou wilt serve me" (G. Smith, *Chaldaean Genesis*, pp. 219-221). The fate of Isullanu suggests the *χώματα* which appears in the rationalized version of Ktesias. Moses of Chorene works an Armenian legend into his account of one of the amours of Semiramis (*Hist.* i. 14). Arai, son of Aram, king of Armenia, was remarkable for his beauty. Semiramis, therefore, proposed to him to become her husband, and, on his refusal, invaded Armenia, to compel him to do so. Her sons, however, slew him in battle; but she preserved his body, and gave out that the gods had been induced by her magical arts to restore Arai to life for the gratification of her passion.

Σεμίραμις ἢ διαβόητος, ἢ πολλαχού τῆς γῆς ἤγειρε χόματα προφάσει μὲν διὰ τοὺς κατακλυσμοὺς, τὰ δ' ἦν ἄρα τῶν ἐρωμένων ζώντων κατορυσσομένων οἱ τάφοι ὡς Κτησίας ἱστορεῖ.]

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 13 (Diod. ii. 13. 5). Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπ' Ἀγβατάνων τὴν πορείαν ποιησαμένη, παρεγένετο πρὸς ὄρος τὸ Ζαρκαῖον καλούμενον. Τοῦτο δ' ἐπὶ πολλοὺς παρήκον σταδίους, καὶ πλήρες ὄν κρημνῶν καὶ φαραγγῶν, μακρὰν εἶχε τὴν περι-
οδόν. Ἐφιλοτιμείτο οὖν ἅμα μὲν μνημείον ἀθάνατον ἑαυτῆς ἀπολιπεῖν, ἅμα δὲ σύντομον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὁδόν. Διόπερ τοὺς τε κρήμους κατακόψασα, καὶ τοὺς κοίλους τόπους

Lenormant points out that this story embodies the legend—probably Armenian, or at least Oriental—of Er, son of Armenius the Pamphylian, who was apparently slain in battle, but whose body did not corrupt, and who revived on the funeral pyre (Plato, *Rep.* x. ¹; Plutarch, *Symp.* xi. 7, where he is son of Harmonius; Macrobius, *Somn. Scip.* i. 1); Moses (i. 15) also ascribes to Semiramis the works at Van, really due to the native kings of Biaina.

§ 13. Ἀγβατάνων] Diodorus and Photius both use the form Ekbatana; but in consequence of the statement of Stephanus I have ventured to introduce the form Agbatana into the text of Ktesias throughout. The form in the old Persian inscriptions is Hagnatana;

Babylonian, Agamatanu; Hebrew or Aramaic, Achmetha (Ezra, vi. 2); Modern Persian, Hamadan. The Agbatana of Ktesias, and the Ekbatana of most classical writers, and the Hagnatana, Agamatanu, or Agamtanu and Achmetha of the Persian, Babylonian, and Jewish records, were probably the modern Hamadan; but the Agbatana of Herodotus (i. 98, *sq.*), the Ekbatana of Judith and of Moses of Chorene (ii. 84), is supposed by Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, i. p. 227) to have been the Ganzaka of other Greek writers, the modern Tahkti Solcīmán in Media Atropatené. Isidorus of Charax uses the form Ἀποβάτανα.

ὄρος τὸ Ζαρκαῖον] The same as Zagrus according to Baehr and Müller.

¹ ἀπόλογον . . . Ἐπὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου, ὅς ποτε ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας, ἀναιρεθέντων δεκαταίων τῶν νεκρῶν ἤδη διεφθαρμένων, ὑγίης μὲν ἀνθρώπων κομισθεὶς δὲ οὐκ ἔκαδε, μέλλων θάπτεσθαι δωδεκαταῖος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος ἀνεβίω.

χώσασα, σύντομον καὶ πολυτελῆ κατεσκεύασεν ὁδόν, ἣ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Σεμιράμιδος καλεῖται. Παραγενομένη δ' εἰς Ἀγβάτανα πόλιν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην, κατεσκεύασεν ἐν αὐτῇ πολυτελῆ βασιλεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησατο τοῦ τόπου περιττοτέραν. Ἀνύδρου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς πόλεως, καὶ μηδαμοῦ σύνεγγυς ὑπαρχούσης πηγῆς, ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν πᾶσαν κατάρρυτον, ἐπαγαγοῦσα πλείστον καὶ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας τε καὶ δαπάνης. Τῶν γὰρ Ἀγβατάνων ὡς δώδεκα σταδίου ἀπέχον ἐστὶν 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 εἰκοσιπέντε. Ἐκ θατέρου δὲ μέρους οὔσης λίμνης μεγάλης εἰς ποταμὸν ἐκβαλλούσης, διέσκαψε τὸ προειρημένον ὄρος κατὰ τὴν ρίζαν. Ἦν δὲ ἡ διώρυξ τὸ μὲν πλάτος, ποδῶν δεκαπέντε, τὸ δ' ὕψος, τετταράκοντα· δι' ἧς ἐπαγαγοῦσα τὸν ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ποταμὸν, ἐπλήρωσε τὴν πόλιν ὕδατος. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ.

ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένον] "The ancient city" (at Hamadan) "was built on a steep eminence, from which it descended on all sides to

a fruitful plain, abundantly watered by the streams which poured down from the lofty Orontes." Ὀρόντης] Now Elvend.

LIBER SECUNDUS.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 14 (Diod. ii. 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, κατεσκεύασεν 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 μακρὰ χώματα κατασκευάζειν, ἐφ' ὧν καθιστᾶσα τὴν ἰδίαν σκηνήν, ἅπασαν κατώπτενε τὴν παρεμβολήν. Διὸ καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν διαμένει τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνης κατασκευασθέντων, καὶ καλεῖται Σεμιράμιδος ἔργα.

FRAGMENTUM 7.

(Stephanus Byzant.) [Τίριζα πόλις Παφλαγονίας· τὸ ἔθνικόν Τίριζοι. Κτησίας Τιριζιφανοῦς αὐτοῦς φησιν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ.] Ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ὀδρυσσῶν εἰς Τιριζιβανοῦς οἰκούντας ἐν Παφλαγονίᾳ.

§ 14. Χώματα] Compare frag. 6, where another account is given of the origin of these mounds. They were probably either sepulchral tumuli, or mounds marking the sites of ruined cities. Compare Strabo, xii. 2, p. 8, Τὰ δὲ Τύανα ἐπίκειται χώματι Σεμιράμιδος τε τειχισμένῳ καλῶς.

Fr. 7. Τίριζα] "Alia forma est nominis Τυρεδίζα vel Τυροδίζα quae est Thraciae urbs ad Perinthi ditionem pertinens hodieque audit *Feredschick* . . . Memoratur Tyrediza ap Herodot. vii. 25, et ex Persicis Hellanici (fr. 162)." Müller.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 15 (Diod. ii. 14. 3). Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἐπῆλθε, καὶ τῆς Λιβύης τὰ πλείστα καταστρεψαμένη. παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἄμμωνα, χρησομένη τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας τελευτῆς. Λέγεται δ' αὐτῇ γενέσθαι λόγιον, ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθήσεσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀθανάτου τεύξεσθαι τιμῆς· ὅπερ ἔσεσθαι καθ' ὃν ἂν χρόνον ὁ υἱὸς αὐτῇ Νινύας ἐπιβουλεύσει. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενομένη, τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐπῆλθε τὰ πλείστα καταστρεφομένη, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν θεωμένη παράδοξα. Εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ φασὶ λίμνην τετράγωνον, τὴν μὲν περίμετρον ἔχουσαν ποδῶν ὡς ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ τῇ μὲν χροᾷ παραπλήσιον κινναβάρει, τὴν δ' ὄσμην καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἡδεΐαν, οὐκ ἀνόμοιον οἴνῳ παλαιῷ· δύναμιν δ' ἔχειν παράδοξον· τὸν γὰρ πίνοντά φασιν εἰς μανίαν ἐμπίπτειν, καὶ πάνθ', ἃ πρότερον διέλαθεν ἀμαρτήσας, ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν. Τοῖς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγουσιν οὐκ ἂν τις ῥαδίως συγκατάθοιτο.

FRAGMENTUM 8.

(Diod. i. 56.) [Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πόλεων (Babylone et Troja in Aegypto) Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος διάφορος ἰστόρησε φήσας] τῶν μετὰ Σεμιράμιδος παραβαλόντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον τινὰς ἐκτικένοι ταύτας ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων πατρίδων θεμένους τὴν προσηγορίαν.

§ 15. Αἴγυπτον] Klem. Alex. *Strom.* i. p. 307, speaks of Semiramis, king of Egypt. Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. p. 354) mentions a suggestion, that by Semiramis was intended Hatasu, the great queen of the eighteenth dynasty. Eusebius (Pref. in vers. Hieron., fo. 5) makes Ninus and Semiramis contemporary with the sixteenth Egyptian dynasty.

Ἄμμωνα] The god worshipped in the Oases seems to have been really Khnum, not Amun. (Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. p. 285.)

λίμνην] We have, perhaps, here (and in fr. 9) a distorted account of the use of a poisonous liquid as an ordeal, like the *tangena* of Madagascar. Compare *Indika*, § 14.

FRAGMENTUM 9.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
(Strabo xvii. 4, p. 1125 B. p. 402, Tauchnitz.)	(Antigonus Caryst. <i>Hist. Mir.</i> 160.)	(Sotion cap. 17.)	(Plin. H. N. xxxi. 2).
[Κτησίαν δὲ τὸν Κνίδιον] πηγὴν [ἰστορεῖν] ἐκδιδοῦσαν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐρευθεὺς καὶ μιλιῶδες ὕδωρ.	[Κτησίαν δὲ (λέγειν)] τὴν ἐν Αἰθιοπία (κρήνην) τὸ μὲν ὕδωρ ἔχειν ἐρυθρὸν ὡσπερὶ κιννάβαρι, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς πίνοντας παράφρονας γίγνεσθαι.	[Κτησίας δὲ] ἐν Αἰθιοπία κρήνην [ἰστορεῖ] τῷ χρώματι κινναβάρει παραπλήσιον. τοὺς δὲ πίνοντας ἀπ' αὐτῆς παραλάττειν τὴν διάνοιαν ὥστε καὶ τὰ κρυφίως πεπραγμένα ὁμολογεῖν.	[Sed ibi in potandonecessarius modus ne lymphatos agat,] quod in Aethiopia accidere his, qui fonte rubrobiberint, [Ctesias scribit].

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 16 (Diod. ii. 15). Ταφὰς δὲ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἰδίως οἱ κατὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ποιοῦνται. Ταριχεύσαντες γὰρ τὰ σώματα, καὶ περιχεύσαντες αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ὕελον, ἰσῆσιν ἐπὶ στήλης, ὥστε τοῖς παριοῦσι φαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς ὑέλου τὸ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος σῶμα, καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος εἴρηκε. [Κτησίας δ' ὁ Κνίδιος ἀποφαινόμενος τοῦτον σχεδιάζειν. αὐτὸς φησι] τὸ μὲν σῶμα ταριχεύεσθαι, τὴν μέντοιγε ὕελον μὴ περιχεῖσθαι γυμνοῖς τοῖς σώμασι. κατακαυθήσεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα, καὶ λυμανθέντα τελῶς τὴν ὁμοιότητα μὴ δυνήσεσθαι διατηρεῖν· διὸ καὶ χρυσοῦν εἰκόνα κατασκευάζεσθαι κοίλην, εἰς ἣν ἐντεθέντος τοῦ νεκροῦ, περὶ τὴν εἰκόνα χεῖσθαι

§ 16. ἀποφαινόμενος τοῦτον σχεδιάζειν] σχεδιάζειν = "to be negligent." Ktesias probably read γυμνώσαντες for γυψόσαντες in his copy of Herodotus (iii. 24). For the meaning of ὕελος consult the commentators on the passage of Herodotus, and on this passage. Ktesias evidently regarded it as a transparent composition, which was poured in a fluid state over the

case containing the remains, and afterwards hardened. Burning the dead was utterly abhorrent to the customs of the Egyptians and civilized Ethiopians, and Ktesias must be mistaken on this point.

εἰκόνα] By this we are, perhaps, to understand the mummy case, which is often shaped in a rough likeness of the body within; in the case of distinguished persons it

τὴν ὕελον. τοῦ δὲ κατασκευάσματος τεθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον, διὰ τῆς ὕελου φανῆναι τὸν χρυσὸν ἀφωμοιωμένον τῷ τετελευτηκότι. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσίους αὐτῶν οὕτω θάπτεσθαί [φησι.] τοὺς δ' ἐλάττονας καταλιπόντας οὐσίας, ἀργυρᾶς τυγχάνειν εἰκόνας, τοὺς δὲ πένητας, κεραμίνης· τὴν δὲ ὕελον πᾶσιν ἐξαρκεῖν, διὰ τὸ πλείστην γεννᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν Λίθιοπίαν, καὶ τελῶς παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἐπιπολάζειν.

§ 17 (Diod. ii. 16). Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις καταστήσασα τά τε κατὰ τὴν Λίθιοπίαν καὶ τὴν Λίγυπτον, ἐπανῆλθε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Βάκτρα τῆς Ἀσίας. ἔχουσα δὲ δυνάμεις μεγάλας, καὶ πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην ἄγουσα, φιλοτίμως ἔσχε πράξαι τι λαμπρὸν κατὰ πόλεμον. Πυνθανομένη δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, καὶ πλείστην τε καὶ καλλίστην χώραν νέμεσθαι, διανοεῖτο στρατεύειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν· ἧς ἐβασίλευε μὲν Σταβροβάτης κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, στρατιωτῶν δ' εἶχεν ἀναρίθμητον πλῆθος· ὑπῆρχον δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολλοὶ κατ' ὑπερβολὴν λαμπρῶς κεκοσμημένοι τοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καταπληκτικοῖς. Ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα διάφορος οὐσα τῷ

was sometimes adorned with precious stones and other rich ornaments. The description, however, rather suggests gold masks, representing the deceased, like those found by Schliemann at Mykenae. Something of the same kind seems to have been found in the great receptacle of the Egyptian royal dead at Deir-el-Bahari.

§ 17. τὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔθνος μέγιστον . . . καὶ πλείστην . . . χώραν νέμεσθαι] The Greeks, before the time of Alexander, had very vague ideas as to the size and proportion of India, which they usually greatly exaggerated, and had no correct notion of its shape. (Compare

Herodotus, iii. 94). Arrianus (*Indika*, p. 508) says of the tribes on the western frontier of India:—*Πάλαι μὲν Ἀσσυρίοις ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Μήδοι Περσέων ἤκουον καὶ φόρους ἀπέφερον Κύρω.* But Megasthenes, fr. 21 (ap. Arrian. *Ind.* 5, 7, and Strab. xv. 1, p. 251), says the Indians properly so called never waged war with anyone—*Σεμίραμιν δὲ τὴν Ἀσσυρίην ἐπιχείρειν μὲν στέλλεσθαι εἰς Ἰνδοὺς, ἀποθανεῖν δὲ πρὶν τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖσι βουλευμασιν.* Ktesias' account of the proceedings of Semiramis in India seems to be altogether fabulous.

κάλλει, καὶ πολλοῖς διειλημμένη ποταμοῖς ἀρδεύεται τε πολλαχοῦ, καὶ διττοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκφέρει καρπούς· Διὸ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιτηδείων τοσοῦτον ἔχει πλῆθος, ὥστε διὰ παντὸς ἄφθονον ἀπόλαυσιν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις παρέχεσθαι. Λέγεται δὲ μηδέποτε κατ' αὐτὴν γεγονέναι σιτοδείαν, ἢ φθορὰν καρπῶν, διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν τόπων. ἔχει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἄπιστον πλῆθος, οἱ ταῖς τε ἀλκαῖς καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ῥόμαις πολὺ προέχουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ γινομένων· ὁμοίως δὲ χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, σίδηρον, χαλκόν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, λίθων παντοίων καὶ πολυτελῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐστὶ πλῆθος. ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων σχεδὸν τῶν πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ πλοῦτον διατεινόντων. Ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἢ Σεμίραμις ἀκούσασα, προήχθη, μηδὲν προαδικηθείσα, τὸν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον. Ὁρῶσα δ' αὐτὴν μεγάλων κατ' ὑπερβολὴν προσδεομένη δυνάμεων, ἐξέπεμψεν ἀγγέλους εἰς πάσας τὰς στρατοπεδείας, διακελευσαμένη τοῖς ἐπάρχουσιν καταγράφειν τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, δοῦσα τὸν ἀριθμὸν κατὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἐθνῶν· προσέταξε δὲ πᾶσι κατασκευάζειν καινὰς πανοπλίας, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅσασιν λαμπρῶς παραγενέσθαι κεκοσμημένους μετὰ τρίτον ἔτος εἰς Βάκτρα. Μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ ναυπηγοὺς ἕκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς παραθαλαττίου χώρας, οἷς ἄφθονον ὕλην μεταγαγοῦσα, διεκελεύσατο κατασκευάζειν ποτάμια πλοῖα διαιρετά. Ὁ γὰρ Ἰνδὸς ποταμὸς, μέγιστος

διττοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν, κ. τ. λ.] So Megasthenes, fr. 9, and Eratosthenes (ap. Strab. xv. 1, p. 261). The statement is correct for parts of India.

μηδέποτε . . . γεγονέναι σιτοδείαν] This unfortunately is not now the case, famine being almost chronic in India.

χρυσόν] Compare *Indika*, §§ 4 and 12, and V. Ball in *Proceedings*

of the Royal Dublin Society, vol. iv. (n. s.) p. 81.

ἄργυρον] *Ind.*, § 11, Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 82. Silver is found in Ajmir and Upper Burmah, and also in other places.

σίδηρον] *Ind.*, § 4, Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

λίθων παντοίων] *Ind.*, §§ 2 and 5, Ball, *op. cit.*, p. 82, and p. 393, sq.

ὦν τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῆς ὀρίζων, πολλῶν προσεδείτο πλοίων πρὸς τε τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀμύνασθαι· παρὰ δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ οὔσης ὕλης, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς πεζῇ παρακομίζεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα. Θεωροῦσα δὲ ἡ Σεμίραμις ἑαυτὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐλεφάντων χρεία πολὺ λειπομένην, ἐπενοήσατό τι κατασκευάζειν ἰδίωμα τούτων τῶν ζώων, ἐλπίζουσα καταπλήξεσθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, διὰ τὸ νομίζειν αὐτοῖς μηδ' εἶναι τὸ σύνολον ἐλεφάντας ἐκτὸς τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν. Ἐπιλέξασα δὲ βοῶν μελάνων τριακότα μυριάδας, τὰ μὲν κρέα τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ὑπηρεσίαν τεταγμένοις διένειμε, τὰς δὲ βύρσας συρράπτουσα καὶ χόρτου πληροῦσα, κατεσκεύασεν εἶδωλα, κατὰ πᾶν ἀπομιμουμένη τὴν τῶν ζώων τούτων φύσιν. Ἐκαστον δὲ τούτων εἶχεν ἐντὸς ἀνδρα τὸν ἐπιμελησόμενον, καὶ κάμηλον, ὑφ' οὗ φερόμενον, φαντασίαν τοῖς πόρρωθεν ὁρῶσιν ἀλητινοῦ θηρίου παρέιχετο. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κατασκευάζοντες αὐτῇ τεχνίται, προσεκαρτέρουν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐν τινι περιβόλῳ περιωκοδομημένῳ, καὶ πύλας ἔχοντι τηρομένας ἐπιμελῶς, ὥστε μηδένα μῆτε τῶν ἔσωθεν ἐξιέναι τεχνιτῶν μῆτε τῶν ἔξωθεν εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτούς. Τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησεν, ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἴδῃ τὸ γινόμενον, μηδὲ διαπέση φήμη πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς περὶ τούτων.

§ 18 (Diod. ii. 17). Ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ θηρία κατεσκευάσθησαν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν ἔτεσι, τῷ τρίτῳ μετεπέμφησεν τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Βακτριανήν. Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς ἀθροισθείσης στρατιᾶς ἦν, [ὡς Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἀνέγραψε,] πεζῶν μὲν τριακόσιν μυριάδες, ἵππέων δὲ πεντήκοντα μυριάδες, ἀρμάτων δὲ δέκα μυριάδες. Ὑπῆρχον δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ καμήλων ὀχούμενοι, μαχαίρας τετραπήχεις ἔχοντες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἴσοι τοῖς ἄρμασι. Ναῦς δὲ ποταμίας κατεσκεύασε διαιρητὰς δισχιλίας, αἷς παρεσκευάσατο καμήλους τὰς πεζῇ παρακομίζούσας τὰ σκάφη. Ἐφόρον δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων εἶδωλα κάμηλοι, καθότι

προείρηται καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους οἱ στρατιῶται συνάγοντες, συνήθεις ἐποίουν τοῦ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν θηρίων. Ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς Σταβροβάτης πυνθανόμενος τὰ τε μεγέθη τῶν ἐτοιμαζομένων δυνάμεων, καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς, ἔσπευδεν ἐν ἅπασιν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν Σεμίραμιν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καλάμου κατεσκεύασε πλοῖα ποτάμια τετρακισχίλια· ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ παρά τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλάδεις τόπους φέρει καλάμου πλῆθος, οὗ τὸ πάχος οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως ἄνθρωπος περιλάβοι· λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων κατασκευαζόμενας ναῦς διαφόρους κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ὑπάρχειν, οὔσης ἀσήπτου ταύτης τῆς ὕλης· ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄπλων παρασκευῆς πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ἤθροισε δυνάμιν πολὺ μείζονα τῆς Σεμιράμιδι συναχθείσης. Ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ἐλεφάντων θήραν, καὶ πολλαπλασιάσας τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας, ἐκόσμησεν ἅπαντας τοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καταπληκτικοῖς λαμπρῶς. Διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν θωρακίων κατασκευήν, ἀνυπόστατον ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

§ 19 (Diod. ii. 18). Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ πάντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κατεσκευάσατο, πρὸς τὴν Σεμίραμιν καθ' ὁδὸν οὔσαν ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι προκατάρχεται τοῦ πολέμου μηδὲν ἀδικηθεῖσα· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄρρητα κατ' αὐτῆς εἰς ἔταιρείαν βλασφημήσας διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυράμενος, ἠπέιλει, καταπολεμήσας αὐτὴν σταυρῷ προσηλώσειν. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἀναγνοῦσα τὴν ἐπιστολήν, καὶ καταγελάσασα τῶν γεγραμμένων, διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἔφησε τὸν Ἰνδὸν πειραθήσεσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρετῆς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προαγαγοῦσα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν

§ 18. πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἵππους. . . καλάμου πλῆθος] Compare *In-synhtheis epoioun*] For the horses' dislike to camels compare Herodotus, i. 80, and Rawlinson's note. meant.

παρεγένετο, κατέλαβε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πλοῖα πρὸς μάχην ἔτοιμα· διόπερ καὶ αὐτὴ καταρτίσασα ταχέως τὰς ναῦς, καὶ πληρώσασα τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιβατῶν, συνεστήσατο κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ναυμαχίαν συμφιλοτιμουμένων καὶ τῶν παρεμβεβληκότων παρὰ τὸ ρεῖθρον πεζῶν. Ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τοῦ κινδύνου παρατείνοντος, καὶ προθύμως ἐκατέρων ἀγωνισαμένων, τὸ τελευταῖον ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐνίκησε, καὶ διέφθειρε τῶν πλοίων περὶ χίλια· συνέλαβε δ' αἰχμαλώτους οὐκ ὀλίγους. ἐπαρθεῖσα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ τὰς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ νήσους καὶ πόλεις ἐξηνδραποδίσασα, καὶ συνήθροισεν αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων ὑπὲρ τὰς δέκα μυριάδας. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, προσποιούμενος μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ φόβον, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ βουλόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους προτρέψασθαι διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν· ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων χωρούτων, ἔζευξε τὸν ποταμὸν, κατασκευάσασα πολυτελῆ καὶ μεγάλην γέφυραν, δι' ἧς ἅπασαν διακομίσασα τὴν δύναμιν, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ζεύγματος φυλακὴν κατέλιπεν ἀνδρῶν ἑξακισμυρίων, τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ προήγεν ἐπιδιώκουσα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, προηγούμενων τῶν εἰδώλων, ὅπως οἱ τῶν πολεμίων κατάσκοποι δηλώσωσι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτῇ θηρίων. Οὐ διεψεύσθη δὲ κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἐκπεμφθέντων τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, ἀπαγγελλόντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίους ἐλεφάντων, ἅπαντες διηποροῦντο, πόθεν αὐτῇ συνακολουθεῖ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος θηρίων. Οὐ μὴν ἔμεινέ γε τὸ ψεῦδος πλείω χρόνον κρυπτόμενον. Τῶν γὰρ παρὰ τῇ Σεμιράμιδι στρατευομένων κατελήθησαν τινες νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ ῥαθυμούντες τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακάς· φοβηθέντες δὲ τὴν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν τιμωρίαν, ἠτύτομόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πλάνην ἀπήγγειλαν· ἐφ' οἷς θαρρῆσας ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει διαγγείλας τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων, ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, διατάξας τὴν δύναμιν.

§ 20 (Diod. ii. 19). Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἐπιτελοῦσης, ὡς ἤγγισαν ἀλλήλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα, Σταβροβάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς προαπέστειλε πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ἰππεῖς μετὰ τῶν ἀρμάτων. Δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βασιλίσσης εὐρώστως τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν ἰππέων, καὶ τῶν κατεσκευασμένων ἐλεφάντων πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐν ἴσοις διαστήμασι τεταγμένων, συνέβαινε πτύρεσθαι τοὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἵππους. Τὰ γὰρ εἰδῶλα πόρρωθεν μὲν ὁμοίαν εἶχε τὴν πρόσοψιν τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς θηρίοις, οἷς συνήθεις ὄντες οἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἵπποι τεθαρρῆκότως 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 ἔπιπτον, οἱ δὲ, τῶν ζῶων ἀπειθούντων τοῖς χαλινοῖς, ὡς ἐτύγχανον, εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξέπιπτον μετὰ τῶν κομιζόντων αὐτοὺς ἵππων. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιλέκτων μαχομένη, καὶ τῷ προτερήματι δεξιῶς χρησαμένη, τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐτρέπατο· ὧν φυγόντων πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, Σταβροβάτης ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ καταπλαγεὶς ἐπήγαγε τὰς τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις, προηγούμενων τῶν ἐλεφάντων· αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τεταγμένος καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίστου θηρίου ποιούμενος, ἐπήγαγε καταπληκτικῶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλίσσαν κατ' αὐτὸν τυχικῶς τεταγμένην. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεφάντων ποιησάντων, ἢ μετὰ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος δύναμις βραχὺν ὑπέστη χρόνον τὴν τῶν θηρίων ἔφοδον. Τὰ γὰρ ζῶα διάφορα ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ὄντα, καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ῥώμαις πεπειθότα, πάντα τὸν ὑφιστάμενον ῥαδίως ἀνῆρει. Διόπερ πολὺς καὶ παντοῖος ἐγένετο φόνος, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑποπιπτόντων, τῶν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀνασχιζομένων, ἐνίων δὲ ταῖς προβοσκίσιν ἀναρρίπτουμένων. Συχνοῦ δὲ πλῆθους νεκρῶν σωρευομένου, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς ὀρώσι δευρὴν ἐκπληξιν καὶ φόβον παριστάντος, οὐδεὶς ἔτι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως ἐτόλμα. Τραπέντος οὖν τοῦ πλῆθους ἅπαντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' αὐτὴν

ἐβιάζετο τὴν Σεμίραμιν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπ' ἐκείνην τοξέυσας, ἔτυχε τοῦ βραχίονος· ἔπειτ' ἀκουτίσας, διήλασε διὰ τοῦ νότου τῆς βασιλίσσης, πλαγίας ἐνεχθείσης τῆς πληγῆς· διόπερ οὐδὲν παθοῦσα δεινὸν ἢ Σεμίραμις ταχέως ἀφίππευσε, πολὺ λειπομένου κατὰ τὸ τάχος τοῦ διώκουτος θηρίου. Πάντων δὲ φευγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν σχεδίαν, καὶ τοσοῦτον πλήθους εἰς ἓνα καὶ στενὸν βιαζομένου τόπου, οἱ μὲν τῆς βασιλίσσης ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέθνησκον συμπατούμενοι καὶ φυρόμενοι παρὰ φύσιν ἀναμιξίᾳ ἰππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοί· τῶν δὲ Ἰνδῶν ἐπικειμένων, ὥσμος ἐγένετο βίαιος ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας διὰ τὸν φόβον, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐξωθουμένους ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέρη τῆς γεφύρας ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διασωζομένων διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἔτυχε τῆς ἀσφαλείας, ἀπέκοψε τοὺς συνέχοντας δεσμοὺς τὴν γέφυραν· ὧν λυθέντων, ἡ μὲν σχεδιά κατὰ πολλὰ διαιρεθεῖσα μέρη, καὶ συχνοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχουσα τῶν διωκόντων Ἰνδῶν, ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ρεύματος σφοδρότητος, ὡς ἔτυχε, κατηρέχθη, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν διέφθειρε, τῇ δὲ Σεμιράμιδι πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρεσκεύασε, κωλύσασα τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπ' αὐτὴν διάβασιν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, διοσημεῖων αὐτῶ γενομένων, καὶ τῶν μάντεων ἀποφαινομένων σημαίνεσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν μὴ διαβαίνειν, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχεν· ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἀλλαγὴν ποιησαμένη τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Βάκτρα, δύο μέρη τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποβεβληκυῖα.

§ 20. δύο μέρη] Nearchus, (ap. Strab. xv. 1, p. 250) says she escaped with twenty men only.

The following passage of Nikolaus is almost certainly derived from this portion of Ktesias' work; but I have not ventured to insert it among his fragments in the absence of direct evidence:—

(Nicolaus, fr. 7, Exe. de Insid.)

Ἵτι μετὰ τὸν Ἰνδικὸν πόλεμον Σεμίραμις ἐπεὶ ὁδοιποροῦσα ἐγένετο ἐν Μήδοις, ἀναβάσα ἐπὶ τι ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, πάντοθεν πλὴν καθ' ἓν μέρος περιερωγῶς καὶ ἀβατον λισσάδι καὶ ἀποτόμῳ πέτρα, ἐθεάτο τὴν στρατιάν ἀπὸ τινος ἐξέδρας, ἣν παραχρῆμα ὑκοδομήσατο. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ στρατοπεδευσασαμένη Σατιβάρας ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἐπεβούλευσε μετὰ τῶν

§ 21 (Diod. ii. 20). Μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον ὑπὸ Νινύου τοῦ υἱοῦ δι' εὐνούχου τινὸς ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα, καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἀμμωνος λόγιον ἀνανεωσαμένη, τὸν ἐπιβουλευσάντα κακὸν

Ἵννεω (cod. ὄννεω) παίδων, αὐτὸς τὸ πᾶν συστήσας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νεανίσκους λέγων, ὅτι κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς εἴη ἐκ Νινύου βασιλεύσαντος ἀποθανεῖσθαι· δεῖν οὖν ὑποφθῆσαντας ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα κτείναντας βασιλεύειν. Καὶ ἄλλως δὲ αὐτοὶ ἔφη αἰσχιστον εἶναι περιορᾶν ἀκόλαστον μητέρα ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἡλικίᾳ ὑσήμεραι λιχνευομένην ἐφ' ὧν ἐτύγχανεν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς γε νεανίας ὄντας, πυνθανομένων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ τίς γενήσεται τρόπος, εἶπεν ὡς οὐδὲν χρὴ κάμνειν ἀλλ' ἀναβάντας πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κορυφῆν τῶν ὄρους, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸς κελεύσῃ (εἶχε δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν), ὠθεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἄκρου εἰς τὰ κάτω. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνέθεντο καὶ πίστει ἐδόσαν ἀλλήλοις ἐπὶ τινος ἱεροῦ. Ἐτυχε δὲ κατόπισθε τοῦ βωμοῦ ἔνθα συνετίθεντο ἀνὴρ Μήδος ἀναπεπτωκῶς καὶ πάντα ἀκούων, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἤσθετο, γράψας ἅπαν εἰς διφθέραν Σεμιράμι πεμπει διὰ τινος. Ἡ δὲ ἀναγνοῦσα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' ἄκρον τοῦ ὄρους ἀναβιβασαμένη καλεῖ τοὺς Ἵννεω παῖδας καὶ κελεύει ὅ τι δήποτ' ἐννοουμένη ἤκειν ὠπλισμένους. καὶ ὁ Σατιβάρας χαίρων τοὺς νεανίσκους μετῆι, ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ ὀρθομένης τῆς πράξεως, ἐπειδὴ ὠπλισμένους αὐτοὺς ἡ μήτηρ ἐκάλει. Ἀφικομένων δὲ μεταστήναι τὸν εὐνούχον κελεύσασα Σεμίραμις λέγει πρὸς τοὺς νεανίσκους· Ὡ καλοῦ κάγαθοῦ πατρὸς κακοὶ παῖδες, οἱ πεισθέντες ὑπὸ κακοῦ δούλου μητρὶ τῇ ἑαυτῶν θάνατον ἐβούλευσασθε, ὡς

ἐμὲ ἐνθένδε ὥστε παρὰ θεῶν τὰ κράτη ἔχουσαν· ἀλλ' ἦδ' ἡμῖν ἐγὼ καὶ με κατὰ κρημονοῦ τοῦδε ὠθεῖτε, ὡς δὴ κλέος ἔχοιτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ βασιλεύοιτε κτείναντες τὴν τε μητέρα Σεμίραμιν καὶ Νινύαν τὸν ἀδελφόν. Ἐδημηγόρησε πρὸς Ἀσσυρίους. [Ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγοριῶν.]

The narrative contained in this passage is apparently referred to by Kephalion (fr. 1, ap. Syncell, p. 167—ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμειος καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου ἔτη τευβ' τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας μεθ' ὧν Βαβυλῶνα φησὶν ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχεσε, . . . στρατείην τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἦτταν καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀνέλλεν υἱοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ Νινύου τῶν παίδων ἐνὸς ἀνηρέθη, τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν. The occurrence of the Ionic form Ἵννεω (Cod. Escur. ὄννεω) is, as Müller points out, strong evidence that the passage in Nikolaus comes from Ktesias.

Polyaenus, viii. 26, has a passage, apparently corrupt, alluding to a revolt of the Sirakes against Semiramis, and giving an inscription set up by her on certain statues, the style of which is not unlike that of a genuine Assyrian inscription. Valerius Maximus, ix. 3, 4, also tells the first part of the story, but substitutes a revolt of Babylon for that of the Sirakes.

§ 21, and fr. 11. ὑπὸ Νινύου . . . ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα] Moses of Chorene's

οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο· τὸνναντίον δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παραδοῦσα, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχοις ἀκούειν ἐκείνου προστάξασα, ταχέως ἠφάνισεν ἑαυτήν, ὡς εἰς θεοὺς κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν μεταστησομένη. Ἔνιοι δὲ μυθολογοῦντές φασιν αὐτὴν γενέσθαι περιστεράν, καὶ πολλῶν ὀρνέων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καταπετασθέντων, μετ' ἐκείνων ἐκπετασθῆναι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τὴν περιστεράν τιμᾶν ὡς θεόν, ἀπαθανατίζοντας τὴν Σεμίραμιν. Αὕτη μὲν οὖν βασιλεύσασα τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπάσης πλὴν Ἰνδῶν, ἐτελεύτησε τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον, βιώσασα μὲν ἔτη ἑξήκοντα καὶ δύο, βασιλεύσασα δὲ δύο πρὸς τοῖς τεσσαράκοντα. [Κτησίας μὲν οὖν ὁ Κνίδιος περὶ Σεμιράμιδος τοιαῦθ' ἱστόρηκεν.]

FRAGMENTUM 10.

(Athenaeus, xiv., p. 639, C). [Βήρωστος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Βαβυλωνιακῶν τῷ Λώφῳ φησὶ μὴν ἑκκαίδεκάτῃ ἄγεσθαι ἑορτὴν Σακίαν προσαγορευομένην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐν αἷς ἔθος εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τοὺς δεσπότας ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν, ἀφηγείσθαι τε τῆς οἰκίας ἓνα αὐτῶν ἐνδεδυκότα

version of the close of the reign of Semiramis has been already cited on § 5. Justin, i. 2, says, "ad postremum cum concubitu filii petisset ab eodem interfecta est xlii. annos post Ninum regno potita," with which Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, i. p. 648) compares the fact that Beltis was regarded as both the mother and wife of Nin.

γενέσθαι περιστεράν] Here Semiramis's character as Ishtar again becomes prominent. See notes on § 4.

Fr. 10. Σακίαν] Strabo, xi. 8,

p. 431—Ἐπιθέμενοι δ' αὐτοῖς (Saciis) πανηγυρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων οἱ τότε ταύτῃ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοὶ νύκτωρ ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἠφάνισαν . . . καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος, καὶ τὸ τῶν συμβῶμων θεῶν ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο Ὀμανοῦ καὶ Ἀνανδάτου Περσικῶν δαιμόνων· ἀπεδειξάν τε πανήγυριν κατ' ἔτος ἱερὰν τὰ Σάκαια. Hesychius, s. v. Σάκαια, apparently refers to the feast mentioned by Strabo. Dion. Chrysost. *Orat.* iv., speaks of ἡ τῶν Σακκῶν ἑορτὴ as a Persian festival; but his account seems to refer rather to the Babylonian

στολὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ βασιλικῇ, ὃν καὶ καλεῖσθαι ζωγάνην· μνημονεύει τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ Κτησίας ἐν δευτέρῳ Περσικῶν.]

FRAGMENTUM 11.

(Athonagoras, *Leg. pro Christian.* 26). [Διὰ τὴν Δερκετῶν τὰς περιστεράς καὶ τὴν Σεμίραμιν σέβουσι Σύροι· τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον, εἰς περιστεράν μετέβαλεν ἡ γυνή, [Ὁ μῦθος παρὰ Κτησίας].

feast mentioned by Berosus, and perhaps Ktesias. Probably, owing to an accidental similarity in the sound of their names, two quite

independent festivals—one Persian, the other Babylonian—were confounded by the Greeks.

LIBER TERTIUS.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 22 (Diod. ii. 21). Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ταύτης θάνατον Νινύας ὁ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος υἱὸς παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤρχεν εἰρηνικῶς, τὸ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ κεκινδυνευμένον τῆς μητρὸς οὐδαμῶς ζηλώσας. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διέτριβεν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὀρώμενος πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εὐνούχων· ἐξήλου δὲ τρυφὴν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, καὶ τὸ μηδέποτε κακοπαθεῖν, μηδὲ μεριμνᾶν, ὑπολαμβάνων βασιλείας εὐδαίμονος εἶναι τέλος τὸ πάσαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἀνεπικαλύπτως. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων γινόμενον φόβον, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μετεπέμπετο στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν ὀρισμένον, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπὸ ἔθνους ἐκάστον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκ πάντων ἀθροισθὲν στρατεύμα ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως συνείχεν, ἐκάστον τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸν εὐνούστατον τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύων ἡγεμόνα· τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ διελθόντος, μετεπέμπετο πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν τοὺς ἴσους στρατιώτας, καὶ τοὺς προτέρους ἀπέλυνεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας· οὗ συντελουμένου, συνέβαινε τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν τεταγμένους πάντας καταπεπληῆχθαι, θεωροῦντας αἰεὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ στρατοπεδευομένας,

§ 22. ἤρχεν εἰρηνικῶς] Ktesias attributes to all the successors of Semiramis the character which the popular legends of the Greeks had already assigned to Sardanapalus, perhaps also with some reference to the inactive character of the three kings who preceded the close of the sixth Assyrian dynasty, an event which partly corresponds to his fall

of Nineveh. The entry "Peace in the land" is far commoner in the 'Assyrian canon' under these princes (Shalmaneser III., Asshurdayan-il III. and Asshur-nirari II., b. c. 783-745) than under their immediate predecessors and successors (compare Lenormant, *Hist. Anc.* i. p. 213).

καὶ τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις ἢ μὴ πειθαρχοῦσιν ἐτοίμην οὐσαν τιμωρίαν. Τὰς δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καταλλαγὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπενόησεν, ἵνα πρὶν ἢ καλῶς γνωσθῆναι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἕκαστος χωρίζεται πατρίδα. Ὁ γὰρ πολὺς χρόνος τῆς στρατείας ἐμπειρίαν τε τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ φρόνημα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι περιτίθησι, καὶ τὸ πλείστον ἀφορμὰς μεγάλας παρέχεται πρὸς ἀπόστασιν καὶ συνωμοσίαν κατὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων. Τὸ δὲ μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν ἐξωθεν θεωρεῖσθαι, τῆς μὲν ἀληθοῦς περὶ αὐτὸν τρυφῆς ἄγνοιαν παρέιχετο πᾶσι, καθάπερ δὲ θεὸν ἀόρατον διὰ τὸν φόβον ἕκαστος οὐδὲ λόγῳ βλασφημεῖν ἐτόλμα. Στρατηγούς δὲ καὶ σατράπας καὶ διοικητάς, ἔτι δὲ δικαστάς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος ἀποδείξας, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα διατάξας ὡς ποτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν, τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον κατέμεινεν ἐν τῇ Νίνῳ.

FRAGMENTUM 12.

(Athenaeus, xii. 7, p. 528, F). [Κτησίας ἐν τρίτῃ Περσικῶν] καὶ πάντας μὲν [φησι] τοὺς βασιλευσάντας τῆς Ἀσίας περὶ τρυφὴν σπουδάσαι, μάλιστα δὲ Νινύαν τὸν Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμιδος υἱόν· καὶ οὗτος οὖν ἔνδον μένων καὶ τρυφῶν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐωρᾶτο, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐνούχων καὶ τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 23 (Diod. ii. 21, *ad fin.*). Παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν,

§ 23 and fr. 13. οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς] Ktesias' list of Assyrian kings is still extant; but it is more convenient to regard it as representing the list which, according to Photius, formed one of the appendices to the *Persika*, than to give the names here. As their history, together with the account of the destruction of Ninc-

veh, only occupied one book, it is not likely he gave many particulars about them. In addition to what Diodorus has preserved in regard to Teutamus, there are a few details in Kephalion (fr. 1) which are apparently derived from our author.

παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς] There were really several cases in which the

ἐπὶ γενεὰς τριάκοντα ἐβασίλευσαν, μέχρι Σαρδαναπάλου. Ἐπὶ τούτου γὰρ ἢ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονία μετέπεσεν εἰς Μήδους, ἔτη διαμείνασα πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων, ἔτι δ' ἐξήκοντα [καθάπερ φησὶ Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ

line of descent of the Assyrian kings was broken; but those we know of belonged to the period after B. C. 745, and were, therefore, later than the close of Ktesias' list. Agathias, ii. 25, says: Σεμίραμις . . . καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπαντες οἱ τοῦτων ἀπόγονοι μέχρι καὶ ἐς Βελεοῦν τὸν Δερκετάδου· ἐς τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ τὸν Βελεοῦν τῆς τοῦ Σεμιραμείου φύλου διαδοχῆς πανσαμένης, Βεληταράς τις ὄνομα, φησι, φησι γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κήπων μελεδωνὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης, ἐκαρπώσατο παράλογως τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐνεφύτευσε γένει, ὡς πού Βίῳνι γέγραπται καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Πολύστορι. This, however, does not come from Ktesias: the Beletaras here mentioned is not the nineteenth king of his list, who succeeded Belochus, but corresponds, not only in name, but in what is related of him, to the usurper Tiglathpileser II., B. C. 745.¹

ἐπὶ γενεὰς τριάκοντα.] The list, however, includes thirty-six names, counting Ninus and his two successors and Sardanapalus. In § 24 Sardanapalus is described as τριακοστὸς ἀπὸ Νίνου. Kephallion quotes twenty-three kings as the number given by Ktesias, but he is very careless and unreliable. Diodorus' figures for the duration of

the empire are most probably correct.

From Athenaeus, xii. 7, p. 528 (quoting fr. 12), it would appear that Diodorus' reference to Ktesias' "Second Book" here is either a mistake or a recapitulation.

Βέλιμος of fr. 13 is perhaps the Bellothus, or Belochus II., of the list, the eighteenth king, about 600 years after Ninus. Eusebius makes him father of the Atossa of Hellanikus. There were many varieties of the legend connecting Perseus with the East (Hellanikus, *Persika*, fr. 159; Herodotus ii. 91, vi. 54, vii. 61, 150; Diod. i. 41; Strabo, xvi. 4, pp. 402-3; Apollodorus, ii. 4. 5. 1).

Πανίαν.] The twenty-third king, according to Eusebius.

Mithraeum.] A name of Persian derivation, the twenty-fifth king. The legends connecting Medea with the Medes have as little foundation as that connecting Perseus with the Persians (Hekataeus, fr. 171; Herod. iii. 62; Strabo, xi. 13, p. 455).

Ταύτανος.] Some of the earlier inhabitants of Susiana, as well as those of Aethiopia, in Africa, were Cushites. In Assyro-Babylonian, as in Hebrew records, both nations are sometimes designated by terms

¹ Oppert and some others, however, identify Agathias' Beletaras with Bel-Karpu (?), a much earlier king.

δευτέρα βίβλῳ]. Τὰ δ' ὀνόματα πάντων τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐτῶν, ὧν ἕκαστος ἐβασίλευσεν, οὐ κατεπίγει γράφειν, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπράχθαι μνήμης ἄξιον. Μόνη γὰρ τετύχηκεν ἀναγραφῆς ἢ πεμφθεῖσα συμμαχία

derived from Cush (*e.g.* Tirhakah is styled *Sar mat Musur mat Kusi* by Asshur-banipal; and the Kassii are mentioned amongst the tribes of Susiana). Among the Greeks the African nation were always styled Aethiopians, while they called the Asiatic nation Kissians, or Kos-saeans, in addition to the more usual appellations of Elymaeans and Susians (Aeschyl. *Pers.* 119, μέγ' ἄστν Σουσίδος καὶ τὸ Κισσίον πόλισμα. *Psychostasia*, fr. 279, ap. Strabon, xv. 3, p. 317, λέγονται δὲ καὶ Κίσιοι οἱ Σούσιοι. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος τὴν μητέρα Μέμονος Κισσίαν, "a Kissian woman"; Herodotus, iii. 91, ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίον χώρας, cf. v. 49, vii. 62).

In the *Odyssey* (i. 24, Αἰθίοπας τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίεται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, Οἱ μὲν δυσομένον Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος) Eastern Aethiopians are mentioned. Herodotus, vii. 70, identifies the Eastern Aethiopians with a tribe living on the borders of India in his time; Ephorus (fr. 38) made Aethiopia the southern division of the world; Strabo (i. 2, pp. 47-59) discusses the various views about the Aethiopians at great length.

The earlier Greek writers who mentioned Memnon, in connection with the Trojan war, either did not specify his country at all, or merely

described him in vague terms as an Aethiopian (*Odys.* xi. 521. Hesiod. *Theog.* 985. Τιθωνῶ δ' Ἡὸς τέκε Μέμνονα χαλκοκορυστήν, Αἰθίοπων βασιλῆα καὶ Ἡμαθίωνα ἀνακτα. This appears to be the earliest passage connecting Tithonus with Memnon). One of the two epics attributed to Arktinus—the Aethiopsis—dealt with the exploits of Memnon: Quintus Smyrnaeus (ii. 114, *sq.*), who probably followed Arktinus, merely makes Memnon describe his journey from the shores of the ocean, and his defeat of the Solymi by the way, and represents him (ii. 586) as buried, Πὰρ ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα βαθυρόου Αἰθίοπιου (in the *Troad*), a tradition which is also found in Strabo, xiii. 1, p. 89. Nothing is here determined as to the situation of the Aethiopians whom he commanded. Later writers were divided in opinion between the African nation and the Kissians of Susiana, whom they rightly regarded as Cushites, or Aethiopians. Memnon's being son of the Dawn would seem to favour his Eastern origin; but the balance of opinion amongst the Greeks was in favour of the African Aethiopians.

Aeschylus, as we have seen, made him a Kissian. Herodotus also (v. 53-54, iv. 151) connects him with Susa. Strabo mentions

τοῖς Τρωσὶν ὑπ' Ἀσσυρίων, ἧς ἐστρατήγει Μέμνων ὁ Τιθωνοῦ. Τευτάμον γὰρ βασιλεύοντος τῆς Ἀσίας, ὃς ἦν εἰκοστὸς ἀπὸ Νινύου τοῦ Σεμιράμιδος, φασὶ τοὺς μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἕλληνας 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, ὑπήκουον δ' ὄντα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβευτὰς περὶ βοηθείας· τὸν δὲ Τεύταμον μυρίου μὲν Λιθίοπας, ἄλλους δὲ τοσοῦτους Σουσιανούς σὺν

Memnonia, or tombs of Memnon, on the Asepus (xiii. 1, p. 89), and at Paltus, in Syria (xv. 3, p. 317). He gives the legend connecting him with Susa (xv. 3, p. 317—*Λέγεται γὰρ δὴ [τὰ Σόσσα] καὶ κτίσμα Τιθωνοῦ τοῦ Μέμνονος πατρὸς . . . ἢ δ' ἀκρόπολις ἐκαλεῖτο Μεμνόειον*), and that connecting him with Africa (xvii. 1, p. 458—*εἰ δ' ὡς φασὶν ὁ Μέμνων ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἰσμάνδης λέγεται καὶ ὁ λαβύρινθος Μεμνόειον ἂν εἴη καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, οὐπερ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀβίδῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Θήβαις. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ λέγεται τινα Μεμνόεια*).

The Greeks regarded the African origin of Memnon as confirmed by the statues of Amunhotep III. (whose name they corrupted into Memnon), and of the palace-temple of Rameses II., *Miamun*, at Thebes. The former of these mistakes is pointed out by Pausanias (i. 41, 3, *εἶδον καθήμενον ἄγαλμα . . . Μέμνονα ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τοῦτον γὰρ φασὶν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας ὀρηθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἄχρι Σόσων· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ Μέμνονα οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγουσι, Φαμένωφα δὲ εἶναι τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὗ τοῦτο ἄγαλμα ἦν*).

Synkellus, i. p. 286 (or perhaps Manetho), identifies Ἀμεινώφθις and Memnon. Pausanias elsewhere adopts the story of Memnon being a Susian.

Aelianus (H. Anim. v. 1) apparently adopts the Susian version, a strange variation of which is found in Hyginus, 223 (Domus Cyri regis in Ecbatanis, quam fecit Memnon lapidibus variis et candidis vinctis auro).

Ktesias, residing at the Persian court, naturally preferred the version of the legend which made Memnon an Asiatic; and as he had represented the Assyrians as rulers of all Asia, he could scarcely expect his readers to suppose that they made no effort to relieve their Trojan vassal. He turned the legend to his purpose by making Tithonus an Assyrian satrap, and his son the commander of an Assyrian army.

He placed these events in the reign of Teutamus, probably because the date he assigned to him corresponded with that which had already been fixed approximately for the siege of Troy. He, doubt-

ἄρμασι διακοσίοις ἑξαποστῆλαι, στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντα Μέμνονα τὸν Τιθωνοῦ· καὶ τὸν μὲν Τιθωνὸν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ὄντα στρατηγὸν τῆς Περσίδος εὐδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ μάλιστα τῶν καθεσταμένων ἐπάρχων, 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 Μεμνόεια· κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρον ὁδόν, τὴν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν

less, went into much greater details than the epitome has preserved to us, some of which still survive in fr. 13.

In the epitome, *Αἰθίοπας* = Kissian, or Cushite, inhabitants of Elam; perhaps represented by the modern Lurs.

Σουσιανούς = Semites. The upper classes in Elam in the time of Asshur-bani-pal seem to have been of Semitic, the mass of the people of Cushite race (*cf.* Genesis, x. 7, 22).

The palace at Susa was generally called Memnonian by the Greeks. Sayce (*Records of the Past*, vii. p. 83) considers that this originated from Susa being styled Ummam Amman (= "House of [the God] Amman" in Elamite). Susa was the capital of Elam from an early period. The palace ordinarily used by the Persian kings was erected by Darius I. and Artaxerxes II. (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, iii. pp. 247, *seq.*; Loftus, *Chaldaeae and Susiana*, pp. 335-431). Mediaeval Persian traditions ascribed the foundation of the city to Houshenk, grandson of Kaiomurs, the second king of

the Peishdadian dynasty, who belongs to an altogether mythical period.

λεωφόρον ὁδόν] See Pausanias, x. 31, 6, who identifies it with the Persian royal road. (See § 95.)

For the assertion *ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἱστορεῖσθαι, κ. τ. λ.*, there appears to have been no other foundation than the name applied to the palace; and perhaps the Persian legends regarding Mithra, in whom Creuzer (*Symb.* i. p. 453) recognizes a likeness to Memnon, son of the Dawn. The subject of Memnon is discussed at great length in the *Philological Museum*, ii. pp. 146-184. The writer regards Memnon as representing the first man, like Menu, Menes, and the Phrygian Manis. See also Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. p. 176, iii. p. 154, and Robertson Smith in *English Historical Review*, April, 1887. Moses of Chorene (i. 18 and 31) gives a version of the story in which, instead of Memnon, Zarmair, king of Armenia, is sent by Teutamus with a small force of Aethiopians to assist Troy, and is slain by the Greeks.

ὀνομαζομένην Μεμνόνειον. Ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον Λιθίοπες, λέγοντες ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, καὶ βασιλεία παλαιὰ δεικνύουσιν, ἃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι φασὶ Μεμνόνεια. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς Τρωσὶ λέγεται βοηθήσαντα τὸν Μέμνονα μετὰ δισμυρίων μὲν πεζῶν, ἄρμάτων δὲ διακοσίων, ὀνομασθῆναί τε δι' ἀνδρείαν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀνελεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν ἐνεδρευθέντα κατασφαγῆναι· τοῦ δὲ σώματος τοὺς Λιθίοπας ἐγκρατεῖς γενομένους, κατακαῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ πρὸς Τιθωνὸν ἀποκομίσαι. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Μέμνονος τοιαυτ' ἐν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἱστορεῖσθαι φασιν οἱ βάρβαροι.

FRAGMENTUM 13.

(Cephalion I. Fr. 1, apud Syncell. p. 167 A et Eusebium *Chron. Arm.*, p. 41, Mai). [Ἀρχομαι γράφειν ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν καὶ . . . Κτησίης ὁ Κνίδιος . . . καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν (regum Assyriorum) εἰς ἃ, ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἤρχον, παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἔχων ἦττον αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ εἰς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν κ'. ("neminiusque eorum minus xx annis sceptrum tenuisse," Euseb.). Τὸ γὰρ ἀπόλεμον καὶ ἀφιλοκίνδυνον καὶ γυναικῶδες αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀσφαλές. Ἐνδον γὰρ ἔμενον, οὐδέ τι αὐτοῖς ἐν ἔργον ἐπρήσσετο, οὐδὲ ἑώρα τις αὐτοὺς πλὴν αἷ τε παλλακίδες καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ γυναικῶδεις. Τοὺς δὲ βασιλεῖς τοῦσδε εἷ τις εἰδῆσαι βούλεται, Κτησίας ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων ὀνόματα αὐτῶν κ' οἶμαι καὶ γ' . . . Ἐτέων δὲ ὄντων ἀπὸ Νίνου μ' που καὶ χ' Βέλιμος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται Περσεὺς ὁ Δανάης εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, ναῦς ἄγων ρ'. Ἐφευγε δὲ Περσεὺς Διόνυσον τὸν Σεμέλης υἱέα. . . . ("deinde omisso Perseo Bacchique triumpho," Euseb.). Ἐστέρη δὲ γενεῇ κατὰ Πανύαν ἄρχοντα ὁ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν στόλος ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ τε Φάσιν καὶ Μηδείην τὴν Κολχίδα, καὶ Ἡρακλέα πλανηθέντα ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν Ἰλα λέγουσι περὶ

τοὺς Καππαδόκας ἀληθῆναι. . . α, δὲ ἐτέων ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως εἰς Μητραῖον (*Mithraeum*, Euseb.) βασιλεία ἂν ἀριθμοῖ τὸ περιτελλόμενον· (ἐφ' οὗ) Μηδεία Κολχίς ἀνεχώρησεν Αἰγέως, ἧς υἱὸς Μῆδος, ἐξ οὗ Μῆδοι καὶ ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη Μηδεία . . . Μητραίου δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται Ταύτανος, ζῶν καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ ἔθνη τὰ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ νόμους· καὶ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτου καινὸν ἔργον· Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ καὶ Μενέλαος οἱ Μυκηναῖοι ἐστρατεύσαντο σὺν Ἀργείοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισιν Ἀχαιοῖς τῆς εἰς Ἴλιον πόλιν Πριάμου τοῦ Φρυγῶς στρατηγῆς. (Subjungit Eusebius). Priami exemplar quoque literarum ad Teutamum circumfertur ejusmodi. "Militari vi," inquit, "in regione tua a Graecis irruentibus appetitus sum, belloque certatum est varia fortuna. Nunc vero et filius meus Hector exstinctus est, et aliorum multa proles ac strenua. Copiarum igitur valido subduce nobis suppetias mitte." Hinc diserte ait missum esse a Teutamio auxilium ducemque exercitus Memnonem Tithoni filium quem insidiis exceptum Thessali interemerunt.]

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 24 (Diod. ii. 23). Σαρδανάπαλος δέ, τριακοστὸς μὲν

§ 24. Σαρδανάπαλος] In his account of Sardanapalus, Ktesias has combined the stories already current among the Greeks as to the luxury of Asshur-bani-pal (B. C. 667-640) with the events attending the fall of Nineveh at the hands of the Medes and Babylonians, under Sarcus (B. C. 606), and the faint traditions circulating at Babylon of the inactivity of the later kings of the sixth Assyrian dynasty, and their overthrow by Tiglathpileser II. (B. C. 745), an event represented by the era of Nabonassar, and the change from the sixth to the

seventh dynasty of Berosus; while his chronology assigns Sardanapalus to a date much earlier than even the earliest of these events. (Compare Lenormant, *Hist. Anc.* iv. p. 213-216.)

Our history of the reign of Asshur-nirari (B. C. 753-746) is derived from the Assyrian canon, which, for the first four years of his reign, and also for the seventh, has the entry "in the land," *i. e.* no warlike expeditions. For the fifth and sixth years two important expeditions are mentioned.

In the eighth year the entry is

ὄν ἀπὸ Νίνου τοῦ συστησαμένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἔσχατος δὲ γενόμενος Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς, ὑπερῆρεν ἅπαντας τοὺς πρὸ

“revolt at Kalah,” and the entry for the next year chronicles the accession of Tiglathpileser II. in the month Iyar. (Some of these entries have been otherwise explained.) The annals of Asshurbanpal are a record of conquests, luxury, and magnificence, while there seems little doubt (in spite of the contrary opinion of Duncker and some others) that some fragmentary tablets relating to a hostile invasion of Assyria belong to the reign of Asshur-akh-iddin II. or Sarakus.¹

Hellanicus, *Persika*, fr. 158—*δύο φησὶ Σαρδαναπάλλους γεγονέναι εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ὃς ἐν τρυφῇ ὄριζετο τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, λέγει δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ β' πόλεις ἔκτισε τῆς Κιλικίας, Ταρσὸν καὶ Ἀγχιάλην.* A good authority (Berosus, ii. fr. 12) attributes the foundation of Tarsus to Sennacherib, who made some campaigns in that region.

Herodotus (ii. 150) mentions the treasures of Sardanapalus, “the Ninivite king.” He adopts the true date for the destruction of Nineveh, which he attributes altogether to the Medes, under Kyaxares (i. 103, 106, 185). Aristophanes (*Aves*, 1021) also mentions Sardanapalus.

¹ These tablets direct supplications to the gods for the deliverance of Assyria from Kāstariti, lord of the city of Karkassi, and Mamitarsu, lord of the cities of the people of the Medes, who had confederated to attack Asshur-akh-iddin, King of Assyria (Brit. Mus. S. 2005). Another tablet (S. 4668) names certain cities they had taken. Some writers refer these tablets to a Kimmerian incursion in the reign of Esarhaddon (Asshur-akh-iddin I.), but without good ground.

The narrative of Berosus (ii. 13) is our principal authority for the true history of the fall of Nineveh, but is unfortunately very corrupt. He seems to have stated that Nabopolassar, a Babylonian, and satrap of Babylon, having been sent by Sarakus against certain invaders coming from the sea (Elamite rebels?), resolved to revolt, and accordingly persuaded the Median king to give his daughter in marriage to his son, and then, in alliance with him, to march against Nineveh; whereupon Sarakus burnt himself and the palace called Evorita, and Nabopolassar obtained the government (*ἀρχή*) of the Chaldeans and Babylon.

Kastor adopted the scheme of Ktesias; but gave Sardanapalus a successor, Ninus II. (fr. 2—*καταλήγομεν ἐπὶ Νίνου τὸν διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ Σαρδαναπάλλου*), apparently because he was aware that the Assyrian empire lasted beyond the date assigned by Ktesias for its destruction.

Strabo (xvi. 1, p. 334) adopts Ktesias' scheme. At xiv. 5, p. 225, he says:—*Ἐστ' Ἀγχιάλη . . . κτίσμα Σαρδαναπάλλου φησὶν Ἀριστόβουλος· ἐνταῦθα δ' εἶναι μνήμα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλλου καὶ τύπον λίθινον συμβάλλοντα τοὺς τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς*

αὐτοῦ τρυφῇ καὶ ῥαθυμίᾳ. Χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν ἐξωθεν ὀράσθαι, βίον ἔζησε γυναικώδη· καὶ διαιτώμενος μὲν μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων, πορφύραν δὲ καὶ τὰ μαλακώτατα τῶν ἐρίων ταλασιουργῶν, στολήν μὲν γυναικείαν ἐνεδεδύκει, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον καὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα ψιμυθίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τῶν ἑταιρῶν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀπαλώτερον πάσης γυναικὸς τρυφερᾶς κατεσκευάστο. Ἐπετήδευσε δὲ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἔχειν γυναικώδη, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πότους οὐ μόνον βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν τῶν δυναμένων μάλιστα τὰς ἡδονὰς παρέχεσθαι, συνεχῶς ἀπολαύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀφροδισιακὰς τέρψεις μεταδιώκειν ἀνδρὸς ἅμα καὶ γυναικός· ἐχρήτο γὰρ ταῖς ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα συνουσίαις ἀναίδην, τῆς ἐκ τῆς πράξεως αἰσχύνης οὐδὲν ὄλως φροντίζων. Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ προήχθη τρυφῆς καὶ τῆς αἰσχίστης ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας, ὥστε ἐπικήδειον εἰς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι, καὶ παραγγεῖλαι τοῖς διαδόχοις τῆς ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευταίην ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπιγράψαι τὸ συγγραφὲν μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου βαρβαρικῶς, μεθερμηνευθὲν δὲ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τινος Ἑλληνοῦ·

Εἶδὼς ὅτι θνητὸς ἔφυσ, σὸν θυμὸν ἄεξε,
Τερπόμενος θαλίησι· θανόντι σοι οὔτις ὄνησις.

δακτύλους, ὡς ἂν ἀποκροτοῦντα· ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιγραφὴν εἶναι φασὶ Ἀσσυρίους γράμμασι τοιάνδε· Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακονδaráξω παῖς, Ἀγχιάλην καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐδείμεν ἡμέρη μῆ· ἐσθίει, πίνει, παῖζε ὡς τᾶλλα τοῦτον οὐκ ἄξια τοῦ ἀποκροτήματος εἶ εἰδὼς κ. τ. λ.,” as in Ktesias, § 24, with an additional line, “Ἦδε σοφῇ βιότιοι παραίνεσιν ἀνθρώποισιν. Arrian., *Exp. Alex.*, ii. p. 91, gives nearly the same account of the monument at Anchialus. The monument was probably in reality an Assyrian stele, and the account does not appear to come from Ktesias, who adopted a modification of it fitting in better with his own narrative.

Velleius makes Sardanapalus a king “mollitiis fluentem et nimium felicem modo suo” (i. 6). He places him 1070 years after the foundation of the Assyrian empire, and 770 years before his own time, which agrees fairly well with the era of Nabonassar.

Justin adopts the narrative of Ktesias.

τριάκοστὸς] The list makes him the thirty-sixth king. Velleius (i. 6) makes him the thirty-third; Kephalion the twenty-third.

ὑπερῆρεν . . . τρυφῇ] Asshur-bani-pal is perhaps the only Assyrian king, who represents himself on his monuments feasting with his queen.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σποδὸς εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης βασιλεύσας.
 Ταῦτ' ἔχω, ὅσ' ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα, καὶ μετ' ἔρωτος
 Τέρπν' ἔπαθον· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κείνα λέλειπται.
 Τοιοῦτος δ' ὦν τὸν τρόπον, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς αἰσχροῶς κατέ-
 στρεψε τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίαν ἄρδην
 ἀνέτρεψε πολυχρονιωτάτην γενομένην τῶν μνημονευομένων.

FRAGMENTUM 14.

(Clemens Alex. *Strom.* i. 41). [Εἰ δὲ τὰ Ἀσσυρίων
 πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀφ' ὧν Κτησίας
 λέγει].

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 25 (Diod. ii. 24). Ἀρβάκης γάρ τις, Μήδος μὲν τὸ
 γένος, ἀνδρεία δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι διαφέρων, ἐστρα-
 τήγει Μήδων, τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπεμπομένων εἰς τὴν
 Νίνου. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν στρατείαν γενόμενος συνήθησεν τῷ
 στρατηγῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεκλήθη κατα-
 λῦσαι τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίαν. Ἦν δ' οὗτος ὄνομα
 μὲν Βέλεσος, τῶν δ' ἱερέων ἐπισημότατος, οὗς Βαβυλώνιοι
 καλοῦσι Χαλδαίους. Ἐμπειρίαν οὖν ἔχων μεγίστην ἀστρο-
 λογίας τε καὶ μαντικῆς, προέλεγε τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ἀποβησό-

§ 25. Ἀρβάκης] Pharnaces in
 Velleius, i. 6; Arbactas in Justin,
 i. 3; Varbakes in Moses of Chorene;
 Sayce in *Journal of Sacred Litera-
 ture*, n. s., iv. p. 165 (1863);
 compared Arphaxad, apparently
 regarding the name as Semitic. In
 Judith i. Arphaxad is a king of
 Media, the builder of Ekbatana,
 who is defeated and slain by Nabu-
 chodonosor, king of Assyria.
 Rawlinson makes the name to be a
 corruption of Harpagus.

Arbaku occurs as the name of a
 Median chief in an inscription of
 Sargon (G. Smith, *Assyrian Dis-
 coveries*, p. 289).

Βέλεσος] Lenormant explains
 this name = Balazu, 'the terrible,'
 adding that Balazu, son of Dakku,
 was one of the Chaldean princes
 conquered by Tiglath-Pileser II.;
 but it seems preferable to regard it
 as = Pulu, the name assigned to
 Tiglath-Pileser II. in the Babylo-
 nian Canon, and under which he
 reigned for two years in Babylonia,
 v. c. 729-727 (see Pinches in *Proc.
 of Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. vi.
 p. 198). He is the Phulus of
 Berosus (ii. 11), the Πῶρος of
 Ptolemy, and the 𐎱𐎠 of 2 Kings
 xv. 19 (Φούλ, Φαλώχ, or Φαλῶς in
 the LXX).

μενον ἀδιαπτῶτως. Διὸ καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις, τῷ
 στρατηγῷ τῶν Μήδων, ὄντι φίλῳ, προεῖπεν, ὅτι πάντως
 αὐτὸν δεῖ βασιλεῦσαι πάσης τῆς χώρας, ἧς ἄρχει Σαρδανά-
 παλος. Ὁ δ' Ἀρβάκης ἐπαινέσας τὸν ἄνδρα, τούτῳ μὲν
 ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν σατραπείαν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, τῆς πράξ-
 εως ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθούσης, αὐτὸς δὲ καθαπερὶ τινος θεοῦ
 φωνῇ μετεωρισθεὶς, τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνῶν συνί-
 στατο, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐστιάσεις καὶ κοινὰς ὀμίλιας ἐκτενῶς
 ἅπαντας παρελάμβανε, φιλίαν ἐγκατασκευάζων πρὸς ἕκα-
 στον. Ἐφιλοτιμήθη δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατ' ὄψιν ιδεῖν, καὶ
 τὸν ὄλον τούτου βίον κατασκέψασθαι. Διόπερ δούς τι
 τῶν εὐνούχων χρυσὴν φιάλην, εἰσήχθη πρὸς τὸν Σαρδανά-
 παλον, καὶ τὴν τε τρυφήν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν γυναικῶδη τῶν
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων ζῆλον ἀκριβῶς κατανόησας, κατεφρόνησε
 μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀξίου, προήχθη δὲ πολὺ
 μᾶλλον ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν δοθεισῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπὸ τοῦ Χαλδαίου.
 Τέλος δὲ συνωμοσίαν ἐποίησατο πρὸς τὸν Βέλεσον, ὥστε
 αὐτὸν μὲν Μήδους ἀποστήσαι καὶ Πέρσας, ἐκείνον δὲ
 πείσαι Βαβυλωνίους κοινωνῆσαι τῆς πράξεως, καὶ τὸν τῶν
 Ἀράβων ἡγεμόνα φίλον ὄντα προσλαβέσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν
 ὄλων ἐπίθεσιν. Ὡς δὲ ὁ ἐνιαύσιος τῆς στρατείας διεληλύθει
 χρόνος, διαδοχῆς δ' ἐτέρας ἐλθούσης, ἀπελύθησαν οἱ πρό-
 τεροι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀρβάκης
 ἔπεισε τοὺς μὲν Μήδους ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, Πέρσας δ'
 ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Παραπλησίως δὲ
 καὶ ὁ Βέλεσος τοὺς τε Βαβυλωνίους ἔπεισεν ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς
 ἐλευθερίας, καὶ πρεσβεύσας εἰς Ἀραβίαν, παρεστήσατο τὸν

θεοῦ φωνῇ] This is explained by
 the passage of Nikolaus, quoted on
 frag. 15.

εἰς Ἀραβίαν] Arabia also ap-
 pears as an independent state in
 the account of Ninus' wars, and in
 Diod. ii. 48.

In Berosus' account of the real

fall of Nineveh (ii. 13), the text, as
 it stands, only mentions Nabopo-
 lassar of Babylon, and 'Astyages,'
 satrap of Media, as entering into
 an alliance against Sarakus, in ad-
 dition to the "forces coming from
 the sea" (Elamites? perhaps re-
 presented by the Persians of Ktesias).

ἡγούμενον τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὄντα φίλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ξένον, μετασχεῖν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσιαίου χρόνου διελθόντος, πάντες οὗτοι, πλήθος στρατιωτῶν συναγαγόντες, ἦκον πανδημεὶ πρὸς τὴν Νίνον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διαδοχὴν ἄγοντες, ὡς ἦν σύνηθες, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ καταλύσοντας τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίαν. Ἀθροισθέντων οὖν τῶν προειρημένων τεττάρων ἔθνων εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ὁ μὲν σύμπας αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ὑπῆρχεν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας· εἰς μίαν δὲ παρεμβολὴν συναχθέντες, ἐβουλεύοντο κοινῇ περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος.

FRAGMENTUM 15.

(a) (Athenaeus, xii. 7, 38). Τοιοῦτος δ' ἦν καὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἀνακυνδaráξω λέγουσιν υἱὸν, οἱ δὲ Ἀναβαξάρου. ὅτε δὴ οὖν Ἀρβάκης, εἰς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγῶν, Μῆδος γένος, διεπράξατο διὰ τινος τῶν εὐνούχων Σπαραμεῖζου θεάσασθαι Σαρδανάπαλλον, καὶ μόλις αὐτῷ ἐπετράπη ἐκείνου ἐτελέσσαντος· ὡς εἰσελθὼν εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Μῆδος, ἐψιμυθιωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον γυναικιστὶ καὶ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ξαίνοντα πορφύραν, ἀναβάδην τε μετ' αὐτῶν καθήμενον, γυναικίαν δὲ στολὴν ἔχοντα, καὶ κατεξυ-

In Herodotus' account (i. 103) the Medes alone attack Nineveh, and their first siege of the place is interrupted by the Scythians.

In Moses of Chorene's account (i. 20), Varbakes, the Mede, is assisted by Paruir, the Armenian.

In the Assyrian documents of the reign of Asshur-akh-iddin II., already referred to, the forces allied against Nineveh are those of Kástarti, lord of the city of Karkassai. Mamitarsu, lord of the city of the people of the Madai, with certain of the Gimirrai and Mannai.

Fr. 15, Ἀνακυνδaráξω] Prob-

ably this name does not come from Ktesias, as that of Sardanapalus' predecessor in the list is quite different, but from the earlier Greek traditions. Lenormant explains it as a misunderstanding of the phrase "Anaku nadu sarru Asshur"—"I am the great king of Assyria," usual in Assyrian inscriptions.

ἀναβάδην] Explained as = μετέωρος by Hesychius and Suidas. See Bachr's note. Toupius, *emend. in Suidam*, i. p. 42, takes it as = 'upstairs.'

ρημένον τὸν πώγωνα καὶ κατακεκισσηρισμένον· ἦν δὲ καὶ γάλακτος λευκότερος, καὶ ὑπεγέγραπτο τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ προσεΐδε τὸν Ἀρβάκην, τὰ λευκὰ ἐπαναλαβὼν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς [οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ, ὧν ἔστι Δούρις,

ὑπεγέγραπτο] "Was painted with Kohl, or stibium," as eastern women still are. Bachr compares the description of Nanarus in frag. 19.

Aristotle seems to have adopted Duris' view as to the manner of Sardanapalus' death, *Polit.* viii. (v.) 10, 22—αἱ δὲ διὰ καταφρόνησιν ὥσπερ Σαρδανάπαλον ἰδὼν τις ξαίνοντα μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα οἱ μυθολογοῦντες λέγουσιν. He had just before spoken of the assassination of Xerxes. He also mentions Sardanapalus, *Eth. Nik.*, i. 53. Kleitarchus made Sardanapalus survive the loss of his kingdom. 'Semeronius, a Persian' (ap. *Chron. Alex.* p. 38, see Müller, ad Castoris Reliquias, p. 166.), said that Perseus slew Sardanapalus, and gave his name to the Persians, having destroyed the Assyrian empire.

The following passage of Nicolaus is probably from Ktesias, and belongs here. I have not ventured to insert it among the fragments in the text without stronger evidence.

(Nicolaus, fr. 8, Exc. de Virtut.) "Ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλλος (Σαρδανάπαλος, Codex Turon., *hoc loco*) Ἀσσυρίων ἐβασίλευσεν, ἀπὸ τε Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμωος τὴν βασιλείαν παραδέξάμενος, οἰκιστὴν ἔχων ἐν Νίνῳ, ἔνδον τὸ σύμπαν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρί-

βων, ὄπλων μὲν οὐχ ἀπτόμενος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξῶν, ὥσπερ οἱ πάσαι βασιλεῖς, ἐγχερόμενος δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπογραφόμενος, πρὸς τε τὰς παλλακίδας ἀμιλλώμενος περὶ κάλλους καὶ ἐμπλοκῆς, τό τε σύμπαν γυναικίῳ ἦθει χρώμενος. Κατὰ δὲ τὰ πρότερον συντεταγμένα, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῷ παρήσαν οἱ τε ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων σατράπαι, ἄγοντες τὰς εἰρημένας δυνάμεις, καὶ δὴ Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδων ὑπαρχος, ἀνὴρ τὸν τε βίον σόφρων, καὶ πραγμάτων, εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος, ἐμπειρος, τετριμμένος τε ἐν κνηγεσίοις καὶ πολέμοις, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν πάσαι γενναῖα ἐξεργασμένος, πλείω δ' ἔτι καὶ μείζω τότε διανοούμενος. Οὗτος ἀκηκόως τὸν τε βίον καὶ τὰ ἦθη, οἷς χρῆται ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰς νοῦν ἐνεβάλετο καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ἄρα, ὅτι ἀπορία γενναίου ἀνδρὸς οὗτος ἔχει τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας κράτη· καὶ βουλὴν συντίθειται περὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀρχῆς.

(Nicolaus, fr. 9, Exc. de Insid.). "Ὅτι ἐπὶ Σαρδαναπάλλου, τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδος ἀκηκόως τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ ἦθη οἷς χρῆται ὁ βασιλεὺς, εἰς νοῦν ἐνεβάλετο καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ἄρα, ὅτι ἀπορία γενναίου ἀνδρὸς οὗτος ἔχει τὰ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κράτη. Ἀνδρείστατον δὲ φύλον τὸ Μηδικὸν ἐδόκει τότε μετὰ τὸ Ἀσσύριον εἶναι. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀρβάκης ἐν ὁμίλῳ γενόμενος Βελέσσι τῆς Βαβυλώνος ἄρχοντι, ἄτε συνεδρίτης ὧν αὐτῷ πρὸ τῶν βασι-

ιστοροῦσιν, ὑπὸ τούτου, ἀγανακτήσαντος . . . συγκεντηθέντα ἀποθανεῖν].

(b) (Pollux, *Onom.* ii. 4). [Κτησίας δὲ φησὶν] ἀναβάλλειν τὰ λευκὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ Σαρδανάπαλον.

λειῶν θηρῶν, ἀνδρὶ τοῦ Χαλδαίων γένους (ἱερεῖς δ' οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ πρῶτην ἔφερον τιμὴν), συντίθεται αὐτῷ, καὶ κοινῇ βουλευούσιν ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ ὄλῃ ἀρχῇ, τὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων κράτη μεταστήσασιν εἰς Μήδους. Ἀστρονομώτατοι δὲ πάντων ἦσαν Βαβυλώνιοι, καὶ σοφία καὶ μαντικῇ, τῇ τε δι' ὀνειράτων καὶ τεράτων, προὔχοντες, πάσῃ τε, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τῇ ἀμφὶ τὰ θεία ἐπιστήμη. Καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὁ Βέλεσος τῷ Ἀρβάκῃ διαλεγόμενος πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν πλησίον τινὸς φάτιγης, ἐν ἧ δύο ἵπποι ἐξεφατνίζοντο· καὶ πῶς ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ κατέδαρθεν αὐτόθι, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔπιπῳ ἔδοξεν ὄραν τὸν ἔτερον τῶν ἵππων ἐπιφορεῖν τῷ στόματι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην καθεύδοντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἄχυρα, τὸν δὲ ἔτερον ἐρέσθαι· “τί τοῦτο ποιεῖς, ὦ δαιμόνιε, καὶ τὰ ἄχυρα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐπιφέρεις;” τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι· “φθονῶ αὐτῷ· μέλλει γὰρ βασιλεύειν ἀπάντων ὧν νῦν ἄρχει Σαρδανάπαλλος.” Ταῦτ' ἰδὼν τε καὶ ἀκούσας ὁ Βαβυλώνιος τὸν Μῆδον ἐγείρει καθεύδοντα, καὶ δῆ τι πλέον τὰ θεία εἰδώς, συμβάλλει τὴν τοῦ ὀνειρῶν φήμην, καὶ κελεύει τὸν Ἀρβάκην ἰένα ἱπαρὰ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμῶν ῥέοντα πλησίον τῆς Νίνου καὶ προσκλύζοντα τὸ τεῖχος. Ἴόντων δὲ καὶ πολλὰ λεσχηνομένων, ὡς ἂν ἐταίρων, λέγει ὁ Βέλεσος· “Ἄγε δὴ ὦ Ἀρβάκη, εἰ σε θεῆ σατράπην Κιλικίας (Codex Escorial, εἰ σε θέλησα τράπην ἡλικίας) Σαρδανάπαλλος ὁ δεσπότης, τί ἂν μοι δοίης

τῷ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ;” ὁ δ' ἀποκρίνεται· “Τί μου ὦ δαιμόνιε καταγελάσῃ; διὰ τί δ' ἂν με σατράπην Κιλικίας θέιτο, ἄλλους ἐμοῦ κρείττους παρελθόν;” καὶ ὅς· “Ἄλλ' εἴ γε δοίης, πλέον γάρ τι εἰδώς λέγω, τίς ἐμοὶ κείσεται χάρις παρὰ σοί;” κἀκείνος· “οὔτε μέμνη, ἔφη, μεθέξεις γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος.” Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· “εἰ δὲ Βαβυλῶνος σε πάσης σατράπην ποιήσεις, πῶς ἐμοὶ χρήσῃ;” Καὶ ὅς, “πᾶσαι πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς, ἔφη, σφόδρα μου κατακερτομῶν οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι, Μῆδος ὢν, ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίου καταγελάσθαι.” Κἀκείνος· “Ἄλλ' οὐ μὰ τὸν μέγαν Βῆλον ἐγωγέ σου καταγελῶν ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλὰ πλέον τι τεκμαιρόμενος.” καὶ ὅς ἔφη· “Ἄλλ' εἴαν γε Βαβυλῶνος σατραπεύσω, σὲ ὑπαρχον καταστήσω τῆς ὅλης σατραπείας.” Καὶ ὁ Βαβυλώνιος· “Ἄλλ' ἐγωγέ σοι οὐκ ἀπιστῶ· τότε μοι λέξον εἰ βασιλεύεις εἰς ἀπάσης ὀπίσης νῦν Σαρδανάπαλλος ἄρχει, τί ἐμὲ ποιήσεις;” Ὁ δ' Ἀρβάκης εἶπεν· “Εἰ σοῦ, ὦ τλήμων ταῦτα ἀκούσῃ Σαρδανάπαλλος, εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ κἀγὼ κακῶς ἀπολούμεθα. Ἄλλὰ τί σοι ἐπήλθε ταῦτα ληρεῖν; οὐ παύη φλυαρῶν;” Καὶ ὅς τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος εἰτόνωσ· “Ἄλλὰ μὰ τὴν δεξιάν τὴν ἐμοὶ τιμίαν καὶ τὸν μέγαν Βῆλον, οὐ παίζω λέγω, ἀλλὰ τὰ θεία κάλλιστα εἰδώς.” Καὶ ὁ Ἀρβάκης εἶπεν· “Δώσω σοι Βαβυλῶνα ἔχειν καὶ

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 26 (ii. 25). Σαρδανάπαλος δὲ γνοὺς τὴν ἀπόστασιν, εὐθὺς ἐξήγαγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν δυνάμεις. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γενομένης ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ παρατάξεως, ἐλείφθησαν οἱ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες, συνεδιώχθησαν εἰς ὄρος, ἀπέχον τῆς Νίνου σταδίου ἐβδομήκοντα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν καταβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ πρὸς μάχην παρασκευαζομένων ὁ μὲν Σαρδανάπαλος ἀντιτάξας τὴν ἰδίαν στρατιάν, προαπέστειλε πρὸς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον τοὺς κηρύξοντας, διότι Σαρδανάπαλος τοῖς μὲν ἀνελοῦσιν Ἀρβάκην τὸν Μῆδον δώσει χρυσίου διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς δὲ ζῶντα παραδοῦσι, χρήματα μὲν δωρήσεται δις τοσαῦτα, τῆς δὲ Μηδίας ἔπαρχον καταστήσει· παραπλησίως δὲ ἐπηγεύλατο δώσειν δωρεὰς τοῖς Βέλεσιν τὸν Βαβυλώνιον ἀνελοῦσιν, ἢ ζωγρήσασιν. Οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος τοῖς κηρύγμασι, συνήψε μάχην καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσε τῶν ἀποστάντων, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος συνεδιώξεν εἰς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι παρεμβολῆν. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην διὰ τὰς ἡττας ἀθυμοῦντες, συνήγαγον τῶν φίλων συνέδριον, καὶ προέθη-

ταῦτα ὑπὸ σεαυτῷ ἀτελή.” Καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτοις δεξίαν αἰτούντος μάλα προθύμως δίδωσι. καὶ ὅς εἶπε· “Βασιλεύσεις τοίνυν εὖ ἴσθι ἀψευδῶς.” Καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα συνέθεντο, ἐπὶ θύρας ᾗχοντο ὀπίσω θεραπεύσοντες τὰ εἰωθότα. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ γενόμενος ἐνὶ τῶν πιστοτάτων εὐνοῦχων ὁ Ἀρβάκης ἐδεήθη αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι οἱ τὸν βασιλεῖα· σφόδρα γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶν τὸν δεσπότην ὅστις εἴη θεάσασθαι. Τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ἀδύνατον αὐτὸν ὄραν, μηδὲνα γὰρ πώποτε τυχεῖν τούτου, τότε μὲν ἠσύχασεν. Αἰθῆς δὲ μικρὸν διαλιπὼν λιπαρέσ-

τερον αὐτοῦ ἐδείτο, φύσκων ἀντὶ πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου ταύτην ἀλλάττεσθαι τὴν χάριν. Ὁ δὲ εὐνοῦχος νικώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἦν γὰρ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτήδειος, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτῷ ἀχαριστεῖν, ὑπέσχετο εἰ καιρὸς εἴη μνησθήσεσθαι τῷ δεσπότη ὅκει . . . [ἐνθα ἐτελεύτησεν].

In this passage it is to be observed that the river is correctly given as the Tigris, not the Euphrates, as in Diodorus.

The passage is also noticeable for the accurate distinctions between

καν βουλήν, τί δέοι πράττειν. Οἱ πλείστοι μὲν οὖν ἔφασαν δεῖν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπιέναι, καὶ τόπους ὀχυροὺς καταλαμβάνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων τὴν ἐνδεχομένην παρασκευὴν ποιεῖσθαι. Βέλεσος δ' ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, φήσας τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῖς σημαίνειν, μετὰ πόνων καὶ κακοπαθείας ἐπὶ τέλος ἄξειν τὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ τᾶλλα παρακαλέσας ἐνδεχομένως, ἔπεισεν ἅπαντας ὑπομένειν τοὺς κινδύνους. Γενομένης οὖν τρίτης παρατάξεως, πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνίκησε, καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐκυρίευσεν, καὶ τοὺς ἠττηθέντας ἐδίωξε μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς Βαβυλωνίας· συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην αὐτόν, λαμπρότατα κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, γενέσθαι τραυματίαν. Τηλικούτων δ' ἐλαττωμάτων κατὰ τὸ συνεχῆς γενομένων τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν, οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες, ἀπελπίσαντες περὶ τῆς νίκης, παρεσκευάζοντο διαχωρίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκίους ἕκαστοι τόπους. Ὁ δὲ Βέλεσος ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὴν νύκτα διηγρυπνηκώς, καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἄστρον παρατήρησιν φιλοτιμηθεὶς, ἔφησε τοῖς ἀηλιπικόσι τὰ πράγματα, ἂν πένθ' ἡμέρας ἀναμείνωσιν, αὐτομάτην ἦξει βοήθειαν, καὶ μεταβολὴν ἔσεσθαι τῶν ὄλων παμμεγέθη εἰς τοῦναντίον· ταῦτα γὰρ ὄραῖν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἄστρον ἐμπειρίας προσημαίνοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς θεοὺς· καὶ παρεκάλει, ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας μείναντας πείραν λαβεῖν τῆς ἰδίας τέχνης καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐεργεσίας,

§ 27 (Diod. ii. 26). Μετακληθέντων οὖν πάλιν ἀπάντων, καὶ τὸν ὠρισμένον χρόνον ἀναμεινάντων, ἦκέ τις ἀπαγγέλλων, διότι δύναμις ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς ἀπεσταλμένη τῷ

ἕπαρχος and σατράπης. Arbakes is ἕπαρχος of Media (which the writer looks on as one of the greatest provinces of the empire), but regards the appointment of satrap of Cilicia as something too good to be expected. He promises Belesys that if he is made satrap of Babylon

himself, he will make him ἕπαρχος τῆς ὅλης σατραπείας, the distinction between the two offices being looked on as parallel to that between ruler of the whole empire and ruler of a single province, the position which the two conspirators ultimately arrive at.

βασιλεὶ πλησίον ἐστὶ πορευομένη κατὰ σπουδὴν. Ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὴν ταχίστην, ἀναλαβόντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ μάλιστα εὐζώνους, ὅπως, ἂν μὴ διὰ τῶν λόγων τοὺς Βακτριανοὺς δύνωνται πείσαι συναποστῆναι, τοῖς ὅπλοις βιάσωνται μετασχεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. Τέλος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀσμένως ὑπακουσάντων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἔπειτα καὶ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως, πάντες ἐν ταύτῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. Ὅτε δὲ συνέβη τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἀγνοοῦντα, ταῖς δὲ προγεγενημέναις εὐημερίαις μετεωρισθέντα, τραπήναι πρὸς ἄνεσιν, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις διαδοῦναι πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἱερέα, καὶ πλήθος οἴνου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων. Διόπερ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπάσης ἐστιωμένης, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην παρά τιων αὐτομόλων πυθόμενοι τὴν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων ῥαθυμίαν καὶ μέθην, νυκτὸς ἀπροσδοκῆτως τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐποιήσαντο. Προσπεσόντες δὲ συντεταγμένοι μὲν ἀσυντάκτοις, ἔτοιμοι δὲ ἀπαρασκευοῖς, τῆς τε παρεμβολῆς ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες, τοὺς ἄλλους μέχρι τῆς πόλεως κατεδίωξαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Σαλαιμένην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀποδείξας στρατηγόν, αὐτὸς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἀποστάται κατὰ τὸ πεδῖον τὸ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως παραταξάμενοι, δυσὶ μάχαις ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ τὸν τε Σαλαιμένην ἀνείλον, καὶ τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ κατέσφαξαν, τοὺς δ' ἀποκλεισθέντας τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανόδου, καὶ συναναγκασθέντας ἑαυτοὺς ρίπτειν εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, πλήν ὀλίγων πάντας ἀνείλον. Τοσοῦτο δὲ πλήθος ἦν τῶν φονευθέντων, ὥστε τὸ φερόμενον ρεῦμα κερασθὲν αἵματι τὴν

§ 27. Σαλαιμένην] This appears to be a genuine Semitic name, Sulmaneseru, or Shalmaneser, which is contracted into Shalman (Σαλαμάν,

in LXX.) in Hosea x. 14, and perhaps into Sulman, in an inscription of Nabonidus (see Pinches, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, November, 1882).

χροάν ἐφ' ἰκανὸν τόπον μεταβαλεῖν. Ἐπειτα τοῦ βασιλέως συγκλεισθέντος εἰς πολιορκίαν, πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀφίστατο, ἐκάστου πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτομολοῦντος. Ὁ δὲ Σαρδανάπαλος ὄρων τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις οὖσαν κινδύνοις, τοὺς μὲν υἱούς, τρεῖς ὄντας, καὶ θυγατέρας δύο, μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων εἰς Παφλαγονίαν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Κότταν τὸν ἑπαρχον, ὄντα τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐνούστατον· αὐτὸς δὲ βιβλιαφόρους ἀποστείλας πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένους, μετεπέμπετο δυνάμεις, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο. Ἦν δ' αὐτῷ λόγιον παραδεδομένον ἐκ προγόνων, ὅτι τὴν Νίνον οὐδεὶς ἐλεῖ κατὰ κράτος, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ πόλει γένηται πολέμιος. Ἐπολαμβάνων δὲ τοῦτο μηδέποτε ἔσεσθαι, ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἀντεῖχε, διανοούμενος ὑπομένειν τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀποσταλησόμενα στρατόπεδα προσεδέχετο.

§ 28 (Diod. ii. 27). Οἱ δ' ἀποστάται τοῖς προτερήμασιν ἐπαρθέντες, προσέκειντο μὲν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν τειχῶν οὐδὲν ἠδύναντο βλάβαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει· πετροβόλοι γὰρ ἢ χελῶναι χωστρίδες, ἢ κριοὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μεμηχανημένοι τειχῶν, οὐπω κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς ἐξεύρητο. Τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ἀπάντων οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πολλὴν εἶχον δαψίλειαν, προνενοημένου τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου τοῦ μέρους. Διὸ καὶ χρονιζούσης τῆς πολιορκίας, ἐπ' ἔτη μὲν δύο προσέκειντο προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξόδου τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἵργοντες. Τῷ τρίτῳ δ' ἔτει, συνεχῶς ὄμβρων μεγάλων καταρράγντων, συνέβη τὸν Εὐφράτην μέγαν γενομένον κατακλύσαι τε μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὸ

§ 28. πετροβόλοι, κ. τ. λ.] This statement is refuted by the evidence of the Assyrian sculptures, which represent chelonae and battering rams in numberless instances,

and perhaps also catapults (see Rawlinson's *Five Monarchies*, vol. ii. *passim*).

κατακλύσαι] This may really have happened at the final siege of

τείχος ἐπὶ σταδίου εἴκοσιν. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ βασιλεὺς νομίσας τετελέσθαι τὸν χρησμόν, καὶ τῇ πόλει τὸν ποταμὸν γεγενῆσθαι φανερώς πολέμιον, ἀπέγνω τὴν σωτηρίαν. Ἴνα δὲ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις γένηται ὑποχείριος, πυρὰν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις κατεσκεύασεν ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ τὸν τε χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν ἄργυρον ἅπαντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐπὶ ταύτην ἐσώρευσε· τὰς δὲ παλλακίδας καὶ τοὺς εὐνούχους συγκλείσας εἰς τὸν ἐν μέσῃ πυρᾷ κατεσκευασμένον οἶκον, ἅμα τούτοις ἅπασιν ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκαυσεν. Οἱ δ' ἀποστάται, πυθόμενοι τὴν ἀπώλειαν Σαρδαναπάλου, τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἐκράτησαν, εἰσπεσόντες κατὰ τὸ πεπτωκὸς μέρος τοῦ τείχους· τὸν δ' Ἀρβάκην ἐνδύσαντες τὴν βασιλικὴν στολήν, ἀνηγόρευσαν βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἐξουσίαν αὐτῷ ἐπέτρεψαν.

FRAGMENTUM 16.

(Athenaeus xii. 7). [Κτησίας δὲ λέγει] εἰς πολεμὸν αὐτὸν καταστῆναι καὶ ἀθροίσαντα πολλὴν στρατιὰν καὶ καταλυθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρβάκου τελευτῆσαι ἑαυτὸν ἐμπρήσαντα ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, πυρὰν νήσαντα ὕψος τεσσάρων πλέθρων ἐφ' ἧς ἐπέθηκε χρυσᾶς κλίνας ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἴσας τραπέζας, καὶ ταύτας χρυσᾶς. Ἐποίησε δὲ ἐν τῇ πυρᾷ καὶ οἶκημα ἑκατόμπεδον ἐκ ξύλων, κἀνταῦθα κλίνας ὑπεστόρεσε, καὶ κατεκλίθη ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸς τε μετὰ καὶ

Nineveh. The walls, if of sun-dried brick, would of course offer no resistance to the flood. A similar disaster happened at Bagdad in 1831, and was with difficulty averted in 1849 (Loftus, *Chaldaeae and Susiana*, p. 7). The parallel suggested by the English A. V. of Nahum ii. 6 is much less obvious in the ancient versions.

πυρὰν] The statements of Berossus make it probable that the last king of Assyria really burnt himself in his palace, but Ktesias' details are doubtless imaginary. That most of the Assyrian palaces were burnt is evident from the condition of the ruins, but this was the usual fate of buildings in a captured city.

τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ παλλακίδες ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κλίναις· τοὺς γὰρ τρεῖς υἱοὺς καὶ δύο θυγατέρας ὄρων τὰ πράγματα κακούμενα προϋπεπόμφει εἰς Ἰνίου πρὸς τὸν ἐκεῖ βασιλέα δοὺς αὐτοῖς τρισχίλια χρυσοῦ τάλαντα· ἐπεστέγασε δὲ τὸ οἶκημα δοκοῖς μεγάλαις τε καὶ παχείαις, ἔπειτα ἐν κύκλῳ περιέθηκε πολλὰ ξύλα καὶ παχεία, ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ἕξοδον. Ἐνταῦθα ἐπέθηκε μὲν χρυσοῦ μυριάδας χιλίας, ἀργυρίου δὲ μυρίας μυριάδας τάλαντων καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ πορφύρας καὶ στολὰς παντοδαπὰς. Ἐπειτα ὑφάσαι ἐκέλευε τὴν πυρᾶν· καὶ ἐκαίετο ἰεῖ ἡμέραις. Οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον ὄρωντες τὸν καπνόν, καὶ ἐδόκουν αὐτὸν θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν· ταῦτα δὲ μόνοι ἤδυσαν οἱ εὐνοῦχοι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Σαρδανάπαλλος ἐκτόπως ἠδυναθήσας ὡς ἐνῆν γενναίως ἐτελεύτησε.

FRAGMENTUM 17.

(Harprocraton). [Ἐποκύδης ἐστὶν ὁ διῦγρος, ὡς ἐκ τῆς τρίτης Κτησιῦ φανερόν ἐστιν.]

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 29 (Diod. ii. 28). Ἐνθα δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς συναγωνισαμένοις δωρεὰς τε διδόντος κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, καὶ σατράπας ἐθνῶν καθιστάντος, προσελθὼν αὐτῷ Βέλεσος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, ὁ προειπὼν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίας, τῆς τε εὐεργεσίας ὑπέμνησε, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀρχὴν ἠξίου δοῦναι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπέσχετο. Ἀπεφαίνετο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ἑαυτὸν εὐχὴν πεποιήσθαι τῷ Βήλῳ, Σαρδαναπάλου κρατηθέντος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλείων ἐμπυρισθέντων, ἀποκομιεῖν τὴν σποδὸν ἐκ τούτων εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τεμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καταθέμενον χῶμα

Fr. 16. Προϋπεπόμφει εἰς Νίνον] Νίνον is evidently a mere copyist's error, perhaps for the name of Kottas' capital.

Fr. 17. Ἐποκύδης] Müller supposes that this fragment refers to the inundations which led to the capture of Nineveh.

κατασκευάσειν, τὸ παρεξόμενον τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πλέουσιν ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα τοῦ καταλύσαντος τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Τοῦτο δ' ἠτέϊτο, πυθόμενός τινας εὐνοῦχου τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν, ὃν διαδράντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτομολήσαντα κατέκρυψε. Ὁ δ' Ἀρβάκης τούτων οὐδὲν εἰδώς, διὰ τὸ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις συγκατακαῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὴν τε σποδὸν ἀποκομίσαι, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἔχειν ἀτελῆ συνεχώρησεν. Εἴθ' ὁ μὲν Βέλεσος

§ 29. τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἔχειν ἀτελή] Ktesias represents the position of Babylon in reference to the Median empire as that of a vassal kingdom, with its hereditary monarchs (fr. 19), and not liable to tribute (§ 29), but, at the same time, in a distinctly subject condition, the king (who is sometimes called satrap, and even ὑπαρχος) being liable to be removed by the Median sovereign (fr. 19).¹ Is there any foundation for the assertion that Babylon occupied at any time the position here assigned to it? Down to the death of Nebuchadrezzar at least Babylon and Media appear as allied, but independent, states. Their alliance against Nineveh under Kyaxares and Nabopolassar is cemented by the marriage of Nebuchadrezzar with Amyitis, daughter of the Median king (Berosus, ii. 13; Ktesias, § 9). In Herodotus, i. 74, we find 'Labyntus,' King of Babylon, as one of the mediating powers between Media and Lydia. In Polyhistor, *De Judaeis*, fr. 24 (quoting Eupo-

lemus), we read: Εἶτα Ἰωναίμ . . . τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέα ἀκούσαντα Ναβουχοδονόσορ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰερεμίον προμαντευθέντα, παρακαλέσαι Ἀστιβάρην τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ. Παραλαβόντα δὲ Βαβυλωνίους καὶ Μήδους, καὶ συναγαγόντα πεζῶν μὲν ὀκτωκαίδεκα, ἵππέων δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα, καὶ [πεζῶν] ἄρματα μυρία, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Σαμαρείτην καταστρέψασθαι . . . αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα παραλαβεῖν. In Herodotus, i. 185, certain of the defensive works undertaken by Nitokris are attributed to her fear of a Median invasion.

In the cylinder of Nabonidus found by Rassam at Sippara occurs the following passage:—“In the beginning of my long reign Marduk . . . and Sin . . . showed me a dream. Marduk spoke with me: ‘Nabonidus . . . come up with the horses of thy chariot, build the walls of Ê-khulkhul.’ . . . Recently I spoke to the lord of the gods Marduk: ‘I will build this house of which thou speakest; the *Tsab-manda* destroyed it, and strong was

¹ Strabo, xvi. 1, p. 333, mentions “The Syrians of Babylon” as subjects of the Medes.

πλοῖα παραστησάμενος, μετὰ τῆς σποδοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ τε ἀργύρου καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ συντόμως ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, μηνυθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς πράξεως αὐτοφώρου, δικαστὰς ἀπέδειξε τοὺς συναγωνιζομένους στρατηγούς. Τοῦ πράξαντος δ' ὁμολογούντος ἀδικεῖν, τὸ

their might.' Marduk spoke with me: 'The Tsabmaada, of which thou speakest; they, their country, and the kings going by their side shall not exist.' In the third year he caused Cyrus, King of Anzan, his young servant, to go with his little army; he overthrew the wide-spreading Tsabmanda; he captured Istuvegu, King of Tsabmanda, and took his treasures to his own land."¹

We have here evidence of hostile relations between Media and Babylon, in which the latter country was worsted.

No names in history have given more trouble to critics than the Belshazzar and 'Darius the Mede' of the Book of Daniel. Since the discovery of the fact that Nabonidus had a son who bore the former name (Bilushar-uzur), and acted as commander of the army during the war with Cyrus, the question seemed almost settled, and, if it were not for the statements in Daniel vi. respecting 'Darius the Mede,' the arguments for the identity of 'Belshazzar' with the son of Nabonidus might be regarded as conclusive. As far as chapters v., ix., and xi. of Daniel are concerned, there is nothing

against the identification, now usual, of Darius the Mede with Gobryas (Ugbaru or Gubaru), who took Babylon as general of Cyrus, and who may have acted as viceroy before that dignity was bestowed on Cambyses; but it seems impossible to sustain this identification if we accept the authenticity of the sixth chapter, for how could a mere viceroy have ventured to arrogate to himself divine honours?

The following is a possible, though only a possible, explanation of the statements in Daniel. Among the royal names appearing in Babylonian trade documents of the period of the eighth dynasty is that of Marduk-sar-uzur, which, according to the well-known fact that at that period the title Bel had been appropriated to Marduk, is equivalent to Belshar-uzur, or Belshazzar. Boscawen (see *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vi. pp. 1-78, 106-112) at first naturally identified this king with the son of Nabonidus, but afterwards, from the names of the witnesses to the documents, by which their chronology is determined, came to the conclusion that he is the same as Nergal-shar-uzur (B.C. 559-556). This therefore gives

¹ See Pinches, in *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, November, 1882.

μὲν δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ κατέγνω θάνατον· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, μεγαλόψυχος ὢν, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας βουλόμενος ἐπιεικῆ παρέχεσθαι, τῶν τε κινδύνων ἀπέλυσε τὸν Βέλεσυν, καὶ τὸν ἀποκεκομισμένον ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχειν συνεχώρησεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔξουσίαν

as an earlier Belshazzar. Of Nergal-shar-uzur (Neriglissorus) Berossus (iii. 14) tells us nothing, except that he was son-in-law of Nebuchadrezzar, and reigned four years; but to his son and successor Labasi-marduk (Laborosarchodus) he ascribes an odious character. It is far from improbable that the Median invasion, in which the temple of Sin at Charran was destroyed, took place under Nergal-shar-uzur, and led to his deposition, or death, his son, a child, being set up as a Median vassal. Hence the odium with which the latter was regarded. The suppression by Berossus of a conquest which made no permanent impression need not cause us any surprise, the Babylonian documents he followed probably did not mention it. We have thus a temporary interval of vassalage to Media, such as Ktesias represents as the normal condition of Babylon during the period of the Median empire, terminated by the murder of the vassal king, and the usurpation of Nabonidus, whose bitter hostility to the Medes is thus accounted for. He seems to have married his predecessor's widow, the queen whose death is recorded in the annals of Nabonidus and Cyrus, in the ninth year of the

former (B.C. 546), and who is perhaps the Nitokris of Herodotus (the latter may, however, be the wife of Nebuchadrezzar).

If we adopt this view of the course of events, we must suppose that Daniel, who was evidently out of favour at Babylon, followed the conqueror to his own country, and dates his regnal years from the period when he claimed the supremacy over Babylon, though this supremacy ceased on the murder of Labasi-marduk, a few months after his accession. In Theodotion's version of Daniel xiii. 1 'Ἀστυάγης' apparently represents Δαρείος of the other passages; but in the LXX. the name is omitted. 'Ἀσσοσύρος, Daniel ix. 1 (Ξέρξης in LXX.) is the name of the father of 'Darius the Mede,' and in Tobit, xiv. 17, it apparently represents Kyaxares.

All this, however, is exceedingly hypothetical, and perhaps a simpler alternative is to retain the usual explanation of Belshazzar as the son of Nabonidus, and 'Darius the Mede' as Gobryas, rejecting the narrative in chap. vi. as a late invention founded on chap. xiii., since the Aramaic and LXX. recensions of what may be called the 'Life of Daniel,' as distinct from his works, appear to be of about

τῆς Βαβυλωνίας οὐκ ἀφείλετο, φήσας μείζονας εἶναι τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ προγεγενημένας εὐεργεσίας τῶν ὕστερον ἀδικημάτων. Διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιεικείας, οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν εὐνοίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν παρὰ τῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπηνέγκατο, πάντων κρινόντων ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τὸν οὕτω προσενεχθέντα τοῖς ἀδικήσασιν. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρβάκης τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθείς, αὐτοὺς μὲν κατὰ κώμας διώκισε, τὰς ἰδίας κτήσεις ἐκάστοις ἀποδούς, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰς ἔδαφος κατέσκαψεν. Ἐπειτα τὸν τε ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ὑπολειφθέντα, πολλῶν ὄντα ταλάντων, ἀπεκόμισε τῆς Μηδίας εἰς Ἀγβάτανα. 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.

[FRAGMENTUM 18.]

equal authority, being late and independent compilations from pre-existent materials.

The view here suggested as possible is, I believe, one of the many held by some before modern discoveries, but the arguments for and against are now of course quite different.

τριάκοντα μὲν γενεάς] See notes on §§ 23 and 24.

πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων] 'Over 1306,' or 'over 1300' in § 23. In fr. 18 we have 1306 given by Agathias, and 1306 or 1360 by Synkellus. In the list Synkellus gives 1460 years (including reign of Belus, 55 years); Eusebius, 1240

(or 1239, or 1237); Excerpta Barbara, 1314; Kephalion (fr. 1), 1300; Velleius (i. 6) has 1070 (or 1230, or 1700); Justin, 1300. From the beginning of the second to the end of the sixth dynasty of Berossus is probably 1711 years (B. C. 2458-747).

The system by which these dates were arrived at by Kastor and the later chronographers is discussed at great length by Müller, in his notes on Kastor. Ktesias, however, probably derived his figures from a Babylonian source, and they were afterwards twisted by the chronographers to suit their several schemes.

FRAGMENTUM 18.

(a)

(Agathias, ii. 25, p. 45). Ἀρβάκης ὁ Μῆδος καὶ Βέλεσος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἀφῆρηται αὐτὴν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καθελόντες τὴν βασιλέα καὶ εἰς τὸ Μηδικὸν μετέστησαν ἔθνος, ἔξ τε καὶ τριακοσίων ἤδη πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ὀλίγῃ πλείονων ἔτων παρρηχρότων ἀφ' οὗ τὰ πρῶτα ὁ Νίνος τῶν ἐκείνῃ κατέσχε πραγμάτων [οὕτω γὰρ Κτησία τῷ Κνιδίῳ τοὺς χρόνους ἀναγραφάμενῃ καὶ Διόδωρος σύμφησιν].

(b)

(Synkellus, p. 359 c). [Ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσυριοὶ ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως μέχρι Βελεοῦν τοῦ Δελκετάδου· εἰς τοῦτον γὰρ τοῦ Σεμιράμεως γένους λήξαντος Βελεταρᾶν κηπουρὸς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος ἐξῆς μέχρι Σαρδαναπάλλου, καθὰ Βίωνι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δοκεῖ τῷ Πολυῖστορι. Σαρδαναπάλλον δὲ ἀνείλεν Ἀρβάκης Μῆδος καὶ Βέλεσος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος καὶ μετήγαγεν εἰς Μῆδους τὴν βασιλείαν. Ἐβασίλευσαν οὖν οἱ Ἀσσυριοὶ αὐτῶν οὕτω γὰρ λέγοντι Κτησία καὶ Διόδωρος . . . συμφθέγγεται.]

INTRODUCTION

TO BOOKS IV, V, VI.

KTESIAS professes to have drawn his Median, like his Assyrian, history from the Royal Chronicles (§ 30). His real sources appear to have been two-fold—(1) for the general outline some kind of tradition of the real history of the period; (2) for the details he partly used the legends of the early history of the Iranians current in his time in Persia, the 'Medo-Persian Epos,' from which Duncker and Sayce assume that the whole narrative in his earlier books was derived.

The principal lists of Median kings found in classical writers are the following:—

HERODOTUS (i. 98-107).	KTESIAS (<i>Epit.</i> <i>Diod.</i> §§ 30-32).	EUSEBIUS (<i>Chronic.</i> Latin version, fo. 12).	MOSES, CHOR. (<i>Hist.</i> i. 21).	SYNKELLUS, p. 197 (ap. Müller ad Cas- torem, p. 162).
Years.	Years.	Years.		Years.
Deiokes, 53	Arbakes, 28 Madaukes, 50 Sosarmus, 30 Artykas, 50 Arbianes, 22 Artaeus, 40	Arbaces, 28 Sosarmus, 30 Medidus, 40 Cardiceas, ¹ 13 Deiocles, ² 54	Varbakes. Mandaukes. Sosarmus. Artukas. Kardikeas. Deiokes.	Arbaces, 28 Mandauces, 20 Sosarmus, 30 Artycas, 30 Dejoces, 54 Aphraates, 51 Cyaxares, 32 Astyages, 38
Phraortes, 22 Kyaxares, 40 Astyages, 35	Artynes, 22 Astibaras, 40 Aspadas, or Astyigas,	Phraortes, 24 Cyaxares, 32 Astyages, 38	Artunes. Kvaehsatra. Adzdahak.	
150	282+x	259		283

Two explanations of these lists have been given in modern times, viz., that of Volney, adopted by Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, i. p. 394), which looks on the list of Ktesias as a mere duplication of that of Herodotus (suggested by the length of the reigns); and that held by Heeren and

¹ *al.* Bardyccas.

² *al.* Dejoces.

Lenormant, which supposes Ktesias' list as made up by regarding contemporary dynasties as successive, a process with which we are familiar in the Greek accounts of Egypt (see Lenormant, *Manuel de l'Histoire Anc.* ii. p. 341. The names in Ktesias' list "doivent être des noms de chefs locaux qui commandaient à telle ou telle partie du pays et dont la tradition avait conservé le souvenir . . . La liste des rois mède entre Arbace et Déjocès, empruntée par Eusèbe à Céphalion a le même caractère que celle de Ctésias . . . elle comprend moins de noms et paraît être la liste continue des chefs qui se succédèrent pendant cet intervalle de temps sur une même partie du pays," probably that where Ekbatana was afterwards situated, "les prédécesseurs directs et les ancêtres de Déjocès. Leurs noms sont: Mandauces, Sosarmus et Artycas, les trois premiers de la liste de Ctésias, qui doit contenir ensuite les chefs d'une autre province." Comp. *Hist. Anc.* vol. v. p. 418, where Ellibi is mentioned as the locality of this dynasty).

The date at which the Aryans entered Media is quite uncertain: probably the immigration was a gradual one; both Aryans and Turanians continued to live there down to a late period, but we have no certain information as to the proportion of the two races, and their relative positions. Delattre regards the Medes as wholly Aryan, but in this he is almost certainly wrong (see review of his work, *Le Peuple et l'Empire des Mèdes*, by Sayce, in *Academy*, xxiv. p. 418). Sayce regards the house of Kyaxares as Turanian, and the success of Cyrus as partly due to a revolt of the Aryan Medes (*Herod.* pp. 62, 437-9); while Rawlinson, on the other hand, apparently regards Kyaxares as the leader of an Aryan immigration (*Herod.* i. p. 397). The inscription of Sargon translated by Smith, *Assyr. Disc.* p. 289, gives Median chiefs with Aryan, along with others with Turanian, names (B. C. 713). There is no chief of Ellibi amongst them; but in B. C. 709 Sargon made Rita king of that district. Sennacherib, in his second expedition (B. C. 701), conquered Ispabara, king of Ellibi, and took thirty-six cities belonging to him (G. Smith, p. 301).

If Rawlinson is right in distinguishing two Agbatanas, we may perhaps regard Agbatana, or Ganzaka, in Media Atropatene as identical with the Bit-Daiukku taken by Sargon, and Agbatana in Media Magna, near Mount Elvend, as a city founded by Kyaxares (in Ellibi?).

We may perhaps, with Lenormant, take Madaukes, or Mandaukes, Sosarmus, Artykas, and Deiokes as representing a series of chiefs of one of the Median states (Ellibi according to him, but perhaps rather of the

district of which Bit-Daiukku became the capital); Arbianes and Artacus, and Medidus and Kardikeas (both of which names are very suspicious, and rest on bad authority) as chiefs of other tribes; and Phraortes, and Artynes, as the author of an attempt to unite the Medes and neighbouring tribes against the Assyrians (b. c. 655-633), which resulted in his death at the hands of the latter, his successors being Kyaxares, or Astibaras, who succeeded where his father had failed, and Astyages, or Aspadas.

It would seem that each of the last two kings at least had both an Aryan and a Turanian name. As regards those given by Ktesias, Arbakes is evidently the same in name as the Arbaku chief of Arnasia in Sargon's list of chiefs, a name which is perhaps Turanian; Rawlinson, however, makes it a form of Harpagus (*Herod.* iii. 539). With Madaukes Bachr compares Deiokes, which is also Turanian.

Artykas, Artacus, Artynes, and perhaps Arbianes, are all Aryan containing the intensive prefix *arta*. Kyaxares occurs in the tablets of Asshur-akh-idin II., relating to the fall of the Assyrian monarchy, as Kastariti. Rawlinson identifies it with old Persian 'Uvakhshatara, Turanian Vakistarra, Babylonian Uvakuistar, which occurs in Behistun Insc. par. 24, where Fravartish (Turanian Pirru-vartis), a Median rebel, claimed to be "Khshathrita (so old Persian, Turanian Sattaritta, Babylonian Khasatrita), son of 'Uvakhshatara," and explains 'Uvakhshatara as an Aryan name = 'more beautiful eyed.' Sayce (*Herod.* p. 63; *Academy*, xx. p. 142), however, rightly regards Khshathrita, and not 'Uvakhshatara, as representing Kyaxares, a view which Oppert seems to adopt in his notes to his translation of the Turanian version of the Behistun Inscriptions in *Records of the Past*, vol. vii., where he also gives Sattaritta the meaning of 'lance-bearer' in the Turanian dialect of the Achaemenid inscriptions (spoken probably by the Elamites and the Turanian Medes), equivalent to Astibaras = *Arsti bara* in Persian (and Aryan Median).

The only early Oriental form of Astyages known to us is the Babylonian Istuvegu, occurring in texts of Nabonidus and Cyrus, and probably indicating that the name is Turanian; Aspadas probably represents the Aryan equivalent. Moses Chor. i. 29, 5, says: "Vox Azhdahak in nostra lingua draconem significat."

The adding together of kings of several distinct contemporary dynasties by Ktesias, and his treating them all as supreme rulers of Asia, forced him greatly to ante-date the fall of Nineveh.

We must now consider the source of the details which he gives of Median history. But little of them has survived—merely the legend of Parsondas and Nannarus under Artacus (§ 30, fr. 19); that of Zarina and Stryangaeus (§ 31, fr. 20, 21); and part of his account of the overthrow of Astyages (§§ 32, 33).

Except as regards the fall of Astyages, the true history of Media seems to have been forgotten in his time, though still remembered in that of Herodotus, and he supplied its place by assigning to his Median period those popular Iranian legends which, so far as they had any historical basis at all, related to the history of the Iranians in their earlier settlements, especially in Baktria.¹

The Zendavesta (especially the Yashts, its latest portion) contains the legendary exploits of a series of Eastern Iranian heroes, ending with Viçtaçpa (Gushtasp, in Firdusi, and Mirkhond). We find them turned into kings of Iran in general, and at the same time, owing to the identification of Viçtaçpa with Darius, son of Hystaspes, several of them are partly identified with historical kings of Media and Persia (*e.g.* Kava Huçrava with Cyrus), and the later Achaemenidae are tacked on to them. An intermediate stage is represented by the use made of the legends by Ktesias, and we can trace other stages also.

Hence we may expect the stories told by our author to have the same general character as those told by Firdusi, but we must not expect to find minute resemblances, as in the course of ages the legends became altered and misplaced.

Ktesias' statements as to Baktria in § 5, fr. 3, are also, perhaps, derived in part from current Iranian legends.

The Zendavesta, which contains the germs of the stock of Iranian legends used in the Shah-Namch, was certainly in existence, at least as to its principal portions, as early as the time of Ktesias,² and current in Persia (but see Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. pp. 414 *sq.*; Sayce, *Herod.* pp. 448 *sq.*). Distinct mention of the sacred books of Zoroastrianism is not found in

¹ In spite of some high authorities, probability seems to be in favour of the opinion that the Avesta was mainly of Eastern Iranian (Baktrian) origin, in accordance with the testimony of classical authors, who connect Zoroaster with Baktria. Except perhaps the latest parts, there seems no doubt also that it belongs to a period earlier than that of the Achaemenidae, or even the Median empire.

Darmesteter makes the Mazdaean religion to have originated in Media Atropatene, De Harlez at Rhaga and Merv.

² Haug, however, assigns the Yashts, in which these legends are chiefly found, to about b. c. 450-350, and therefore contemporary with Ktesias: see note on § 5.

classical authors till a later period, but Zoroaster is mentioned by Plato, Deinon, and perhaps by Ktesias himself.

The existence of Persian poems or legends similar to that from which the Shah-Nameh was compiled is testified to by Herodotus (i. 1-5, 95, 214); Xenophon (*Hærop.* i. p. 5: ὁ Κῦρος . . . ἄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος, κ. τ. λ.); Deinon (*Pers.* fr. 7); Strabo (xv. 3, p. 327; xvi. 1, p. 343); and Moses of Chorene (*Hist.* i. 1, 1; i. 32; ii. 7, 18; ii. 67). In the last writer (fifth century A. D.) we find (ii. 7) the earliest allusion to the exploits of Rustem (Rostem Sazik, i. e. Rustem of Segestan in Moses), the great hero of mediæval Persian legends.

The legends are further developed in Pehlevi works belonging to the last days of the Sassanian dynasty, and, finally, in the Shah-Nameh of Ferdusi (tenth century A. D.), professedly compiled from ancient 'chronicles', which corresponded to one of the classes of works comprehended by Ktesias under the title of βασιλικὰ διφθέραι.

LIBRI IV-VI.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 30 (Diod. ii. 32). [Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαφωνοῦσιν οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ τῆς μεγίστης τῶν Μήδων ἡγεμονίας, οἰκείον εἶναι διαλαμβάνομεν τοῖς φιλαλήθως τὰς πράξεις ἱστορεῖν βουλομένοις, τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ἱστοριογράφων παράλληλα θεῖναι. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ξέρξην γεγὼνὸς τοῖς χρόνοις, φησὶν Ἀσσυρίους ἔτη πεντακόσια πρότερον τῆς Ἀσίας ἄρξαντας, ὑπὸ Μήδων καταλυθῆναι· ἔπειτα βασιλέα μὲν μηδένα γενέσθαι τὸν ἀμφισβητήσοντα τῶν ὄλων ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεάς, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καθ' ἑαυτὰς τατομένας διοικεῖσθαι δημοκρατικῶς· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον, πολλῶν ἐτῶν διελθόντων, αἰρεθῆναι βασιλέα παρὰ τοῖς Μήδοις ἄνδρα δικαιοσύνη διάφορον, ὄνομα Κναξάρην. Τοῦτον δὲ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρῆσαι προσάγεσθαι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους τοῖς Μήδοις, καὶ ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμονίας· ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐγγόνους, αἰεὶ προσκατακτωμένους πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας, αὐξῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν, μέχρις Ἀστυάγους τοῦ καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν. Περὶ ὧν νῦν ἡμεῖς τὰ κεφάλαια προειρηκότες, τὰ κατὰ μέρος ὕστερον ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν, ἐπειδὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐπιβάλωμεν. Κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑπτακαιδέκτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἡρέθη βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Μήδων Κναξάρης,

§ 30 and fr. 19. [Ἡρόδοτος] Müller regards the reference to Herodotus as derived by Diodorus from Ktesias.

ὄνομα Κναξάρην] Müller marks

a lacuna, as Herodotus (i. 98) makes Deiokes, and not Kyaxares, to be the king chosen by the Medes; probably 'Kyaxares' is a mere copyist's error for Deiokes.

καθ' Ἡρόδοτον. Κτησίας δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος τοῖς μὲν χρόνοις ὑπῆρξε κατὰ τὴν Κύρου στρατείαν ἐπὶ Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν ἀδελφόν, γενόμενος δὲ 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' ἕκαστα καὶ συνταξάμενος τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐξενεγκέιν. Φησὶν οὖν], μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίας Μήδους προστῆναι τῆς Ἀσίας, Ἀρβάκου βασιλεύοντος, τοῦ Σαρδανάπαλον καταπολεμήσαντος, καθότι προεῖρηται. Τούτου δ' ἄρξαντος ἔτη δυσὶ λείποντα τῶν τριάκοντα, διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν υἱὸν Μαδαύκην, ὃν ἄρξαι τῆς Ἀσίας ἔτη πεντήκοντα. Μετὰ δὲ τούτου τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη βασιλεύσαι Σώσαρμον, πεντήκοντα δὲ Ἀρτύκαν, δύο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι τὸν προσαγορευόμενον Ἀρβιάνην, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ Ἀρταίον.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου συστήναι μέγαν πόλεμον τοῖς Μήδοις πρὸς Καδουσίους, διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Παρσώδην τὸν Πέρσην, θαυμαζόμενον ἐπ' ἀνδρεία καὶ συνέσει καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, φίλον τε ὑπάρξαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ μέγιστον ἰσχύσαι τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βασιλικοῦ συνεδρίου· τούτου δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τινι κρίσει λυπηθέντα, φυγεῖν μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων, ἰππέων δὲ χιλίων εἰς Καδουσίους·

διφθερῶν] 'Skins.' Spiegel proposes to connect this word with *dipis*, which occurs in the sense of 'tablet' in an inscription of Darius, and is itself of Semitic origin, but there appears no good reason for doing so.

Καδουσίους] A nation on the shores of the Caspian, according to Strabo, xi. 7, p. 425, where they are apparently classed among the ἔθνη ληστροκὰ καὶ μάχιμα μᾶλλον ἢ

γεωργικά. The legend of Parsondas consists of two parts—the main statement, that he was a valiant Iranian hero, who deserted from his own people, and became chief of their Kadusian enemies, related in the epitome; and the subordinate narrative of the causes which led to his doing so, which we have at much greater length, owing to the accident of this portion of Nikolaus' extract from Ktesias

παρ' οἷς ἦν ἐκδεδομένος τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν τῷ μάλιστα δυναστεύοντι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς τόπους. Γενόμενον δὲ ἀποστάτην, καὶ πείσαντα τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, αἰρεθῆναι στρατηγὸν διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν. Ἐπειτα πυνθανόμενον ἀθροισμένην ἐπ' αὐτὸν μεγάλην δύναμιν, καθοπλίσαι τοὺς Καδουσίους πανδημί, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι πρὸς ταῖς εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβολαῖς, ἔχοντα τοὺς σύμπαντας οὐκ ἐλάττους εἴκοσι μυριάδων. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Ἀρταίου στρατεύσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μυριάσιν ὀγδοήκοντα μάχῃ κρατῆσαι, καὶ πλείους μὲν τῶν πεντακισμυρίων ἀνελείν, τὴν δ' ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Καδουσιῶν χώρας. Διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις θαυμαζόμενον, αἰρεθῆναι βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν συνεχῶς λεηλατεῖν, καὶ πάντα τόπον καταφθείρειν. Μεγάλῃ δὲ δόξης τυχόντα, καὶ γῆρα μέλλοντα καταστρέφειν τὸν βίον, ἀρὰν θέσθαι παρασησάμενον τὸν διαδεχόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅπως μηδέποτε διαλύσωνται ἔχθραν Καδουσίοι πρὸς Μήδους· εἰ δὲ συνθοῖντο ὁμολογίας, ἐξώλεις γενέσθαι τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ Καδουσίους ἅπαντας. Διὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας αἰεὶ πολεμικῶς ἐσχηκέναι Καδουσίους πρὸς Μήδους, καὶ μηδέποτε τοῖς τούτων βασιλεύσιν ὑπηκόους γεγόνεαι, μέχρις ὅτου Κύρος εἰς Πέρσας περιέστησε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

having survived. Though Nikolaus, fr. 10, does not mention Ktesias as his authority, the source of his narrative is evident from the epitome, and from the reference in Athenaeus, though he perhaps added embellishments of his own.

Lenormant regards the main statement, the hostility between Parsondas and Artaeus, as a tradition of the existence of several independent states in Media (looking on the Kadusians as Medes), while he looks on the account of

the dispute of Parsondas and Nannarus (which, in spite of the testimony of Athenaeus, he apparently regards as not coming from Ktesias) as a pure myth, of which he gives a far-fetched explanation (*Les Origines de l'histoire*, i. pp. 163-4; *Hist. Anc.* v. p. 261). He makes Nannarus = *Nannar*, 'the illuminator,' an epithet of Sin in Babylonian, and Parsondas = Sandes (Berosus, i. 2), or Sandan, one of the names of Nin, or Herakles, whom he identifies with the Sun—

FRAGMENTUM 19.

(a) (Nicolaus Damascenus, fr. 10, Excerpt. de virtutibus et vitiis). Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀρταίου τοῦ βασιλέως Μήδων [τοῦ διαδόχου Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως], ἦν ἐν Μήδοις τότε κατὰ τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ ῥώμην δοκιμώτατος Παρσώνδης, παρά τε βασιλεῖ μάλιστα ἐπαινούμενος καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις, ὅθεν ἦν γένος, ἐπὶ τε εὐβουλία καὶ κάλλει σώματος. Δεινὸς δὲ καὶ θήρας αἰρεῖν, ἐν σταδία τε μάχῃ καὶ ἀπὸ ἄρματος καὶ ἵππου μάχεσθαι. Οὗτος ὄρων Νάναρον τὸν Βαβυλώνιον διαπρεπεῖ κόσμῳ χρώμενον ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἑλλόβια ἔχοντα καὶ κατεξυρημένον εὖ μάλα, γυναικῶδη τε καὶ ἀναλκιν, ἔπειθεν Ἀρταίον ἀφελέσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι δυσχεραίνων σφόδρα τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὁ δὲ ἄκνει συγγέας τὰ συγκείμενα ὑπ' Ἀρβάκω ἀδικεῖν τὸν Βαβυλώνιον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ δις καὶ τρίς ὁ Παρσώνδης ἐνέτυχεν Ἀρταίῳ, καὶ ταῦτόν ἤκουσεν, ἡσύχαζεν· οὐ μὴν τὸν Νάναρον

"Adar-Parsondas tombe chaque soir au pouvoir de son frère rival Sin-Nannarus": Sin and Nin were both sons of Bel. He considers it a variety of the periodical death of the Sun-god at evening, and in winter, and compares the strife between the two brothers in Genesis iv. and the legend of Herakles and Omphale.

To me it seems better to regard the legend as an earlier form of one which appears under several forms in Firdusi, none exactly similar to Ktesias' version, in which an Iranian hero, having received some

indignity or ill-usage from his own sovereign, deserts to the Turanians, and leads them to victory. The constant struggle between Iran and Turan, which really existed, appears in the Zendavesta, and forms the staple of the legends told in the Shah-Nameh, and of both those which have survived from Ktesias' Median history,¹ for, from the description of Strabo, it is evident that we should regard the Kadusians as a half-savage Turanian tribe, and the ethnic character of the Sakans and Parthians who figure in the account of Astibaras'

¹ The early Iranian 'history' of Ktesias and Firdusi relates almost entirely to the wars in the East; Herodotus' history of the Medes relates chiefly to their affairs in the West.

ἔλαθεν. Αἰσθόμενος δ' ἐκεῖνος τὴν γνώμην τάνδρως, μεγάλη δῶρα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπέσχετο καπήλοις, εἴ τις αὐτῷ Παρσώνδην συλλαβὼν ἄγοι· ἔπονται δ' οὗτοι πολλοὶ τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ. Καί ποτε κατὰ δαίμονα κυνηγετῶν ὁ Παρσώνδης ἐλαύνει πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐχ ἐκὰς Βαβυλῶνος. Τοὺς δὲ θεράποντας εἰς τὴν πλησίον ὕλην τρέψας, ἐκέλευσε βοῆ τε καὶ ἀλαλητῷ χρῆσθαι, ὡς δὴ τὰ θηρία σοβήσων εἰς τὰ πεδία· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἕς ἀγρίους, πολλοὺς δ' ἐλάφους αἰρεῖ. Τέλος δ', ὄνον ἄγριον διώκων, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀποσπᾶται τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μόνος ἐλαύνων ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ κάπηλοι ἀγορὰς εὐτρεπίζοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ· οὗς θεασάμενος ὑπὸ δύβους πιεῖν ἤτει. Οἱ δ' ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες Παρσώνδην, προσίασιν αὐτῷ πιεῖν τε ἐνέχεον, καὶ, τὸν ἵππον δεξάμενοι, ἀριστᾶν ἐκέλευσαν. Ὁ δὲ, οἷα πανημέριος θηρῶν, οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἤκουσεν, ἐκέλευσέ τε ἀποπέμψαι βασιλεῖ τὸν ὄνον ὃν κατέλαβε, καὶ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὸν δρυμὸν οἰκέταις φράσαι ἔνθα εἶη, οἱ δὲ πάντα ποιήσειν ὑποσχόμενοι, κατακλίνουσι τὸν Παρσώνδην. Καὶ δαῖτα

reign was similar. The same struggle continued under the Sassanians, and was perpetuated in the Turkoman inroads into Persia down to our own times.

The stories in Firdusi which most closely resemble that of Parsondas are those of Sohrab¹ and Siawush.² Siawush (Syavarshana in the Yashts) having been slighted by Kaikaus, king of Iran, flies to Afrasiab, king of Turan, forms a connexion with him by marriage, and, like Parsondas, causes him to vow perpetual hostility against Iran. Siawush is eventually murdered by Afrasiab, and his son Kai

Khosru (Kava Hucrava of the Avesta) returns to his allegiance to Iran, just as Onaphernes, in Nicolaus, fr. 66 (probably from Ktesias), who is apparently to be regarded as a descendant of Parsondas (Ktesias, § 30), reconciles himself with Astyages and Kyrus. Kai Khosru in Firdusi is identified with the latter.

The details relating to Nannarus so much resemble those relating to Sardanapalus, that we are tempted to attribute them to a Greek origin. Babylon (Bawri) is one of the few places in the West mentioned in the Zendavesta.

¹ Malcolm, *History of Persia*, i. p. 237.

² Malcolm, i. pp. 39-42.

παρέθεσαν παντοίαν, οἶνον τε ἡδιστον πίνειν ἐκέχου ἀκρατέστερον ἐπίτηδες, ὡς μεθυσθείη, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄδην εἶχεν, ὁ μὲν ἦται τὸν ἵππον, ὡς ἀπίοι ἐπὶ τὸ βασιλέως στρατεύμα· οἱ δὲ γυναῖκας εὐπρεπεῖς παραγαγόντες, ἐδείκνυόν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκέλευον κοιμηθέντα αὐτόθι, καὶ εἰς νύκτα χρυσάμενον αὐτοῖς, ἔωθεν ἀπιέναι. Ὁ δὲ, εὐπρεπεῖς γυναῖκας ὄρων, ἔμεινέ τε καὶ ἠλίπιστο. Καὶ τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν συνουσίαν τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸν κόπον ὕπνος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν. Οἱ δ' ἀναστήσαντες τὴν παρακοιμημένην γυναῖκα, πολλοὶ ἅμα ἐπιπεσόντες, συνέδησαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπὶ Νάναρον ἐκόμισαν. Ὁ δ', ὡς εἶδεν αὐτὸν (ἦδη δὲ ἀνένηψεν ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ ἔγνω ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ), ἤρετο, “Ἄρα ὦ Παρσώνδη, κακόν τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάλαι ἔπαθες, ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ τῶν σῶν τις;” Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη. “Τι δὲ πείσεσθαι προσεδόκησας;” “Οὐκ ἔγωγε,” εἶπεν. “Τὶ οὖν αὐτὸς ἀδικίας ἤρξας εἰς ἐμέ, ἀνδρόγυνον τε καλῶν, καὶ βασιλείαν τὴν ἐμὴν αἰτῶν παρὰ Ἄρταίου, ὡς δητὰ οὐδενὸς ἀξίου αὐτὸς γενναῖος ὢν; πολλὴ δὲ χάρις Ἄρταίῳ οὐ πεισθέντι τὴν ὑπ' Ἀρβάκω δεδομένην ἡμῖν ἀρχὴν ἀφέλεσθαι. Διὰ τί δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίεις ὦ κακὴ κεφαλῆ;” Ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας εἶπεν “Ὡμην αὐτὸς ἀξιώτερος εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἔχειν, ἀνδρειότερός τε ὢν καὶ ὠφελιμώτερος βασιλεῖ ἢ συ ὁ κατεξυρημένος τε καὶ καθυπεστμιμισμένος τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ, ψιμυθίῳ δὲ τὸ χρῶμα ἐναλειφόμενος.” Καὶ ὁ δὲ “εἴτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ” ἔφη, “σὺ ὁ τηλικούτος ὑπὸ τοῦ χείρονος συνειλημμένος ἐπειδὴ γαστρὸς ἦττων καὶ αἰδοίων ἐγένου; Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ σε,” ἔφη, “θήσω γυναικῶν ἀπαλώτερον καὶ λευκότερον τὴν χροιάν οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου.” Καὶ ἐπώμοσε τὸν τε Βῆλον καὶ τὴν Μύλιττα· οὕτως γὰρ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι Βαβυλώνιοι. Καὶ ἅμα καλέσας τὸν εὐνούχον, τὸν τὰς μουσουργοὺς πεπιστευμένον. “Τοῦτον,” ἔφη, “ἄπαγε, καὶ ξυρήσας τὸ ὅλον σῶμα, καὶ κισηρίσας πλὴν

Μύλιττα, οὕτως γὰρ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι Βαβυλώνιοι] Mulitta, the Syrian Beltis, often confused with Ishtar (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. p. 625).

κεφαλῆς, δις τῆς ἡμέρας λουε, καὶ σμῆχε ἀπὸ λεκίθου, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπογραφέσθω, καὶ τὰς κόμας ἐμπλεκέσθω, ὥσπερ αἱ γυναῖκες, μανθανέτω δὲ ἄδειν καὶ κιθαρίζειν καὶ ψάλλειν, ἵνα μοι μετὰ τῶν μουσουργῶν λειτουργῇ, γυναικὶ ὁμοιωμένος, μεθ' ὧν καὶ δίαιταν ἔξει, λείος ὢν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἔχων.” Ταῦτα εἰπόντος, ὁ εὐνούχος παραδεξάμενος τὸν Παρσώνδην, κατεξύρησέ τε ὅλον πλὴν κεφαλῆς, καὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα ἐδίδασκε, καὶ ἐσκιατράφει λούων ἐκάστης ἡμέρας δις, καὶ λεαίνων, ὁμοδίαίτον τε ποιῶν ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ὥσπερ ὁ δεσπότης προσέταξεν. Καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ χρόνου γίνεται ἄνθρωπός τε λευκὸς καὶ ἀπαλὸς καὶ γυναικώδης, ἦδε τε καὶ ἐκιδάριζε πολὺ κάλλιον τῶν μουσουργῶν· οὐδεὶς τε ἂν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν λειτουργοῦντα ἐν συμποσίῳ Νανάρῳ οὐχὶ γυναῖκα ὑπέλαβε, καὶ πολὺ γε ἐκείνων εὐπρεπέστερον, μεθ' ὧν ἐκάστοτε ἐλειτούργει. Βασιλεὺς δὲ ὁ Μήδων Ἄρταῖος, ἐπειδὴ πάντη μαστεύων Παρσώνδην ἐξέκαμε, καὶ δῶρα προτείνων εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἀνεύροι ἢ ζῶντα ἢ τεθνεῶτα, ὑπελάμβανε πού ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ ὑπὸ λεόντος ἢ ἄλλου τοῦ θηρίου καταβεβρωσθαι, καὶ μεγάλως ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἠνιάτο, ἅτε ἀνδρειοτάτῳ ὄντι. Ὡς δ' ἐπτά ἔτη ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τοιαύτην δίαιτην ἔχοντι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, τῶν εὐνούχων τινα ὁ Νάναρος μαστιγοῖ τε χαλεπῶς, καὶ τὸ σῶμα αἰκίζεται. Καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Παρσώνδης, μέγαλαις ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας, ἀναπέθει παρὰ τὸν Ἄρταῖον εἰς Μήδους ἀποδρᾶναι, καὶ πάντα φράσαι τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ, ὡς ζῆ τε καὶ λελώβηται, μετὰ μουσουργῶν δίαιταν ἔχων, Παρσώνδης ὁ σὸς φίλος ἐκείνος ὁ πολεμιστήριος. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτ' ἔφρασεν ὁ εὐνούχος βασιλεῖ, ἦσθη τε ἅμα καὶ μέγα στενάξας εἶπε, “φεῦ λάβης ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ πῶς ἠνέσχετο ὁ Παρσώνδης, ὃν ἐγὼ οἶδα, θηλυνόμενος τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ ἐχθροῦ;” καὶ ἅμα πέμπει τινα τῶν πιστοτάτων ἄγγαρον

ἄγγαρον] See Herodotus, viii. rather those assumed by Bagaeus 98; but the functions discharged in Herod. iii. 128. by the ἄγγαρος in this passage are

παρὰ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον (οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουσιν τοὺς βασιλείους ἀγγέλους). Ὁ δὲ Νάναρος ἀφικόμενος τῷ ἀγγάρῳ, καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντι Παρσώνδην ἕξαρνος γενόμενος, οὐδαμοῦ ἔφη ἐκείνον ἑωρακέσθαι ἐξ ὅτου ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν Ἀρταῖος, ἕτερον ἔπεμψεν ἄγγαρον πολὺ μείζω τοῦ προτέρου καὶ δυνατώτερον· ἐπέστειλέ τε ἐν διφθέρα, ῥίψαντα τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἀπάτην, ὀπίσω ἀποπέμπειν τὸν ἄνδρα παρ' ἐαυτὸν, ὃν ταῖς μουσουργοῖς τε καὶ εὐνούχοις παρέδωκεν, ἢ ὅτι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτὸς οὐχ ἔξει. Ταῦτα ἔγραψε, καὶ ἅμα ἐκέλευσε τῷ ἀνδρὶ, εἰ μὴ παραδῶ Νάναρος τὸν Παρσώνδην, λαβόμενον τῆς ζώνης ἄγειν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Ἀφικόμενος δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ἀγγάρου εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγείλαντος, ὁ Νάναρος δείσας περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, παραδώσειν τε ὑπέσχετο τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ προσέτι, ἀπολογούμενος τῷ ἀγγάρῳ, πείσειν ἔφη βασιλέα, ὡς δικαίως μετήλθεν ἄνδρα ἄρξαντα μεγάλης ἀδικίας εἰς ἐαυτόν· πεπονθέναι γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου χαλεπώτερα, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ δεσπότης αὐτοῦ ὑπερέσχε τὴν δεξιάν. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπὶ πότον ἐτράπετο καὶ συνουσίαν ἐστιῶν τὸν ἄγγαρον. Καὶ τοῦ δείπνου παρακειμένου, εἰσεληλύθεισαν αἱ μουσουργοί, ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα γυναῖκες μεθ' ὧν ἦν καὶ Παρσώνδης. Καὶ αἱ μὲν ἐκιθάριζον, αἱ δ' ἠῦλον, αἱ δὲ ἔψαλλον, ἐν πάσαις δὲ διέπρεπε μάλιστα Παρσώνδης καὶ κάλλι καὶ τέχνη, γυνὴ καὶ αὐτὸς νομιζόμενος. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ δείπνου ἄδην εἶχον, ἤρετο ὁ Νάναρος τὸν ἄγγαρον, ἦτις αὐτῷ δοκεῖ πασῶν προφέρειν εὐμορφία τε καὶ εὐμουσία. Ὁ δ', οὐδὲν μελλήσας, ἔφη ἐκείνην, Παρσώνδην δεικνύς. Καὶ ὁ Νάναρος, κροτήσας τῷ χεῖρι, ἐγέλα ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον, καὶ εἶπε, “Ταύτην ἄρα καὶ βούλει ἔχων εἰς νύκτα ἀναπαύεσθαι;” Ὁ δὲ, “Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη. “Ἄλλ' οὐ δώσω,” εἶπεν ὁ Νάναρος. “Τί οὖν,” ἔφη ὁ ἄγγαρος, “ἐμοῦ πυνθάνη;” Μικρὸν δὲ διαλιπὼν, “Οὗτος ἐστίν,” ἔφη, “Παρσώνδης, ἐφ' ὃν ἤκεις.” Ἀπιστοῦντος δ' ἐκείνου, ὤμοσεν. Καὶ ὁ ἄγγαρος, “θαῦμα μ' ἔχει,” ἔφη, “ὅπως ζῆν

ὑπέμεινε γυναικίζόμενος ἀνὴρ ἄλκιμος, καὶ οὐ διεχρήσατο ἐαυτὸν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ἄλλους ἐδύνατο· πῶς δὲ ταῦτ' ἀνέξεται ὁ δεσπότης ἀκούσας;” Ὁ δὲ Νάναρος εἶπεν, “ἔγω ῥαδίως αὐτὸν ἀναδιδάξω ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικῶ.” Τότε μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα διελέγοντο, καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ἐνθεις ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, εἰς ἀρμάμαξαν Παρσώνδην ἀποπέμπεται σὺν τῷ ἀγγάρῳ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον εἰς Σούσα, ἐνθα ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς, δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγαρος τὸν ἄνδρα. Καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ὁ Ἀρταῖος ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα αὐτ' ἄνδρος γυναικα γεγονότα, “ᾠ ταλαίπωρε,” ἔφη, “πῶς ὑπέμεινας ὦδε λωβηθῆναι, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπέθανες;” Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, “Ἡ τοι ἀνάγκη, ᾧ δέσποτα, καὶ θεῶν λέγεται κρείττων ὑπάρχειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔτλην καὶ ἐκ τοιῶνδε παθημάτων ζῆν, ἵνα ἅμα μὲν σε ἐγγένοιτό μοι θεωρῆσαι, ἔπειτα δὲ Νάναρον τιμωρήσασθαι διὰ σοῦ, ἅπερ ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἂν ὑπῆρξε τετελευτηκότι· ἀλλὰ μὴ μοι,” ἔφη, “δέσποτα ψεύσῃ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐλπίδος, ἀλλὰ μοι τὴν δίκην ἀπόδος παρ' ἀνδρὸς κακοῦ.” Καὶ ὁ Ἀρταῖος ὑπέσχετο, ἐπειδὴν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκηται. οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου ὅ τε Παρσώνδης ἀπέλαβεν τὴν ἀνδρείαν φύσιν, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο εἰς Βαβυλῶνα κατεβοᾶτό τε ὁσσημέραι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως τιμωρήσεται τὸν Νάναρον. Καὶ ὃς ἦκε παρὰ βασιλέα, καὶ ἔφη δίκαια ποιῆσαι. “Πρότερος γὰρ ἐκείνος, οὐδὲν κακὸν παθὼν ἐμὲ διέβαλεν,” ἔφη, “παρὰ σοι, ὡς με κτείνειάς τε, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ δοίης.” Ἀρταῖος δὲ ἔφη δικαιοτέρα Παρσώνδην αἰτεῖσθαι· χρῆναι γὰρ μὴ σαυτῷ δικάζειν, μηδὲ τοιαύτας ἐξευρίσκειν δίκας, ἀλλὰ ἐμοὶ ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν κρίσιν· τέλος δὲ σοι ἐς δεκάτην ἐξοίσω ἡμέραν τό σοι πρέπον. Ὁ δὲ Νάναρος, ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἐν δειῶ φόβῳ ἦν· καὶ ἐπὶ Μιτραφέρην καταφεύγει ὃς ἦν τῶν εὐνούχων δυνατώτατος, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτῷ χρυσοῦ τά-

εὐνούχων δυνατώτατος] In Ktesias at any length, has a eunuch, or each king, from Semiramis to Artaxerxes II., whose history is related eunuchs, holding a position of special influence. In Herodotus

λαντα δέκα, καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς δέκα, καὶ ἀργυρᾶς διακοσίας, καὶ Παρσώνδη ἀργυρίου νομίσματος τάλαντα ἑκατὸν, καὶ ἄλλας ἐσθήτας πολυτελεῖς, βασιλεῖ δὲ χρυσοῦ μὲν τάλαντα ἑκατὸν, καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς ἑκατὸν, ἀργυρᾶς δὲ τριακοσίας, ἀργυροῦ δὲ νομίσματος τάλαντα χίλια ἐσθητάς τε παμπληθεῖς, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ δῶρα, εἰ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῷ ἐξαιτήσῃ καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος βασιλείαν παρὰ Ἄρταίου. Καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος ᾤχετο παρὰ βασιλέα, καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεῖς, ἅτε ὦν τιμῆς τῆς πρώτης, εἶπεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶη θανάτου ἄξιος ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ γὰρ κτείνειε Παρσώνδην, ἀλλὰ ὑβρισθεῖς καὶ δευνὰ παθὼν ἀνθυβρίσειεν. “Εἰ δὲ καὶ θανάτου εἶη ἄξιος, ἐμοῖ, ὦ δέσποτα, δὸς,” ἔφη, “τὴν χάριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν παραίτησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. Δώσει δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ σοὶ μὲν τῷ δεσπότῃ πολλὴν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον Παρσώνδη δὲ, ποιήν ὦν ἔδρασεν, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου.” Πείθεται τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐκπέμπει Νανάρω. Καὶ ὁ μὲν προσεκύνησεν Παρσώνδης δὲ κινῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, “Ὁλοῖτο,” ἔφη, “ὁ πρῶτος χρυσὸν ἐξευρῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων γένος, διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν γέλωσ γέγονα ἀνδρὶ Βαβυλωνίῳ.” Καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος αἰσθόμενος αὐτὸν βαρέως φέροντα, “ὦ γαθὲ,” ἔφη, “παῦσαι ὀργιζόμενος, καὶ μοι πείθου, φίλος τε γίνου Νανάρω, ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης βούλεται.” Ὁ δὲ Παρσώνδης καιρὸν ἐτήρει ἀμύνασθαι, εἰ δύναίτο, τὸν τε εὐνοῦχον καὶ Νάναρον, καὶ εὔρειν, καὶ ἡμίνατο. [Ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ Στρατηγημάτων] . . . (Nicolaus, fr. 11, Suidas v. ἐξεκεκλήκει) [ἐξεκεκλήκει, ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἀνίστη·] Νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐξεκεκλήκει τοὺς Νανάρου. . . . (Suidas v. Σφοδροῦ) [Σφοδροῦ, λαμπροῦ, πολυδαπάνου] Σφοδροῦ τε πότου γενομένου, ἐνεδρεύων ὁ Παρσώνδης αὐτὸς μὲν ὀλίγον ἔπιεν, ἐκείνοις δὲ πολλὴν ἐγχεῖν τῷ θεράποντι ἐκέλευε.

eunuchs play a much less prominent part, and Ktesias may have exaggerated their power under the

earlier Persian kings, owing to their undoubted influence in his own time.

(b) (Athenaeus, xii. p. 530 D.) [Κτησίας δ' ἱστορεῖ] Νάναρον τὸν βασιλέως ὑπαρχον καὶ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας δυναστεύσαντα στολῆ χρῆσθαι γυναικεία καὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ὅτι βασιλέως δούλῳ ὄντι αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ δείπνον εἰσῆεσαν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ψάλλουσαι καὶ ᾄδουσαι γυναῖκες· ἔψαλλον δὲ αὐταὶ καὶ ἦδον ἐκείνου δειπνοῦντος.

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 31 (Diod. ii. 31). Τῶν δὲ Μήδων βασιλεῦσαι μετὰ τὴν Ἄρταίου τελευταίαν Ἀρτύνην μὲν ἔτη δύο πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι, Ἀστιβάραν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου Πάρθους ἀποστάντας Μήδων, Σάκαις τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίσαι. Διόπερ συστάντος πολέμου τοῖς Σάκαις πρὸς Μήδους ἐπ' ἔτη πλείω, γενέσθαι τε μάχας οὐκ ὀλίγας,

§ 31, fr. 20 and 21. Συστάντος πολέμου τοῖς Σάκαις πρὸς Μήδους] As Astibaras = Kyaxares, the war here narrated perhaps corresponds to the Skythian war of Kyaxares related by Herodotus, i. 103-106, Rawlinson regards it as 'just possible' that the Skythian war of the latter represents nothing but the struggle between the Aryan immigrants led by Kyaxares and the Skythic races, who before his time occupied Media and the chain of Zagrus (*Herod.* i. pp. 398-9). The nature of the legend of Zarina has been already discussed; it is preserved in a very fragmentary condition. The order of the narrative appears to have been—(1) death of Kydnaeus, and marriage of his widow Zarina to Mermerus, the Parthian (fr. 20 a); (2) she engages in battle, and is unhorsed by Stryaglius, who spares her (fr. 20, a, b, c); (3) he is taken prisoner. Mermerus refuses to spare him, and is accordingly murdered by Zarina (fr. 20 a); (4) Zarina makes peace with the Persian (Median?) king (fr. 20 a, 21 a, b); (5) Zarina civilises her subjects (Epit. § 31); (6) visit of Stryaglius to Zarina; she refuses his proposals, and he writes to her, and kills himself (fr. 21 a, b). With this narrative we may compare Diod. ii. 44. It is useless to try and determine the true reading of the proper names. A comparison of the quotations of fr. 21, by Demetrius and Nikolaus, enables us to see how the latter amplified Ktesias.

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. Βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τότε τῶν Σακῶν γυναῖκα τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐξηλωκυῖαν, καὶ τόλμη τε καὶ πράξει πολὺ διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν Σάκαις, ὄνομα Ζαριναίαν. Καθόλου μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο γυναικῆς ἀλκίμους ἔχει, καὶ κοινωνούσας τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνων ταύτην δὲ λέγεται τῷ τε κάλλει γενέσθαι πασῶν εὐπρεπεστάτην, καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐγχειρήμασι θαυμαστήν. Τῶν μὲν γὰρ πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐπηρμένους τῷ θρασεῖ καὶ καταδουλουμένους τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Σακῶν καταπολεμήσαι, τῆς δὲ χώρας πολλὴν ἐξημερῶσαι, καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας κτίσαι, καὶ τὸ σύνολον εὐδαιμονέστερον τὸν βίον τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν ποιῆσαι. Διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν 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 σταδιαῖον, εἰς ὃξὺν συνηγμένης τῆς κορυφῆς. Ἐπιστήσαι δὲ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ χρυσῆν εἰκόνα κολοσσικήν, καὶ τιμὰς ἡρωϊκὰς ἀπονείμει, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα μεγαλοπρεπέστερα ποιεῖν τῶν τοῖς προγεγονόσιν αὐτῆς συγχωρηθέντων.

FRAGMENTUM 20.

(a)
(De Mulier. quae bello claraverunt, cap. 2.)

Ζαριναία. Αὕτη, τελευταῖαντος τοῦ προτέρου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ ἀδελφοῦ Κυδραίου Σακῶν βασιλέως, ἐγαμήθη Μερμέρω τῆς Παρθυαίων χώρας δυνάστη. Τοῦ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπιστρατεύσαντος πολεμοῦσα καὶ τραθεῖσα ἔφυγε, διωχθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Στραγγαίου ἰκετεύσασα διεσώθη. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ὑποχείριον αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαβὼν ἐβούλετο ἀνελεῖν, ἢ δὲ δεομένη σώσειν καὶ μὴ πείθουσα, λύσασά τινας τῶν ἐλαωκῶτων, σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν Μέρμερον ἀνέειλε καὶ παραδοῦσα τῷ Πέρσῃ τὴν χώραν φιλίαν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν [ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κτησίας].

(b)
(DEMETRIUS, de Eloc. § 218 sq.)
217.

[Ὅπερ δὲ τῷ Κτησίᾳ ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὡς ἀδολεσχοτέρῳ διὰ τὰς διλογίας πολλαχῆ μὲν ἴσως ἐγκαλοῦσιν ὀρθῶς πολλαχῆ δὲ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ ἀνδρός. Τίθεται γὰρ τοῦτο, διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ποιεῖν ἔμφασιν πλείονα ὅσα τὰ τοιάδε]. Στραγγαῖός τις ἀνὴρ Μηδός, γυναῖκα Σακίδα καταβαλὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, μάχονται γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Σάκαις ὥσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, θεασάμενος δὴ τὴν Σακίδα εὐπρεπῆ καὶ ὡραίαν μεθῆκεν ἀποσώζεσθαι.

(c)
(TZETZES, Hist. xii. 894.)

[Τοὺς Σάκας ἔθνος γίνωσκε, ὧν εὗρεμα τὸ σάκος, καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τούτων δὲ συμμάχονται ἀνδράσιν, ὡς καὶ Κτησίας εἶρηκε καὶ ἕτεροι μυριοί· αἱ τῶν Σακῶν γυναῖκες δὲ μάχονται δὴ ἀπ' ἵππων καὶ πάλιν δὲ Στραγγαῖος, ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τῶν Μηδῶν, γυναῖκα τῶν Σακίδων μὲν καταβαλὼν ἐξ ἵππου.]

FRAGMENTUM 21.

(a) (Nicolaus Dam. fr. 12, Exc. de Virtut.) Ὁ Στραγγαῖος μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Μαρμάρω τοῦ Σακῶν βασιλέως εἶχετο ἔρωτι Ζαριναίας σιγῇ πάλαι· κἀκεῖνη δὲ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἐπεὶ πλησίον γίνεται ὁ ἀνὴρ Ῥωξανάκης τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθα Σάκαις τὸ βασίλειον ἦν, ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ Ζαριναία, καὶ θεασαμένη σὺν πολλῇ χαρᾷ ἐδεξιόυτο τε αὐτὸν. Καὶ ἐφίλησε πάντων ὀρώντων, εἰς τε τὸ ἄρμα αὐτοῦ μετενέστη, καὶ διαλεγόμενοι ἦκον εἰς τὸ βασίλειον. Ὑποδέχεται δὲ ἡ Ζαριναία καὶ τὴν ἐπομένην αὐτῷ στρατιὰν λαμπρότατα.

[Ῥωξανάκης] Steph. Byz.: Ῥοξοκαία πόλις· τὸ ἔθνικόν Ῥοξοκοκαίος καὶ Ῥοξοκοκαίτης καὶ Ῥοξοκοκαίωνος. Otherwise unknown.

Ἐκ τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ καταγωγὴν Στρυαγγαῖος ἀπελύετο, ὑποστενάζων διὰ τὸν Ζαριναίᾳ ἔρωτα. Οὐ καρτερῶν δὲ κοινοῦται τῷ πιστοτάτῳ τῶν εὐνούχων, οἱ συνείποντό οἱ· ὁ δὲ θαρρύνας αὐτὸν παρήνει τὴν πολλὴν ἀτολίαν ῥύσαντα, αὐτῇ εἰπεῖν Ζαριναίᾳ. Καὶ ὃς πεισθεὶς, ἀναπηδήσας ὤχετο παρ' αὐτήν· ἀσμενῶς δὲ ἐκείνης παραδεξαμένης αὐτὸν, πολλὰ διαμελλήσας καὶ στέναξας καὶ μεταβαλὼν τὸ χρῶμα ἐτόλμησεν ὅμως, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς δι' ἔρωτος εἴη σφοδροῦ καιόμενος τῷ πόθῳ αὐτῆς. Ἡ δὲ πρῶως μάλα ἀναινομένη, καὶ ἑαυτῇ, ἔφη τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπαισχρῆς εἶναι καὶ βλαβερόν, κἀκείνῳ πολὺ αἴσχιον καὶ βλαβερώτερον, γυναικα ἔχοντι Ῥοιταίαν τὴν Ἀστιβάρα θυγατέρα, ἣν ἀκούειν πολὺ καλλίω καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν γυναικῶν. Δεῖν οὖν αὐτὸν μὴ πρὸς πολεμίους μόνον ἀνδρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐπειδάν τι προσπέσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ μὴ βραχείας τέρψεως χάριν, ἣν καὶ ἐκ παλλακίδων οἶον τ' ἔχειν, τὸν πολὺν ἀνιάσθαι χρόνον, εἰ αἴσθοιτο Ῥοιταία. Τοῦτ' οὖν μεθέντι ἔφη ἄλλο τι αἰτεῖσθαι· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἀτυχήσειν παρ' αὐτῆς. Ὁ μὲν δὴ, τοιαῦτα εἰπούσης, ἐπὶ πολὺ ἤσυχος ἦν, ἀθις δ' ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὴν ἀπέρχεται καὶ ἐν πλέονι ἀθυμία ἦν, πρὸς τε τὸν εὐνούχον ὠδύρετο. Τέλος δὲ γράψας εἰς διφθέραν ἐξώρκωσε τὸν εὐνούχον, ἐπειδάν αὐτὸν διαχρήσεται, μηδὲν προκατειπόντα, τὴν διφθέραν ἀποδοῦναι Ζαριναίᾳ. Ἐγέγραπτο δὲ, "Στρυαγγαῖος Ζαριναίᾳ λέγει τάδε· Ἐγὼ μὲν σε ἔσωσά τε καὶ τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος γέγονα· σὺ δὲ με ἀπέκτεινας καὶ πάντων ἀνόνητον πεποίηκας. Εἰ μὲν οὖν σοι ταῦτα πέπρακται δικαίως, σὺ τε πάντων τύχοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ εἴης μακαρία· εἰ δὲ ἀδίκως, σὺ τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ πάθους ἐμοὶ πείραν λάβοις· σὺ γάρ μοι παρήνεσας τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι." Ταῦτα γράψας ὑπὸ τῷ προσκεφαλαίῳ τίθησι, καὶ εἰς ᾄδου ἀπιὼν ἀνδρείως τὸ ξίφος ἤτει. Ὁ δὲ εὐνούχος . . . (Suidas v. ὠμή): "Δέδοικα μὴ δόξης ὠμή τις εἶναι δεινῶς οὕτω τιμωρουμένη" [Νικόλαος Δαμ. φησι].

(b) (Demetrius de elocut. § 219). Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο

σπονδῶν γενομένων ἐρασθεὶς τῆς γυναικὸς (Stryaglius) ἀπετύγχανεν· ἐδέδοκτο μὲν αὐτῷ (Stryaglio) ἀποκαρτερεῖν, γράφει δὲ πρότερον ἐπιστολὴν τῇ γυναικὶ μεμφόμενος τοιάνδε, "ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ μὲν δι' ἐμὲ ἐσώθης· ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπωλόμην."

EPITOME DIODORI.

§ 32 (Diod. ii. 34, 6). Ἀστιβάρα δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μήδων γήρα τελευτήσαντος ἐν Ἀγβατάνοις, τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀσπάδαν τὸν υἱὸν διαδέξασθαι, τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀστυάγην καλούμενον. Τούτου δ' ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Πέρσου καταπολεμηθέντος, μεταπεσεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Πέρσας.

§ 32. Ἀστυάγην] I have usually substituted Ἀστυάγης for Ἀστυάγης, owing to the statement of Photius (cod. 72, § 2: see Ktesias, Epit., § 33), on the same principle on which I read Ἀγβάτανα for Ἐκβάτανα. Here I retain Ἀστυάγην, as the statement is that he was so called by the Greeks. Ἀστυάγης may have been intended by Ktesias to represent the Persian form of the name. Probably the sixth book of Ktesias contained the greater part of his history of Astyages, but Diodorus has given no epitome of it. He seems to have followed Herodotus' account, at least in part (Diod. ix. pp. 27-28). Photius' epitome begins with Book vii. Nikolaus, however (vii. fr. 66, pp. 397-406, Exc. de insidiis), has a long account of the reign of Astyages, which is probably based to a large extent on Ktesias, and is, with the exception of a passage at the end, consistent with whatever

other indications we have of the latter's narrative. It is as follows:—

"Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέως ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀστυάγης, ὁ παῖς, ὄντινα μετὰ Ἀρβάκην λόγος ἔχει γενναίω-τατον γεγονέναι. Ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἡ μεγάλη γίνεται μεταβολή, καθ' ἣν εἰς Πέρσας ἐκ Μήδων περιήλθεν ἡ ἀρχή, δι' αἰτίαν τοιάνδε. Νόμος ἐγένετο ἐν Μήδοις, ὅστις πένης τροφῆς ἔνεκα προσίη ἀνδρὶ εὐπόρῳ, ἑαυτὸν διδοὺς ὅπως τρέφοιτό τε καὶ ἀμπέχοιτο, ἴσα καὶ δοῦλον νομίζεσθαι ἐκείνου· ἦν δὲ μὴ παρέχοι ταῦτα ὁ λαβὼν, ἐξείναι παρ' ἄλλον ἀποχωρεῖν. Προσέρχεται δὴ τις μαιρακίσκος, ὄνομα Κῦρος Μάρδος γένος, θεράποντι βασιλείῳ, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλύνουσι τὰ βασιλεία. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦ Ἀτραδάτου (Codex Escor. Τσατραδάτου) παῖς ὅστις ἐλήστευεν ὑπὸ πείνας. Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀργόστη ὄνομα, ὁ Κύρου μήτηρ, αἰπολοῦσα ἔζη. Ἐκδίδωσιν

οὐν αὐτὸν ὁ Κύρος ἐπὶ τὸ τρέφεισθαι τῷ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ ἐκάλλυε τὰ βασιλεία, καὶ ἦν ἐπιμελητής. Βελτίω οὖν αὐτῷ στολήν ὁ ἐπιστάτης δίδωσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἕξω εἰσάγαγεν εἰς τοὺς ἕσω καλλύνοντας παρὰ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ τοῦτων ἐπιστάτῃ συνίστησι, χαλεπὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος καὶ ἐμαστίγου πολλάκις Κύρον· καὶ ὅς ἀφίσταται παρὰ τὸν λυχνοφόρον· κἀκείνος αὐτὸν ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ προσάγεται πλησίον βασιλέως, ἵ' ἐν τοῖς λυχνοφοροῦσιν αὐτῷ εἴη· Εὐδοκίμων δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις μετῆλθε παρὰ Ἀρτεμβέρην, ὅστις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐπεστάτης, καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεῖ ὄρεγε πρὶν τὴν φιάλην. Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν προθύμως δέχεται, καὶ οἰνοχοεῖν κελεύει τοῖς ὁμοτραπέζοις βασιλέως. Οὐ πολλοὺ δὲ χρόνου ἐκεῖ ἔωρα αὐτὸν Ἀρτεμβάρης εὐ καὶ ἐπιστρεφῶς διακονοῦντα καὶ τὴν φιάλην εἰσχυμῶως ἐπιδιδόντα, πυνθάνεται βασιλεὺς Ἀρτεμβάρου ὅποθεν εἴη ὁ νεανίσκος. “Ὡς καλῶς οἰνοχοεῖ.” Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· “Ὡ δέσποτα, σὸς δοῦλος, Πέρσης γένος ἐκ Μάρδων, τροφῆς δὲ χάριν ἐαυτὸν δεδωκώς μοι.” Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀρτεμβάρης πρεσβυτής· καὶ ποτε δεῖται βασιλέως, ἐπεὶ ἐπύρεξε, μεθεῖναι αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον ἔστ' ἂν ὑγιάνῃ. “Ἀντὶ δ' ἔμαυτοῦ,” ἔφη, “ὁ νεανίσκος ὅδε (Κύρον λέγων), ὃν σὺ ἔπαινεῖς, οἰνοχοήσει· νῦν δ' αὐτὸν καγῶ ποιήσομαι, εἰνοῦχος ἂν εἴ σοι τῷ δεσπότη οἰνοχοῶν καταθύμιος γένοιτο.” Ταῦτα ἐπῆνε ὁ Ἀστυάγης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπελύετο, πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενος Κύρω, καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος ὡς ἂν υἱῷ. Ὁ δὲ παρεστῶς βασιλεῖ τὴν τε φιάλην ἐδίδου καὶ ψνοχοεῖ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, ὑπέφαινε τε πολλὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ ἀνδρείαν. Ὁ δ' Ἀρτεμβάρης ἐκ τῆς νόσου ταύτης θνήσκει υἰοποιησάμενος τὸν

Κύρον. Δίδωσιν οὖν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἂν υἱεῖ, τὸν σύμπαντα βίον Ἀρτεμβάρω (-εως, Cod.), καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ δῶρα· μέγας τε ἦν καὶ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ πάντῃ διεφέρετο. Ἦν δὲ Ἀστυάγῃ θυγατῆρ πάνυ γε γενναία καὶ εἰδειδῆς ἦντινα Σπιτάμμ (Ἐπιστάμμ, Cod.) δίδωσι τῷ Μῆδω ἐπὶ προικὶ πάσῃ Μηδίᾳ. Κύρος δὲ μεταπέμπεται τὸν τε πατέρα Ἀτραδάτην καὶ Ἀργοστήν τὴν μητέρα ἐκ Μάρδων. Οἱ δὲ ἦγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ μεγάλῳ ὄντι. Ἐξηγήσατο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ὄνειρον, ὡς κύουσα αὐτὸν δόξαι κοιμηθείσα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἠνίκα ἐν Μάρδοις ἦν αἰπολοῦσα. “Ἐδοξα γάρ,” ἔφη, “οὐρήσαι τοσοῦτον κύουσα, ὃ Κύρε, σὲ ὥστε ποταμοῦ μεγάλου ρεῖματα ὅμοιον γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ οὔρου, καὶ κατακλύσαι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν· ῥῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἄχρι θαλάττης.” Καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἀκούσας κελεύει τοῖς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Χαλδαίοις ὑπερθεῖναι. Κύρος δὲ τὸν λογιώτατον αὐτῶν καλέσας ἐξηγήσατο· καὶ ὅς ἀποκρίνεται μέγα τε εἶναι τὸ προφαινόμενον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὴν πρώτην αὐτῷ τιμὴν φέρον ἐν Ἀσίᾳ· δεῖν δὲ κρίπτειν, ὡς μὴ Ἀστυάγης ἀκούσῃ· “κἀκίστα γὰρ σὲ τε ἀποκτενεῖ, καμὲ τὸν κριτήρα αὐτοῦ.” Ὁμοσαν δὲ ἀλλήλοις μηδενὶ κατερεῖν τὴν ὄψιν μεγάλην τε οὔσαν καὶ οἶαν οὐκ ἄλλην. Ἐκ τούτου πολλὸ μείζων ὁ Κύρος γενόμενος σατράπην τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα Περσῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν μητέρα πλούτῳ τε καὶ δύνამει Περσίδων πρώτῃ.

Καδοῦσιοι δὲ τότε πολέμιοι ἦσαν βασιλεῖ, ἄρχοντα ἔχοντες Ὀναφέρην, ὅστις προδιδούς τὸ ἔθνος τὰ βασιλέως ἐφρόνει, καὶ πέμψας ἀγελον παρὰ Ἀστυάγην ἠτείτο ἀνδρα

πιστὸν ὡς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλεύσειε τὰ περὶ τῆς προδοσίας. Καὶ ὅς ἐκπέμπει Κύρον, ὡς ἂν πάντα συμπράξειεν· ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τεσσαρακοστῇ ὤρισεν αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτὸν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα ἀνελθεῖν. Καὶ ὁ τοῦ ὄνειρου κριτῆς παρεθάρρυνεν αὐτὸν εἰς Καδοσίους ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ φρονήματος ἐνεπέμπλα. Εἰσῆγει δὲ Κύρον ἄτε φύσει γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα, ὡς χρῆ, θεοῦ συλλαμβανομένου, Πέρσας ἀποστήσαι, καὶ Ἀστυάγην πειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς παύειν, πιστεύειν τε τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ τὰ θεῖα κάλλιστα ἐξεπισταμένῳ. Ἐθάρρυνον δὲ ἀλλήλους· ὁ μὲν Βαβυλώνιος Κύρον ὅτι εἰμαρμένον εἴη αὐτὸν καταλύσαι Ἀστυάγην καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου βασιλείαν ἐλεῖν, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἄριστα γινώσκειν· ὁ δ' αὖ Κύρος τὸν Βαβυλώνιον, ὅτι μεγάλων αὐτὸν καταξιώσει, γενομένων τούτων, ἐὰν αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς γένηται· ἐνεθυμείτο δὲ ὡς καὶ Ἀρβάκης παύσας Σαρδανάπαλλον πρότερον τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν ἀφέλοιτο. “Καίτοι οὔτε Μηδοὶ κρείσσοις Περσῶν, οἷς ἐκείνος ἐπίστευσεν, οὔτε Ἀρβάκης φρονιμώτερος ἐμοῦ· τύχη δὲ καὶ μοῖρα κἀμοὶ προδείκνυσι ὥσπερ ἄρα κἀκείνῳ.” Ταῦτα ἐνθυμονιμένῳ ὑπήντησε μεμαστιγμένους ἀνὴρ κόπρον ἐν κοφίνῳ ἐκφέρων, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τοῖς ὄροις γίνεται Καδοσιῶν· οἰωνισάμενος καθυπερτίθεται τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ. Ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσε πυθέσθαι, τίς τε εἴη ὁ ἀνὴρ, καὶ ποδαπὸς γένος. Πυθόμενῳ δὲ Κύρω ἀποκρίνεται ἐκείνος, ὅτι Πέρσης εἴη, Οἰβάρας ὄνομα. Καὶ ὅς ἦσθη πάν· ὁ γὰρ Οἰβάρας δύναται Ἑλλάδι γλώσση ἀγαθὰ γελος. Ἐφη δ' ὁ Βαβυλώνιος πρὸς Κύρον, καὶ τᾶλλα σύμβολα εἶναι ἄριστα, ὅτι τε Πέρσης ἐστὶ σοὶ πολίτης καὶ ὅτι κόπρον ἰππίαν φέρει, ἥτις πλοῦτον καὶ δύνα-

μιν προσημαίνει ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖνομα λέγει. Ταχὺ δὲ τὸν ἀνθρωπον ὁ Κύρος παραλαμβάνει, συνείναι τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ πείθεται. Ἐκ τούτου παρὰ Ὀναφέρην εἰς Καδοσίους ἦκε, καὶ πίστει λαμβάνει τε καὶ δίδωσι περὶ τῆς προδοσίας· ἐπανήγει τε εἰς Μηδίαν· τὸν δὲ Οἰβάρην ἵππῳ τε καὶ στολῇ Περσίδι καὶ θεραπείᾳ ἐτίμησεν, εἶχε τε πέλας τὴν γνώμην ὁρῶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἅμα τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου κελευόντος διαλεγέσθαι αὐτῷ. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐταιριζόμενος ἐποιεῖτο καὶ σύμβουλον. Καί ποτ' εἰς λόγους ἦλθε τοιούτους, ὡς ἄχθος τὸ ὄραν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μηδῶν κακουμένους, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲν χείρους ὄντας τὰς φύσεις. Καὶ ὁ Οἰβάρας εἶπεν· “Ὡ Κύρε, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀνὴρ τὰ νῦν μεγαλόφρων τε καὶ μεγαλογνώμων, ὃς πασαι Μηδους ἐθελήσει τῶν κρειττόνων ἄρχειν ἀξιούντας.” Καὶ Κύρος ἔφη· “πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ Οἰβάρα;” “Ἐστὶν μὲν ἴσως, ἀλλὰ πολλῇ καὶ κακῇ ἀτολίμᾳ χρήται δι' ἣν οὐδὲν δρᾶ δύναμενος.” Καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐκπειρώμενος· “Εἰ δὲ φανείη τολμητῆς ἀνὴρ πῶς ἂν δύναίτο τοῦτο κατεργάζεσθαι;” Ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται· “Πρῶτον μὲν Καδοσίους προσαγόμενος ἐθέλοντας· Πέρσας μὲν φιλοῦσι, Μηδους δὲ πάνυ μισοῦσι· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Πέρσας θαρρύντας τε καὶ ὀπλίσας περὶ μ' ὄντας μυριάδας, καὶ ἀσμένως ἂν ἐθελήσαντας δι' ἃ πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ Μηδῶν· ἐπιτηδειοτάτη δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ χώρα πετρώδης τε καὶ ὄρεινῃ οὔσα, ἐφ' ἣν εἰ στρατεύειν Μηδοὶ θέλοιν, κακῶς ἀπαλλάξουσι.” Κύρος δὲ ἤρῳτα· “Εἰ ἀνὴρ φανείη ταῦτα δρῶν, συνακαυδινεύσεις αὐτῷ;” Καὶ ὅς· “Εἰ γάρ, ὃ Ζεῦ,” ἔφη, “μάλιστα μὲν σὺ εἴης ὁ τοῖς ἐγχειρῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ

σὸς πατήρ ἄρχει Περσῶν, καὶ σὺ ἐναστυλότατος εἶ καὶ δυνατώτατος· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὅστις οἶν ἂν εἴη.” Ἐκ τούτου τὸ ὄλον βούλευμα ἐκκαλύπτει τε αὐτῷ ὁ Κύρος, καὶ συμβούλῃ χρητὰ ὄρων ἄνδρα φρόνιμον καὶ ἀνδρείον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ πάσας ἔχοντα τὰς ἐλπίδας. Καὶ ὃς συνεπήνει τε καὶ συνεξώτρυνε, γνώμας τε ἀγαθὰς ὑφηγεῖτο, καὶ ὡς χρὴ πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἀτραδιάτην τὸν πατέρα κελεῖν ὀπλίξειν Πέρσας, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν ὡς ἔτοιμοι εἰν βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ Καδουσίους, τῷ ἔργῳ δ' εἰς ἀπόστασιν· ἔπειτα ὡς χρὴ παρὰ Ἀστυάγου αἰτησάμενον ἡμέρας ἔλθειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα, ὡς ἱερὰ εὐκαταῖα θύσειεν ὑπὲρ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου σωτήριας ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐπειδὴ φαύλως ἔχει ὑπὸ νόσου. “Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πράξει, ἐγχειρητέον ἔσται τῷ σύμπαντι ἀνδρείως. Οὐ τοι δεινόν, ὦ Κύρε, καὶ ἀποκινδυνεύειν τῇ ψυχῇ μεγάλους ἐγχειροῦντα ἔργοις, καὶ παθεῖν, εἰ δέοι, τοῦτο δ' καὶ μηδὲν δρώντας ἀναμένει παθεῖν.” Ἦσθη τε οὖν ὁ Κύρος ἐπὶ τῇ γενναϊότητι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἅμα θαρρύνων αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ὄνειρον ἐξηγήσατο τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου γνώμην, ἣν εἶπε περὶ αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὁ Οἰβάρας ἄτε ἀγχνίους πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἐξώτρυνε, καὶ διεκελεύσατο φυλάττειν τὸν Βαβυλωνίον ὡς μὴ ἐξάγγελος εἴη βασιλεῖ τοῦ ὄνειρου, “εἰ ἄρα κτείνων αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπομένους, ὅπερ ἦν ἄριστον.” Καὶ ὁ Κύρος· “Ἀποτρόπαιον [ἂν] εἴη τοῦτό γ',” εἶπεν. Συνεσιτοῦντο δὴ καὶ συνήεσαν Κύρω τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὅ τε Οἰβάρας καὶ ὁ Βαβυλωνίος. Ἐν δέοι δὲ ὦν ὁ Πέρσης, μὴ κατεῖποι πρὸς Ἀστυάγην ὁ Βαβυλωνίος περὶ τοῦ ὄνειρου, προσεποιήσατο ἱερὰ πάτρια νύκτωρ ἐπιτελεῖν τῇ σελήνῃ, καὶ τὸν Κύρον

ἤτησε θίματά τε καὶ οἶνον καὶ οἰκέτας καὶ στρώματα καὶ τάλλα ὧν εἶδει. Ηξίου δὲ Κύρον προστάζει τοῖς θεραπεῖουσι πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ. Καὶ ὃς προστάξέ τε καὶ τῆς θυσίας οὐ μετεῖχεν, Οἰβάρα τεχνήσαντος, [ὃς] παρασκευάζεται τὰ τε ἄλλα νύκτα καὶ στιβάδας βαθείας, ἐφ' ὧν εὐωχῆσονται, καὶ βόθρον ὥρξεν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σκηνῇ βαθύτατον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα ἔπραξε, καὶ εὐωχῆσε τὸν Βαβυλωνίον καὶ ἐμέθυσεν, ὑπὲρ τε τὸν βόθρον αὐτῷ κοίτην στορέσας, ὡς κατακλίνει ἐς ταύτην, ὧσεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν βόθρον κάτω. Συνέβαλε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην. Καὶ ἅμα ὄρθρω Κύρου ἀπάραντος συνωδοίπορει. Οὐ πολλὴ δὲ προελθόντα ἐπέζητει τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὁ Κύρος, ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφη καταλειοπέναι αὐτὸν ἔτι καθεῖδοντα ὑπὸ μέθης. Ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Κύρου, τελευταῖον ἐξέφηνη τάληθες, ὅτι αὐτὸν κτείνειεν, ἐπειδὴ μόνην σωτηρίαν ταύτην ἑώρα Κύρω τε καὶ τοῖς Κύρου παισὶν οἴσαν. Λυπηθεὶς δὲ πάνυ ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσι καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀργισθεὶς, ὥστε μηκέτι προσίεσθαι τὸν Οἰβάραν, αἰθις μετέγνω καὶ προσίετο αὐτὸν, συμβούλῃ τε ἐχρήτο περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν. Τῇ δὲ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου γυναικὶ πυνθανομένη περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶπεν, ὅτι ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀποθάνοι καὶ ταφεῖα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Μετὰ ταῦτα παρὰ βασιλέα Κύρον ἀφικόμενον ὁ Οἰβάρας ἀνεδίδασκε καὶ ἐξώτρυνε τὰ βεβουλευμένα σφίσι ὄραν καὶ πέμπειν τε εἰς Πέρσας καὶ ὀπλίξειν τοὺς ἐν ἤβῃ καὶ Ἀστυάγην αἰτεῖσθαι δοῦναι οἱ ἡμέρας ὥστε τὰ ἱερὰ θύσειε καὶ τὸν πατέρα νοσηλεῖσειε φαύλως ἔχοντα. Καὶ ὃς ἐπέισθη, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅπλα ἤδη ἦν ἔτοιμα, καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἤτήσατο βασιλέα τὴν εἰς Πέρσας πορείαν, ὡς ἂν θύσειεν ὑπὲρ

αὐτοῦ καὶ ἅμα τὸν πατέρα ἴδοι κακῶς διακειμένον. Ὁ δ' οὐ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ, ὑπ' εὐνοίας συνεῖναι θέλων· καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ ἦν, Οἰβάρα δὴλωσας ὡς ἀποτύχοι. Καὶ ὃς ἐθαρρύνετο αὐτὸν, καὶ αἰθις ἐκέλευε διαλιπόντα ἡμέρας δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τεύξεσθαι· δεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν θεραπεῖειν προθύμως ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον· καὶ ἐπειδὴν δέηται, δι' ἑτέρου τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ δι' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄχετο παρὰ βασιλέα, καὶ τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν εὐνοῦχων ἔχρηξεν, ὅταν ἦ καιρὸς, αἰτήσασθαι αὐτῷ τὴν ἄφοδον παρὰ βασιλέως. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ποτε ἑώρα βασιλέα ἐν πολλῇ ὄντα παιδιᾷ τε καὶ μέθῃ, νεύει τῷ εὐνοῦχῳ λέγειν βασιλεῖ, ὅτι Κύρος ὁ σὸς δούλος αἰτεῖται δοῦναι αὐτῷ ἅ ποτε εὐξάτο ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ σοῦ, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ εὐμενῆς εἴης θύσαι, καὶ ἅμα τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἀσθενῶς ἔχοντα θεραπεῦσαι. Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης καλέσας Κύρον καὶ μειδιῶν δίδωσι αὐτῷ ἑ μῆνας ὀρίσας, τῷ δὲ ἔκτω ὅπως ἐπανοίω διεκελεύσατο. Προσκινήσας δὲ καθίστησιν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ Τιριδιάτην οἰνοχόον βασιλεῖ ἄχρι αὐτὸς ἐπανοίω. Καὶ ἐπὶ Οἰβάραν ἦλθε γεγηθῶς. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε παραχρῆμα τοὺς οἰκέτας συλλαβόντα ἀπαίρειν· καὶ, ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπιμελητῆς, νύκτωρ πάντα εὐτρεπίζει, καὶ ἔωθεν εἰς Πέρσας ὀδοίπορον.

Ἢ δὲ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου γυνὴ ὃς τὸν ὄνειρον ἔφρασε Κύρω, προακηκούια ἄρα παρὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρὸς, ἠνίκα ἔζη, τὴν ὄψιν, ἦντινα ἔφρασε αὐτῷ ὁ Κύρος, τελευταῖον αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, συνοικοῦσα τῷ ἐκείνου ἀδελφῷ, ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς συναπαυομένη ἤκουσε παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι μέγας γενόμενος οἰχοῖτο εἰς Πέρσας. Ἢ δὲ αὐτῷ διηγείτο τὸν ὄνειρον καὶ τὴν τοῦτου κρίσιν, ὡςπερ ἤκουσε παρὰ

τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὅτι βασιλευσεὶ Περσῶν. Ἔωθεν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀτρέμας ἦκε παρὰ Ἀστυάγην, καὶ δι' εὐνοῦχου ἐρόμενος τὴν εἰσοδὸν πάντα ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς ἀκούσειε παρὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς, ὅτι Κύρω ἐφράσθη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ἀνδρὸς θεολόγου πρὸς τὴν γενομένην ὄψιν βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ τοῦδ' ἕνεκα ἄρα οἰχοῖτο νῦν εἰς Πέρσας· οὐ πάλοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἀκηκοέναι παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς· ἕκαστά τε σαφῶς διηγῆσατο τοῦ τε ὄνειρου καὶ τῆς κρίσεως.

Ἐν πολλῇ δὲ συννοίᾳ γεόμενος Ἀστυάγης πυνθάνεται τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν. Καὶ ὃς ἔφη· κτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐπαελθόντα ὡς τάχιστα· μόνη γὰρ αὕτη ἀσφάλεια ἂν εἴη. Καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπεμψάμενος τὸν Βαβυλωνίον μᾶλλον τι ἐνεθυμείτο τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ. Εἰς ἐσπέραν δὲ πίνων ἐκάλεσε τὰς παλλακίδας ὀρχηστρίδας οὔσας καὶ κιθαριστρίδας. Καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἄδοῦσα τοιαυτ' ἔλεγεν· “ὁ λέων τὸν κάπρον ὑποχέριον ἔχων μεθήκει εἰς τὰς λόχμας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, ἐν αἷς κρείττων γενόμενος πολὺν πόνον αὐτῷ παρέξει, καὶ τελευτῶν ἀσθενέστερος ὢν τὸν ἰσχυρότερον χειρώσεται.” Ταῦτα ἄδοῦσης ἐνθύμια ποιεῖται Ἀστυάγης ὡς τείνοντα εἰς αὐτόν. Παραχρῆμα δὴ πέμπει τ' ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ Κύρον, οἷς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν καλεῖν ὀπίσω· εἰάν δὲ μὴ ἔπηται, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντας φέρειν. Οἱ δὲ ὄχοντο, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἦγον παρὰ Κύρον, ἔφρασαν τὰ παρ' Ἀστυάγους. Κάκεινος οἷα ἀγχνίους, εἶτε καὶ Οἰβάρα παραινούτος, εἶπε· “Πῶς δ' οὐ μέλλω ἰέναι, καλοῦντός με τοῦ δεσπότου; ἀλλὰ νῦν δειπνήσατε, πρῶτ' δὲ χωρῶμεν παρ' αὐτόν.” Οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπήνον. Ὁ δὲ Περσικῶς ὄπτα κατακόψα

ιερεία πολλά καὶ βοῦς, εἰστία τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ μεθύσκει προαπέσταλτο δ' αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα χιλίους ἵππους κελεύων καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἐπὶ Ἵρβαν ἕτεραν πόλιν πέμπειν πρὸ ὁδοῦ κειμένην, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Πέρσας ὀπλίξειν αὐτὸν τάχιστα, ὡς βασιλέως προστάττοντος· οὐ γὰρ ἐδήλωσε τὸν ὄντα λόγον. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐστίασιν εἰς ὕπνον τετραμμένων τῶν ἵππῶν, αὐτὸς τε καὶ Οἰβάρας ὡς εἶχον ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀπελαύνουσι, καὶ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἵρβαν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης, καὶ ὀπλίξει ὁ Κύρος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ συντάττει τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκοντας ὡς εἰς μάχην· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ ἴσταται, καὶ Οἰβάρας ἐν τῷ εὐωνύμῳ. Καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀνῆκε τοὺς παρὰ Ἀστυάγου πρῶτ' οἰχομένους, καὶ γνόντες Κύρον διώκουσι, καὶ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἵρβαν, καὶ εὐρόντες ἐκτεταγμένοι συμβάλλουσιν ὡς εἰς μάχην. Ἔνθα δὴ πρῶτον πολλὴν ἀνδρείαν Κύρος ἀποδειξάμενος σὺν τρισὶ Πέρσας κτείνει περὶ σ' καὶ ν' ἵππῆς· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ φεύγουσι παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνήγγειλαν. Καὶ ὡς παίσας τὸν μηρὸν εἶπεν· “Οἱ μοι ὡς πολλὰ κίς γνοὺς ὅτι οὐ χρὴ κακοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅμως ἀλίσκομαι χρηστοῖς λόγοις, ὡς καὶ Κύρον παραλαβὼν πολλῶν κακῶν, Μάρδον γένους, ἄλεθρον τηλικούτων ἐποίησα κατ' ἔμαντοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν οὐ χαιρήσει οἷς θέλει.” Καὶ παραχρῆμα καλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀθροίζει τὴν δύναμιν κελεύει. Ὡς δὲ ἠθροίσθη εἰς ῥ' μὲν πεζῶν μυριάδας, κ' δὲ ἵππῶν, τρισχίλια δὲ ἄρματα ἐλαύνει δὴ ἐπὶ Πέρσας. Ἦδη δὲ ὤπλιστο κάκει ἡ στρατιὰ ὑπὸ Ἀτραδάτα πάντα εἰδότες· καὶ ἦσαν λ' μὲν μυριάδες πελαταστῶν, ε' δὲ ἵππῶν, ρ' δὲ ὄρεπανη-

φόρα. Ὡς δ' εἰς ἐν συνῆλθε Κύρῳ ἡ δύναμις παρήνεσε τοῦτους. [Ζήτει ἐν τῷ περὶ δημηγοριῶν.]

Ἐκ τούτου αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ συντάττον τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Οἰβάραν ἀποφαίνουσι στρατηγόν, αἶδρα εὐβουλον καὶ δραστήριον, ὃς προκαταλαμβάνει μὲν τὰς στενοπόρους ὁδοὺς φυλακαῖς, καὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα ὄρη, τὸν δὲ ὄχλον ἐκ τῶν ἀτειχίστων πόλεων εἰς τὰς εὐερκεῖς μετὰγει, φρούρια δ' ἔνθα καιρὸς ἦν ἐντειχίζεται. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀστυάγης ἦκε σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὰς ἐρήμους πόλεις κατέκαε· πρὸς τε Κύρον καὶ Ἀτραδάτον τὸν τοῦτου πατέρα πέμψας ἀγγέλους πολλὰ τε ἠπέλει καὶ ὠνειδίξει τὴν πρόσθεν πτωχείαν, ἐκέλευσε τε ὀπίσω παρ' αὐτὸν ἵεναι, δίσειεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μόνον παχείαις πέσαις· “Εἰ δ' ἀλώσεσθε,” ἔφη, “κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολείσθε.” Κύρος δὲ ἀποκρίνεται· “Οὐκ ἄρα σύ γε, ὦ Ἀστυάγῃ, θεῶν δύναμιν ἤδεις, ὡς οὐκ οἶσθα ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοὺς αἰπόλους ἐποτρυνθέντας ἐπὶ τάδε τὰ πράγματα, οἷς ἐπόμθε καὶ εἰς τέλος. Καὶ σοὶ παραινόμεν, ὅτι ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς εὖ ἐποίηεις, θεῶν σοὶ ἐπὶ νοῦν ἀγόντων ἀπάγειν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ Πέρσας ἐλευθέρους ἐὰν κρείττους ὄντας Μήδων, ὡς μὴ τοῦτους δουλούμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστερηθῆς.” Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀστυάγῃ. Ὁ δὲ ὑπ' ὄργῃς ἐξάγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς μάχην καὶ ἐκτάττει· αὐτὸς δὲ προεκάθητο ἀναβὰς διαμυρίους ἔχων δορυφόρους περὶ αὐτὸν. Ἀντεπῆει δὲ Κύρος, Ἀτραδάτην μὲν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι στήσας, Οἰβάραν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν ἐν μέσοις ἦν. Ἔνθα δὴ δεινὴ μάχη γίνεται· καὶ πλείστους ἔκτεινε Κύρος τε καὶ οἱ

λοιποὶ Πέρσαι. Σχετλιάζων δὲ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἶπεν· “Οἱ μοι τοὺς τερμινθοφάγους Πέρσας· οἷα ἀριστεύουσι.” Καὶ πέμψας ἠπέλει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγοῖς, εἰ μὴ νικήσουσι τοὺς ἀντίους, οἷα πείσονται. Κάμνοντες δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους πολεμίων, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιόντων, κλιθέντες ἀναχωροῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρὸ ἧς ἐμάχοντο. Εἰσεληλυθότας δὲ θαρβύνει Κύρος καὶ Οἰβάρας, ὅτι πλείους αὐτοὶ πολεμίων ἔκτειναν, καὶ παρανοοῦσι παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Πασαργάδας τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὄρος ἀποπέμψαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς αἶρρον ἐξελεθόντες τέλος ἐπιθῆναι τῇ νίκῃ, “Πρόκειται γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν πᾶσιν, ἢ ἡττηθῶσι· βέλτιον οὖν μετὰ τοῦ νικᾶν εἰ δέοι παθεῖν τοῦτο, ἐλευθερώσαντες τὴν πατρίδα.” Ταῦτα εἰπόντος, ὄργῃ καὶ μῖσος παρίσταται πᾶσιν ἐπὶ Μήδους, καὶ ἔωθεν ἀναπετάσαντες τὰς πύλας ἐπεξίασιν, ἡγουμένου Κύρου καὶ Οἰβάρα. Ὁ δ' Ἀτραδάτης μετὰ τῶν γερόντων ἔρῃνετο τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀντεπίασι δ' αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖς Ἀστυάγου φύλαγες σὺν ὀπλίταις τε καὶ ἵππεσσι. Τῶν δὲ μαχομένων ἰ' μυριάδες ἐκπεριελθούσαι, καθότι ἔταξεν Ἀστυάγης, αἰροῦσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ Ἀτραδάτην πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχοντα ἀναπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. Γενναίως δὲ καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἀγωνισάμενοι φεύγουσιν εἰς Πασαργάδας, ἐνθ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκα ἦν. Ἀστυάγης δ' ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἤχη ὁ Κύρου πατὴρ, ἔφη· “Οὐτός σὺ δὴ μοι ἀγαθὸς σαυράτης, ὃν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα, τοιαύτας χύριτας σὺν τῷ υἱεὶ ἀπεδάκατε.” Καὶ ὁ γέρον ἐκπνέων ἦδη· “Οὐκ οἶδ',” ἔφη, “ὧ δίσποτα, ὅστις θεῶν τῆδε τὴν μανίαν ἐφόρμησε τῷ ἐμῷ παιδί· σὺ δὲ μὴ με αἰκίζου· ταχὺ

γὰρ ὧδ' ἔχων ἀποπνεύσομαι.” Καὶ ὡς φέτρειεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπε· “τοιγαροῦν σὲ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν αἰκίζομαι· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι, εἰ σοὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐπέισθη οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα ἔπραξεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ θάπτειν σε κελεύω, οὐκ ὄντα ἐκείνῳ ὁμογνώμονα τῆσδε τῆς μανίας.” Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ταχὺ ἀποθανόντα θάπτουσι καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ. Ἀστυάγης δ' ἐπὶ Πασαργάδας ἦει διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν. Ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν λισσάδες πέτραι καὶ τὸ ὄρος διερρώγος καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἦν· διὰ μέσου δὲ διεξίεναι τὰς ἐμβολὰς Οἰβάρας ἐφύλλατε μυρίους ὀπλίταις· καὶ ἦν ἀνελπίστον διελθεῖν.

Ἄ δὴ γνοὺς Ἀστυάγης ἐκπεριελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸ ὄρος δέκα μυριάσι ἐν κύκλῳ, εἰς δ' εὐρόντες ἀνοδοὺ ἀνέριπονσι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων κρατοῦσιν. Οἰβάρας δὲ καὶ Κύρος σὺν τῷ πλήθει παντὶ νίκτωρ φεύγουσιν εἰς ἄλλο ὄρος χθαμαλότερον τοῦ προτέρου. Ἐἴπετο δ' ἡ Ἀστυάγῳ (Codex Ἀστυάγῳ) στρατιὰ κατ' ἴχνος διώκουσα ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ὀρῶν· ἐπῆει δὴ τοῖντέθεν ἡ Ἀστυάγου στρατιὰ καὶ ἐμάχετο πρὸς τὸ ὄρος ἀνιούσα μάλα εὐψύχως. Κρημνοὶ δὲ πάντη καὶ δρυμῶνες ἀγριέλαιοι τε συνεχεῖς ἦσαν. Γενναύτερον δ' ἔτι οἱ Πέρσαι ἐμάχοντο, ἔνθεν Κύρου ἐξορμῶντος, ἔνθεν Οἰβάρα, ὡς αὐτοὺς ἀνεμίμησκε παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πατέρων γερόντων καὶ μητέρων, οὓς αἰσχροὺς εἶναι προεῖσθαι Μήδοις κατατέμνειν τε καὶ αἰκίζεσθαι. Ὡν ἀκούοντες ἐβρώσθησαν, καὶ σὺν ἀλαλαγμῷ καταίνοντες χερμάσι τε ἀπλέτους βάλλοντες, ἀπορία βελῶν, καταράσουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοὺς πολεμίους. Καί πως Κύρος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ πατρῶον οἶκμα αὐτοῦ, ἔνθα αἰπολῶν, ὅτε μικρὸς ἦν ἠυλίετο. Καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔθυσεν ἄλευρα εὐρών καὶ κυπαρίττου ὕλην

ιέρεια πολλά καὶ βοῦς, εἰστία τε τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ μεθύσκει προαπέσταλτο δ' αὐτῷ ἄγγελος ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα χιλίους ἰππεῖς κελεύων καὶ πεντακισχιλίους πεζοὺς ἐπὶ Ὑρβαν ἑτέραν πόλιν πέμπειν πρὸ ὁδοῦ κειμένην, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Πέρσας ὀπλίξειν αὐτὸν τάχιστα, ὡς βασιλέως προστάττοντος· οὐ γὰρ ἐδήλωσε τὸν ὄντα λόγον. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐστίασιν εἰς ὕπνον τετραμμένων τῶν ἰππέων, αὐτὸς τε καὶ Οἰβάρας ὡς εἶχον ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀπελαίνουσιν, καὶ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρβαν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης, καὶ ὀπλίξει ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ συντάττει τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκοντας ὡς εἰς μάχην· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ ἴσταται, καὶ Οἰβάρας ἐν τῷ ἐωνίμῳ. Καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀνῆκε τοὺς παρὰ Ἀστυάγους πρῶτ' οἰχομένους, καὶ γνόντες Κῦρον διώκουσι, καὶ ἦκον ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρβαν, καὶ εὐρόντες ἐκτεταγμένοι συμβάλλουσιν ὡς εἰς μάχην. Ἐἶθα δὴ πρῶτον πολλὴν ἀνδρείαν Κῦρος ἀποδειξάμενος σὺν τρισὶ Πέρσας κτείνει περὶ σ' καὶ ν' ἰππεῖς· οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ φεύγουσι παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνήγγειλαν. Καὶ ὃς παίσας τὸν μηρὸν εἶπεν· “Οἱ μοι ὡς πολλὰς γυνὸς ὅτι οὐ χρὴ κακοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅμως ἀλίσκομαι χρηστοῖς λόγοις, ὃς καὶ Κῦρον παραλαβὼν πολλῶν κακῶν, Μάρδον γένος, ὄλεθρον τηλικούτων ἐποίησα κατ' ἑμαυτοῦ· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν οὐ χαίρησαι οἷς θέλει.” Καὶ παραχρῆμα καλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀθροίζει τὴν δύναμιν κελεύει. Ὡς δὲ ἠθροίσθη εἰς ῥ' μὲν πεζῶν μυριάδας, κ' δὲ ἰππέων, τρισχίλια δὲ ἄρματα ἐλαύνει δὴ ἐπὶ Πέρσας. Ἦδη δὲ ὄπισθο κακέει ἡ στρατιὰ ὑπὸ Ἀτραδάτα πάντα εἰδίτος· καὶ ἦσαν λ' μὲν μυριάδες πελταστῶν, ε' δὲ ἰππέων, ρ' δὲ δρεπανη-

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Ἐκ τούτου αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ συντάττον τὴν στρατιάν καὶ Οἰβάραν ἀποφαίνουσιν στρατηγόν, ἄνδρα εἰβουλον καὶ δραστήριον, ὃς προκαταλαμβάνει μὲν τὰς στενοπόρους ὁδοὺς φυλακαῖς, καὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα ἄρη, τὸν δὲ ὄχλον ἐκ τῶν ἀτειχίστων πόλεων εἰς τὰς εἰρεκέϊς μετὰγει, φρούρια δ' ἔνθα καιρὸς ἦν ἐντειχίζεται. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἀστυάγης ἦκε σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ τὰς ἐρήμους πόλεις κατέκαε· πρὸς τε Κῦρον καὶ Ἀτραδάτον τὸν τοῦτου πατέρα πέμψας ἀγγέλους πολλὰ τε ἠπέλει καὶ ὠνείδιζε τὴν πρόσθεν πτωχείαν, ἐκέλευσε τε ὀπίσω παρ' αὐτὸν ἵεναι, δῆσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς μόνον παχείαις πέδαις· “Εἰ δ' ἀλώσεσθε,” ἔφη, “κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολείσθε.” Κῦρος δὲ ἀποκρίνεται· “Οὐκ ἄρα σύ γε, ὦ Ἀστυάγη, θεῶν δύναμιν ἤδεις, ὃς οὐκ οἶσα ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοὺς αἰπόλους ἐποτρυνθέντας ἐπὶ τάδε τὰ πράγματα, οἷς ἐπόμθε καὶ εἰς τέλος. Καί σοι παραινόμεν, ὅτι ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς εὖ ἐποίησ, θεῶν σοι ἐπὶ νοῖν ἀγόντων ἀπάγειν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ Πέρσας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι κρείττους ὄντας Μήδων, ὡς μὴ τοῦτους δουλούμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστερηθῆς.” Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπήγγειλεν Ἀστυάγῃ. Ὁ δὲ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐξάγει τὴν στρατιάν εἰς μάχην καὶ ἐκτάττει· αὐτὸς δὲ προεκάθητο ἀναβὰς δισμυρίους ἔχων δορυφόρους περὶ αὐτὸν. Ἀντεπῆει δὲ Κῦρος, Ἀτραδάτην μὲν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι στήσας, Οἰβάραν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐωνίμῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν ἐν μέσσοις ἦν. Ἐνθα δὴ δεινὴ μάχη γίνεται· καὶ πλείστους ἔκτεινε Κῦρος τε καὶ οἱ

λοιποὶ Πέρσαι. Σχετλιάζων δὲ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου εἶπεν· “Οἱ μοι τοὺς τερμινοφάγους Πέρσας· οἷα ἀριστεύουσι.” Καὶ πέμψας ἠπέλει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγοῖς, εἰ μὴ νικήσουσι τοὺς ἀντίους, οἷα πείσονται. Κάμνοντες δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ὑπὸ πλήθους πολεμίων, ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐπιόντων, κλιθέντες ἀναχωροῦσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πρὸ ἧς ἐμάχοντο. Εἰσληλυθότας δὲ θαρρύνει Κῦρος καὶ Οἰβάρας, ὅτι πλείους αὐτοὶ πολεμίων ἔκτειναν, καὶ παραινῶσι παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Πασαργάδας τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὄρος ἀποπέμψαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς αἶνον ἐπεξελθόντες τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ νίκῃ, “Πρόκειται γὰρ ἀποθανεῖν πᾶσιν, ἢν ἡττηθῶσι· βέλτερον οὖν μετὰ τοῦ νικᾶν εἰ δεοὶ παθεῖν τοῦτο, ἐλευθερώσαντες τὴν πατρίδα.” Ταῦτα εἰποντός, ὀργῇ καὶ μῖσος παρίσταται πᾶσιν ἐπὶ Μήδους, καὶ ἔωθεν ἀναπετάσαντες τὰς πύλας ἐπεξείασιν, ἡγουμένου Κῦρου καὶ Οἰβάρᾳ. Ὁ δ' Ἀτραδάτης μετὰ τῶν γερόντων ἐβρύνετο τὸ τεῖχος. Ἀντεπίασι δ' αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖς Ἀστυάγου φάλαγγες σὺν ὀπλίταις τε καὶ ἰππεῦσι. Τῶν δὲ μαχομένων ἰ' μυριάδες ἐκπεριελθούσιν, καθότι ἔταξεν Ἀστυάγης, αἰρούσι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ Ἀτραδάτην πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχοντα ἀναπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. Γενναίως δὲ καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἀγωνισάμενοι φεύγουσιν εἰς Πασαργάδας, ἐνθ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖα ἦν. Ἀστυάγης δ' ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἤχθη ὁ Κύρου πατὴρ, ἔφη· “Οὗτος σὺ δὴ μοι ἀγαθὸς σατράπης, ὃν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα, τοιαύτας χάριτας σὺν τῷ νίει ἀπεδώκατε.” Καὶ ὁ γέρον ἐκπνέων ἦδη· “Οὐκ οἶδ',” ἔφη, “ὦ δέσποτα, ὅστις θεῶν τήνδε τὴν μανίαν ἐφώρμησε τῷ ἐμῷ παιδί· σὺ δὲ μὴ με αἰκίζου· ταχὺ

γὰρ ὦδ' ἔχων ἀποπνεύσομαι.” Καὶ ὃς ἄκτερον αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπε· “τοιγαροῦν σὲ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν αἰκίζομαι· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι, εἴ σοι ὁ υἱὸς ἐπέισθη οὐκ ἂν ταῦτα ἔπραξεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ θάπτειν σε κελεύω, οὐκ ὄντα ἐκείνῳ ὁμογνώμονα τῆσδε τῆς μανίας.” Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ταχὺ ἀποθανόντα θάπτουσι καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ. Ἀστυάγης δ' ἐπὶ Πασαργάδας ἦει διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν. Ἐνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν λισσάδες πέτραι καὶ τὸ ὄρος διεβρωγὸς καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἦν· διὰ μέσου δὲ διεξίεναι τὰς ἐμβολὰς Οἰβάρᾳ ἐφύλλατε μυρίους ὀπλίταις· καὶ ἦν ἀνεπίστον διελθεῖν.

Ἄ δὴ γυνὸς Ἀστυάγης ἐκπεριελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸ ὄρος δέκα μυριάσι ἐν κύκλῳ, εἰς ὃ εὐρόντες ἄνοδον ἀνέρουσι καὶ τῶν ἄκρων κρατοῦσιν. Οἰβάρας δὲ καὶ Κῦρος σὺν τῷ πλήθει παντὶ νικτῶρ φεύγουσιν εἰς ἄλλο ὄρος χθαμαλότερον τοῦ προτέρου. Εἴπετο δ' ἡ Ἀστυάγῳ (Codex Ἀστυάγῳ) στρατιὰ κατ' ἔχνος διώκουσα ἡδὴ μεταξὺ τῶν ὄρων· ἐπήει δὴ τοῖντεῦθεν ἡ Ἀστυάγου στρατιὰ καὶ ἐμάχετο πρὸς τὸ ὄρος ἀνιούσα μάλα εὐψύχως. Κρημνοὶ δὲ πάντη καὶ δρυμῶνες ἀγριέλαιοί τε συνεχεῖς ἦσαν. Γενναϊότερον δ' ἔτι οἱ Πέρσαι ἐμάχοντο, ἔνθεν Κῦρον ἐξορμώνθε, ἔνθεν Οἰβάρᾳ, ὃς αὐτοὺς ἀνεμίμησε παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πατέρων γερόντων καὶ μητέρων, οὓς αἰσχροὺς εἶναι προεῖσθαι Μήδοις κατατέμεναι τε καὶ αἰκίζεσθαι. Ὡν ἀκούοντες ἐβρώσθησαν, καὶ σὺν ἀλαλαγμῷ κατιόντες χερμᾶσι τε ἀπλέτοις βάλλοντες, ἀπορία βελῶν, καταράσσουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους τοὺς πολεμίους. Καί πως Κῦρος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸ πατρῶον οἶκμα αὐτοῦ, ἔνθα ἀπολῶν, ὅτε μικρὸς ἦν ἠδύλιζετο. Καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔθυσεν ἄλευρα εὐρῶν καὶ κυπαρίττου ἕλην

δάφνην τε ὑποθείς καὶ πῦρ ἐκτρίψας, ὡς ἂν κεκμηκώς τε καὶ ἀπόρως ἔχων. Εὐθύς δ' ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἤστραψέ τε καὶ ἐβρόντησε. Κῦρος δὲ προσεκίνησεν, οἰωνοὶ τε αἰσιοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκήματι αὐτῷ ἐξόμενοι προῦφαινον ὡς εἰς Πασαργάδας ἀφίκοιτο. Ἐκ τούτου δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν τῷ ὄρει· καὶ τῇ ὑπεραίᾳ τοῖς οἰωνοῖς πίσυννοι ἐπικαταβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέρποντας ἤδη εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἐπιπολὺ ἐμάχοντο ἀνδρείως. Ἀστυάγης δὲ πεντακισμυρίους ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἔστησε, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς κατορρωδοῦντας τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἢ φεύγοντας κάτω παρὰ σφᾶς ἀποκτείνειν. Ἀνάγκη οὖν ἐχόμενοι Μῆδοί τε καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἀνήσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. Ἐνθα δὴ καμόντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ Πέρσαι ἔφευγον ἐπὶ ἄκρον τὸ ὄρος ἵνα αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες ἦσαν. Αἱ δὲ ἀνασυράμεναι ἐβόων· "Ποῖ φέρεσθε, ὦ κάκιστοι; ἢ ἄχρι ἂν εἰσδύητε ἔνθεν γεγενῆσθε;" Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴν εἰς Πασαργάδας ἀφίκηται, χρυσὸν δωρεῖται ταῖς Περσίσι γυναῖξί· καὶ διανέμει ἐκάστη εἰς λόγον δραχμῶν κ' Ἀττικῶν. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κατασχυνθέντες ἐφ' οἷς εἶδον καὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐπιστρέφουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ μᾶ ὄρμη ἐπιδραμόντες ἐξωθοῦσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, καὶ κτείνουσιν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑξακισμυρίων. Οὐ μὴν Ἀστυάγης ἀφίστατο τῆς πολιορκίας. For the immediate sequel we are referred in the Excerpta de insidiis (Codex Escorialensis), in which this fragment of Nikolaus is preserved, to the Excerpta de rebus praeclare gestis (περὶ ἀνδραγαθημάτων), which are lost, and to the Excerpta de Strategematibus (περὶ στρατηγημάτων), of which only a portion, not

including any extracts from Nikolaus, remains.

Polyaenus has two or three passages relating to the final battle, viz., vii. 45, 2: Πέρσαι Μήδοις παρετάσσοντο· Περσῶν Κῦρος ἡγεῖτο, Κῦρον σατράπης Οἰβάρης ἤρξε φυγῆς καὶ ὅσων ἡγεῖτο Περσῶν πάντες τῷ Οἰβάρῃ συνέφευγον· ἔνθα δὴ αἱ Περσίδες ἀπαντῶμεναι τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ἀνασυράμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους, "Ποῖ," ἔφασαν, "φεύγετε; ὅθεν ἐξέδυτε, πάλιν ἐκεῖ καταδύναί σπεύδετε;" ὁ λόγος τῶν γυναικῶν ἤσχυνε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ ἀναστρέψαντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοὺς Μήδους ἐς φυγὴν ἐτρέψαντο. vii. 6, 1: Κῦρος Μήδοις παραταξάμενος τρίς ἠττήθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἦσαν ἐν Πασαργάδαις, τὴν τετάρτην μάχην ἐνταῦθα συνῆψε· πάλιν ἔφυγον οἱ Πέρσαι· ὡς δὲ εἶδον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας παθόντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀνέστρεψαν, καὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἀτάκτως διώκοντας τρεψάμενοι νίκην τηλικαύτην ἐνίκησαν, ὡς μηκέτι Κῦρον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἄλλης δεσθῆναι μάχης.

In vii. 6, 9, is another anecdote relating to the same events, but perhaps from a different source.

Strabo, xv. 3, p. 322, also says Cyrus ὑστάτην μάχην ἐνίκησεν Ἀστυάγην at Pasargadae.

The fragment of Nikolaus proceeds: Πολλῶν δὲ ἀναμεταξὺν γενομένων, Κῦρος εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν παρελθὼν καθίζει εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ἀστυάγου θρόνον, καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον αὐτοῦ λαμβάνει, ἐπευφήμησαν δὲ Πέρσαι· καὶ Οἰβάρης αὐτῷ τὴν κίδαριν ἐπιτίθησιν, εἰπὼν· "Ἀξιώτερος σύγῃ εἰ Ἀστυάγου, φορεῖν, θεοῦ σοι διδόντος δι' ἀρετῆν, καὶ Πέρσας Μήδων βασιλεύειν." Τὰ τε χρήματα πάντα εἰς Πασαργά-

δας ἀπεκόμιζον, ἐφεστῶτος Οἰβάρης καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς καταστήσαντος. Ἄπλετα δ' ἦν καὶ ἂ οἱ Πέρσαι κατὰ σκηνὰς τρεπόμενοι τὰς ἰδιωτικὰς ὠφέλουσαν. Καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἢ φήμη πάντῃ διήγγελλε τὴν Ἀστυάγου φυγὴν τε καὶ ἦτταν ὡς τε ὑπὸ θεῶν του ἀφήρηται τὸ κράτος. Καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφίσταντο καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, πρῶτος δ' ὁ Ὑρκανῶν ἄρχων Ἀρτασίρας ἦκε ἐ μυριάδας ἄγων στρατίας Κύρω, καὶ

προσεκίνησεν, εἰπέ τε ἐτοίμην εἶναι καὶ ἄλλην πολὺ πλείω, ἐὰν κελύη· μετὰ δὲ, ὅ τε Παρθναῖος καὶ Σάκης καὶ Βάκτριος καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντες, ὥστε σπουδὴν εἶναι ἐκάστου τὸν ἕτερον φθῆναι θέλοντος· εἰς δ' Ἀστυάγης μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπολειφθεὶς, ἐπάξαντος μετ' οὐ πολὺ Κῦρου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βᾶστος μάχῃ κρατήσαντος, αἰχμάλωτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄγεται.

INTRODUCTION

TO BOOKS VII.—XXIII.

IN this portion of the *Persika*, which relates the history of the Persian empire from its foundation, on the defeat of Astyages, down to B.C. 398, we have no longer to deal with matter in which the fabulous element largely predominates over the true. Most of Ktesias's statements for this period are at least deserving of consideration, and from the accession of Darius II. he is our best authority. His chief source for these books appears to have been that work to which the title βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι properly applies, viz., the Royal Chronicles of Persia; while for events belonging to his own time he derived his information partly from his own observations, partly from the statements of eyewitnesses (Epit. § 33); while, like all ancient historians, he did not hesitate to embellish his narrative with imaginary conversations and incidents affording an opportunity for rhetorical display (fr. 36).

The *locus classicus* on the Royal Chronicles is the passage in Esther ii. 21–23, where the conspiracy of the eunuchs Bigthan and Teresh to murder Xerxes I., its discovery by Mordecai, and their execution, is stated to have been recorded בְּסֵפֶר הַבְּרִי הַיְמִיּוֹם לְבְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ “In the Book of the Chronicles before the king” (ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐνοίας Μαρδοχαίου ἐν ἐγκωμίῳ LXX.¹). In vi. 1–11 we read of the passage being read to Xerxes, who recognises Mordecai as one of the Orosangae, or benefactors of the king, and commands him to be rewarded; and in x. 2 we are told that the Acts of Xerxes were recorded in the same work. It will be observed that the specimen of the Chronicles here given is of precisely the same character as the great majority of the statements in the Persian portions of Ktesias' history.

¹ γράμματα μνημόσυνα τῶν ἡμερῶν in vi. 1; βιβλίον Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων in x. 2.

The Book of Esther was probably written in the reign of Artaxerxes I. The contemporary work of Herodotus contains many allusions to a Persian official record, chiefly in its character of a register of benefactors (e. g. vii. 100; viii. 85, 90: compare Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, i. pp. 55, 56). The passages quoted from Ezra, vi. 2, and Moses of Chorene have nothing to do with the work in question, which probably perished when the Persian empire was overthrown. The name applied to these Chronicles by Ktesias implies that they were written on *parchment*, not on papyrus, the ordinary writing material in Egypt (and occasionally in Babylonia: Sayce, *Herodot.* p. 396; Budge, *Babylonian Life*, p. 101; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 153), nor on clay, as usually in Babylonia. Hence it is, perhaps, that no old Persian documents, other than inscriptions, have come down to us.

LIBRI VII.-IX.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 33. [(1). Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον Κτησίου τοῦ Κριδίου τὰ Περσικὰ ἐν βιβλίῳ κγ'. Ἄλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξ τὰ τε Ἀσσύρια διαλαμβάνει καὶ ὅσα πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν, ἀπὸ μέντοι τοῦ ζ' τὰ Περσικὰ διεξέρχεται καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ζ' καὶ η' καὶ ι' καὶ ια' καὶ ιβ' καὶ ιγ' διέξεισι τὰ περὶ Κύρου καὶ Καμβύσου καὶ τοῦ μάγου, Δαρείου τε καὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου, σχεδὸν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀντικείμενα Ἡροδότῳ ἱστορῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψεύστην αὐτὸν ἐπελέγχων ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ λογοποῖον ἀποκαλῶν καὶ γὰρ νεώτερος μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, φησὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν πλειόνων ἂ ἱστορεῖ αὐτόπτην γενόμενον, ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν Περσῶν (ἐνθα τὸ ὄραν μὴ ἐνεχώρει) αὐτήκοον καταστάντα, οὕτω τὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράψαι. Οὐχ Ἡροδότῳ δὲ μόνῳ τάναντία ἱστορεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα τὸν Γρύλλον ἐπ' ἐνίῳν διαφωνεῖ. Ἦκμασε δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις Κύρου τοῦ ἐκ Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος, ὃς ἀδελφὸς Ἀρτοξέρξου (εἰς ὃν ἡ Περσικὴ βασιλεία κατῆλθεν) ἐτύχχανε.

(2). Φησὶν οὖν αὐτίκα περὶ τοῦ Ἀστυάγου] ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ Κῦρος πρὸς γένος ἐχρημάτιζεν [οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀστυῖαν καλεῖ.] Φυγεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ προσώπου Κύρου Ἀστυῖ-

§ 33, and fr. 22, 23. Ἀστυῖαν] Our ancient Oriental accounts of the reign of Cyrus down to the capture of Babylon are all Babylonian. In addition to some short inscriptions of Cyrus on bricks, which give no additional information, they are three in number—

(1) The earliest is a cylinder of Nabonidus found by Rassam at Sippara, principally devoted to an account of his buildings, but incidentally mentioning in a passage already quoted (on *Epit.* § 29) the overthrow of Astyages by Cyrus (see *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* v. p. 6;

γαν Ἀγβατάνοις, καὶ κρυφθῆναι ἐν τοῖς κρισκράνοις τῶν βασιλείων οἰκημάτων κρυψάντων αὐτὸν τῆς τε θυγατρὸς

Sayce, *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, p. 167; Budge, *Babylonian Life*, p. 75).

(2) A fragmentary tablet, containing the annals of the reigns of Nabonidus and Cyrus down to a period shortly after the capture of Babylon by the latter. Under the 6th year of Nabonidus (B.C. 550-49) we read (col. 2): "He gathered and against Kurās, king of Ansān, Is . . . went and . . . Istuvegu, his army revolted against him, and captured him with their hands, and to Kurās they gave him. Kurās, in the land of Agamtanu, the royal city, silver, gold, furniture, and goods captured, from Agamtanu he carried off, and to Ansān brought the furniture and goods which he had captured" (*Trans. S. B. A.* vii. pp. 155-6; Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 168).

(3) A fragmentary cylinder of Cyrus proclaiming his devotion to the Babylonian gods, especially Marduk, recording his capture of Babylon, and giving his genealogy as follows: "I am Kurās, king of multitudes, . . . son of Kāmbuziya, the great king, king of the city of Ansān, grandson of Kurās, the great king, king of the city of Ansān, great-grandson of Siispiis, the great king, king of Ansān" (*Trans. S. B. A.* vii. p. 151; Sayce, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Budge, p. 81).

As Nabonidus' cylinder describes

Kyrus as the 'young servant' of Maruduk, and the other two documents represent him as a worshipper of the Babylonian gods, Sayce has somewhat rashly concluded that he was not a Zoroastrian, but a polytheist; but for this there is no real foundation, as the expressions used are due, not to the king, but to the Babylonian official scribes. Those employed by Nabonidus are closely parallel to the language used of Kyrus in Is. xliv. 28, and xlv. 1; while in official documents compiled for the Jews Kyrus (*Ezra*, i. 1-2), and Darius I. (*Ezra* vi. 1-12), appear as reverencing Jehovah; and in Egyptian documents Kambyzes, Darius I. (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, ii. pp. 301, 305), and Darius II. (*Id.* p. 308) appear as worshippers of the Egyptian gods. Kyrus and his ancestors are described as 'kings of the city of Ansān.' This has been identified by Rawlinson, Pinches (*Trans. S. B. A.* vii. 170), and Sayce with Elam, as the Elamite kings style themselves *gig sunkik Anzan*, "Powerful sovereigns of Anzan." Sayce (*Herodotos*, p. 438, &c.) hence assumes that Kyrus and his ancestors reigned in Elam after the overthrow of the Elamite kingdom by Assurbanipal, and had become almost Turanian Elamites,¹ bearing Turanian names, and neglecting the

¹ The resemblance between the second language used in the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae and that of the Elamite inscriptions was pointed out by Norris as long

Ἀμύτιος καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Σπιταμᾶ, ἐπιστάντα δὲ Κῦρον ἐπιτάξαι ἀνακρίνειν διὰ στρεβλώσεων Σπιταμᾶν τε

Mazdayasnian religion, while the ancestors of Darius I. ruled in Persia, and he interprets the expression of the latter in the Behistun inscription, par. 4, *duvitataranam rayam khshayathiyā amatiya*, "in a double line we have been kings." Oppert, however (*Records of the Past*, vol. vii.), from the Turanian version of the inscription, concludes that *duvitataranam* means 'on two occasions,' viz., before the time of Achaemenes, who, he supposes, was deposed by the Medes, and again under Cyrus.¹ A simpler explanation is to regard the two lines as being that of Cyrus I., ending with Kambyses, son of Cyrus the Great, consisting of Cyrus I., Kambyses I., Cyrus II., and Kambyses II., and that of Ariyaramana, the only king belonging to which was Darius himself, the other kings making up the nine referred to in the Behistun inscriptions, being the common ancestors Chispash (Teispes), Hakhamanish (Achaemenes), and probably the father and grandfather of the latter. If the immediate ancestors of Darius had been kings, probably he would have said so explicitly.

As to the use of the name Ansan,

ago as 1852. Sayce, of course, finds in it an argument in support of his views; but it is probable that then, as now, Turanian dialects were spoken by many tribes of the Persian dominions, and the most prominent of them was naturally selected as one of the official languages of the empire.

¹ Norris (*Memoir on the Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription*, p. 96) explains the Turanian version (*savak-mar*) as = "from of old."

the small importance of Persia before the time of Cyrus may have led to its being included under a name which properly applied to a province of Elam, just as in later times the latter was sometimes regarded as a part of Persia (Strabo, xv. 3, p. 317: *σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ Σουσίς μέρος γηγένηται τῆς Περσίδος*).

Herodotus, i. 95, mentions three versions of the history of Cyrus different from his own, according to which Cyrus was son of Kambyses, a Persian of moderate station, and of Mandane, daughter of Astyages, who had no son, and married her to Kambyses, in consequence of a dream he had, which the Magi interpreted as portending danger to himself from her offspring. Owing to another dream, he directed Harpagus, *ἄνδρα οἰκίῳ καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωντοῦ*, to kill the child. He gives him to Mithridates, a herdsman, to expose, but he and his wife Spako bring up the child as their own. Eventually Cyrus is reconciled to Astyages, who restores him to his parents, but cruelly punishes Harpagus for sparing him. Harpagus, therefore, persuades him to make

καὶ Ἀμύτιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν Σπιτάκην τε καὶ Μεγαβέρην, περὶ Ἀστυῖγα· τὸν δὲ ἑαυτὸν προσαγγεῖλαι,

the Persians revolt. Astyages summons Cyrus to his presence, and receiving an insolent reply, arms his subjects, but makes Harpagus their general, and he betrays his trust, so that the Persians gain an easy victory, *ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐφῆ ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ· "ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς Κῦρός γε χαίρησιν."* *τοσαῦτα εἶπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς οἰκετόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τοὺτους ἀνεσκόλοπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστει τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτες ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τοὺτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσησι ἐσώθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐζωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε . . . Ἀστυάγης δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἑωντῷ ἐς ὃ ἐτελευτήσῃ (i. 95-130).*

It is reasonable to suppose that the earlier part of the account of Ktesias is contained in part of the extract from Nikolaus, and in those from Strabo and Polyaeus cited on § 32. Xenophon's account is spread out over the eight books of the *Kyropaedia*, a great part of which is admittedly fictitious. He makes Cyrus son of Kambyses (i. p. 5, *πατὴρ μὲν δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος γενέσθαι Καμβύσου, Περσῶν βασιλέως*: (ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσείδων γένους ἦν· οἱ δὲ Περσεῖδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως κληῖζονται) *μητρὸς δὲ . . . Μανδάνης . . . ἣ δὲ Μανδάνη αὕτη Ἀστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ, τοῦ*

Μήδων γενομένου βασιλέως. Astyages is succeeded by his son Kyaxares; Cyrus acts as his general, subdues the Lydians, Babylonians, and other nations, and eventually peacefully succeeds him. Deinon's version, from what remains of it (fr. 7) seems to have somewhat resembled Ktesias'. Strabo, xv. 3, pp. 320, 322, says that Cyrus was previously called Agradates, and that he honoured the Pasargadae especially, and founded a city and a palace amongst them as a memorial of his final victory over Astyages there. Justin combines the accounts of Herodotus and Ktesias, adopting part of each (i. 4-6). Moses of Chorene (*Hist.* i. 23-29) as usual assigns the most prominent part to his countrymen. Tigran, King of Armenia, and Cyrus, King of Persia, contracted an alliance, which, together with a dream respecting the former, so alarmed Adzdahak (Astyages), King of Media, that he resolved to compass the destruction of Tigran by treachery, and as a step to doing so obtained his sister in marriage. She refused to assist against her brother, and escaped, whereupon Tigran engaged in war with Adzdahak, who was killed in battle. In i. 30 he says, Tigranes "Cyri alacritate ac studio adjutus, Medorum sibi et Persarum imperium arripuit." In cap. 31 he has a confused story: "Ex Persarum

ἵνα μὴ δι' αὐτὸν στρεβλωθῆσαν οἱ παῖδες. Ληφθέντα δὲ πέδαις παχείαις ὑπὸ Οἰβάρα δεθῆναι· λυθῆναι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ

fabulis de Byraspe Astyge' (Adzdahak), who 'temporibus Nebrothis . . . fuisse dicitur,' and therefore has nothing in common with Astyages, son of Kyaxares, but the name, representing in fact the Zohak of mediæval Persian legends. In them Kai Khosru takes the place of Cyrus, and the Turanian Afrasiab of Astyages, but the legend has scarcely any resemblance to the version given by Ktesias.

Comparing these accounts with the contemporary Babylonian ones, we find that our author's account of the early history of the founder of the Persian empire is on the whole the most incorrect. Herodotus and Xenophon are right as to his father's name, on which point most writers agree with them, Ktesias being wrong. Xenophon alone is right, in making him hereditary King of Persia, though in all other points he is furthest astray. Ktesias, who makes him Satrap of Persia, comes nearer the truth in this point than Herodotus, who makes Kambyses a private person. Whether Cyrus was related to Astyages cannot be determined. Both the Babylonian and the various Greek accounts agree in representing Astyages as taken prisoner, not killed. The manner of his capture is differently stated by the two Babylonian versions; but, contrary to Ktesias' account, it evidently preceded the occupation of Ekbatana. The analistic tablet agrees with Herodo-

tus in representing his defeat as due to treachery. What Ktesias said on this point we cannot tell: both this and the spoils taken from Astyages are alluded to in the last paragraph of Nikolaus, vii. fr. 66; but this is not apparently from him, but from some other authority (perhaps Deinon). Nothing as to the number of battles fought can be concluded from the brief Babylonian notices. On the whole, Herodotus' account of the war is confirmed in all points where it differs from that of Ktesias.

[ἐν Ἀγβατάνοις] Whether Rawlinson be right or not in regarding the Agbatana described in Herodotus i. 98 as a different place from the well-known city in Media Magna, there is no doubt that the latter is intended here and in § 13. It is described by Polybius (x. 27) as an unwalled town, with a strong citadel, and a magnificent palace (τὰ βασιλεία τῶ μὲν μεγέθει σχεδὸν ἑπτὰ σταδίων ἔχοντα τὴν περιγραφὴν τῇ δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος κατασκευασμάτων πολυτελείᾳ μεγάλην ἐμφαίνοντα τὴν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταβαλλομένων εὐκαιρίαν). Considerable ruins have been found on its site at Hamadan, together with an inscription of Artaxerxes II., referring to a palace erected there by Darius.

[κρισκράνοις] So Baehr, who explains as = modern Persian *ghiriz khanch*, i. e. *domus refugii*; Schweighaeuser reads *κιοκράνοις* = *in epistylis*; Müller, following Osiander,

Κύρου μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ ὡς πατέρα τιμηθῆναι· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀμύτιν πρότερον μὲν μητρικῆς ἀπολαῦσαι τιμῆς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς γυναικὰ ἀχθῆναι τῷ Κύρῳ, Σπιτάμα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς ἀνηρημένου, ὅτι ἐψεύσατο ἀγνοεῖν εἰπὼν ἐρευνώμενον Ἀστυίγαν. [Ταῦτα λέγει Κτησίας περὶ Κύρου καὶ οὐχ οἷα Ἡρόδοτος.] καὶ ὅτι πρὸς Βακτρίους ἐπολέμησε, καὶ ἀγχώματος ἢ μάχῃ ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βάκτριοι Ἀστυίγαν μὲν πατέρα Κύρου γεγεννημένον, Ἀμύτιν δὲ μητέρα καὶ γυναικὰ ἔμαθον, ἑαυτοὺς ἐκόντες Ἀμύτι καὶ Κύρῳ παρέδοσαν.

FRAGMENTUM 22.

(Tertullianus) Persas cum suis matribus misceri [Ctesias refert].

κριοκράνοις = *in palati parte columnarabesve arietum capitibus caelatis distinctas habentem*, suggested, I suppose, by the columns, with capitals in the form of heads of animals used in Persian architecture. The capital of a column, however, seems a most unlikely hiding-place.

[Σπιταμᾶ] Spitamās = 'most holy,' is an epithet commonly applied to Zarathustra in the Avesta.

[Σπιτάκην] = 'holy,' 'from spita (= spenta . . .) with the Scythic guttural termination, as in Arsaces' (Rawlinson's *Herod.* iii. p. 550).

[ληφθέντα δὲ πέδαις παχείαις ὑπὸ Οἰβάρα] Oebaras appears throughout as guilty of acts of cruelty, against the orders of his master, which the latter repudiates, but profits by, generally leaving the perpetrator unpunished: compare the treatment of the Babylonian in Nikolaus, vii. 66, and the narrative in § 36. The name Oebaras occurs

in Justin, in the form Sybares, which is perhaps a dialectic variant: in old Persian it would be 'Ubara, where 'U- = Sanskrit Su-, the explanation of it by Nikolaus (*i. e.* Ktesias) ἀγαθάγγελος is correct. If Oebares was a real person, the legend of his early history may have been due to his name. In Herodotus, iii. 85, it is applied to Darius' groom, to whom it is equally appropriate.

[πρότερον μὲν μητρικῆς, κ. τ. λ.] Baehr and Müller are perhaps right in regarding Tertullian, *Apolog.* 5, as a quotation of this passage, but many Greek writers stated directly that the Persians married their mothers and daughters: see Xanthus, fr. 28; Strabo, xv. 3, p. 329; Plutarch, *Artax.* p. 1870; Bardesanes ap. Euseb. *P. E.* vi. 275; Theodoret, *Serm.* ix., &c. (some of these limit the statement to the Magi).

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(Tzetzes, *Chil.* i. 1, 82). Τὸν Ἀστυῆγαν μὲν [φήσι] καταβληθέντα Κύρῳ τῶν Βαρκανίων ἄρχοντα γενέσθαι παρὰ τούτου.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 34. (3). Καὶ ὅτι πρὸς Σάκας ἐπολέμησε Κῦρος καὶ συνέλαβεν Ἀμόργην τῶν Σακῶν μὲν βασιλέα ἄνδρα δὲ

Βαρκανίων ἄρχοντα] 'eum (Astygem) maximae genti Hyrcanorum praeosuit,' Justin, i. 6. Βαρκανίοι ἔθνος τοῖς Ὑρκανοῖς ὄμορον, Stephanus. Probably they are merely different ways of representing the same name: see on § 2.

§ 34. Σάκας] Dareius I., in the inscription on his tomb, enumerates among the subject nations of his empire—(1) The *Saká Humavargá* (Turanian *Sakkapé Omuvargá*; Babylonian *Gimirri Umurga*); (2) the *Saká Tigrakhudá*, 'Sakan bowmen' (?); (3) the *Saká tyaiya páradaraya*, 'Sakans beyond the sea.'

Herodotus, vii. 64, mentions, among the troops of Xerxes, Σάκαι οἱ Σκύθαι, adding τούτους δὲ ἐόντας Σκύθας Ἀμυργίους Σάκας ἐκάλεον· οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας καλεῖσι Σάκας.

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Here we see the Saka Humavarga of Dareius; it is probable that the name Amorges in Ktesias was derived from the name of this tribe: their locality is discussed in Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, pp. 200–203, but cannot be determined with certainty. Greek writers appear to have always called the European tribes ('the Saka beyond the sea' of Dareius) Skythians,¹ while they distinguished the Asiatic tribes into Skythians and Sakans; but they were not consistent in the application of the two names in the latter case (Herodotus, i. 103 sq. i. 153, iii. *passim*, vii. 64, viii. 113, ix. 113; Hellanicus, *l. s. c.*; Strabo, xi. 8, p. 429 sq.; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. p. 8, iii. p. 171, iv. p. 239 sq., p. 273, p. 278; Ptolemaeus, vi. 13, &c.). The Asiatic Skythians, or Sakans, seem to have been usually (not always) Turanians, though the name was loosely used to include all the nomad tribes. Rawlinson supposes the European Skythians

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§ 35, fr. 24. στρατεύει Κῦρος ἐπὶ Κροῖσον] Justin (probably following Deinon) places the conquest of Lydia after the capture of Babylon: Herodotus, Xenophon, and most writers, place it before. The date of the overthrow of Astyages is fixed to B. C. 550–49, and the capture of Babylon to summer, B. C. 539, by Babylonian documents. The conquest of Lydia was probably later than B. C. 546, which is the date given by Clinton from late authorities. The Parian Chronicle (Epoch 41) has ἀφ' οὗ Κροῖσος ἐξ Ἀσίας εἰς Δέλφους ἀ . . . ΔΔΔΔΠ. ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι . . . θυδημου = probably B. C. 556. As it is not mentioned in the Babylonian annals of Cyrus and Nabonidus, so far as they are known to us, it was probably between B. C. 545 and 539, for which years the record is lost.

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δέος μὲν κατέστησε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ἤλω δὲ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις. Ὅπως τε πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως δίδεται ὁ παῖς Κροίσου ἐν ὁμήρου λόγῳ, δαιμονίου φαντάσματος ἀπατήσαντος Κροῖσον· ὅπως τε δολορῥαφοῦντος Κροίσου ὁ παῖς κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀναιρεῖται· καὶ ὅπως ἡ μήτηρ τὸ πάθος ἰδοῦσα ἑαυτὴν τοῦ τείχους ἀποκρημνίζει, καὶ θνήσκει· ὅπως τε ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως, πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταφεύγει ὁ Κροῖσος· καὶ ὡς τρὶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πεδηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κύρου, λύεται τρίτον ἀοράτως, καίτοι σφραγίδων τῷ ἱερῷ ἐπικειμένων, καὶ τούτων τὴν φυλακὴν Οἰβάρα ἐμπειστευμένον· ὅπως τε οἱ συνδούμειοι Κροίσῳ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετέμνοντο, ὡς καταπροδιδόντες λύεσθαι Κροῖσον. Καὶ ὅτι ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ δεθεὶς ἀσφαλέστερον, βροντῶν καὶ σκηπτῶν ἐπινεχθέντων, λύεται πάλιν. Καὶ τότε μόλις ὑπὸ Κύρου ἀφίεται. Ἐξ οὗ καὶ περιείπετο, καὶ ἔδωκε Κύρος Κροίσῳ πόλιν μεγάλην Βαρῆνην ἐγγὺς Ἀγβατάνων, ἐν ἣ ἦσαν ἵππεῖς μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ τοξόται μύριοι.

tremely corrupt, and, as printed by Baehr, is in places utterly unmeaning.

ὁ παῖς Κροίσου] This story is inconsistent with Herodotus, who represents one son of Kroesus as killed before the war with Cyrus, and the other as surviving the capture of the city; but he may have had more than two.

ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως] The intervention of Apollo appears in all accounts of Cyrus' dealings with Kroesus, but otherwise there is little resemblance between this account and those of Herodotus (i. 85-89), Xanthus (ap. Nik. Dam. vii. fr. 68), which resemble each other in the incident of the at-

tempted burning of Kroesus, though the latter represents it as having been against the wish of Cyrus, and Xenophon (*Œconom.* vii. p. 399 sq.), who represents Cyrus as treating Kroesus well from the first.

Βαρῆνην] Barce in Justin, i. 7. The custom of assigning cities to distinguished persons amongst the Persians is well known. Thus Themistocles received Magnesia (Nepos, *Vit. Themist.* 10: "domiciliumque Magnesiac sibi constituit, namque hanc urbem ei rex donarat . . . quae ei panem praeberet, Lampsacum unde vinum sumeret, Myntem ex qua obsonium haberet"). It is remarkable that Ktesias, if the

FRAGMENTUM 24.

(a)	(b)	(c)
(POLYAEUS, vii. 6. 13.)	(THEON, <i>Progygn.</i> 11.)	(TZETZES, <i>Chil.</i> i. 1, 84.)
Κῦρος πολιορκῶν Σάρδεῖς ξύλα πολλὰ ἰσομήκη τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐπιστήσας, αὐτὸς εἰδῶλα πάγαντας ἔχοντα καὶ Περσικὴν ἐσθήτηα, καὶ φάρτραν κατὰ νώτου, καὶ τόξα μετὰ χεῖρας, νύκτωρ προσήγαγεν, ὑπερέχοντα τῶν τειχῶν τὰς ἄκρας· ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ἕτερα μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέβαλεν ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας. Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ τοῦ Κροῖσου ἀπομαχομένη ταῖς τοῦ Κύρου προσβολαῖς ἐπειδὴ τινες αὐτῶν ἐπιστραφέντες εἶδον ἀπὸ μακροῦ τὰ εἰδῶλα ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄκραν, ἐβόησαν. Πάντας δὲ εἶλε φόβος, ὡς ἦδη τῆς ἄκρας ὑπὸ Περσῶν κατειλημμένης· τὰς πύλας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἔφυγον· Κῦρος δὲ Σάρδεῖς κατὰ κράτος εἶλεν.	Ἐν τῇ ἐνάτῃ Κτησίας] οἶον τὰ εἰδῶλα τῶν Περσῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς ξύλοις ὄραντες ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον πρὸς τὰς ἀκρόπολεις πόρρωθεν οἱ Λυδοὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἐτρέποντο, νομίσαντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πλήρη εἶναι Περσῶν καὶ ἤδη ἐαλωκέναι.	Οἰβάρην δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν μέγαν τὸν τοῦ Κύρου ξύλινα λέγει πρόσωπα Σάρδεσιν ἐπιστῆσαι ἐν ὑπερήκεισι κοντοῖς, νυκτὸς ἐνδεδυμένα· οὕτω Λυδοὺς ταραξάει δὲ καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν.

epitome is to be relied on, made no mention of the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. Even if he regarded Babylonia as a Median province, he might easily have introduced the war in the same way as Justin, who (i. 7) apparently intends to include the Babylonians among the States, "quae Medorum tributariae . . .

mutato imperio, etiam conditionem suam mutatam arbitantes, a Cyro defecerunt." It is possible his account may have been omitted by the epitomater, like those of the Babylonian and Ionic revolts, under Darius I. If so, the account of the capture given by Polyaeus, vii. 6. 8, may come from Ktesias.¹

¹ Κῦρος Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκει· Βαβυλώνιοι πολλῶν ἐτῶν σιτία ἔχοντες, κατεγέλων τῆς πολιορκίας· Κῦρος διὰ μέσης τὴν Εὐφράτην ῥέοντα διώρυχα τεμὼν εἰς τὸ πλησίον ἔλος ὑπεξήγαγεν. Βαβυλώνιοι πιεῖν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῆκα σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Κύρῳ παρέδωκαν.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 36. (5). [ἔτι δὲ διαλαμβάνει ὡς] ἀποστέλλει Κῦρος ἐν Περσίδι Πετησάκαν τὸν ἡμιάρρηνά μὲγα παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενον, ἐνέγκαι ἀπὸ Βαρκανίων Ἀστυῖγαν. ἐπόθει γὰρ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ Ἄμυτις τὸν πατέρα ἰδεῖν. Καὶ ὡς Οἰβάρας βουλεύει Πετησάκα ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ καταλιπόντα Ἀστυῖγαν, λιμῷ καὶ δίψῃ ἀπολέσαι· ὃ καὶ γέγονε. Δι' ἐνυπνίων δὲ τοῦ μιάσματος μηνυθέντος, Πετησάκας πολλάκις αἰτησαμένης Ἀμύτιος, εἰς τιμωρίαν παρὰ Κύρου ἐκδίδοται. Ἡ δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξασα καὶ τὸ δέρμα περιδείρασα ἀνεσταύρωσεν. Οἰβάρας δὲ δεδιὼς μὴ τὰ ὅμοια πέισεται, καίτοι Κύρου μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ἰσχυριζόμενον παραχωρήσαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποκαρτερήσας δι' ἡμερῶν δέκα ἑαυτὸν ἐξήγαγεν, Ἀστυῖγας δὲ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐτάφη· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ δὲ ἄβρωτος αὐτοῦ διέμεινεν ὁ νεκρός· λέοντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ [φῆσι] μέχρι Πετησάκαν πάλιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν ἐφύλαττον τὸν νεκρόν.

FRAGMENTUM 25.

(Tzetzes, *Chil.* i. 1, 88). Μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλώτισιν [φάσκει] δὲ τὴν τοῦ Κροίσου, πρὸς Ἀστυῖγαν πέπομφεν ὁ Κῦρος Πετησάκαν, ὅπως ἐλθὼν τὴν Ἄμυτιν ἴδῃ σὺν Ἀστυῖγᾳ. Ἡ Ἄμυτις ὑπάρχουσα δὲ παῖς τοῦ Ἀστυῖγᾶ τοῦτον τὸν πρωτοεύνουχον, ἄθλιον Πετησάκαν, ἐπίβουλον νοήσασα τούτου τοῦ Ἀστυῖγᾶ, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξώρυξεν, ἐκδείρασά τε ζῶντα, ἀνεσκολόπησε, θείσα βορὰν ὀρνέοις.

§ 36, fr. 25. εἰς τιμωρίαν . . . had incurred the displeasure of the king's mother or wife were delivered up to them, and cruelly put to death.
[ἐκδίδοται] The first instance we meet of the long series of cases which Ktesias chronicles in almost every reign, in which persons who

LIBRI X, XI.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 37 (6). Κῦρος δὲ στρατεύει ἐπὶ Δέρβικας, Ἀμοραίου βασιλεύοντος αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξ ἐνέδρας οἱ Δέρβικες ἰστώσιν ἐλέφαντας, καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς Κύρου τρέπουσι. Καὶ πίπτει καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ Ἴνδος ἀνὴρ, (συνεμάχουν γὰρ Ἴνδοι τοῖς Δερβίκεσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἔφερον), οὗτος ὁ Ἴνδος πεπτωκότα Κῦρον βάλλει ἀκουτίῳ ὑπὸ τὸ ἰσχίον εἰς τὸν μηρόν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ τελευτᾷ. Τότε δὲ ζῶντα ἀνελόμενοι αὐτὸν οἱ οἰκείοι, ἐπὶ στρατόπεδον ᾗσαν. Ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Περσῶν πολλοὶ καὶ Δερβίκων ἴσοι· μύριοι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί.

FRAGMENTUM 26.

(Steph. Byz.). [Δυρβαῖοι, ἔθνος καθῆκον εἰς Βάκτρον καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν. Κτησίας ἐν Περσικῶν δεκάτῃ] χώρα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πρόσκειται Δυρβαίων· οὗτοι εὐδαίμονες ἄνδρες καὶ πλούσιοι καὶ κάρτα δίκαιοί εἰσι, πρὸς τὴν Βακτρίαν καὶ

§ 37, fr. 26–29. Δυρβαῖοι] It is evident that in the tenth book Ktesias described Cyrus's conquest of a number of Central Asian tribes, which the epitomater has omitted. There is no use trying to fix the precise locality of these Dyrbaeans. Greek geographers had very vague ideas of the distribution of races in Central Asia; and in any case pro-

bably the different nomad tribes have often changed from one district to another.

[κάρτα δίκαιοί εἰσι] A character commonly attributed by the Greeks to wild races, of whom they knew little: compare *Indika*, § 8, περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὅτι δικαιοτάτοι. In *Ind.* § 11, the same is said of the Pygmies, and § 23, it is said of the

Ἰνδικὴν κατατείνοντες. Οὗτοι οὔτε ἀδικοῦσιν οὔτε ἀποκτιννύουσιν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα· ἐὰν δέ τι εὐρωσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ χρυσίον ἢ ἱμάτιον ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ ἄλλο τι, οὐδὲν ἀποκινήσειαν οὗτοι· οὔτε ἀρτοποιέουσιν οὔτε ἐσθίουσιν οὔτε νομίζουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ ἱερῶν οὐνεκεν. Ἄλφιτα δὲ ποιοῦσι λεπτότερα καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐσθίουσι καρπούς.

FRAGMENTUM 27.

(Steph. Byz.). [Χωραμναῖοι, ἔθνος Περσικὸν ἀγρίων ἀνθρώπων· Κτησίας ἐν Περσικῶν δεκάτῳ] οὕτω δὲ ταχύς ἐστίν ὁ ἄγριος ἄνθρωπος ὡς καὶ διώκων τὰς ἐλάφους καταλαμβάνειν· [καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα περὶ αὐτῶν φησι].

FRAGMENTUM 28.

(Apollonius, *Histor. Mirabil.*, xx.). [Κτησίας ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ Περσικῶν], καμήλους τινὰς ἐν χώρᾳ γίγνεσθαι, ἃς

Kynokephali. Aeschylus, *Prom. Solut.*, fr. 198, ἔπειτα δ' ἤξει δῆμον ἐνδικώτατον βροτῶν ἀπάντων καὶ φιλοξενώτατον, Γαβίους, ἰν' οὐτ' ἄροτρον οὔτε γατόμος τέμνει δίκελλ' ἄρουραν. Herodotus, iv. 26 (the Issedonians), &c.

Χωραμναῖοι] Also mentioned in §§ 2 and 39, in each case with a different spelling in our present text. Larcher identifies them with the Chorasmians, while Baehr makes them the people of Khorassan.

καμήλους τινὰς] Baehr and Müller quote Aelian, H. A. xvii. 34: Ἀἴγες δὲ Κάσπιοι γίνονται λευκαὶ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ κεράτων δὲ ἄγονοι, μικραὶ τε μέγεθος καὶ σιμαί. Κάμηλοι δ' ἀριθμοῦνται πλείους, αἱ μέγισ-

ται κατὰ τοὺς ἵππους τοὺς μεγίστους, εὐτριχες ἄγαν. Ἀπαλαὶ γάρ εἰσι σφόδρα αἱ τούτων τρίχες ὡς καὶ τοῖς Μιλησίοις ἐρίοις ἀντικρίνεσθαι τὴν μαλακότητα· οὐκοῦν ἐκ τούτων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐσθῆτα ἀμφιέννυνται, καὶ οἱ τῶν Κασπίων πλουσιώτατοί τε καὶ δυνατώτατοι.

By χώρα we are perhaps to understand the land of the Kaspians, by whom we must evidently understand here (as perhaps in Herodotus, iii. 93, and vii. 86) not a people near the Caspian, but the inhabitants of Kashmir, the Kaspeirians of Ptolemaeus, vii. 1, whose shawls are still famous.

The historians of Alexander have many references to Cyrus's wars in

ἔχειν τρίχας πρὸς Μιλήσια ἔρια τῇ μαλακότητι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δυνάστας τὰς ἐσθῆτας φέρειν.

FRAGMENTUM 29.

(Steph. Byz.). [Δερβίκακαι, ἔθνος πλησίον τῶν Ἰρκαυῶν . . . Κτησίας δὲ Δερβίους αὐτοὺς φησιν ἢ Τερβισσοὺς.]

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 38. (7). Ἀμόργης δὲ περὶ Κύρου ἀκούσας σπουδῆ παραγίνεται ἔχων Σακῶν δισμυρίους ἵππεας. Καὶ πολέμου συρράγέντος Περσῶν καὶ Δερβίκων, νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Περσικὸς καὶ Σακῶν στράτος, ἀναιρεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Δερβίκων βασιλεὺς Ἀμοραῖος καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ δύο παῖδες

Central Asia (Arrianus, *Exp. Alex.* iii. p. 228; iv. p. 243; Curtius, vii. 3, &c.: cf. Strabo, xv. 2, p. 312.

Δερβίκακαι] A people better known than the other tribes we have been dealing with: see § 2. But the position on the borders of India assigned to them is irreconcilable with the testimony of Strabo, xi. 11, pp. 444-5, and Stephanus, who places them near Hyrkania (not *in* it, as Müller says), and Ptolemaeus, who (iv. 20) places them in Margiana. Perhaps the suggestion of Osiander, adopted by Baehr and Müller, that the Persian kings

removed them from the borders of India to their later settlements near the Caspian, is correct.

Nearchus (ap. Strab. xv. 2, p. 307) makes Cyrus unsuccessfully invade India, and escape with seven followers.

According to Herodotus, i. 204 sq., Cyrus attacked Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae, a savage race near the Caspian, and at first defeated them, and captured Spargapises, son of Tomyris; afterwards, however, the Persians were defeated, the king was slain, and his body fell into the hands of the enemy.¹ Polyaeus, viii. 28, gives a similar

¹ Duncker, vi. p. 122 sq., regards this as the Median account of the death of Cyrus, Ktesias's being the Persian one. To me it seems that the Herodotean account bears as evident marks of being a Greek invention as Xenophon's.

αὐτοῦ. Ἀπέθανον δὲ Δερβίκων μὲν τρισμῦριοι, Περσῶν δὲ ἑνακισχίλιοι. Καὶ προσεχώρησεν ἡ χώρα Κύρω.

§ 39. (8). Κῦρος δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν Καμβύσῃ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον υἱὸν βασιλέα καθίστη, Ταννοξάρκην δὲ τὸν νεώτερον ἐπέστησε δεσπότην Βακτριῶν τῆς χώρας καὶ Χοραμ-

account, but differs as to details, as does Strabo, xv. 8, pp. 431-4. Berossus, iii. 15, says he perished 'in the plain of the Dahae,' who were apparently a nomad Persian tribe. Diodorus, ii. 44, says: ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν Σκυθῶν τό τε στρατόπεδον τῶν Περσῶν κατέκοψε καὶ τὸν Κῦρον αἰχμάλωτον γενόμενον ἀνεσταίρωσε. Xenophon, Kyr. viii. p. 533, makes Cyrus die in his bed from old age, after giving certain injunctions (so far agreeing with Ktesias, § 39).

Arrianus, *Exp. Alex.* vi. pp. 435 sq., describes (from Aristobulus) the sepulchre of Cyrus at Pasargadae (εἶναι γὰρ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ Κύρου ἐκεῖνον τάφον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλσος ἐμπεφυτεῦσθαι δένδρων παντοίων, καὶ ὕδατι εἶναι κατάρρυντον . . . καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν τάφον τὰ κάτω λίθῳ τετραπέδῳ ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεποιήσθαι ἄνωθεν δὲ οἶκημα ἐπεῖναι λιθίνον ἐστεγασμένον, θυρίδα ἔχον φέρονσαν ἔσω στενὴν, κ.τ.λ.), and the plunder of its contents in the time of Alexander. It bore the inscription ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κῦρός εἰμι ὁ Καμβύσου ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαις καταστησάμενος, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας. Μὴ οὖν φθόνει μοι τοῦ μνήματος. Compare Strabo, xv. 3, p. 320 sq., who describes the tomb as πύργον οὐ μέγαν . . . κάτω μὲν στερεὸν, ἄνω δὲ στέγην ἔχοντα

καὶ σηκόν: Q. Curtius, x. 1, &c. At *Murgaub* is a structure exactly corresponding to this description, and surrounded by pillars inscribed in Persian, Turanian, and Babylonian, 'I am Kurush, the king, the Achaemenid'; but Sayce and some other writers refuse to regard this as the tomb of Cyrus, rejecting the identification of *Murgaub* and *Pasargadae*. (Dieulafoy regards *Murgaub* as the place where Cyrus defeated Astyages, and where his father, Kambyses, was buried, and supposes that Cyrus founded a city there as his capital, which Darius removed to Persepolis, and that both places bore the name *Parsakarta* (= Persepolis), which in the former case was confounded by the Greeks with *Pasargadae*: see *Academy*, xxii. p. 265).

§ 39. Καμβύσῃ] Old Persian Kabujiya; Babylonian Kambuziya; Egyptian Kanbuta, or Kambat, = 'a bard,' according to Rawlinson.

Ταννοξάρκην] An epithet = 'strong in body,' the appropriateness of which we see from Herodotus, iii. 30. His real name was Bardiya (Babylonian Barziya), which Hellenikus (fr. 164) made into Marphius (ap. Schol. Aesch. Pers. 775: Κύρον δὲ υἱὸς ὁ Καμβύσης, ἀδελφὸς δὲ . . . Μαρφίου καὶ Μέμφιδος); Aeschylus (*Pers.* 774)

νίων καὶ Παρθίων καὶ Καρμανίων, ἀτελεῖς ἔχειν τὰς χώρας διορισάμενος. Τῶν δὲ Σπιτάμα παίδων Σπιτάκην μὲν Δερβίκων ἀπέδειξε σατράπην, Μεγαβέρην δὲ Βαρκανίων· τῇ μητρὶ δὲ πάντα πείθεσθαι προσέτατε, καὶ Ἀμόργην φίλον τούτοις τῶν δεξιῶν ἐμβαλλομένων ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ ἀλλήλοις· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐμμένουσι ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίαις ἀγαθὰ ἠῦχετο, ἐπηράτο δὲ τοῖς χειρῶν ἄρξασιν ἀδίκων. Ταῦτα εἴπας ἐτελεύτησε τρίτῃ ὑστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέρα βασιλεύσας ἔτη λ'. [Ἐν οἷς ὁ ια' Κτησίου λόγος τοῦ Κνιδίου]

into Μάρδος,¹ Herodotus into Smerdis, and Justin into Mergis, or Merdis. Xenophon uses the epithet into the form Tanaoxares.

Καρμανίων] The people of Ker-

man, near the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Xenophon, *Kyrop.* viii. p. 527, says Cyrus made Tanaoxares satrap of the Medes, Armenians, and Kadusians.

¹ Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ (Kyaxares) ἄλλος δ' ἐκεῖνου παῖς (Astyages) τὸδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν . . . Τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις. Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ἠθθνε στρατὸν, πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος (i. e. the Pseudo-Bardiya).

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into Μάρδος,¹ Herodotus into Smerdis, and Justin into Mergis, or Merdis. Xenophon uses the epithet in the form Tanaoxares.

Καρμανίων] The people of Ker-

man, near the entrance of the Persian Gulf. Xenophon, *Agrop.* viii. p. 527, says Cyrus made Tanaoxares satrap of the Medes, Armenians, and Kadusians.

¹ Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ (Κυαχares) ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς (Astyages) τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν . . . Τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ ἄρξας ἔθηκε πασῶν εἰρήνην φίλοις. Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ἠθῆυε στρατῶν, πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος (i. e. the Pseudo-Bardiya).

LIBRI XII, XIII.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 40 (9). [Ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ ιβ' ἀπὸ τῆς Καμβύσου βασιλείας] οὗτος βασιλεύσας ἀπέστειλε τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς νεκρὸν διὰ Βαγαπάτου τοῦ εὐνούχου εἰς Πέρσας ταφῆναι· καὶ τᾶλλα, ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὠρίσατο, διωκήσατο, μέγιστον δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ ἠδύνατο Ἄρτασύρας Ἐρκάνιος, τῶν δὲ εὐνούχων Ἰζαβάτης τε καὶ Ἀσπαδάτης καὶ Βαγαπάτης, ὃς καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ μέγιστος ἦν μετὰ τὸν Πετησάκα θάνατον. Οὗτος στρατεύει ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν βασιλέα Ἀμυρταῖον, Κομβάφews τοῦ εὐνούχου, ὃς ἦν μέγα δυνάμενος

§ 40, fr. 30. εἰς Πέρσας ταφῆναι] See note on § 37. The Achaemenidae buried their dead, contrary to the orthodox Zoroastrian rule which the Sassanidae followed.

ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον] The reason here assigned for Cambyses' expedition against Egypt is substantially the same as that adopted by Herodotus (iii. 1), who mentions two other versions of the story, which made Neitētis wife of Kyrus, and in one, mother of Cambyses. Polyaeus (viii. 29) makes Neitētis mother of Cambyses, but agrees with Ktesias in representing her as having persuaded him to avenge her father Apries. Apries (Egyptian, Uah-

ab-ra) was dethroned about b. c. 570, so that the only possible way of saving the credit of Herodotus and Ktesias is that adopted by Dr. Ebers for the purpose of his work, *An Egyptian Princess*, where he represented Apries as surviving his dethronement for many years. Herodotus mentions the persuasion of Phanes the Halikarnassian, who had deserted from the Egyptians, as an additional inducement to Cambyses.

Ἀμυρταῖον] Probably a mistake of a scribe for Ψαμμῆμιτον, the name given by Herodotus (Ψαμμῆχεριτης in Manetho) to Psamtik III., son of Amasis and the last king of the

παρὰ τῷ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖ καταπροδόντος τὰς τε γεφύρας καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πράγματα, ἐφ' ᾧ γενέσθαι ὑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου, καὶ γέγονε· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτῷ Καμβύσης διὰ Ἰζαβάτου τοῦ Κομβάφews ἀνεψιοῦ συνέθετο, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ οἰκειοφώνως ὕστερον. Ζωγρίαν δὲ λαβὼν τὸν Ἀμυρταῖον οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν εἰργάσατο ἢ ὅτι εἰς Σοῦσα ἀνάσπαστον σὺν ἑξακισχιλίοις Αἰγυπτίοις, οὓς αὐτὸς ἤρετίσατο, ἐποίησατο, καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δὲ πᾶσαν ὑπέταξεν. Ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Αἰγυπτίων μὲν μυριάδες πέντε, Περσῶν δὲ ἑπτακισχίλιοι.

FRAGMENTUM 30.

(Athenæus, xiii. 10, p. 560 b.). Καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον δὲ Καμβύσου στρατεία, [ὡς φησι Κτησίας] διὰ γυναῖκα ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ Καμβύσης πυνθανόμενος τὰς Αἰγυπτίας γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἀμασιν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, μίαν αἰτῶν πρὸς γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων· ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν (ὑπονοήσας μὴ γυναικὸς ἕξειν αὐτὴν τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ παλλακίδος), ἔπεμψε δὲ τὴν Ἀπρίου θυγατέρα Νειτήτιν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπρίης ἐκπεπτῶκει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλείας διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἠτταν πρὸς Κυρηναίου καὶ ἀνήρητο ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιδος· ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καμβύσης τῇ Νειτήτιδι καὶ σφόδρα ἐρεθισθεὶς, ἐκμανθάνει παρ'

26th dynasty. Amyrtacus ruled about b. c. 415.

Κομβάφews] Herodotus says nothing about this eunuch and his treachery. According to him (iv. 166) Aryandes was made ὑπαρχος of Egypt by Cambyses.

οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν] According to Herodotus (iii. 15), Psammenitus was put to death for stirring up revolt. The custom of deporting captives to a distance from

their homes was common under the Achaemenidae, though less so than with the Assyrians and Babylonians (Herodotus, vi. 20, &c.)

ἐν τῇ μάχῃ] Near Pelusium, according to Herodotus.

διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἠτταν πρὸς Κυρηναίου] Probably really because of his defeat by Nebuchadrezzar. Herodotus (ii. 161) agrees with Ktesias.

αὐτῆς τὰ πάντα· καὶ δεηθείσης ἐκδικῆσαι τοῦ Ἀπρίου τὸν φόνον, πείθει πολεμῆσαι Λίγυπτιοῖς.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 41 (10). Μάγος δέ τις Σφενδαδάτης ὄνομα ἀμαρτήσας καὶ μαστιγωθεὶς ὑπὸ Ταννοξάρκου, ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Καμ-

§ 41. Μάγος δέ τις Σφενδαδάτης] For the following events we have the brief narrative contained in the Behistun inscription of Darius (par. 10, *sq.*); and some valuable chronological indications are furnished by the Babylonian "contract tablets" of the Egibi firm, by the Egyptian Apis-stelae and some other inscriptions, and by the Egyptian lists of Manetho and the Babylonian ones in Berossus (iii., fr. 15), and the Canon of Ptolemy. We have also the narratives of Herodotus (iii. 16-88) and Justin (i. 9, 10) (probably from Deinon). The name Spondadates is explained by Rawlinson as = "given to the holy one."

In the Behistun inscription (par. 10, 11), as in Ktesias, there is but one Magian, but his name is given as Gaumata. Bardiya (Tanyoxarkes) is stated to have been full brother to Kambyses. "Afterwards Kambyses slew that Bardiya. When Kambyses had slain Bardiya it was not known to the people. Afterwards Kambyses proceeded to Egypt. When Kambyses had proceeded to

Egypt, then the State became wicked. Then the lie became abounding in the land, both in Persia, and in Media, and in the other provinces. Afterwards there was a man, a Magian (*Magush*), named Gaumata. He arose from Pishiyavada,¹ the mountain named Arakadrish . . . On the 14th day of the month Viyakhana (February-March), then it was that he arose. He thus lied to the State, 'I am Bardiya, the son of Kurush, the brother of Kabujiya.' Then the State became rebellious. From Kabujiya it went over to him, both Persia, and Media, and the other provinces. . . . On the ninth day of the month Garmapada (July-August), then it was he so sought the empire. Afterwards Kabujiya, *having killed himself* ('uvamarshiyush), died." The only statements of Ktesias directly inconsistent with what is here stated are as to the period of Bardiya's death (in which he agrees with Herodotus and Justin), and the name of the magus. We would naturally con-

¹ Pasargadae, according to Oppert's translation of the Turanian version of the inscription.

βύσην ἐνδιαβάλλον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ταννοξάρκην ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα αὐτῷ· καὶ σημεῖον ἐδίδου τῆς ἀποστάσεως, ὡς εἰ κληθείη ἔλθειν, οὐκ ἂν ἔλθοι. Δηλοῖ τοίνυν ὁ Καμβύσης ἔλθειν τὸν ἀδελφόν· ὁ δὲ, χρείας ἄλλης ἀπαιτούσης μένειν, ἀνεβάλετο. Παρρησιάζεται ταῖς διαβολαῖς πλέον ὁ μάγος.

clude, however, from the language used, that the magus had no hand in the death of Kambyses' brother. The language of the epitome, also, seems to imply that Ktesias represented him as not reigning till after Kambyses' death, but this is not quite clear.

Par. 13. "There was not a man, neither Persian, nor Median, nor anyone of our family, who could dispossess that Gaumata, the Magian, of the crown. The State feared him exceedingly. He slew many people who had known the old Bardiya; for that reason he slew them, 'lest they should recognize me that I am not Bardiya, the son of Kurush.' No one dared to say anything concerning Gaumata, the Magian, till I arrived. Then I prayed to Auramazda. Auramazda brought help to me. On the nineteenth day of the month Bagayadish (March-April), then it was, with my faithful men, I slew that Gaumata, the Magian, and the chief men who were his followers. The fort named Siktha-uvatish, in the district of Media called Nisæa, there I slew him. . . . By the grace of Aura-

mazda I became king." There is nothing in this paragraph that is inconsistent with Ktesias' narrative; but it does not support him in any point where he differs from Herodotus and Justin.

The account of Herodotus agrees with that in the text in its main outline, but differs greatly in the details. Kambyses sends his brother, who is called Smerdis, from Egypt to Persia, the converse of what is stated in the text; and he is slain near Susa, not in Egypt, and by Prexaspes, not by the Magian. Of the two stories given as to the manner of his death, neither is that of Ktesias. The time assigned for it, in both writers, is wrong. The improbable¹ story that Kambyses made the magus personate his brother does not appear in Herodotus, who also correctly places the revolt before the death of Kambyses, but makes the real name of the rebel also Smerdis, and his instigator, his brother, Patizeithes (Panzuthes in Dionysius of Miletus), not the minister Artasyras and the eunuch Bagapates. Kambyses, as in Ktesias and the Behistun inscription, dies from a

¹ Unless we are to suppose that the murder of Bardiya took place while Kambyses was only vassal king under his father, when concealment would be necessary.

Ἄμυτις δὲ ἡ μήτηρ τὰ τοῦ μάγου ὡς ἦν ὑπονοοῦσα, ἐνουθέτει Καμβύσῃν τὸν υἱὸν μὴ πείθεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ὑπεκρίνετο μὴ πείθεσθαι, ἐπίθετο δὲ μάλιστα. Διαπεμφαμένου δὲ τρίτον Καμβύσου πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν παραγίνεται. Καὶ ἀσπάζεται μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφὸς, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον ἀνελεῖν ἐμελέτα, κρύφα δὲ Ἄμυτις εἰς πρᾶξιν ἀγαγεῖν τὴν μελέτην ἔσπευδε, καὶ λαμβάνει πέρας ἢ πρᾶξις· ὁ γάρ τοι μάγος βουλῆς τῷ βασιλεῖ κοινωμάτων βουλευεῖ τοιοῦτον· ὁμοιος ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ μάγος κάρτα τῷ Ταυνοξάρκῃ, βουλεύει τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ, ὡς δῆθεν ἀδελφοῦ βασιλέως κατειπόντα, τὴν κεφαλὴν προστάξαι ἀποτμηθῆναι, ἐν δὲ τῷ κρυπτῷ ἀναιρεθῆναι Ταυνοξάρκην, καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στολὴν ἀμφιασθῆναι τὸν μάγον, ὥστε καὶ τῷ ἀμφιάσματι νομίζεσθαι Ταυνοξάρκην· καὶ γίνεται ταῦτα. Αἷματι γὰρ ταύρου, ὃ ἐξέπιεν, ἀναιρεῖται Ταυνοξάρκης, ἀμφιάζεται δὲ ὁ μάγος καὶ νομίζεται Ταυνοξάρκης· καὶ λανθάνει πάντας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον πλὴν Ἀρτασύρα καὶ Βαγαπάτου καὶ Ἰζαβάτου· τούτοις γὰρ μόνοις Καμβύσης ἐθάρρησε τὴν πρᾶξιν.

§ 42 (11). Λάβυζον δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πρῶτον, οἱ

self-inflicted wound, but in Syria, not at Babylon. The part which Ktesias assigns to Izabates in the detection of the magus is assigned to Prexaspes by Herodotus; and the latter represents the magi as having had their weapons when attacked. The discrepancies in the names of the conspirators will be discussed afterwards.

Justin (Deinon?), like our author, represents the murder of Mergis (Bardiya) as taking place while Kambyzes was in Egypt, and the king as accomplishing it by the hands of a Magian Cometes (Gau-mata); but he agrees with Hero-

dotus in representing Cometes as making his brother, whom he calls Oropastes, king.

According to Valerius Maximus (ix. 2) and Ammianus (xxiii., p. 272), (ex hoc magorum semine septem post mortem Cambysis regnum inisse Persidos antiqui memorant libri), there were seven magi.

μαστιγωθεὶς ὑπὸ Ταυνοξάρκου] Herodotus and Justin are silent as to this, but say that his ears were cut off by Cyrus (Herod. iii. 69) or Kambyzes (Justin, i. 9).

Ἄμυτις δὲ ἡ μήτηρ] Kassandane according to Herodotus.

ἦσαν Ταυνοξάρκῃ, προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὑποδείξας τὸν μάγον ὡς ἐσχημάτιστο καθεζόμενον, τοῦτον, ἔφη, νομίζετε Ταυνοξάρκην; ὁ δὲ Λάβυζος, θαυμάσας, καὶ τίνα ἄλλον, ἔφη, νομοῦμεν; τοσοῦτον ἐλάνθανε τῇ ὁμοιότητι ὁ μάγος. Ἐκπέμπεται οὖν εἰς Βακτρίους, καὶ πράττει πάντα ὡς Ταυνοξάρκης. Πέντε δὲ ἐνιαυτῶν διελθόντων, μνηύεται ἡ Ἄμυτις τὸ δράμα διὰ Τιβέθως τοῦ εὐνούχου, ὃν ὁ μάγος τυπτήσας ἐτύγχανε, καὶ αἰτεῖ Σφενδαδάτην παρὰ Καμβύσου· ὁ δὲ οὐ δίδωσιν. Ἡ δὲ ἐπαράται, καὶ πιούσα φάρμακον τελευτᾷ.

§ 43 (12). Θύει ὁ Καμβύσης, καὶ τῶν ἱερείων σφαζομένων αἷμα οὐκ ἀπορρέει, καὶ ἀθυμεῖ, καὶ τίκτει αὐτῷ ἡ Ῥωξάνη παιδίον ἀκέφαλον, καὶ πλέον ἀθυμεῖ· καὶ οἱ μάγοι λέγουσιν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν τεράτων δήλωσιν, ὅτι οὐ καταλείψει τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον. Καὶ ἐφίσταται αὐτῷ ἡ μήτηρ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀπειλοῦσα τῆς μαιφονίας, καὶ πλέον ἀθυμεῖ. Ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ ξέων ξυλάριον μαχαίρα διατριβῆς χάριν, παίει τὸν μηρὸν εἰς τὸν μῦν, καὶ ἐνδεκαταῖος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας δυοῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι.

§ 42 πέντε δὲ ἐνιαυτῶν] This agrees with the statement of Darius, that the murder took place before the expedition to Egypt.

§ 43. τίκτει αὐτῷ ἡ Ῥωξάνη παιδίον ἀκέφαλον] Herodotus, iii. 66, tells us that Kambyzes left no issue.

βασιλεύσας δυοῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι] The chronology of the Persian kings down to Darius I. is remarkably intricate. Most writers give about thirty years for the whole reign of Cyrus (Ktesias, § 39, Deinon, fr. 10; Justin, i. 8; Euseb., *Chron.*, fo. 64, say exactly thirty; Herodotus, i. 214, says twenty-nine; Synkellus, thirty-one). These writers

understood the twenty-nine or thirty years to represent the period from the defeat of Astyages (when, according to them, Cyrus first became a king) to the accession of Kambyzes; but in this they were evidently wrong, as the whole period from the defeat of Astyages in B.C. 549 to the accession of Darius I. is less than thirty years. Probably their Persian informants gave the number of years from Cyrus' accession as vassal king of Persia till his death; and they, not being aware that he was king before the fall of Astyages, drew an erroneous inference. His ac-

§ 44 (13). Βαγαπάτης δὲ καὶ Ἀρτασύρας, πρὶν ἢ Καμβύσης τελευτήσῃ, ἐβουλεύσαντο βασιλεύσαι τὸν μάγον·

cession in Babylon is assigned by the clearest evidence to summer, B. C. 539, but the date of that of Cambyses is much more obscure. Berosus iii., fr. 15, gives Cyrus nine years as king of Babylon: 'tum imperium tenet Cambyses annis octo, exin Darius annis sex et triginta.' Ptolemy (Canon Regum) gives the reigns of the first three Persian kings of Babylon as follows:—

κα' Κύρου ἔτη θ' συναγωγῇ σιγῇ (218).

κβ' Καμβύσου ἔτη η' συναγωγῇ σκς' (226).

κγ' Δαρείου πρώτου ἔτη λς' συναγωγῇ σξβ' (262).

Manetho's twenty-sixth dynasty is given by him 163, or 167, or 173 years, the period from the accession of Psameticus I. to the death of Amasis, being 135 or 134 years. His twenty-seventh dynasty begins as follows:—

(1) "Cambyses, in the fifth (*al.* fifteenth) year of his reign over the Persians, for three (in Africanus six) years.

(2) "Magi, seven months (Africanus omits).

(3) "Darius, son of Hystaspes, thirty-six years."

Herodotus, iii. 66, gives Cambyses seven years and five months, and in iii. 67 he gives Smerdis

seven months. Klemes of Alexandria (*Stromat.* i. p. 395) gave Cambyses nineteen years.

We now come to the Oriental contemporary evidence. In addition to the statements in the Behistun inscriptions, and in the Annalistic tablet of Cyrus and Nabonidus, which speaks of Cambyses as performing certain ceremonies at Babylon just after the capture of that city, we have—(1) the Babylonian 'contract tablets,' of which there are a large number, dated in nine years of Cyrus, the first eight and the eleventh year of Cambyses, the first year of Bardiya, and in most years of Darius I., and also in the reigns of the two Babylonian rebels contemporary with him. These are discussed very fully in papers by Messrs. Boscawen, Oppert, and Pinches, in the sixth volume of the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (M. Oppert differs from Mr. Boscawen as to the meaning of 'accession year,' but the arguments are too long for insertion here).

The dates for Cyrus as 'king of Babylon' range from Kislev, in his accession year (winter, B. C. 539), to the summer of his ninth year, B. C. 530 (?), no later year being found.²

For Cambyses the earliest date as

¹ From era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747.

² There is, however, a document dated 'Babylon, 26th Iyyar, ninth year of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Countries,' which, according to some, is Spring,

καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκείνου τελευτήσαντος. Λαβὼν δὲ τὸ Καμβύσου σῶμα Ἴζαβάτης ἤγειν εἰς Πέρσας. Τοῦ μάγου

'king of Babylon' is, according to Boscawen, 'Babylon, Elul 16' (autumn, B. C. 530). But there is also a document dated 'Babylon, month Kislev, year 1st, Cambyses, king of Babylon, in this day also Cyrus, his father, king of countries' (according to Boscawen and Pinches, winter, B. C. 529: according to Oppert's system, however, it might belong to winter, B. C. 530).

Another document is dated in the seventh year of Cambyses, *sar matāti sa ridutu-su*, 'king of the countries which are his slaves' (B. C. 523-22). All these dates are easily explained, but we now come to a difficulty. There is a document, dated Tebet, eleventh day, *eighth* year of Cambyses. This, according to Pinches and Boscawen, falls in B. C. 522-21, whereas the usual chronology places the accession of the Magus in summer, B. C. 522. This difficulty might be got over, or at least diminished, if we adopted M. Oppert's method of reckoning the accession year as identical with the first portion of the first year of a reign. Or if we reject this solution, combining the statements of Herodotus and Ktesias, we may

suppose that Cambyses marched against the Magus as far as Babylon, recovered possession of the town in December, B. C. 522, and accidentally killed himself there, as stated by Ktesias, before March, B. C. 521. Next we have two dates of the eleventh year. Pinches and Sayce explain this by supposing Cambyses was, though dead, still reckoned as reigning in B. C. 519-18. This, however, besides its inherent improbability, is difficult to reconcile with the dates of the reign of Darius I., and it is simpler to assume that he, having been made viceroy of Babylon, and perhaps associated in the kingdom soon after its capture, as may perhaps be gathered from the Annals so often referred to, though not made vassal king, with semi-independent sovereignty, till B. C. 530, chose, after the death of Cyrus, to date his regnal years in Babylon from the capture of the city.¹ This explains the eighteen years² assigned to him by Ktesias, and the passage confirms what I have already said as to the use of Babylonian sources by our author. The dates of the eighth year cannot be explained thus, as

B. C. 529. If so, unless we admit that accession year *sometimes* = first year, the chronological difficulties cannot be surmounted. This must be the case in the reign of Bardiya.

¹ Compare Duncker, *History of Antiquity*, vi. p. 131.

² Viz., from Summer, B. C. 539, to his death, at the end of B. C. 522, seventeen and a-half years.

δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Ταννοξάρκου, ἦκεν Ἰζαβάτης ἐκ Περσίδος, καὶ κατειπὼν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα καὶ

they would fall in the reign of Cyrus, who reigned nine years.

To the reign of the Magus belong the documents dated 20th Elul and 1st Tisri, 'in the first year of King Barziya,' apparently summer and autumn, B.C. 522, and perhaps before the tablet dated Tebet, eighth year of Cambyses.

If the pretender Naditabira (Nebuchadrezzar III.) seized the throne immediately after the death of the Magus, in Spring, B.C. 521, the documents of his reign, all dated in his accession year, belong to autumn and winter of that year; but he may have reigned till a later period. The Babylonian documents of the reign of Darius are not conclusive, as different modes of dating appear to have been adopted in different parts of Babylonia, and at different periods.

The series of events may be conjecturally arranged as follows:—

B.C. 539. Cyrus' capture of Babylon; accession year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, and one of the dates from which the years of Cambyses were reckoned.

B.C. 530. Accession of Cambyses in Babylon, and death of Cyrus, not long after.

B.C. 525. Accession of Cambyses in Egypt.

B.C. 522. Summer. Revolt of the Magus.

B.C. 521. Spring. Darius and others kill the Magus. Soon after Naditabira revolts in Babylon. The accession of Darius is sometimes dated from this year in Babylonia.

Egyptian data.—Besides the inscription of Uta-hor-en-piris, which gives us no chronological information, the principal Egyptian monuments of this period are the Apis-stelae and certain inscriptions near Koptos.¹

The Apis-stelae apparently reckon the regnal years of Cambyses from his accession as 'king of countries,' on the death of Cyrus, apparently about B.C. 529. An Apis born or installed in the twenty-fifth year of Amasis (Hincks, *J. S. L.* iv. p. 436) was buried in Epiphi, in the fourth year of Cambyses, *i. e.* November, B.C. 525 (Brugsch, ii. p. 299, regards the burial of this Apis under the auspices of Cambyses as refuting Herodotus' story about his killing the Apis. Hincks explains differently, *J. S. L.* iv. p. 431). Another Apis was born Tybi 28th (May), in the fifth year of Cambyses, and died Pakhons 3rd, in the fourth year of Darius I., aged seven years and ninety-five days. This gives us (assuming

¹ The evidence of the Apis-stelae is examined in a Paper by Hincks, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N. S., iv. pp. 421-465, but many of his conclusions cannot now be accepted. See also Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 295-331.

θριαμβεύσας τὸν μάγον κατέφυγεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, ἐκεῖθεν τε συλληφθεὶς ἀπετμήθη.

§ 45 (14). Ἐντεῦθεν ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἐπίσημοι συνέ-

B.C. 529 as the first year of Cambyses) B.C. 517 as the fourth, and B.C. 521 as the first year of Darius, but we cannot determine how the intermediate period was divided between Cambyses and the Magus. Probably the latter was not recognized at all in Egypt, and the mention of him in some copies of the List of Manetho is due to an error.¹ The inscription of Ataiuhi, near Koptos, seems to give a reign of six years to Cambyses (Kambuta) in Egypt, but this is perhaps an error of the stone-cutter, or it may refer to a portion of Cambyses' whole reign (Brugsch, ii. p. 313).

§ 44. Λαβὼν δὲ τὸ Καμβύσου σῶμα Ἰζαβάτης ἦγεν εἰς Πέρσας.] The body of a king of Persia, in the time of the Achaemenidae, seems to have been accompanied to the tomb by one of his chief ministers or eunuchs, who remained near it for the rest of his life (compare §§ 40, 50, 75, 77). The tomb of Cyrus was watched by certain families of magi (Strabo, xv. 3, p. 321, Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vi., p. 438).

§ 45. ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσῶν ἐπίσημοι.] Behistun Inscription, par. 67:—"Says Darius, the king, These are the men who alone were there when

I slew Gaumáta. These men alone helped me as my followers, one named Vidafrana (Turanian, Vindaparna), the son of Vayaspára, a Persian; one named Utána, the son of Thukhra, a Persian; one named Gaubaruva, the son of Marduniya, a Persian; one named Vidarna, the son of Bagabigna, a Persian; one named Bagabukhsha, the son of Dáduhya, a Persian; one named Ardumanish, the son of Vahuka."

In Æschylus, *Persæ*, 775, we read:—Μάρδος . . . τὸν δὲ σὺν δόλω Ἄρταφρένης ἔκτεινεν ἐσθλὸς ἐν δόμοις ἐν ἀνδράσι φιλοισιν, οἷς τόδ' ἦν χρέος. Ἐκτος δὲ Μάραφης, ἔβδομος δ' Ἄρταφρένης (these words follow the lines quoted on § 38). In Herodotus (iii. 68, 70), the names of the conspirators are—Intaphernes; Otanes, son of Pharnaspes; Gobryas; Hydarnes; Megabyzus; Aspathines. Hellanikus called Intaphernes Daphernes (fr. 167).

Diodorus, xxxi., p. 147 (Ecl. iii., p. 517):—Καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Κίρου συγγένειαν οὕτω καταριθμοῦνται (the Cappadokian kings) Καμβύσου τοῦ Κίρου πατρὸς ἀδελφῆν ὑπάρξαι γνησίαν Ἀτόσαν, ταύτης δὲ καὶ Φαρνάκου τοῦ Καππαδοκίας βασιλέως γενέσθαι παῖδα Γάλλον, καὶ τούτου γενέσθαι Σμέρδιν οὐδ' Ἀρτάνην· τοῦ

¹ In the Turanian version of the Behistun inscription Egypt is mentioned amongst the provinces which revolted against Darius when he was at Babylon, on the occasion of the revolt of Naditabira.

θεντο ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τοῦ μάγου, Ὀνόφας, Ἰδέρνης, Νορονδάβατης, Μαρδόνιος, Βαρίσσης, Ἀταφέρνης καὶ Δαρείως Ὑστάσπεω. Τούτων ἀλλήλοις πίστει δόντων, προσλαμβάνεται καὶ ὁ Ἀρτασύρας, εἶτα καὶ ὁ Βαγαπάτης, ὃς τὰς κλείς πάσας τῶν βασιλείων εἶχε. Καὶ εἰσελθόντες διὰ τοῦ Βαγαπάτου οἱ ἑπτὰ εἰς τὰ βασιλεια εὐρίσκουσι τὸν μάγον παλλακῆ Βαβυλωνία συγκαθεύδοντα. Ὡς δὲ εἶδεν, ἀνεπή-

δὲ Ἀναφᾶν ὃν . . . γενέσθαι δ' ἕνα τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν . . . ὃν φασι δι' ἀνδρείαν συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν Καππαδοκίας δυναστείαν, ὥστε μὴ τελεῖν φόρους Πέρσαις. Strabo (xi. 14, p. 465) mentions Hydarnes—τελευταῖος δ' ὑπήρξεν (Rex Armeniae) Ὀρόντης ἀπόγονος Ὑδάρνου τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν ἐνός. Plutarch uses the form Indarnes. Justin (i. 10) makes the Zopyrus who took Babylon under Darius to have been one of the seven. Sayce (*Herod.*, p. 264), following Duncker, accounts for the discrepancy between the real names and those given by Ktesias, by supposing that he gave the names of the conspirators' sons, instead of their own. The names he actually gives are in three cases (Anaphes, son of Otanes, Herod. vii. 62; Mardonius, the son of Gobryas; and Idernes, son of Idernes, Herod. vii. 83) the same as those of the sons; but the explanation is in itself so improbable that I should prefer to explain the mistake in another way. The document from which Ktesias derived his information, and perhaps Ktesias himself, mentioned the con-

spirators' fathers as well as themselves, though certainly not their sons, and perhaps added the titles of their offices. Through carelessness, either Ktesias, or one of his copyists, or Photius, giving only one name in each case, retained sometimes the name of the conspirator himself (Onophas, which is nearly another form of representing Utana, both father and son having the same name, which Herodotus, deriving his information from different sources, has varied: in Diodorus Anaphes is clearly the conspirator; Artaphrenes, or Ataphrenes, = Vidafrañá; Idernes = Vidarna; and Darius = Dárayavush¹), or of his father (Mardonius = Marduniya, the father of Gobryas); while Noronabates and Barisses are obviously corrupt, and may represent official titles like Azabarites in § 77. In the latter the equivalent of Vahuka, father of Aspachana, may lie hid.

εἰσελθόντες διὰ τοῦ Βαγαπάτου] The account here given is not reconcilable with that of Herodotus, but is quite as probable.

¹ Babylonian, Dariyavaus; Hebrew, Daryavesh; Egyptian, Triush.

δησε' καὶ μηδὲν εὐρῶν τῶν πολεμικῶν ὀργάνων (πάντα γὰρ ὁ Βαγαπάτης λάθρα ὑπεξήγαγε) δίφρον χρύσειον συντρίψας καὶ λαβὼν τὸν πόδα ἐμάχετο, καὶ τέλος κατακεντηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀπέθανε, βασιλεύσας μῆνας ἑπτὰ.

§ 46 (15). Βασιλεύει δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ ὁ Δαρείως, τοῦ ἵππου, καθὰ συνέκειτο ἀλλήλοις, πρώτου μηχανῆ τιμι καὶ τέχνη, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἥλιος πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἐγένετο, χρημετίσαντος. Ἄγεται τοῖς Πέρσαις ἑορτὴ τῆς μαγοφονίας, καθ' ἣν Σφεν-

§ 46, μηχανῆ τιμι, κ.τ.λ.] See Herodotus, iii. 85.

τῆς μαγοφονίας] So Herodotus, iii. 79. The agreement of Herodotus and Ktesias makes it impossible to doubt the existence of this strange custom. Rawlinson (*Herodotus* i., p. 418, *sq.*, &c.) regards Magism as an element foreign to Mazdaeism, derived from the Turanians, with whom the Aryans came in contact, and adopted first by those of Media, but not till after the time of Darius in Persia (p. 419:—"Magism entirely superseded among the Medes the former Arian faith; and it was only in the Persian branch of the nation that Dualism maintained itself. . . . The success of Persia, under Cyrus, made Dualism again triumphant; . . . but Magism and all other beliefs were tolerated. After a single unsuccessful effort to recover the supremacy, resulting in a fierce persecution, and the establishment of the annual *Μαγοφόνια*, Magism submitted, but proceeded almost immediately to corrupt the faith, with which it could not openly contend. A mongrel religion grew up, in which the Magian and Aryan creeds were

blended together, the latter predominating at the Court and the former in the provinces." This view is also taken by many other scholars. The retention of the Magophonia at a time when the Magi had become the priests of the established faith, can only be accounted for by supposing that it was intended to act as a reminder to the hierarchy not to interfere in civil affairs, which they never seem to have done under the Achaemenidae, though this was no longer the case under the Sassanidae. Those who adopt the view taken by Haug (*Essays*, p. 169) that *Magavas* in the Gathas = Magi, and "denoted the earliest followers of Zarathustra," will regard the latter explanation as applicable from the first.

Geiger (*Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, ii., p. 79, *sq.*) apparently identifies the Magi with the Athravans of the Zendavesta, who, he says, had their principal seat in Media. He adds (p. 83):—"We can only correctly understand the rebellion of the Pseudo-Bardiya . . . if we look upon it as the reaction of the Median tribe against the ascendancy of the Persian."

Herodotus (i. 65) gives the revolt

δαδάτης ὁ μάγος ἀνήρηται. Δαρείος προστάσσει τάφον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευασθῆναι ἐν τῷ δισσῷ ὄρει, καὶ κατασκευάζεται. Ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τῶν γονέων κωλύεται. Οἱ δὲ γονεῖς ἀνελθεῖν βουλευθέντες, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εἶδον ὄφεις οἱ ἀνελκοντες αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ φοβηθέντες ἀφήκαν τὰ σχοινία, ἔπεσον καὶ ἐτελεύτησαν. Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Δαρείος λίαν, καὶ ἀπετμήθησαν αἱ κεφαλαὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὄντων τῶν ἀνελκόντων.

§ 47 (16). Ὅτι ἐπιτάσσει Δαρείος Ἄριαράμην τῷ σατραπῇ Καππαδοκίας ἐπὶ Σκύθας διαβῆναι καὶ ἀνδρας

of the Magus a Median character, of which Ktesias says nothing—the latter is probably right (see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i., pp. 418–19; ii. pp. 464, 548, *sq.*), who is strong against Herodotus' view; Sayce, *Herodotus*, p. 261 and pp. 440, 441, who wavers; and Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, i., p. 223, “the conspiracy had a higher object—namely, the re-establishment of the monarchy of the Medes”).

Δαρείος προστάσσει τάφον] Still in existence at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis, with a sculptured frontispiece high up in the face of the rock, resembling those of six other tombs in the vicinity. Behind is a chamber in the rock. Of these seven tombs only that of Darius I. has any inscription. It has three—a long trilingual one and two shorter ones in Persian (see Rawlinson, *Five Monarchies*, vol. iv., and *Herodotus*, iv., p. 250). Strabo (xv. 3, p. 322) mentions another inscription—perhaps on a tower in front of the tomb. Diodorus (xvii. 71) says, near Perse-

polis:—“Ὅρος ἐστὶ τὸ καλούμενον βασιλικόν, ἐν ᾧ τῶν βασιλέων ὑπῆρχον οἱ τάφοι, πέτρα γὰρ ἦν κατεξαρμένη, καὶ κατὰ μέσον οἶκους ἔχουσα πλείονας, ἐν οἷς σηκοὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὑπῆρχον, πρόσβασιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες χειροποιήτων, ὑπ' ὀργάνων δὲ τινῶν χειροποιήτων ἐξαιρομένων τῶν νεκρῶν δεχόμενοι τὰς ταφάς.”

δισσῷ ὄρει] “Mons idecirco dictus fuisse videtur duplex, quod lunae fales instar est ab extrema parte,” Hoeck; “est δισσὸν ὄρος . . . duo cacumina habens,” Hammer. Both cited by Baehr.

Χαλδαίων] Probably used for “soothsayers” generally.

οἱ δὲ γονεῖς] His father Hystaspes (Vishtáspa) is mentioned, in the Behistun inscriptions, as satrap of Hyrkania at a period subsequent to the first revolt of Babylon.

εἶδον ὄφεις] There seems no reason for doubting the soundness of the text.

§ 47. Σκύθας] Herodotus and Justin place the Skythian expedition of Darius after the revolt of

καὶ γυναῖκας αἰχμαλωτίσαι. Ὁ δὲ διαβὰς πεντηκοντόροισι ἤχημαλώτισε· συνέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σκυθῶν Μαρσαγέτην, ἐπὶ κακώσει εὐρῶν παρὰ τοῦ οἴκειον ἀδελφοῦ δεδεμένον.

§ 48 (17). Σκυθάρχης δὲ ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ἔγραψεν ὑβρίζων Δαρείον· καὶ ἀντεγράφη αὐτῷ ὁμοίως· Στράτευμα δὲ ἀγείρας Δαρείος, ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας, καὶ ζεύξας τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, διέβη ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ὁδὸν ἐλάσας ἡμερῶν ἰε', καὶ ἀντέπεμπον ἀλλήλοισι τόξα. Ἐπικρατέστερον δ' ἦν τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν· διὸ καὶ φεύγων Δαρείος διέβη τὰς γεφυρώσεις, καὶ ἔλυσεν σπείδων πρὶν ἢ τὸ ὄλον διαβῆναι στράτευμα. Καὶ ἀπέθανον ὑπὸ Σκυθάρχειοι οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μυριάδες ὀκτώ. Δαρείος δὲ τὴν γέφυραν διαβὰς Χαλκηδονίων οἰκίας καὶ ἱερὰ ἐνέπρησεν, ἐπεὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτοῖς γεφύρας ἐμελέτησαν λύσαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν βωμὸν ὃν περὶ Δαρείος κατέθετο ἐπ' ὀνόματι διαβατηρίου Διὸς, ἠφάνισαν.

Babylon, which the epitomater has altogether omitted.

§ 48. Σκυθάρχης] ‘Ruler of the Skyths.’ His name was Idanthyrus, according to Herodotus; Iancyrus, according to Justin (ii. 5).

ἔγραψεν] Compare Herodotus, iv. 127.

ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας] 700,000, according to Herodotus, iv. 87.

ζεύξας τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον] Herodotus, iv. 87, 89.

ὁδὸν ἐλάσας ἡμερῶν ἰε'] The narrative of Herodotus implies a longer period: see Rawlinson on Herod. iv. 134 (vol. iv., p. 106).

ἀντέπεμπον ἀλλήλοισι τόξα] Compare Herodotus, iv. 131, 132. The reason assigned for Darius' flight seems childish; but probably if we

had the full narrative it would wear a less absurd aspect. That given by Herodotus, iv. 134, is not very different.

μυριάδες ὀκτώ] This perhaps represents the sick, who were left in his camp by Darius, according to Herodotus, iv. 135.

βωμὸν] Probably a stele commemorating his passage (compare Herod. iv. 87). Polyaeus (vii. 10, 5) gives an account of the siege of Chalkedon:—Δαρείος Χαλκηδόνα ἐπολιόρκει, Χαλκηδόνιοι τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι, καὶ παρασκευῇ τροφῶν θαρρόντες, ἤκιστα τῆς πολιορκίας ἐφρόντιζον· Δαρείος τὴν μὲν στρατιὰν οὐ προσῆγε τοῖς τείχεσιν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν χώραν ἐβλαπτεν· προσποιούμενος δὲ ἀναμένειν συμμαχίαν μείζονα, τὴν

§ 49 (18). Δάτις δὲ ἐπανίων ἐκ Πόντου καὶ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στόλου ἡγούμενος ἐπόρθει νήσους καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Ἐν Μαραθῶνι δὲ Μιλτιάδης ὑπαντιάζει, καὶ νικᾷ τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ πίπτει καὶ αὐτὸς Δάτις· καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ σῶμα Πέρσαις αἰτησαμένοις ἐδόθη.

§ 50 (19). Δαρείος δὲ ἐπανελλθὼν εἰς Πέρσας καὶ θύσας καὶ ἡμέρας νοσήσας λ' τελευτᾷ, ζήσας μὲν ἔτη οβ', βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη λα'. Ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ Ἀρτασούρας· καὶ ὁ Βαγαπάτης δὲ τὸ σῆμα Δαρείου παρακαθίσας ἔτη ζ' ἐτελεύτησε.

§ 51 (20). Βασιλεύει Ξέρξης ὁ υἱός, καὶ Ἀρτάπανος ὁ Ἀρτασούρα παῖς γίνεταί δυνατὸς παρ' αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ πατὴρ

ἡσυχίαν ἦγε τῶν δὲ Χαλκηδονίων τειχοφυλακτούντων, ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἀφασίου λόφου, πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχοντος, ἤρξαντο μεταλλεῖν ὑπόνομον οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ὀρύσσοντες ἐγένοντο, τεκμαιράμενοι ῥίζαις τῶν ελαιῶν, αἱ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπεφύκεσαν, νύκτα ἀναμείναντες τὸν ὑπόνομον ἀναστομώσαντες, ἀνέβησαν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνευ μάχης κατὰ κράτος εἶλον, Χαλκηδονίων τὰ τεῖχη φυλαττόντων. Some of the stories in the same chapter, relating to the Skythian expedition, may also be from Ktesias.

§ 49. Ἐκ Πόντου] Of Datis' doings in Pontus the Epitome tells us nothing. Baehr takes it = 'the sea.' ἐπόρθει νήσους καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.] See Herodotus, Book vi. The Epitome entirely omits any mention of the Ionic revolt, a proof of its very condensed character.

Ἐν Μαραθῶνι] Herod. vi. 103, sq.; Justin, ii. 9; Nepos, *Miltiades*, 4, 5.

πίπτει καὶ αὐτὸς Δάτις] This is contrary to Herodotus (vi. 148).

§ 50. Ζήσας μὲν ἔτη οβ' βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη λα'] This appears to be the true reading. Herodotus made him twenty about n.c. 529, and consequently about sixty-four at his death. Most writers give Dareius a reign of thirty-six years; and his thirty-sixth year is found in some Babylonian documents, and in the Egyptian inscription of Ataiuhi, near Koptos. There were several modes of reckoning his regnal years in Babylonia, and Ktesias' information, perhaps, came, as in the case of Kambyses, from a Babylonian source, in which the duration of the Babylonian revolts was deducted from the total assigned to him.

§ 51. Ξέρξης] Old Persian, Khshayarsha; Babylonian, Akhsarsu; Hebrew, Achasverosh, in the book of Esther, which relates to his reign.

Ἀρτάπανος ὁ Ἀρτασούρα παῖς]

παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ Μαρδόνιος ὁ παλαιός· εὐνούχων δὲ μέγιστον ἡδύνατο Ματάκας. Γαμεί δὲ Ξέρξης Ὀνόφα θυγατέρα Ἀμυστριν, καὶ γίνεταί αὐτῷ παῖς Δαρειαῖος· καὶ ἕτερος μετὰ δύο ἔτη Ὑστάσπης, καὶ ἔτι Ἀρτοξέρξης, καὶ θυγατέρες δύο, ἃν ἢ μὲν Ἀμύτις κατὰ τὴν ὀνομασίαν τῆς μάμμης, ἢ δὲ Ῥοδογούνη.

§ 52 (21). Ὁ δὲ δὴ Ξέρξης στρατεύει ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι τε Χαλκηδόνιοι λύσαι τὴν γέφυραν, ὡς ἤδη εἴρηται, ἐπειράθησαν, καὶ ὅτι τὸν βωμὸν ὃν ἔστησε Δαρείος καθείλον, καὶ ὅτι Δάτιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνείλον καὶ οὐδὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἔδοσαν. Πρότερον δὲ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐπεθύμησε τὸν Βελιτανᾶ τάφον, καὶ εἶδε διὰ Μαρδονίου, καὶ τὴν

Apparently confused with Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and uncle of Xerxes in Herodotus, vii. 10, &c.; in Justin, ii. 10, the uncle of Xerxes is styled Artaphernes (compare § 60).

Ματάκας] Probably the Mordecai of Esther, who "was next unto king Achashverosh" (Esther, x. 3).

Ἀμυστριν] Perhaps the Vashti of Esther. If so, we must assume that Esther died before Xerxes, and that Amestris then recovered her position. Had Esther been deposed, probably the Jews would have suffered, of which we hear nothing. With a prince of Xerxes' character, the fact that he could not legally marry out of certain families counts for nothing, as in the case of Kambyses (Herod. iii. 31), 'the king of the Persians might do whatever he pleased.'

Δαρειαῖος] So spelt here, and, in the case of Dareius II., by Ktesias. For Dareius I. he uses the ordinary form, Δαρείος. In Persian both

Dareius I. and II., are Darayavush. The form used here is therefore the more correct one. The name means ἐρξείης according to Herodotus (vi. 98), where Xerxes is explained as ἀρῆϊος, and Artoxerxes as μέγας ἀρῆϊος. The lexicographers explain Dareius as = φρόνιμος or πολεμικός. Xerxes (Khshayarsha) = 'venerable king' according to Rawlinson. Others make it = 'ruling eye,' or 'king-seer.'

§ 52. Βελιτανᾶ τάφον] i. e., the temple of Bel (see note on § 8), Aelian V. H. xiv. 3. Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου παῖς τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ ἀρχαίου διασκάψας τὸ μνήμα πύελον ἑλίνην εἶδεν, ἔνθα ἦν κείμενος ὁ νεκρὸς ἐν ελαίῳ. Οὐ μὴν πεπλήρωτο ἡ πύελος, ἐνέδει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χεῖλους εἰς παλαιστήν. Παρέκειτο δὲ τῇ πνέφω καὶ στήλῃ βραχεία, ἔνθα ἐγγράπτο τῷ ἀνοίξαντι τὸ μνήμα καὶ μὴ ἀναπληρώσαντι τὴν πνέλον οὐκ ἔστιν ἄμεινον Ἀναγνοῦς δὲ ὁ Ξέρξης ἔδεισε καὶ προσέταξεν ἐπιχέαι ελαιὸν τὴν ταχίγτην· οὐ μὴν πεπλήρωτο· ὁ δὲ πάλιν

πέλον ἐλαίου οὐκ ἴσχυσεν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγγράπτο, πληρῶσαι.

§ 53 (22). Ἐξελαύνει Ξέρξης εἰς Ἀγβάτανα, καὶ ἀγγέλλεται αὐτῷ ἀπόστασις Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Ζωπύρου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ σφῶν ἀναίρεσις. [οὕτω καὶ περὶ τούτων φησὶ Κτησίας, καὶ οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος· ἃ δὲ περὶ Ζωπύρου ἐκεῖνος λέγει, πλὴν ὅτι ἡμίονος αὐτῷ ἔτεκεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ γε ἄλλα Μεγάβυζον οὗτος λέγει διαπράξασθαι, ὃς ἦν γαμβρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ Ἀμύτι τοῦ Ξέρξου.] Οὕτω μὲν ἦλθε διὰ τοῦ Μεγαβύζου Βαβυλών. Δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Ξέρξης ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ μύλην χρυσῆν ἕξ ἔλκουσαν τάλαντα· ὃ τιμιώτατον τῶν βασιλικῶν δώρων παρὰ Πέρσαις ἐστὶ.

προσέταξεν ἐπιχείαι αἰξήσιν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάμβανεν ἕως ἀπέιπε μάτην ἀναλίσκειν τὸ ἐπιχέομενον. κατακλείσας δὲ ὀπίσω τὸν τάφον, ἀπηλλάγη ἀδημονῶν. Οὐ διεψεύσατο δὲ ἡ στήλη ὅσα προείπεν, ἀθροίσας γὰρ οὐ μυριάδας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, κακῶς ἀπήλλαξεν· εἶτα ἐπανελθὼν, αἰσχιστὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέθανεν ἀποσφαγείς νύκτωρ ἐν εἰνῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ. See also Herod. i, 183; Strabo, xvi. 1, pp. 335, 336; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii., p. 195; vii., p. 480.

§ 53. ἀπόστασις Βαβυλωνίων] A revolt of the Babylonians after the outrages on their religion, committed by Xerxes, is probable in itself. The story here told of Megabyzus is told in substance by most classical writers of his father, Zopyrus (Herod. iii. 150, *sq.*; Justin, i. 10; Polyænus, vii. 11 and 12, where it is stated that Zopyrus imitated the Sakan Syrakes, who tried to destroy the army of Dareius.

"The story told by Polyænus is, in its minutest features, identical with a certain standard oriental tale, applied in different ages by the Persian bards and traditionists to Firuz and the Hiyathelah, by Abu Rihan to Kanishka and the Indians, and by the historians of Cashmeer to their famous king, Lalitaditya."¹ See also Livy, i. 54, &c.).

Frontinus, *Strateg.*, iii. 3, 4, Cyrus Persarum rex suum comitem Zopyrum explorata ejus fide, truncata de industria facie ad hostes dimisit: ille assentante injuriarum fide, creditus inimicissimus Cyro . . . commissam sibi Babyloniurum urbem tradidit Cyro.

μύλην χρυσῆν] "Haud pauca ejusdem generis ornamenta et insignia eaque aurea cuncta, carmine Persarum regio, quid dicitur Schahnameh celebrantur, qualia Hammerus recenset."—Baehr.

¹ Rawlinson on Herodotus, *loc. cit.*

§ 54 (23). Ξέρξης δὲ συναγείρας στρατίαν Περσικὴν, ἄνευ τῶν ἀρμάτων ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας καὶ τριήρεις χιλίας, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ζευγνύς τὴν Ἀβυδον. Δημάρατος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρεγένετο ἤδη πρῶτον, καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ διαβάσει, καὶ ἀπέιργε τῆς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐφόδου. Ξέρξης δὲ προσβάλλει ἐν Θερμοπύλαις Λεωνίδα τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δι' Ἀρταπάνου, ἔχοντος μυρίους· καὶ κατεκόπη τὸ Περσικὸν πλήθος, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο ἢ τριῶν ἀναιρεθέντων. Εἶτα προσβαλεῖν κελεύει μετὰ δισμυρίων· καὶ ἦττα γίνεται κάκεινων. Εἶτα μαστιγοῦνται ἐπὶ τῷ πολεμῆν καὶ μαστιγούμενοι ἔτι ἦττωντο. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ κελεύει μάχεσθαι μετὰ πεντακισμυρίων καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἦννευ, ἔλυσε τότε τὸν πόλεμον.

§ 55 (24). Θώραξ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Τραχινίων οἱ δυνατοὶ Καλλιάρχης καὶ Τιμαφέρνης, παρήσαν στρατίαν ἔχοντες.

§ 54. Ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας] 170 myriads (1,700,000), according to Herodotus, vii. 60, including the whole land force. In vii. 87, the cavalry is given as 80,000, besides the camels and chariots. Diodorus (xi. 3) says more than 800,000 infantry. Justin (ii. 10) says:—Septingenta millia de regno armaverat et trecenta millia de auxiliis.

Τριήρεις χιλίας] 1000, or 1207 according to Aeschylus¹; 1207 trireme according to Herod. vii. 89, and 3000 other ships; νῆες δὲ σύμπασαι μακρὰί πλείους τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων, and 850 transports, and 3000 triekonters according to Diod., xi. 3; 1200 according to Justin, ii. 10; Nepos, *Themistocles*, 2, says—

1200 naves longae, 2000 naves onerariae, 700,000 infantry, 400,000 cavalry.

Δημάρατος . . . παρεγένετο] See Herod., vii. 101. Baehr strangely regards this statement as inconsistent with Herodotus.

προσβάλλει . . . δι' Ἀρταπάνου ἔχοντος μυρίους] The Medes and Persians, according to Herod. vii. 211 (Diod. xi. 7 adds the Sakans), attacked first, then the Persian 'Immortals.'

δύο ἢ τριῶν] 'A few' according to Herodotus and Diodorus.

§ 55. Θώραξ ὁ Θεσσαλὸς καὶ Τραχινίων . . . Καλλιάρχης καὶ Τιμαφέρνης] According to Herodotus, vii. 213, *sq.*, the traitor was Eph-

¹ Persae, 841: Ξέρξης δὲ . . . χιλιάς μὲν ἦν (navium) ὧν ἦγε πλήθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέροικοι τάχει ἑκατὸν δις ἦσαν ἑπτά θ'. ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

Καλέσας δὲ Ξέρξης τούτους τε καὶ τὸν Δημάρατον καὶ τὸν Ἥγιαν τὸν Ἐφέσιον, ἔμαθεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἠττηθεῖεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὴ κυκλωθείησαν. Ἰγουμενῶν δὲ τῶν δύο Τραχινίων διὰ δυσβάτου στρατὸς Περσικὸς διελέλυθε, μυριάδες τέσσαρες, καὶ κατὰ νότου γίνονται τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κυκλωθέντες ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ἀνδρείως ἅπαντες.

§ 56 (25). Ξέρξης δὲ πάλιν στρατεύμα πέμπει κατὰ Πλαταιέων μυριάδας ἰβ' ἠγούμενον αὐτοῖς Μαρδόνιον ἐπιστήσας. Θηβαῖοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ κατὰ Πλαταιέων τὸν Ξέρξην κινῶντες. Ἄντιστρατεύει δὲ Πausάνιας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, τριακοσίους μὲν ἔχων Σπαρτιήτας, χιλίους δὲ τῶν περιόικων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων χιλιάδας ἕξ· καὶ νικᾶται κατὰ κράτος ἡ Περσικὴ στρατιὰ, καὶ φεύγει τραυματισθεὶς καὶ Μαρδόνιος. Οὗτος ὁ Μαρδόνιος πέμπεται συλῆσαι τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν παρὰ Ξέρξου· κᾶκει, [φησι,] θνήσκει,

altes, a Trachinian; but Onetus and Korydallus were also accused. Most writers follow Herodotus. Thorax appears as a Persian sympathiser in Herod. ix. 1.

μυριάδες τέσσαρες] 20,000 according to Diodorus.

§ 56. πέμπει κατὰ Πλαταιέων] Our other authorities place the battle of Plataea after that of Salamis, and the retreat of Xerxes himself.

μυριάδας ἰβ'] Herodotus (viii. 113 and ix. 1) says Mardonius retained 300,000 men, and raised additional forces before the battle: Diod. (xi. 19) says 400,000; Nepos (*Pausanias* i.) 200,000 foot and 20,000 horse.

Θηβαῖοι] Compare Herod. viii. 50.

Τριακοσίους μὲν ἔχων] 5000

Spartans, 40,000 helots, and 5000 Perioeki, according to Herodotus.

χιλιάδας ἕξ] Herodotus (ix. 30) makes the entire Greek force 108,200.

φεύγει τραυματισθεὶς] Herodotus (ix. 63) says he was killed. So Diod. (xi. 31) and Nepos (*Pausanias*, 1); Justin (ii. 14) says he escaped; but all these writers place the battle at a later period of the war.

Μαρδόνιος πέμπεται συλῆσαι] Herodotus (viii. 35-39) relates the repulse of a Persian force from Delphi (sent by Xerxes on his way to Athens) in a miraculous manner; but the details are different from those given here, and he says nothing about Mardonius. Diod. (xi. 14) and Justin (ii. 12) agree in the main with Herodotus.

χαλάξης ἐπιπεσοῦσης παχείας· ἐφ' ᾧ λίαν Ξέρξης ἐλυπήθη.

§ 57 (26). Ξέρξης δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλαύνει καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πληρώσαντες ἑκατὸν δέκα τριήρεις φεύγουσιν εἰς Σαλαμίνα. Καὶ Ξέρξης τὴν πόλιν κενὴν αἰρεῖ καὶ ἐμπύρησι, πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως· ἐν αὐτῇ γὰρ ἔτι τιwές ὑπολειφθέντες ἐμάχοντο· τέλος κἀκείνων νυκτὶ φυγόντων, κἀκείνην συνέφλεξαν. Ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης αὐτόθεν ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ στενωτάτου τῆς Ἀττικῆς (Ἡράκλειον καλεῖται), ἐχώννυε χῶμα ἐπὶ Σαλαμίνα, περὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν διαβῆναι διανοοῦμενος. Βουλῆ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέους Ἀθηναίου καὶ Ἀριστείδου τοξόται μὲν ἀπὸ Κρήτης προσκαλοῦνται καὶ παραγίνονται· εἶτα ναυμαχία Περσῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων γίνεται, Περσῶν μὲν ναῦς ἐχόντων ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας, στρατηγόντος αὐτοῖς Ὀνόφα, Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἑπτακοσίας· καὶ νικῶσιν Ἑλληνες, καὶ διαφθείρονται Περσικαὶ πεντακόσiai νῆες, καὶ φεύγει Ξέρξης, βουλῆ πάλιν καὶ τέχνη Ἀριστείδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους· ἐν δὲ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἀπάσαις μάχαις ἀπέθανον Περσῶν ἰβ' μυριάδες.

§ 58 (27). Ξέρξης δὲ περάσας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ἀπελαύνων εἰς Σάρδεις, ἔπεμπε Μεγάβυζον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς

§ 57. ἑκατὸν δέκα] Herodotus (viii. 61) says 200.

νυκτὶ φυγόντων] Herodotus (viii. 53) says they were all killed.

ἐχώννυε] So Strabo (ix. 1, p. 238). Herodotus (viii. 97) places this after the battle.

Βουλῆ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέους . . . καὶ Ἀριστείδου τοξόται, κ.τ.λ.] Omitted by our other authorities.

Ὀνόφα] Ariabignes, Prexaspes, Megabates, and Achaemenes, according to Herod. (iii. 97).

ἑπτακοσίας] 300 or 310 according to Aeschylus (*Pers.* 339); 378

pentekonters, according to Herodotus, viii. 48; Thucydides (i. 74) says 400 (or 300).

πεντακόσiai νῆες] 200 according to Diod. (xi. 19).

βουλῆ πάλιν καὶ τέχνη] See Herodotus (viii. 110); Thucydides (i. 137).

§ 58. ἔπεμπε Μεγάβυζον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερόν συλῆσαι] The account of this second and successful expedition against Delphi, which is unknown to our other authorities, doubtless comes from the Persian royal Chronicles; and its successful

ἱερὸν συλῆσαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνος παρηγέλτο, ἀποστέλλεται Ματάκας ὁ εὐνούχος, ὕβρεις τε φέρων τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, καὶ πάντα συλῆσων· καὶ δὴ οὕτω ποιήσας πρὸς Ξέρξην ὑπέστρεφεν.

§ 59 (28). Ξέρξης ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Πέρσας παραγίνεται καὶ Μεγάβυζος κατὰ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἰδίας Ἀμύτιος (ἢ θυγάτηρ, ὡς προείρηται, Ξέρξου ἐτύγχανεν), ὡς μεμοιχευμένης λόγους ἐκίνει· καὶ ἐπιτιμᾶται Ἀμύτις λόγοις ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται σωφρονεῖν.

§ 60 (29). Ἀρτάπανος δὲ μέγα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ δυνάμενος,

issue was very likely an invention of those engaged in it to cover their previous disgrace.

Ματάκας] See Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Mordecai. Many of the discrepancies between Ktesias' account of Xerxes' Greek expedition and those of other writers are probably due to his following the Persian official accounts. We have now reached the point where the history of Herodotus terminates, though he alludes to some later events.

§ 60. Ἀρτάπανος] Ἀρταβάνος τὸ γένος Ὑρκάνιος in Diod. xi. 69. Aristotle (*Polit.* viii. 10, 21, Congreve) says:—Ξέρξην Ἀρταπάνης φοβούμενος τὴν διαβολὴν τὴν περὶ Δαρείου, ὅτι ἐκρέμασεν οὐ κελεύσαντος (coni). οὐκ ἐκρέμασε κελεύσαντος Ξέρξου ἀλλ' οἰόμενος συγγνώσεσθαι ὡς ἀμνημονοῦντα διὰ τὸ δειπνεῖν. Manetho, according to the reading of Africanus, makes Artabanus reign for seven months

between Xerxes and Artaxerxes, but, according to Eusebius, omits him.¹

Diodorus (xi. 69) says that Artabanus, captain of the guard, desiring to seize the throne, conspired with his kinsman, the chamberlain Mithridates, and slew Xerxes in his bedchamber. He then conspired to bring about the death of Xerxes' three sons, and persuaded Artaxerxes to put Darius, the eldest, to death, but afterwards endeavouring, with his sons, to kill Artaxerxes, he was slain by him. This is placed in b. c. 463. Justin (iii. 1), doubtless from Deimon, says Artabanus, with his seven sons, murdered Xerxes in the evening, and induced Artaxerxes to murder Darius. He then endeavoured to induce Bacabasus (a more correct representation of Bagabukhsha, i. e. Megabyzus) to conspire with him against Artaxerxes, but he revealed the matter to the latter, who then treache-

¹ Artabanus, however, appears in Euseb., *Chron. Lat.*, fo. 66, 'Persarum 6, Artabanus menses 7.'

μετ' Ἀσπαμίτρον τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ αὐτοῦ μέγα δυναμένου, βουλευόνται ἀνελεῖν Ξέρξην, καὶ ἀναιροῦσι, καὶ πείθουσιν Ἀρτοξέρξην τὸν υἱὸν ὡς Δαρειαῖος αὐτὸν ὁ ἕτερος παῖς ἀνέιλε. Καὶ παραγίνεται Δαρειαῖος ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ Ἀρταπάνου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Ἀρτοξέρξου, πολλὰ βοῶν καὶ ἀπαρνούμενος ὡς οὐκ εἶη φονεὺς τοῦ πατρὸς· καὶ ἀποθνήσκει.

rously assassinated Artabanus, and ordered his sons to be seized. The account of Ktesias seems to me to be preferable, as probably coming from a Persian official source.

Ἀρτοξέρξην] This form of the name appears to be the best supported in Herodotus, Ktesias, and Plutarch. Other writers use the more correct form, Ἀρταξέρξης. The old Persian form is usually Artakhshatrā, which, in the inscription of the

Sassanians, becomes Artahshatri (in inscriptions of Artaxerxes IV., A. D. 226; see Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, p. 70), or Artahshetri (coins of Artaxerxes V., A. D. 379, id., p. 262), and, in later Persian, Ardīshir. The Babylonian form is Artaksatsu (*Proc. S. B. A.*, v. p. 105. The Hebrew is Artachshasta: the Egyptian, Artakhsheshesh (Brugsch, ii. p. 314).

§ 61 (30). Καὶ βασιλεύει Ἄρτοξέρξης, σκουδῆ Ἄρταπάνου καὶ ἐπιβουλεύεται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαμβάνει κοινωνὸν τῆς βουλῆς Ἄρτάπανος Μεγάβυζον ἤδη λελυπημένον ἐπὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυναικὶ Ἀμύτι διὰ τὴν μοιχείας ὑπολήψιν καὶ ὄρκους ἀλλήλους ἀσφαλίζονται. Ἄλλα μὲν πάντα Μεγάβυζος, καὶ ἀναιρεῖται Ἄρτάπανος ᾧ τρόπῳ ἐμελλεν ἀναιρεῖν Ἄρτοξέρξην καὶ γίνεται πάντα δῆλα τὰ εἰργασμένα ἐπὶ Ξέρξῃ καὶ Δαρειαίῳ, καὶ ἀπόλλυται πικρῶ καὶ κακίστῳ θανάτῳ Ἄσπαμίτρης, ὃς ἦν κοινωνὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς φόνοις Ξέρξου καὶ Δαρειαίου· σκαφεύεται γὰρ, καὶ οὕτω ἀναιρεῖται. Μάχῃ δὲ γίνεται μετὰ τὸν θάνατον Ἄρταπάνου τῶν τε συνωμοτῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν, καὶ πίπτουσιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ οἱ τρεῖς τοῦ Ἄρταπάνου υἱοί· τραυματίζεται δὲ καὶ Μεγάβυζος ἰσχυρῶς καὶ θρηγνέει Ἄρτοξέρξης καὶ ἡ Ἀμυτις καὶ ἡ Ῥοδογούνη, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν Ἀμύστρις, καὶ μόλις πολλῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περισώζεται Ἀπολλωνίδου ἰατροῦ τοῦ Κῶου.

§ 62 (31). Ἀφίσταται Ἄρτοξέρξου Βάκτρα καὶ ὁ σατράπης, ἄλλος Ἄρτάπανος, καὶ γίνεται μάχῃ ἰσοπαλῆς· καὶ γίνεται πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου, καὶ ἀνέμου κατὰ πρόσωπον Βακτρίων πνεύσαντος, νικᾷ Ἄρτοξέρξης, καὶ προσχωρεῖ αὐτῷ πᾶσα Βακτρία.

§ 63 (32). Ἀφίσταται Αἴγυπτος, Ἰνάρου Λιβύου ἀνδρὸς

§ 63. Ἀφίσταται Αἴγυπτος] b. c. 461, according to Diod., xi. 71. Our other authorities for this revolt are Herodotus, iii. 13, and

vii. 7; Thukydides, i. 104 sq.; Diodorus, xi. 71, 74-5, and perhaps Manetho.

Ἰνάρου Λιβύου ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἑτέρου

καὶ ἑτέρου Αἴγυπτίου τὴν ἀπόστασιν μελετήσαντος, καὶ εὐτρεπίζεται πρὸς πόλεμον. Πέμπουσι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰτησάμενον αὐτοῦ τεσσαράκοντα νῆας. Καὶ μελετᾷ αὐτὸς Ἄρτοξέρξης ἐκστρατεῦσαι, καὶ τῶν φίλων οὐ συμβουλευόντων, πέμπει Ἀχαιμενίδην τὸν ἀδελφὸν τεσσαράκοντα μὲν μυριάδας ἐπαγόμενον στράτευμα πεζικὸν νῆας δε π'. Συμβάλλει πόλεμον Ἰναρος πρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδην, καὶ νικῶσιν Αἴγύπτιοι, καὶ βάλλεται Ἀχαιμενίδης ὑπὸ Ἰνάρου, καὶ θνήσκει καὶ ἀποπέμπεται ὁ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰς Ἄρτοξέρξην. Ἐνίκησεν Ἰναρος καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, Χαριτιμίδου εἰδοκμήσαντος, ὃς τῶν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν τεσσαράκοντα νηῶν ἐχρημάτιζε ναύαρχος· καὶ ν' Περσῶν νῆες, αἱ μὲν κ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλήφθησαν αἱ δὲ λ' διεφθάρησαν.

§ 64 (33). Εἶτα πέμπεται κατὰ Ἰνάρου Μεγάβυζος, ἐπα-

Αἴγυπτίου] Herodotus and Thukydides agree in making Inaros a Libyan, and son of Psammetichus. Thukydides (i. 104) calls him βασιλεὺς Λιβύων. Diodorus says he was made king of Egypt, and says nothing about the 'other Egyptian,' who is called Amyrtaeus by Thukydides, i. 110, and perhaps by Herodotus, iii. 15; but seeing that Manetho places Amyrtaeus the Saite as constituting the twenty-eighth dynasty, about b. c. 405-399, we may perhaps assume that Thukydides was mistaken in the name. The language of Herodotus is obscure (see the question fully discussed in Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii. pp. 414-415, and in P. Smith's Appendix to his translation of Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, ii. pp. 433-434, where it is assumed there were two kings of the name of Amyrtaeus—one the rebel of

b. c. 460, whose son, Pausiris, reigned in the district of Sais as a Persian vassal; the second, son of Pausiris, and a successful rebel, b. c. 405).

τεσσαράκοντα νῆας] 200 in Thukydides and Diodorus (xi. 74).

Ἀχαιμενίδην] Achaemenes, brother of Xerxes in Herodotus, vii. 7, and Diod., xi. 74. Herodotus says he was made satrap of Egypt by Xerxes, and neither he nor Thukydides speak of him as leading an army thither. Diodorus, however, agrees, on the whole, with Ktesias, but says 300,000 for 400,000.

Συμβάλλει πόλεμον, κ. τ. λ.] The battle in which Achaemenes was slain by Inaros is mentioned by Herod., iii. 12, who says it was fought at Papremis.

§ 64. Μεγάβυζος] So Herod., iii. 160; Thukyd., i. 109; Diod., xi. 74. What is here related of

γόμενος ἄλλο στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ ὑπολειφθέντι, μυριάδας εἴκοσι, καὶ νῆας τ', καὶ ἐπιστάτην αὐτοῖς Ὀρίσκον ὡς εἶναι χωρὶς τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἄλλο πλῆθος ν' μυριάδας. Ἀχαιμενίδης γὰρ ὅτε ἔπεσε, δέκα μυριάδες αὐτῷ, ἕξ ὧν ἦγε μ' συνδιεφθάρησαν. Γίνεται οὖν μάχη κρατερά, καὶ πίπτουσιν ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολλοί, πλείους δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι. καὶ βάλλει Μεγάβυζος εἰς τὸν μηρὸν Ἴναρον, καὶ τρέπεται· καὶ νικῶσι Πέρσαι κατὰ κράτος. Φεύγει δὲ πρὸς τὴν Βύβλον Ἴναρος (πόλις ἰσχυρὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτῇ), καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ μετὰ Χαριτιμίδου ἀπέθανον.

§ 65 (34). Προσχωρεῖ δὲ Αἴγυπτος πλὴν Βύβλου πρὸς Μεγάβυζον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκείνη ἀνάλωτος ἐδόκει σπένδεται πρὸς Ἴναρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐξακισχιλίουσιν ὄντας καὶ ἔτι πρὸς, ὁ Μεγάβυζος, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴδὲν κακὸν παρὰ βασιλέως λαβεῖν, καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτε βούλουτο, πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία ἐπανελθεῖν.

§ 66 (35). Καθίστησι δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατράπην Σαρσάμαν καὶ λαβὼν Ἴναρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἄρτοξέρξην, καὶ εὐρίσκει λίαν κατὰ Ἰνάρου τεθυμωμένον, ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀχαιμενίδην ἀπεκτονῶς εἶη. Δηγεῖται γεγονότα Μεγάβυζος, καὶ ὡς πίστευε δοὺς Ἰνάρω καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, Βύβλον εἴληφε· καὶ ἐξαιτεῖται λιπαρῶς βασιλεία περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, καὶ λαμβάνει, καὶ ἐξάγεται τέλος τῇ στρατιᾷ ὡς Ἴναρος καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες οὐδὲν κακὸν πείσονται.

§ 67 (36). Ἀμῆστρις δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀχαιμενίδου

him throws discredit on the statement in § 53.

μυριάδας εἴκοσι] πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων, Diod. xi. 75.

Γίνεται οὖν μάχη . . . καὶ νικῶσι Πέρσαι] So Thukyd., i. 109; Diod., xi. 77.

Βύβλον] Prosopitis, according to Thukydides, i. 109, and Diod., xii. 3.

§ 65. ἀνάλωτος] Thukydides, i. 109-10, says Prosopitis was taken after a siege of eighteen months, Αἰγυπτος δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ βασιλεία ἐγε-

δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, εἰ μὴ τιμωρήσαιο Ἴναρον καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ αἰτεῖται ταῦτα βασιλεῖ, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐνδίδωσιν· εἶτα Μεγάβυζος, ὁ δὲ ἀποπέμπεται. Εἶτα ἐπεὶ διώχλει τὸν υἱὸν, κατειργάσατο, καὶ πέντε παρελθόντων ἐτῶν λαμβάνει τὸν Ἴναρον παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Καὶ ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν ἐπὶ τρισὶ σταυροῖς· πενήκοντα δὲ Ἑλλήνων, ὅσους λαβεῖν ἴσχυσε, τούτων ἔτεμε τὰς κεφαλὰς.

§ 68 (37). Καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰλύπην σφοδρὰν Μεγάβυζος, καὶ ἐπένησε, καὶ ἤτησατο ἐπὶ Συρίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν ἀπίεσαι. ἐνταῦθα λάθρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέπεμπε, καὶ ἀπήει, καὶ ἀπέστη βασιλέως, καὶ ἀθροίζει μεγάλην δύναμιν ἄχρι πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων χωρὶς τῶν ἰππέων. καὶ πέμπεται Οὔσιρις κατ' αὐτοῦ σὺν εἴκοσι μυριάσι, καὶ συνάπτεται πόλεμος, καὶ βάλλουσιν ἀλλήλους Μεγάβυζος καὶ Οὔσιρις, ὁ μὲν ἀκοντίῳ, καὶ τυγχάνει Μεγαβύζου εἰς τὸν μηρὸν καὶ τιτρώσκει ἄχρι δακτύλων δύο, ὁ δὲ ὡσαύτως ἀκοντίῳ τὸν τοῦ Οὔσιριος μηρὸν· εἶτα βάλλει εἰς τὸν ὄμω, κἀκέῖνος πίπτει ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ περισχῶν Μεγάβυζος προστάσσει ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ περισῶσαι. Ἐπιπτον δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ ἐμάχοντο ἀνδρείως οἱ τοῦ Μεγαβύζου παῖδες Ζώπυρος καὶ Ἀρτύφιος, καὶ νίκη γίνεται Μεγαβύζῳ κραταῖα. Περιποιεῖται Οὔσιριν ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ ἀποπέμπει τοῦτο αἰτησάμενον πρὸς Ἄρτοξέρξην.

§ 69 (38). Πέμπεται δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἑτέρα στρατιὰ, καὶ Μενοστάνης ὁ τοῦ Ἄρταρίου παῖς· ὁ δὲ Ἀρτάριος σατράπης μὲν ἦν Βαβυλῶνος, Ἄρτοξέρξου δὲ ἀδελφός. Καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ φεύγει ἡ Περσικὴ στρατιὰ, καὶ Μενοστάνης βάλλεται εἰς τὸν ὄμω ὑπὸ Μεγαβύζου, εἶτα εἰς τὴν

νέτο πλὴν Ἀμυρταίου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι βασιλέως . . . Ἰνάρος δὲ ὁ Λιβύων βασιλεὺς . . . προδοσίᾳ ληφθεὶς ἀνεσταυρώθη, and he says most of the Greeks perished. According to him, the war lasted six years.

Diodorus, xi. 77, says the Athenians, by agreement with the Persians, escaped to Kyrene.

§ 67. ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν ἐπὶ τρισὶ σταυροῖς] 'Impaled him on three stakes.'

κεφαλὴν τοξεύεται οὐ καιρίαν· φεύγει δὲ ὅμως αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ νίκη λαμπρὰ γίνεται Μεγαβύζω. Ἀρτάριος δὲ πέμπει πρὸς Μεγάβυζον, καὶ παραινεί σπείσασθαι βασιλεῖ.

§ 70 (39). ὁ δὲ δηλοῖ σπείσασθαι μὲν βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν, οὐ μέντοι παραγενέσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ μένειν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀπαγγέλλεται ταῦτα βασιλεῖ, καὶ συμβουλευούσιν Ἀρτοξάρης τε ὁ Παφλαγῶν εὐνοῦχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Ἀμήστρις, σπουδῆ πείσασθαι. Πέμπεται οὖν Ἀρτάριος τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἄμυτις ἡ γυνὴ καὶ Ἀρτοξάρης, ἐτῶν ἤδη ὦν κ', καὶ Πετήσας ὁ Οὐσίριος καὶ Σπιτάμα πατήρ. Πολλοῖς οὖν ὄρκοις καὶ λόγοις πληροφορήσαντες Μεγάβυζον μόλις ὅμως πείθουσι πρὸς βασιλέα παραγενέσθαι· καὶ βασιλεὺς τέλος ἔπεμπε παραγενομένω συγγνώμην ἔχειν τῶν ἡμαρτημένων.

§ 71 (40). Ἐξέρχεται βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν καὶ λέων ἐπέρχεται αὐτῷ· μετεώρου δὲ φερομένου τοῦ θηρίου, βάλλει ἀκοντίω Μεγάβυζος καὶ ἀναιρεῖ· καὶ ὀργίζεται Ἀρτοξέρξης ὅτι πρὶν ἢ αὐτὸς τύχη Μεγάβυζος ἔβαλε. καὶ προστάσσει τὴν κεφαλὴν τὸν Μεγάβυζον ἀποτηθῆναι· Ἀμήστριος δὲ καὶ Ἀμύτιος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῇ παραιτήσῃ τοῦ μὲν θανάτου ῥύεται, ἀνάσπαστος δὲ γίνεται εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐν τινὶ πόλει ὀνόματι Κύρται. Ἐξορίζεται δὲ καὶ Ἀρτοξάρης ὁ εὐνοῦχος εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, ὅτι πολλάκις ὑπὲρ Μεγάβυζου βασιλεῖ ἐπαρρησιάσατο.

FRAGMENTUM 31.

(Stephan. Byz.) [Κυρταῖα, πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ, εἰς ἣν ὑπερώρισεν Ἀρτοξέρξης Μεγάβυζον. Κτησίας γ' (forte ιζ') Περσικῶν.]

§ 71. ἐπὶ θήραν] There are Persian kings hunting. Compare several representations, on gems, of Curtius, *Exp. Alex.*, viii. 6, 7.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 72 (41). Ὁ δὲ Μεγάβυζος πέντε διατρίψας ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ ἔτη, ἀποδιδράσκει, ὑποκριθεὶς τὸν πισάγαν· πισάγας δὲ λέγεται παρὰ Πέρσαις ὁ λεπρός, καὶ ἔστι πᾶσιν ἀπρόσιτος. Ἀποδρὰς οὖν παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἄμυτιν καὶ τὸν οἶκον, καὶ μόλις ἐπιγινώσκειται καὶ δι' Ἀμήστριος καὶ Ἀμύτιος καταλλάσσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὸν ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν ὁμοτράπεζον. Ζήσας δὲ ἕξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη ἀπέθανε· καὶ κάρτα ἠχθέσθη βασιλεὺς.

§ 73 (42). Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Μεγαβύζου, κάρτα ἦν Ἄμυτις ἀνδράσιν ὁμιλοῦσα, καὶ πρό γε ταύτης καὶ ἡ μήτηρ Ἀμήστρις ὁμοίως. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίδης ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ Κῶος, ἐπεὶ ἀσθενῶς εἶχεν Ἄμυτις, εἰ καὶ βληχρῶς καὶ οὐκ ἰσχυρῶς, ἐκείνος δὲ ἠράσθη αὐτῆς, ἔφη εἰς τὴν ὑγίειαν αὐτὴν ἐπαυελθεῖν, ἐὰν ἀνδράσιν ὁμιλήσῃ· τῆς γὰρ ὑστέρης εἶναι τὸ νόσημα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξεγένετο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ ὠμίλει αὐτῇ, ἡ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἐμαραίνεται, ἀπέστη τῆς συνουσίας. Τελευτώσα δὲ οὖν ἐπήγγειλε τῇ μητρὶ ἀμύνασθαι Ἀπολλωνίδην. Ἡ δὲ ἀπήγγειλε πάντα Ἀρτοξέρξει τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅπως τε ὠμίλει καὶ ὅπως ἀπέστη ὑβρίσας, καὶ ὅπως ἡ θυγάτηρ ἐπήγγειλεν Ἀπολλωνίδην ἀμύνασθαι· ἐκείνος δὲ τῇ μητρὶ τὸ παριστάμενον αὐτῇ πράττειν ἐπιτρέπει. Ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα ἔδρασε τὸν Ἀπολλωνίδην δυσὶ μῆσιν κολάζουσα, ἔπειτα ζῶντα κατώρυξεν, ὅτε καὶ Ἄμυτις ἀπέθανεν.

§ 74 (43). Ζώπυρος δὲ ὁ Μεγαβύζου καὶ Ἀμύτιος παῖς ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ὁ τε πατήρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπέστη βασιλέως καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκετο, κατὰ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς εἰς

§ 72. πισάγαν] Hesychnus has Πισσᾶτοι οἱ τὴν λεύκην ἔχοντες λέπρον. Compare Herodotus, iii. 35, and Rawlinson's note.

§ 73. ζῶντα κατώρυξεν] A punishment still in use in Persia. § 74. Ζώπυρος . . . εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκετο] Herodot., iii. 160.

αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαν. Εἰς Καῦνον δὲ ἄμ' αὐτῶν ἐπομένων εἰσέπλευσε, καὶ ἐκέλευσε παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν. Καυνοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ μὲν παραδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν ἔφασκον, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοῖς συνεπομένοις οὐκέτι. Εἰσιόντι δὲ Ζωπύρῳ εἰς τὸ τεῖχος λίθον Ἀλκίδης Καύνιος ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν· καὶ οὕτω Ζώπυρος ἀποθνήσκει. Ἀμῆστρις δὲ ἡ μάμμη τὸν Καύνιον ἀνεσταύρωσεν. Ἀποθνήσκει δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀμῆστρις κάρτα γραῦς γενομένη· καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης δὲ ἀποθνήσκει μ' καὶ β' ἔτεα βασιλεύσας. [Τελευτᾶ ἱστορία ἰζ' ἄρχεται ἡ].

μ' καὶ β' ἔτεα] Manetho gives xii. 64, forty; Ptolemaeus, forty-him forty or forty-one years; Diod., one.

LIBER XVIII.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 75 (44). Ἀρτοξέρξου τελευτήσαντος Ξέρξης ὁ υἱὸς βασιλεύει ὃς μόνος ἦν γνήσιος ἐκ Δαμασπίας, ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ Ξέρξης ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀπεβίω. Βαγόραζος δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Πέρσας. Ἑπτακαίδεκα δὲ νόθους υἱοὺς ἔσχευ ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης, ἐξ ὧν ἔστι καὶ Σεκυδιανὸς ὁ ἐξ Ἀλογούνης τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, καὶ Ὀχος καὶ Ἀρσίτης ὁ ἐκ Κοσμαρτιδηνῆς, καὶ αὐτῆς Βαβυλωνίας. Ὁ δὲ Ὀχος ὕστερον καὶ βασιλεύει. Ἔτι δὲ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ Βαγαπαῖος καὶ Παρύσατις ἐξ Ἀνδρίας, καὶ αὐτῆς Βαβυλωνίας· αὕτη ἡ Παρύσατις Ἀρτοξέρξου καὶ Κύρου μήτηρ ἐγένετο. Τὸν δὲ Ὀχον ζῶν ὁ πατὴρ Ἑρκανίων σατράπην ἐποίησε, δοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ γυναῖκα Παρύσατιν ὄνομα ἣτις ἦν Ξέρξου μὲν θυγάτηρ, ἀδελφὴ δὲ οἰκεία.

§ 76 (45). Ὁ δὲ Σεκυδιανὸς προσποιησάμενος Φαρνακίαν τὸν ἐνοῦχον, ὃς ἦν μετὰ Βαγόραζου, καὶ Μενοστάνη καὶ ἐτέρους τινὰς, μεθύοντος ἐν ἑορτῇ τινὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου καὶ καθεύδοντος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, εἰσελθόντες ἀποκτείνουσιν

§ 76. Σεκυδιανὸς] Sogdianus in Manetho, who gives Xerxes II. two months, and Sogdianus seven months. We have no mention of these kings on any Oriental monuments: not being ancestors of the succeeding kings, their names do not occur in the inscriptions of

Artaxerxes II. and III. Diodorus, xii. 71, says: Ξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἑνιαυτόν· ὡς δ' ἔνιοι γράφουσι μῆνας δύο. Τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σογδιανός, ἤρξε μῆνας ἑπτὰ. Τοῦτον δ' ἀνελὼν Δαρείος ἐβασίλευσεν ἑτη δεκαεννέα.

αὐτὸν τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ πέμπτης ἡμέρας διαγενομένης ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆς. Συνέβη οὖν ἀμφοτέροισι ἅμα εἰς Πέρσας ἀποκομισθῆναι· αἱ γὰρ ἄγουσαι τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν ἡμίονοι, ὥσπερ ἀναμένουσαι καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς νεκρὸν, οὐκ ἤθελον πορεύεσθαι· ὅτε δὲ κατέλαβε, σὺν προθυμίᾳ ἀπήεσαν.

§ 77 (46). Βασιλεύει δὲ Σεκυδιανός, καὶ γίνεται ἀζαβαρίτης αὐτῷ Μειοστάνης. Ἀπιῶν δὲ Βαγόραζος καὶ ὑποστρέψας πρὸς Σεκυδιανόν, ἐπεὶ παλαιὰ αὐτοῖς ἔχθρα ὑπετετέφετο, ὡς δῆθεν ἄνευ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης τοῦ πατρὸς λιπὼν τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ, προστάξει βασιλέως λιθόλευστος ἐγεγόνει· ἐφ' ᾧ ἡ στρατιὰ εἰς λύπην κατηνέχθη. Ὁ δὲ δῶρα αὐτῇ ἐδίδου· οἱ δὲ ἐμίσουν αὐτὸν, ὅτι τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ξέρξην ἀπεκτόνει καὶ ὅτι Βαγόραζον.

§ 78 (47). Διαπέμπεται Σεκυδιανὸς προσκαλούμενος Ὀχον· ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται μὲν, οὐ παραγίνεται δέ. Καὶ γίνεται τοῦτο πολλάκις· τέλος περιβάλλεται Ὀχος πολλὴν στρατιάν, καὶ ἐπίδοξος ἦν βασιλεύειν. Ἀφίσταται Ἀρβάριος ὁ τῶν ἰππέων Σεκυδιανοῦ ἄρχων πρὸς Ὀχον, εἶτα Ἀρξάνης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης· καὶ Ἀρτοξάρης δὲ ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἐξ Ἀρμενίας ἦκε πρὸς Ὀχον, καὶ ἐπέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν κίταριν, οὗτοι ἐκόντι.

§ 79 (48). Βασιλεύει Ὀχος, καὶ μετονομάζεται Δαρεϊαῖος. Καὶ μετέρχεται ἀπάτῃ καὶ ὄρκοις, ὑποθήκῃ Παρυσάτιδος, τὸν Σεκυδιανόν, πολλὰ Μειοστάνους παραινοῦντος Σεκυδιανὸν μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς ὄρκοις μηδὲ σπένδεσθαι τοῖς ἐξαπατῶσι. Πείθεται δ' οὖν ὁμως, καὶ ἀλίσκεται, καὶ εἰς τὴν σποδὸν ἐμβάλλεται καὶ ἀπόλλυται, βασιλεύσας μῆνας ἕξ, ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα.

§ 77. ἀζαβαρίτης] Evidently a Persian title.

§ 78. κίταριν] Old Persian *Kishatram*, 'crown.'

§ 79. Παρυσάτιδος] Strabo, xvi.

4, p. 412: Αἱ δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων μεταπτώσεις . . . πολλαί, καθάπερ τὸν Δαριήκην Δαρεῖον ἐκάλεσαν, τὴν δὲ Φάρξιν Παρυσάτιν.

εἰς τὴν σποδὸν] Valerius Maxi-

§ 80 (49). Βασιλεύει οὖν μόνος Ὀχος ὁ καὶ Δαρεϊαῖος· εὐνοῦχοι δὲ τρεῖς ἠδύναντο παρ' αὐτῷ, μέγιστον μὲν Ἀρτοξάρης, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀρτιβαρζάνης, καὶ τρίτος Ἀθῶος. Ἐχρήματο δὲ συμβούλῳ μάλιστα τῇ γυναικί, ἐξ ἧς πρὸ τῆς βασιλείας δύο ἔσχε τέκνα, Ἀμῆστριν θυγατέρα καὶ Ἀρσάκαν υἱόν, ὃς ὕστερον μετονομάσθη Ἀρτοξέρξης. Τίττει δὲ αὐτῷ ἕτερον υἱὸν βασιλεύουσα, καὶ τίθεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου Κῦρον· εἶτα τίττει Ἀρτόστην, καὶ ἐφεξῆς μέχρι παιδῶν δεκατριῶν. [Καὶ φησιν ὁ συγγραφεὺς,] αὐτὸς παρ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης τῆς Παρυσάτιδος ταῦτα ἀκούσαι. Ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν τέκνων ταχὺ ἀπεβίω, οἱ δὲ περιγεγονότες οἱ τε προῤῥηθέντες τυγχάνουσι καὶ ἔτι τέταρτος υἱὸς Ὀξένδρας ὀνομασμένος.

FRAGMENTUM 32.

(Plutarch. *Artox.* 1). [ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ τοῦνομα ἔσχευ, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου γενέσθαι φασί, Κῦρον γὰρ καλεῖν Πέρσας τὸν Ἥλιον. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης Ἀρσίκας πρότερον ἐκαλείτο, καίτοι Δείνων φησὶν, ὅτι Ὀάρτης. Ἄλλα τὸν Κτησίαν, εἰ καὶ τᾶλλα μύθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ παραφόρων ἐμβέβληκεν εἰς τὰ βιβλία

mus, ix. 2, Ext. 6: "Ochus autem qui postea Darius appellatus est, sanctissimo Persis jurejurando obstrictus, ne quem ex conjuratione quae septem Magos cum eo oppresserat, aut veneno aut ferro aut ulla vi, aut inopia alimentorum necaret; crudeliorem mortis rationem excogitat, qua onerosos sibi, non perrupto religionis vinculo tolleret. Septem enim altis parietibus locum cinere complevit, suppositoque tigno prominente, benigne cibo et potione exceptos in eo collocabat, e quo somno sopiti, in

illam insidiosam congeriem decedebant." A sufficiently improbable story. Darius I. and II. are confused.

§ 80. Ἀρσάκαν] A Persian name occurring on a seal cylinder, with a Persian inscription cited by Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 607, in the form Arshaka. It was the title of all the Parthian Arsakidæ, and occurs on Babylonian documents of their time in the form Arsakā. Deinon, fr. 22, calls him Oartes.

ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου . . . Κῦρον] Sun is

παντοδαπὴν πυλαίαν, οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖν τοῦνομα τοῦ βασιλέως, παρ' ᾧ διέτριβε θεραπεύων αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας.]

ΕΡΙΤΟΜΕ ΡΗΟΤΙΙ.

§ 81 (50). Ἀφίστανται βασιλέως Ἀρσίτης ὁ οἰκεῖος ἀδελφός, ὁμοπάτριος καὶ ὁμομήτριος, καὶ Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Μεγαβύζου. Πέμπεται Ἀρτασύρας κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ἠττάται· εἶτα πάλιν συμβαλὼν νικᾷ Ἀρτύφιον καὶ ὑπάγεται τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ Ἕλληνας δώροις, καὶ καταλιμπάνονται αὐτῷ Μιλήσιοι μόνου τρεῖς. Τέλος ὄρκους καὶ πίστεις λαβὼν παρὰ Ἀρτασύρα, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀρσίτης οὐκ ἐφαίνετο, προσεχώρησε βασιλεῖ.

§ 82 (51). Παρύσατις δὲ βουλευέται βασιλεῖ, ὀρμῶντι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτυφίου θάνατον, μὴ ἀνελεῖν τέως (ἔσεσθαι γὰρ τοῦτο ἀπάτην καὶ εἰς τὴν προσχώρησιν τοῦ Ἀρσίτου), ἐπειδὴν δὲ κάκεινος ἀπατηθεὶς ἀλῶ δέιν τότε ἄμφω διαχρήσασθαι. Καὶ γέγονεν οὕτως, εὐδοωθείσης τῆς συμβουλῆς, καὶ ἐμβάλλεται εἰς τὴν σποδὸν Ἀρτύφιος καὶ Ἀρσίτης· καίτοι Ἀρσίτην ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐβούλετο ἀπολέσαι, ἀλλ' ἢ Παρύσατις τὰ μὲν πείθουσα τὰ δὲ βιαζομένη ἀπώλεσε. Κατελεύσθη δὲ καὶ Φαρνακίας ὁ συνανελὼν Σεκυδιανῶ Ξέρξην, ἀνηρέθη δὲ καὶ Μενοστάνης ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἤδη πρὸς θάνατον συλλαμβανόμενος.

§ 83 (52). Ἀφίσταται Πισοῦθνης, καὶ ἀποστέλλεται κατ' αὐτοῦ Τισαφέρνης καὶ Σπιθραδάτης καὶ Παρμίσης.

Hware in Zend; *Khur* in modern Persian. *Kūros* is Kurush in old Persian. The etymology has been denied (see Rawlinson, *Herod.* iii. p. 544; Sayce, *Herod.*, p. 69), but Parysatis ought to have known. Tomasehek says that in certain Iranian dialects of the Pamir, in

which he sees "the scanty remains of the ancient tongue of the Sacae," the sun is called *khir* or *kher*, which he regards as explaining the statement in the text (*Acad.* xx. p. 496).

§ 83. Πισοῦθνης] Mentioned in Thukyd., i. 115, iii. 31. Ac-

Ἀντεπεξήει δὲ Πισοῦθνης, ἔχων καὶ Λύκωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἄμα Ἕλλησιν ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἦρχε. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ χρήμασι Λύκωνα καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ ἀφιστῶσι Πισοῦθνον· εἶτα δόντες αὐτῷ πίστεις καὶ λαβόντες ἄγουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν σποδὸν ἐνέβαλε, Τισαφέρην δούς τὴν Πισοῦθνον σατραπείαν. Ἐλαβε δὲ Λύκων καὶ πόλεις καὶ χώρας ὑπὲρ τῆς προδοσίας.

§ 84 (53). Ἀρτοξάρης ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ὃς μεγὰ ἡδύνατο παρὰ βασιλεῖ, ἐπιβουλεύει βασιλεῖα, θέλων αὐτὸς βασιλεῦσαι· πώγωνα γὰρ καὶ ὑπόβρινα προσέταξεν αὐτῷ γυναικὶ κατασκευάσαι, ἵνα ὡς ἀνὴρ φαίνοιτο. Δι' ἧς καὶ καταμηνύεται καὶ συλλαμβάνεται καὶ παραδίδεται Παρυσάτιδι καὶ ἀναιρεῖται. Ἀρσάκης ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς, ὁ καὶ ὕστερον μετονομασθεὶς Ἀρτοξέρξης, γαμεῖ τὴν Ἰδέρνεω θυγατέρα Στάτειραν· τὴν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα ὁ τοῦ Ἰδέρνεω υἱός. Ἀμῆστρις ἦν ἡ θυγάτηρ, τῷ δὲ ταύτης νυμφίῳ ὄνομα Τεριτούχμης, ὃς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ σατράπης κατέστη.

§ 85 (54). Ἦν δὲ ὁμοπατρία αὐτῷ ἀδελφῇ Ῥωξάνῃ, καλῇ τῷ εἶδει καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἐμπειροτάτη. Ἐρῶν δὲ ταύτης ὁ Τεριτούχμης καὶ συγγινόμενος ἐμίσει Ἀμῆστριν, καὶ τέλος ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς σάκκον, καὶ κατακεντηθῆναι ὑπὸ τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐμελέτησεν, ἐβουλεύσατο. Ἀλλὰ τις Οὐδιάστης ὄνομα ἰσχὺν ἔχων παρὰ Τεριτούχμη, καὶ γράμματα παρὰ βασιλέως πολλὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἔχοντα, εἰ περισωθείη αὐτῷ ἡ θυγάτηρ δεξάμενος, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ ἀναιρεῖ Τεριτούχμην, γενναίως ἐν τῇ ἐπαναστάσει ἀνδρισάμενον καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείναντα· μέχρι γὰρ λ' καὶ ζ' φασιν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι.

§ 86 (55). Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Οὐδιάστου Μιτραδάτης, ὑπασ-

cording to Thukyd., viii. 5, 28, his illegitimate son Amorges rebelled in Karia, and was taken prisoner by the Peloponnesians, and delivered to Tissaphernes.

πιστῆς ὢν Τεριτούχμου καὶ μὴ παρών, ἐπεὶ ἔμαθε, πολλὰ τῷ πατρὶ κατηράσατο, καὶ πόλιν Ζάριν καταλαβὼν ἐφύλασσε ταύτην τῷ παιδί τοῦ Τεριτούχμου. Ἡ δὲ Παρύσατις τὴν τε μητέρα τὴν Τεριτούχμου καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Μιτρώστην καὶ Ἡλικον καὶ τὰς ἀδελφὰς, δύο οὔσας χωρὶς τῆς Στατείρας, ζώσας ἐκέλευε καταχῶσαι, τὴν δὲ Ῥωξάνην ζῶσαν κατατεμεῖν· καὶ ἐγένετο.

§ 87 (56). Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εἶπε τῇ γυναικὶ Παρυσάτιδι ποιῆσαι ὁμοίως καὶ Στάτειραν τὴν Ἀρσάκου γυναικα τοῦ παιδός. Ἄλλ' ὃ γε Ἀρσάκης πολλὰ τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν πατέρα δάκρυσι καὶ κοπετοῖς ἐξιλεωσάμενος, ἐπεὶ ἡ Παρύσατις ἐπεκάμφθη, συνεχώρησε καὶ Ὀχος ὁ Δαρειᾶτος, εἰπὼν Παρυσάτιδι πολλὰ μεταμελήσειν αὐτήν.

[Τέλος τῆς ἡ' ἱστορίας].

LIBRI XIX, XX.

EPITOME PHOTII.

88 (57). [Ἐν δὲ τῇ ιθ' ἱστορίᾳ διαλαμβάνει ὡς] Ὀχος ὁ Δαρειᾶτος ἀπέθανεν ἀσθενήσας ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, ἔτη βασιλεύσας λέ. Βασιλέυει δὲ Ἀρσάκης ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ἀρτοξέρξης. Καὶ ἐκτέμνεται ὁ Οὐδιάστης τὴν γλῶτταν, καὶ ἐξεκύνεται ταύτην ἐξόπισθεν, καὶ θνήσκει. Ὁ δὲ παῖς αὐτοῦ Μιτραδάτης ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καθίσταται σατράπης. Ἐπράχθη δὲ ταῦτα σπουδῇ Στατείρας, καὶ ἡνιᾶτο Παρύσατις. Διαβάλλεται Κῦρος ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους πρὸς Ἀρτοξέρξην τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ καταφεύγει Παρυσάτιδι τῇ μητρὶ καὶ ἀπολύεται τῆς διαβολῆς. Ἀπελαύνει Κῦρος ἠτιμωμένος παρὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν σατραπείαν, καὶ μελετᾷ ἐπανάστασιν. Διαβάλλει Σατιβαρζάνης Ὀρόντην, ὡς Παρυσάτιδι μίγνυται καίτοι λίαν αὐτῆς σωφρονούσης· καὶ ἀναιρεῖται Ὀρόντης, καὶ ὀργίζεται ἡ μήτηρ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅτι Παρύσατις φαρμάκῳ διαφθείρει τὸν Τεριτούχμου υἱόν. Καὶ περὶ τοῦ θάψαντος τὸν πατέρα διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς παρὰ τὸν νόμον· ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἔλεγχος Ἑλλανικοῦ καὶ Ἡροδότου, ὡς ψεύδονται.

§ 88. ἔτη βασιλεύσας λέ] Manetho gives him nineteen years, down to the revolt of Egypt; Diodorus gives him nineteen years in all; and so Ptolemaeus, who places the close of his reign in b. c. 402. A Babylonian table of cycles, compiled about b. c. 90, gives eighteen years, from the nineteenth year of Daravus to the eighth year of

Artaksatsu, thus giving Darius II. twenty-nine years. It gives Artaxerxes II. only thirty-six years, thus making the total the same. The death of Darius II. is placed in b. c. 395.

Διαβάλλεται Κῦρος ὑπὸ Τισσαφέρνους, κ. τ. λ.] So Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 1. 3, sq.

περὶ τοῦ θάψαντος τὸν πατέρα διὰ

§ 89 (58). Ἀπόστασις Κύρου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ συναγωγὴ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ βαρβαρικοῦ, καὶ στρατηγῶν Κλέαρχος Ἑλλήνων. Ὅπως τε Συνένεσις ὁ Κιλικῶν βασιλεὺς ἀμφω συνεμάχει, Κύρῳ τε καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ. ὅπως τε Κύρος τῇ ἰδίᾳ στρατιᾷ καὶ Ἀρτοξέρξης πάλιν τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρήνεσαν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ὃς ἦρχε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ Μένων ὁ Θετταλός, οἱ μετὰ Κύρου ἦσαν, αἰεὶ διάφοροι ἀλλήλοις ἐτύγχανον, διότι τῷ μὲν Κλέαρχῳ ἅπαντα ὁ Κύρος συνεβούλευε, τοῦ δὲ Μένωνος λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν. Ἡὐτομόλουν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἀρτοξέρξου πρὸς Κύρον πολλοί, πρὸς δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξην ἀπὸ Κύρου οὐδεὶς· διὸ καὶ Ἀρταβάριος προσχωρήσαι Κύρῳ μελετήσας καὶ διαβληθεὶς εἰς τὴν σποδὸν ἐνεβλήθη. Προσβολὴ Κύρου πρὸς τὴν βασιλείῳ στρατιάν, καὶ νίκη Κύρου· ἀλλὰ καὶ θάνατος Κύρου ἀπειθοῦντος Κλέαρχῳ, καὶ αἰκισμὸς τοῦ σώματος Κύρου ὑπὸ τᾶδελφοῦ Ἀρτοξέρξου· τὴν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα μεθ' ἧς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην ἔβαλεν, αὐτὸς ἀπέτεμε καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν. Ἀναχώρησις Κλέαρχου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ἅμα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ Ἑλλήνων τῆς νυκτός, καὶ τῶν τῆς Παρυσάτιδος πόλεων μιᾶς κατάληψις· εἶτα σπονδαὶ βασιλείῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας.

FRAGMENTUM 33.

(Plutarch, *Artax.*, c. 9). Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ὅσον ἐβούλοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκων καὶ διώκοντες ἐπὶ πλείστον

τοῦ πυρὸς παρὰ τὸν νόμον] A heinous offence against the Mazdayaznian religion (*Vendidad*. i. 17). As we have already seen (*vide* note on § 5), Artaxerxes II. introduced idolatrous elements into the Persian worship.

§ 89, and fr. 32-35. Ἀπόστασις Κύρου] Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 1, *sq.*; *Diod.*, xiv. 19 *sq.*; Justin, v. 11, who generally agree with Ktesias.

οὐδεὶς] So Xenophon, *Anab.* iii. 9, 29.

Προσβολὴ Κύρου] Xenophon describes the battle, *Anab.* i. 8-10. ἀπειθοῦντος Κλέαρχῳ] See Plutarch, *Artax.* 8; Polyaeus, *Strat.* ii. 2. 1.

κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα] So Xenophon, i. x. 1.

ἀναχώρησις Κλέαρχου] Xenophon, *Anab.* ii.; *Diod.* xiv. 25.

προῆλθον, Κύρῳ δὲ γενναῖον ἵππον, ἄστομον δὲ καὶ ὑβριστὴν ἐλαύνοντι Πασάκαν καλούμενον, [ὡς Κτησίας φησὶν,] ἀντεξήλασεν ὁ Καδουσίῳ ἀρχῶν Ἀρταγέρσης μέγα βοῶν· ὦ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν Πέρσαις ὄνομα Κύρου καταισχύων, ἀδικώτατε ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀφρονέστατε, κακοὺς μὲν Ἑλληνας ἔρχη κακὴν ὁδὸν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἀγαθὰ, δεσπότην δὲ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐλπίζων ἀναιρήσειν, ὃς σοῦ μυριάκις μυρίους δούλους ἔχει κρείσσονας. Αὐτίκα δὲ πειράσῃ πρότερον γὰρ ἀπολείς ἐνταῦθα τὴν σεαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἢ θεάσασθαι τὸ βασιλείῳ πρόσωπον. Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξηκόντισεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. Ὁ δὲ θώραξ στερεῶς ἀντέσχε καὶ οὐκ ἐτρώθη μὲν ὁ Κύρος, ἐκραδάνθη δὲ, τῆς πληγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς προσπεσούσης. Ἀποστρέψαντος δὲ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ Ἀρταγέρσου βαλὼν ὁ Κύρος ἔτυχε καὶ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν κλεῖδα διὰ τοῦ τραχήλου τὴν αἰχμὴν. Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρταγέρσην ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Κύρου [σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι].

FRAGMENTUM 34.

(a) (Plutarch, *Artax.*, cap. 11). [Ἡ δὲ Κτησίου διήγησις ὡς ἐπιτεμόντι πολλὰ συντόμως ἀπαγγεῖλαι, τοιαύτη τις ἐστὶ.] Κύρος ἀποκτείνας Ἀρταγέρσην, ἤλαυνεν εἰς αὐτὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἵππον καὶ οὗτος εἰς ἐκείνον, ἀμφοτέρωσι σιωπῇ, φθάνει δὲ βάλλον ὁ Ἀριαῖος ὁ Κύρου φίλος βασιλέα καὶ οὐκ ἔτρωσε. Βασιλεὺς δ' ἀφείς τὸ δόρυ, Κύρου μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε, Τισαφέρην δὲ, πιστὸν ἄνδρα Κύρῳ καὶ γενναῖον, ἔβαλε καὶ κατέκτεινε. Κύρος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξακόντισας διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἔτρωσε τὸ στήθος ὅσον ἐνδύναϊ δύο δακτύλους τὸ ἀκόντιον, πεσεῖν δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. Φυγῆς δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς μετ' ὀλίγων, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ἦν, λόφον τιμὰ πλησίον καταλαβὼν ἠσύχαζε, Κύρου δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνειλούμενον ὁ ἵππος ἐξέφερεν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ μακρὰν ἤδη σκότους ὄντος ἀγνοούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων. Ἐπαιρόμενος δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ

μεστὸς ἂν ὀρμῆς καὶ θράσους διεξέλαυε βοῶν· Ἐξίστασθε πενιχροί. Τοῦτο δὲ Περσιστὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐξίστατο προσκυνούντες, ἀποπίπτει δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ τιάρα τοῦ Κύρου καὶ παρατρέχων νεανίας Πέρσης, ὄνομα Μιθριδάτης, ἀκοντίῳ βάλλει τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν, ἀγνοῶν, ὅστις εἶη. Πολὺ δ' αἷμα τοῦ τραύματος ἐκβαλόντος, ἰλιγγιάσας καὶ καρωθεὶς ὁ Κύρος ἔπεσε. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὑπεκφυγὼν ἐπλάζετο· τὸν δ' ἐφίππειον πῖλον ἀπορρύνετα λαμβάνει τοῦ τὸν Κύρον βαλόντος ἀκόλουθος αἵματι περίπλεω. Τὸν δὲ Κύρον, ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέροντα χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις εὐνοῦχοί τινες παρόντες ὀλίγοι ἐπεχείρουν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἵππον ἀναθέσθαι καὶ σώζειν. Ἄδυνάτως δ' ἔχοντα καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ προθυμούμενον βαδίζειν, ὑπολαβόντες ἦγον· τῷ μὲν σώματι κερηβαροῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον, οἰόμενον δὲ νικᾶν, ἀκούοντα τῶν φευγόντων ἀνακαλουμένων Κύρον βασιλέα καὶ φείδεσθαι δεομένων. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Καύνιοί τινες ἄνθρωποι κακόβιοι καὶ ἄποροι καὶ ταπεινῶν ὑπουργημάτων ἕνεκα τῆ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιᾷ παρακολουθοῦντες, ἔτυχον συναναμιχθέντες ὡς φίλοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κύρον. Ὡς δὲ μόλις συνείδον τὰ ἐπιθωρακίδια φοινικᾷ λευκοῖς χρωμένων τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπάντων, ἔγνωσαν πολεμίουσ ὄντας. Εἰς οὖν ἐκείνων ἐτόλμησεν ἀγνοῶν ἐξόπισθεν βαλεῖν τὸν Κύρον ἀκοντίῳ. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἰγνύαν φλεβὸς ἀναρραγείσης, πεσὼν ὁ Κύρος, ἅμα παίει πρὸς τινι λίθῳ τὸν τετρωμένον κρόταφον καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. [Τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Κτησίου λόγος, ᾧ καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ ξιφιδίῳ μόλις ἀναιρῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνήρηκεν.]

(b) (Xenophon, *Anab.*, i. 8, 26). [Σὺν τούτοις καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκείνον στίφος καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, τὸν ἄνδρα Ὀρῶ, ἵεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὡς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἰατρὸς, καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ τρᾶνμά φησι. Παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως, καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύρος καὶ οἱ ἀμφ'

αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου ὁπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον Κτησίας λέγει παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ.]

FRAGMENTUM 35.

(Plutarch, *Artax.*, c. 12. sq.) Ἦδη δ' αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος Ἄρτασύρας ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸς ἔτυχεν ἵππῳ παρεξελάνων. Γνωρίσας οὖν τοὺς εὐνοῦχοις ὀλοφυρομένους ἠρώτησε τὸν πιστότατον αὐτῶν· Τίνα τοῦτον, ᾧ Παρίσκα, κλαίεις παρακαθήμενος; Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐχ ὄρας, ᾧ Ἄρτασύρα, Κύρον τεθνηκότα; Θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἄρτασύρας τῷ μὲν εὐνοῦχῳ θαρρῆν παρεκελεύσατο καὶ φυλάττειν τὸν νεκρόν, αὐτὸς δὲ συντείας πρὸς τὸν Ἄρτοξέρξην ἀπεγνωκότα μὲν ἦδη τὰ πράγματα, κακῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακείμενον ὑπὸ τε διψῆς καὶ τοῦ τραύματος, χαίρων φράζει, ὡς αὐτὸς ἴδου τεθνηκότα Κύρον. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ὤρμησεν αὐτὸς ἰέναι καὶ τὸν Ἄρτασύραν ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολὺς ἦν λόγος τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ φόβος ὡς διωκόντων καὶ πάντα νικόντων καὶ κρατούντων, ἔδοξε πλείονας πέμψαι τοὺς κατοψομένους. Καὶ τριάκοντα λαμπάδας ἔχοντες ἐπέμφθησαν· αὐτῷ δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείποντι τοῦ τεθνήαι διὰ τὸ διψῆν Σατιβαρζάνης ὁ εὐνοῦχος περιθέων ἐζήτηι πότον, οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ χωρίον ὕδωρ καὶ οὐδ' ἦν ἐγγὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Μόλις οὖν ἐπιτυγχάνει τῶν Καννίων ἐκείνων τῶν κακοβίων ἐνὸς ἐν ἀσκήῳ φαύλῳ διεφθαρμένον ὕδωρ καὶ πονηρὸν ἔχοντος ὅσον ὀκτὼ κοτύλας· καὶ λαβὼν τοῦτο καὶ κομίσας βασιλεῖ δίδωσιν. Ἐκπιόντα δ' ἅπαν ἠρώτησεν εἰ μὴ πάνυ δυσχεραῖνοι τὸ ποτόν. Ὁ δὲ ὤμοσε τοὺς θεοὺς μήτ' οἶνον ἠδέως οὕτως πόποτε πεπωκέναι μήτε ὕδωρ τὸ κουφότατον καὶ καθαρώτατον· ὥστε, ἔφη, τὸν δόντα σοι τοῦτο ἄνθρωπον, ἂν ἐγὼ μὴ δυνηθῶ ζητήσας ἀμείψασθαι, τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομαι ποιῆσαι μακάριον καὶ πλούσιον. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσήλαννον οἱ τριάκοντα λαμ-

προὶ καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνέλπιστον εὐτυχίαν. Ἦδη δὲ καὶ πλήθει τῶν συντρεχόντων πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνισταμένων ἐθάρρει, καὶ κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου φωτὶ πολλῷ περιλαμπόμενος. Ὡς δ' ἐπέστη τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσῶν ἢ δεξιὰ χεῖρ ἀπεκόπη καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ κομισθῆναι· καὶ τῆς κόμης δραξάμενος οὔσης βαθείας καὶ λασίας, ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμφιδοξοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ φεύγουσιν. Οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ προσεκύνουν· ὥστε ταχὺ μυριάδας ἑπτὰ περὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ συνεισελάσαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Ἐξεληλάκει δ', [ὡς ὁ Κτησίας φησὶν,] ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην μ' μυριάσιν. Ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν [ὁ Κτησίας] ἑννακισχιλίους ἀνευχθῆναι [φησι] πρὸς τὸν Ἄρτοξέρξην, αὐτῷ δὲ δισυριῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους φανῆναι τοὺς κειμένους [ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει διαμφισβήτησιν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοῦ Κτησίου λαμπρὸν ἤδη ψεῦσμα, τὸ πεμφθῆναι φάναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸν μετὰ Φαλίνου τοῦ Ζακυνθίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων. . . . Ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως ὁ Κτησίας, ὡς εἶοικε φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ οὐχ ἦττον φιλολάκων καὶ φιλοκλεάρχος, αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐν τῇ διηγῆσει χώρας ἑαυτῷ δίδωσιν, ἐν αἷς γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ μιμνήσκειται Κλεάρχου καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην δῶρα κάλλιστα μὲν ἐξέπεμψε καὶ μέγιστα τῷ Ἄρταγέρσου παιδὶ τοῦ πεσόντος ὑπὸ Κύρου, καλῶς δὲ καὶ Κτησίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησεν.]

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 90 (59). Ὡς Παρύσατις εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο, πενθοῦσα Κύρον, καὶ μόλις ἐκομίσαστο τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ ἔθαψε, καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Σοῦσα. Τὰ περὶ Βαγαπάτου τοῦ ἀποτεμόντος προστάξει βασιλεῶς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος Κύρου. Ὅπως ἡ μήτηρ μετὰ βασιλέως κύβοις ἐπὶ συνθήκαις παίξασα καὶ νικήσασα ἔλαβε Βαγαπάτην, καὶ ὄν τρόπον τὸ δέρμα περιαιρεθεὶς ἀνεσταυ-

ρίσθη ὑπὸ Παρυσάτιος· ὅτε καὶ τὸ πολὺ ἐπὶ Κύρῳ πένθος αὐτῇ ἐπαύσατο, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν τοῦ Ἄρτοξέρξου δέησιν. Ὡς Ἄρτοξέρξης δῶρα ἔδωκε τῷ ἐνέγκαντι τὸν Κύρου πῖλον, καὶ ὡς τὸν Κἄρα τὸν δοκέοντα Κύρον βαλεῖν Ἄρτοξέρξης ἐτίμησε, καὶ ὡς Παρύσατις τὸν τιμηθέντα Κἄρα αἰκισαμένη, ἀπέκτεινε. Ὡς Ἄρτοξέρξης παρέδωκεν αἰτησαμένη Μιτραδάτην Παρυσάτιδι ἐπὶ τραπέζης μεγαλαυχήσαντα ἀποκτεῖναι Κύρον, κάκεινη λαβούσα πικρῶς ἀνείλε. [Ταῦτα ἢ ιθ' καὶ ἢ κ' ἱστορία.]

FRAGMENTUM 36.

(Demetrius Phalereus, *De Elocutione*, §§ 222, 223). ^{216⁴}
[Δεῖ τὰ γενόμενα οὐκ εὐθὺς λέγειν, ὅτι ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μικρὸν, κρεμῶντα τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα συναγωνιᾶν· τοῦτο ὁ Κτησίας ἐν τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ τῇ περὶ Κύρου τεθνεώτος ποιεῖ.] Ἐλθὼν γὰρ ὁ ἄγγελος, οὐκ εὐθὺς λέγει ὅτι ἀπέθανε Κύρος παρὰ τὴν Παρύσατιν· [τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ λεγομένη ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ῥῆσις ἐστίν· ἀλλὰ] πρῶτον μὲν ἠγγελεῖν, ὅτι νικᾷ· ἢ δὲ ἦσθη καὶ ἠγωνίασε. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷ, βασιλεὺς δὲ πῶς πράττει; ὁ δὲ, πέφενγέ φησι· καὶ ἡ ὑπολαβούσα, Τισσαφέρνης γὰρ αὐτῷ τούτων αἴτιος, καὶ πάλιν ἐπανερωτᾷ, Κύρος δὲ ποῦ νῦν; ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ἀμείβεται, ἔνθα χρῆ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἀνλίξασθαι· [κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προιών, μόλις τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἀπέρρηξεν αὐτό].

FRAGMENTUM 37.

(Longinus *Περὶ εὐρέσεως*, p. 589). [Ὁ Κτησίας πεποίηκε τὴν τοῦ Κύρου μήτερα περὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τῶν ὄπλων διαλεγομένην, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων οἶκτον κεκίνηται.]

FRAGMENTUM 38.

(Hesychius). [Σάραπισ· Περσικὸς χιτῶν μεσόλευκος, ὡς Κτησίας] καὶ διαβρῆξαμένη τὸν σάραπιν καὶ τὰς τρίχας καθειμένη, ἐτίλλετό τε καὶ βοῆν ἐποίει.

FRAGMENTUM 39.

(Plutarch, *Artox.*, c. 17). Λοιπὸς δ' ἦν τῇ Παρυσάτιδι σκοπὸς ὁ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Κύρου Μασαβάτης, βασιλέως εὐνούχου. Ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς οὐδεμίαν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λαβὴν παρεδίδου, τοιοῦτον ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον ἢ Παρύσατις συνέθηκεν. Ἦν τὰ ἄλλα θυμόσοφος γυνὴ καὶ δεινὴ κυβεύειν· διὸ καὶ βασιλεῖ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πολλάκις συνεκύβευε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον διαλυθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔφηνε τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέπαιζε καὶ τῶν ἔρωτικῶν ἐκοινωνεὶ συμπράττουσα καὶ παροῦσα, καὶ ὅλως μικρότατον αὐτῷ τῇ Στατεῖρα μετεδίδου χρῆσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι μισοῦσά τε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνην καὶ μέγιστον αὐτῇ βουλομένη δύνασθαι. Λαβοῦσα δὴ ποτε τὸν Ἄρτοξέρξην ὠρμημένον ἀλύειν σχολῆς οὔσης προῦκαλεῖτο περὶ χιλιῶν δαρεικῶν κυβεύσαι· καὶ κυβεύοντα περιεῖδε νικήσαι καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀπέδωκε. Προσποιουμένη δ' ἀνιάσθαι καὶ φιλονεικεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ εὐνούχου διακυβεύσαι· κακείνος ὑπήκουσε. Ποιησάμενοι δὲ συνθήκας πέντε μὲν ἐκάτερον ὑπεξέλεσθαι τοὺς πιστοτάτους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὃν ἂν ὁ νικῶν ἔληται δοῦναι τὸν ἡττώμενον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκύβενον. Σφόδρα δὲ γενομένη πρὸς τῷ πράγματι καὶ σπουδάσασα περὶ τὴν παιδιάν, εὖ δὲ πως αὐτῇ καὶ

§ 90, fr. 36-40. Σάραπισ] "Adposui autem hoc loci istud fragmentum, quod alicui non ita vero absimile videri queat, ista de Parysatidis luctu ob interfectum filium a

Ctesia scripta fuisse." Schottus, quoted by Müller.

Μασαβάτης] In the epitome we find the more correct form Βαγασάτης.

τῶν κύβων πεσόντων, νικήσασα λαμβάνει τὸν Μασαβάτην· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὑπεξηρημένοις. Καὶ πρὶν ἐν ὑποψία βασιλέα γενέσθαι τοῦ πράγματος ἐγχειρίσασα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν προσέταξεν ἐκδεῖραι ζῶντα καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα πλάγιον διὰ τριῶν σταυρῶν ἀναπήξαι, τὸ δὲ δέρμα χωρὶς διαπαταλεῦσαι. Γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ βασιλέως χαλεπῶς φέροντος καὶ παροξυνομένου πρὸς αὐτὴν, εἰρωνενομένη μετὰ γέλωτος· Ὡς ἡδύς, ἔφασκεν, εἰ καὶ μακάριος, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις διὰ γέροντα πονηρὸν εὐνούχον, ἐγὼ δὲ χιλιῶς ἐκκυβευθεῖσα δαρεικοὺς σιωπῶ καὶ στέργω. Βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξηπατήθη μεταμελόμενος ἡσυχίαν ἤγευ, ἢ δὲ Στατεῖρα καὶ πρὸς τὰλλα φανερώς ἡμαντιοῦτο καὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὡς ἄνδρας καὶ εὐνούχους πιστοὺς βασιλεῖ διὰ Κύρον ὠμῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀπολλυούσης αὐτῆς.

FRAGMENTUM 40.

(Plutarch, *Artox.* 14). Οἰόμενος δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος δοκεῖν καὶ λέγειν πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι Κύρον, Μιθριδάτη τῷ βαλόντι πρώτῳ Κύρον ἐξέπεμψε δῶρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς διδόντας, ὡς, Τούτοις σε τιμᾷ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι τὸν ἐφίππειον Κύρου πῖλον εὐρῶν ἀνήνεγκας· τοῦ δὲ Καρὸς, ὑφ' οὗ τὴν ἰγνύαν πληγείς ὁ Κύρος ἔπεσε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν αἰτοῦντος, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς διδόντας, ὅτι Σοὶ ταῦτα δίδωσι βασιλεὺς εὐαγγελίων δευτερεῖα· πρώτος γὰρ Ἄρτασύρας, μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ σὺ τὴν Κύρου τελευταίαν ἀπήγγειλας. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτης ἀπῆλθε σιωπῇ λυπούμενος, τὸν δ' ἄθλιον Κᾶρα καινόν τι πάθος ἐξ ἀβελτερίας κατέσχε. Διαφθαρεῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀναπεισθεῖς εὐθὺς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἤξιον τὰ δοθέντα μισθὸν εὐαγγελίων ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἡγανάκτει μαρτυρόμενος καὶ βοῶν, ὅτι Κύρος οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι καὶ τὴν δόξαν οὐ δικαίως ἀποστέρητο. Ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς σφόδρα παρωξύνθη καὶ τὴν

κεφαλὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεμεῖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. Παρούσα δ' ἡ μήτηρ, Μῆ σὺ γ' εἶπεν οὕτω τὸν Κᾶρα τοῦτον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπαλλάξῃς ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἄξιον ἀπολήσεται μισθὸν ὧν ἐτόλμα λέγειν. Ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἡ Παρυσάτις λαβόντας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα στρεβλοῦν, εἶτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαντας εἰς τὰ ὄτα θερμὸν ἐντήκειν χαλκὸν, ἕως ἀποθά- νοι. Κακῶς δ' ἀπόλετο δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτης μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀβελτερίας. Κληθεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἐνθα καὶ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς μητρὸς εὐνοῦχοι παρήσαν, ἦκεν ἐσθήτη καὶ χρυσῶ κεκοσμημένος οἷς ἔλαβε παρὰ βασιλέως. Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸ πίνειν ἀφίκοντο, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ μέγιστος δυνάμενος τῶν Παρυσάτιδος εὐνοούχων, Ὡς καλὴν μὲν ἐσθήτη σοι ταύτην, ὦ Μιθριδάτα, ὁ βασιλεὺς δέδωκε, καλὰ δὲ στρεπτά καὶ ψέλια· πολλοῦ δ' ἄξιος ὁ ἀκινάκης. Ἡ μακάριόν σε καὶ περίβλεπτον ἄπασι πεποίηκεν. Ἦδη δὲ μεθύων ὁ Μιθριδάτης, Τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἶπεν, ὦ Σπαραμίξῃ; μειζόνων γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ καλλιόνων βασιλεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν παρέσχον. Καὶ ὁ Σπαραμίξῃς ἐπιμειδιάσας, Φθόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς, ὦ Μιθριδάτα, εἶπεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ φασιν Ἕλληνας οἶνον καὶ ἀλήθειαν εἶναι, τί λαμπρὸν ὦ τὰν ἡ μέγα, πῖλον εὐρεῖν ἵππου περιρῥύεντα καὶ τοῦτον ἀνευγ- κεῖν; ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔλεγε, ἀλλὰ βουλό- μενος ἐκκαλύψαι πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, ὑπεκίνει τὴν κουφότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λάλου καὶ ἀκρατοῦς γεγονότος διὰ τὸν οἶνον. Εἶπεν οὖν μὴ κατασχῶν· ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὅτι βούλεσθε, πῖλους λέγετε καὶ φλυάρους· ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν λέγω διαρρήδην ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀνηρῆσθαι Κῦρον τῆς χειρός. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς Ἄρτα- γέρσης, ἡκόντισσα κενὸν καὶ μάταιον ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὀφθαλ- μοῦ μικρὸν ἤμαρτον, τοῦ δὲ κροτάφου τυχῶν καὶ διελάσας κατέβαλον τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τέθνηκεν ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ τραύ- ματος. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τὸ τέλος ἤδη τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν ὀρώντες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔκυψαν, ὁ δ' ἐστῶν αὐτοῦς, Ὡ τὰν, ἔφη, Μιθριδάτα, πίνωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ

ἐσθίωμεν τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυνῶντες, λόγους δὲ μείζους ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐάσωμεν. Ἐκ τούτου τῇ μὲν Παρυσά- τιδι φράζει τὸν λόγον ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐκείνη δὲ βασιλεῖ. Βασιλεὺς δ' ἡγανάκτησεν ὥσπερ ἐλεγχόμενος καὶ τὸ κάλ- λιστον καὶ ἡδιστον ἀπολλύων τῆς νίκης. Ἐβούλετο γὰρ βαρβάρους ἅπαντας πεπεῖσθαι καὶ Ἕλληνας, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐξελάσει καὶ συμπλοκαῖς δοῦς καὶ λαβῶν πληγῆν ἐτρώθη μὲν αὐτός, ἔκτεινε δ' ἐκείνον. Ἐκέλευσεν οὖν τὸν Μιθρι- δάτην ἀποθανεῖν σκαφευθέντα. Τὸ δὲ σκαφευθῆναι τοιοῦ- τόν ἐστι· σκάφας δύο πεποιημένας ἐφαρμόζειν ἀλλήλαις λαβόντες, εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν κατακλίνουσι τὸν κολαζόμενον ὑπτίον· εἶτα τὴν ἐτέραν ἐπάγοντες καὶ συναρμόζοντες, ὥστε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἔξω καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀπολαμβά- νεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἀποκεκρῦφθαι, διδύασιν ἐσθίειν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κὰν μὴ θέλη, προσβιάζονται, κεντοῦν- τες τὰ ὄμματα, φαγόντι δὲ, πιεῖν μέλι καὶ γάλα συγκεκρα- μένον ἐγγέουσιν εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου καταχέουσιν. Εἶτα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον αἰεὶ στρέφουσιν ἐναντία τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ μυῶν προσκαθημένων πλήθος πᾶν ἀπο- κρύπτεται τὸ πρόσωπον. Ἐντὸς δὲ ποιούντος, ὅσα ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι ἐσθίουσας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πίνοντας, εὐλαὶ καὶ σκώληκες ὑπὸ φθορᾶς καὶ σηπεδόνας ἐκ τοῦ περιττώ- ματος ἀναζέουσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀναλίσκεται τὸ σῶμα διαδνομένων εἰς τὰ ἐντὸς. Ὅταν γὰρ ἤδη φανερώς ἢ τεθνηκῶς ὁ ἄνθρω- πος, ἀφαιρεθείσης τῆς ἐπάνω σκάφης, ὀρώσι τὴν μὲν σάρκα κατεδηδεσμένην, περὶ δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοιοῦτων θηρίων ἐσμὸς ἐσθιόντων καὶ προσπεφυκῶν.

§ 91 (60). [Ἐν δὲ τῇ κα' καὶ β' καὶ γ', ἣτις καὶ τῆς ὅλης πέρας ἐστὶν ἱστορίας, τάδε περιέλιπται· ὡς.] Τισαφέρνης ἐπιβουλεύει τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, καὶ προσεταιρισάμενος Μένωνα τὸν Θεσσαλὸν, δι' αὐτοῦ Κλεάρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς ἀπάτη καὶ ὄρκους ἐχειρώσατο, τοῦ Κλεάρχου καὶ προειδομένου καὶ ἀποκρονομένου τὴν ἐπιβουλήν· ἀλλὰ τό τε πλήθος διὰ Μένωνος ἀπατηθὲν κατηνάγκασε καὶ ἄκοντα Κλεάρχον πρὸς Τισαφέρνην παραγενέσθαι, καὶ Πρόξενος ὁ Βοιώτιος, αὐτὸς ἤδη προαλοῦς ἀπάτη συμπαρήνει. Ὡς εἰς Βαβυλῶνα πρὸς Ἄρτοξέρξην Κλεάρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπέστειλεν ἐν πέδαις, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν Κλεάρχου ἅπαντες συνερύθησαν. Ὡς Κτησίας αὐτὸς ἰατρὸς ὢν Παρυσάτιδος πολλὰ Κλεάρχῳ ἐν τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ ὄντι πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ θεραπείαν δι' αὐτῆς ἔπραξε· καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν ἂν Παρύσατις ἔλυσε καὶ ἀφήκεν εἰ μὴ Στάτειρα τὸν ἄνδρα Ἄρτοξέρξην ἀνέπεισε τοῦτον ἀναιρεθῆναι. Καὶ ἀνηρέθη Κλεάρχος, καὶ τέρας ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι συνέστη· αὐτομάτως γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφος, μεγίστου πνεύσαντος ἀνέμου, ἐπὶ μέγα ἠρμένος ἐπισυνέστη. Ἀνηρέθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναπεμφθέντες Ἑλληνες πλὴν Μένωνος.

§ 91, fr. 41. προσεταιρισάμενος Μένωνα] Comp. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5, 28.

Πρόξενος] Compare Xenophon, ii. 5, 38.

εἰς Βαβυλῶνα] Xenophon, ii. 6, 1,

who apparently regarded the execution of the Greeks as taking place immediately, but in this respect Ktesias was likely to be better informed.

πλὴν Μένωνος] Μένωνα δὲ μόνον

FRAGMENTUM 41.

(Plutarch, *Artox.* 18). Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλεάρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς Τισαφέρνης ἐξηπάτησε καὶ παρσπόνδησεν, ὄρκων γενομένων, καὶ συλλαβῶν ἀνέπεμψεν ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένους, δεηθῆναί [φησιν] αὐτοῦ τὸν Κλεάρχον [ὁ Κτησίας] ὅπως κτενὸς εὐπορήσειε. Τυχόντα δὲ καὶ τημελήσαντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἠσθῆναί τε τῇ χρεία καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτῷ δοῦναι, σύμβουλον φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους· εἶναι δὲ γλυφὴν ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι, Καρνατίδας ὄρχουμένας. Τὰ δὲ πεμπομένα σιτία τῷ Κλεάρχῳ τοὺς συνδεδεμένους στρατιώτας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ καταναλίσκειν, ὀλίγα τῷ Κλεάρχῳ δίδοντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Ἰάσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο [φησὶν ὁ Κτησίας] πλείονα τῷ Κλεάρχῳ πέμπεσθαι διαπραξάμενος, ἰδία δ' ἕτερα τοῖς στρατιώταις δίδοσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπουργῆσαι καὶ παρασχέειν χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ τῆς Παρυσάτιδος. Πεμπομένου δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ κωλήνος ἐπὶ τοῖς σιτίοις, παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διδάσκειν ὡς χρῆ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ κρέας ἐμβαλόντα μαχαίριον, ἀποκρύψαντα πέμψαι καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως ἀμότητι τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ γεόμενον· αὐτὸν δὲ φοβούμενον μὴ ἐθελῆσαι. Βασιλέα δὲ τῇ μὲν μητρὶ παραιτουμένη, μὴ κτείνειν τὸν Κλεάρχον ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ ὁμόσαι· πεισθέντα δ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Στατείρας, ἀποκτείνει πάντας πλὴν Μένωνος. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν Παρύσατιν ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῇ Στατείρῃ καὶ συσκευάσασθαι τὴν φαρμακείαν κατ' αὐτῆς . . . καὶ γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων [φησὶ] τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαράττεσθαι καὶ ὀρνέων· τῷ δὲ Κλεάρχῳ νεκρῷ θυέλλαν ἀνέμου, γῆς θίνα πολλὴν φέρουσαν, ἐπιχῶσαι καὶ ἐπικρύψαι τὸ σῶμα· φοινίκων δὲ τιῶν διασπαρέντων, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ θαυμαστὸν

ἀφήκεν, according to Diod. xiv. 27; Xenophon, ii. 6, 29, says he was said to have been put to death afterwards.

κωλήνος] 'Ham.' ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ] Eight years, according to § 93. The statement there can only be reconciled with

ἄλσος ἀναφῦναι καὶ κατασκιάσαι τὸν τόπον ὥστε καὶ βασιλεῖ σφόδρα μεταμελεῖν, ὡς ἄνδρα θεοῖς φίλον ἀνῆρη-κότι τὸν Κλεάρχον.

EPITOME PNOTII.

§ 92 (61). Λοιδορία Παρυσάτιδος πρὸς Στάτειραν καὶ ἀναίρεσις διὰ φαρμάκου τοῦτον διασκευασθέντος τὸν τρόπον (ἐφυλάττετο γὰρ Στάτειρα λίαν μὴ παθεῖν ὃ πέπονθε), μαχαιρίου τὸ ἐν μέρος ἐπαλείφεται τῷ φαρμάκῳ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν οὐ μετείχε. Τούτῳ τέμνεται ὀρνίθιον μικρὸν, μέγεθος ὅσον ὠοῦ ῥυνδάκην Πέρσαι τὸ ὀρνίθιον καλοῦσι. Τέμνεται δὲ δίχα, καὶ τὸ μὲν καθαρεῖον τοῦ ἰοῦ ἡμισυ αὐτῆ λαβοῦσα Παρύσατις ἐσθίει, τὸ δὲ προσομιλήσαν τῷ φαρμάκῳ ὀρέγει Στατείρα· ἢ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐσθίουσαν τὴν ἐπιδοῦσαν ἑώρα τὸ ἡμισυ, μηδὲν συνιδεῖν δυνηθεῖσα, καὶ αὐτῆ συνεσθίει τοῦ θανάτου τὸ φάρμακον. Ὀργὴ διὰ ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν μητέρα καὶ σύλληψις τῶν εὐνούχων αὐτῆς καὶ αἰκισμὸς καὶ ἀναίρεσις καὶ ἔτι σύλληψις Γίγγης, ἣ ὠκείωτο Παρυσάτιδι, καὶ κρίσις ἐπ' αὐτῆ, καὶ ἀθώωσις μὲν παρὰ τῶν κριτῶν, καταδίκη δὲ παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ αἰκισμὸς Γίγγης καὶ ἀναίρεσις, καὶ ὀργὴ διὰ τοῦτο Παρυσάτιδος πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν κάκεινου πρὸς τὴν μητέρα.

FRAGMENTUM 42.

(Plutarch, *Artax.*, c. 6). [Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δείνων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν (Parysatidis contra Statiram)

§ 91 and fr. 41 by supposing that the sand was first heaped up by the wind, in which there is nothing very remarkable, and that the eunuchs of Parysatis then placed earth on the top, and planted the palm trees.

§ 92, fr. 42. ῥυνδάκην] or ῥυν-

τάκης, according to the epitome. "Persicum *Rund* nomen avis, quae frequentius in oryzetis invenitur," Baehr.

ἀθώωσις μὲν παρὰ τῶν κριτῶν] A remarkable instance of judicial independence.

εἶρηκε, Κτησίας δ' ὕστερον, ὃν οὐτ' ἀγνοεῖν τὸν χρόνον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ παρόντα ταῖς πράξεσιν, οὔτε ἐκὼν αἰτίαν εἶχεν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου μεταστῆσαι τὸ ἔργον ὡς ἐπράχθη διηγούμενος, οἷα πάσχει πολλάκις ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ δραματικὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ἐκείνος ἀπέδωκε χώραν ἕξει.]

(*Id.*, c. 19). Ἡ δ' οὖν Παρύσατις, μίσους τε πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν ἕξ ἀρχῆς ὑποκειμένου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας, ὀρώσα μὲν αὐτῆς δύναμιν αἰδουμένου βασιλέως καὶ τιμῶντος οὔσαν, τὴν δ' ἐκείνης ἔρωτι καὶ πίστει βέβαιον καὶ ἰσχυρὰν, ἐπεβούλευεν ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ὡς ᾤετο, παραβαλλομένη. Θεράπαιναν εἶχε πιστὴν καὶ δυναμένην παρ' αὐτῆ μέγιστον, ὄνομα Γίγιν· [ἦν ὁ μὲν Δείνων ὑπουργῆσαι τῇ φαρμακείᾳ φησὶ, συγγνώμην δὲ μόνον ἄκουσαν ὁ Κτησίας. Τὸν δὲ δόντα τὸ φάρμακον οὗτος μὲν ὀνομάζει Βελιτάραν . . .] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρόσθεν ὑποψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀρξάμενοι πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτᾶν καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἀλλήλαις, ὅμως τῷ δεδιέναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς σιτίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο. Γίνεται δὲ μικρὸν ἐν Πέρσαις ὀρνίθιον, ᾧ περιττώματος οὐδὲν ἐστὶν, ὅλον διάπλεων πιμελῆς τὰ ἐντός· ἣ καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀνεμῶ καὶ δρόσῳ τρέφεσθαι τὸ ζῶον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ῥυντάκης. Τοῦτό [φησὶ ὁ Κτησίας] μικρᾶ μαχαιρίδι κεχρισμένη τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατὰ θάτερα τὴν Παρύσατιν διαιροῦσαν, ἐκμάξαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ μέρει τὸ φάρμακον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα βαλοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, δοῦναι δὲ τῇ Στατείρᾳ τὸ πεφαρμαγμένον. . . . Ἀποθνήσκουσα γοῦν ἢ γυνὴ μετὰ πόνων μεγάλων καὶ σπαραγμῶν, αὐτῆ τε συνησθάνετο τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ βασιλεῖ παρέσχεν ὑποψίαν κατὰ τῆς μητρὸς, εἰδότι τὸ θηριῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ δυσμελίκτον. Ὅθεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ὄρ-

Βελιτάραν] Melantus, according to Deionon, fr. 26 (according to Müller's arrangement, but it ought to follow fr. 23).
δοῦναι τῇ Στατείρᾳ] Deionon, l. c. says Melantus did this.

μήσας, τοὺς μὲν ὑπηρέτας καὶ τραπεζοκόμους τῆς μητρὸς συνέλαβε καὶ κατεστρέβλωσε· τὴν δὲ Γίγιν ἢ Παρύσατις πολὺν χρόνον εἶχεν οἴκοι μεθ' αὐτῆς καὶ βασιλέως ἐξαιτουήντος οὐκ ἔδωκεν. Ἄλλ' ὕστερον αὐτῆς δεηθείσης εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀφεθῆναι νυκτὸς αἰσθόμενος καὶ λόχον ὑφείς συνήρπασε καὶ κατέγνω θάνατον. Ἀποθνήσκουσι δ' οἱ φαρμακεῖς ἐν Πέρσαις κατὰ νόμον οὕτως· λίθος ἐστὶ πλατύς, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθέντες αὐτῶν ἐτέρω λίθῳ παίουσι καὶ πιέζουσιν, ἄχρις οὗ συνθλάσωσι τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἡ οὖν Γίγισ οὕτως ἀπέθανε. Τὴν δὲ Παρύσατιν ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἀλλὸ μὲν οὐδὲν οὕτ' εἶπε κακὸν, οὕτ' ἐποίησεν, εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα βουλομένην ἐξέπεμψεν, εἰπὼν ἕως ἐκείνη περίεστιν, αὐτὸς οὐκ ὄψεσθαι Βαβυλῶνα.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 93 (62). Καὶ τὸ χῶμα δὲ τοῦ Κλεάρχου δι' ἐτῶν ὀκτὼ μεστὸν ἐφάνη φοινίκων, οὓς ἦν κρύφα Παρύσατις, καθ' οὗ καιρὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐτελεύτησε, διὰ εὐνούχων καταχώσασα.

FRAGMENTUM 43.

(Plutarch, *Artox.* 18 [cf. fr. 41]). Φοινίκων δὲ τινων διασπαρέντων ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ θαυμαστὸν ἄλσος ἀναφῆναι καὶ κατασκιᾶσαι τὸν τόπον (tumulum Clearchi) ὥστε καὶ βασιλεῖ σφόδρα μεταμελεῖν, ὡς ἄνδρα θεοῖς φίλον ἀνηρηκότι τὸν Κλεάρχου.

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 94 (63). Αἰτίαι δι' ἃς Εὐαγόρα βασιλεῖ Σαλαμῖνος βασιλεὺς Ἀρτοξέρξης διηνήχθη. Καὶ ἄγγελοι Εὐαγόρα πρὸς Κτησίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν παρὰ Ἀβουλίου τὰς ἐπιστολάς, καὶ Κτησίου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τοῦ διαλλα-

γῆναι αὐτὸν Ἀναξαγόρα τῷ Κυπρίων βασιλεῖ. Τῶν παρὰ Εὐαγόρα ἀγγέλων εἰς Κύπρον ἄφιξις, καὶ τῶν παρὰ Κτησίου γραμμάτων ἀπόδοσις Εὐαγόρα. Καὶ Κόνωνος πρὸς Εὐαγόραν λόγος ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι, καὶ Εὐαγόρα ἐπιστολὴ περὶ ὧν ἠξιώθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ Κόνωνος πρὸς Κτησίαν ἐπιστολή, καὶ βασιλεῖ παρὰ Εὐαγόρα φόρος, καὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Κτησίου ἀπόδοσις. Κτησίου λόγος πρὸς βασιλέα περὶ Κόνωνος, καὶ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς αὐτόν. Τῶν παρὰ Εὐαγόρου δῶρων ἀπόδοσις Σατιβαρζάνη, καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν εἰς Κύπρον ἄφιξις, καὶ Κόνωνος ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Κτησίαν. Ὡς ἐτηρήθησαν οἱ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄγγελοι πεμφθέντες πρὸς βασιλέα. Βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Κόνωνα καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἣν Κτησίας αὐτὸς ἐκομίσειεν. Ὡς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ναύαρχος Κόνων ἐγένετο.

FRAGMENTUM 44.

(Plutarch, *Artox.* 21). Ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ (Artoxerxes) τῆς θαλάσσης Λακεδαιμονίους, Κόνωνι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ μετὰ Φαρναβάζου στρατηγῷ χρησάμενος. Ὁ γὰρ Κόνων διέτριβε μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν, ὥσπερ ἐν πελάγει τροπὴν περιμένων. Ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἀνδρὸς ἔμφρονος δεομένην, ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν βασιλεῖ περὶ ὧν διενεοίτο. Καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευσε τὸν κομίζοντα μάλιστα μὲν ἀποδοῦναι διὰ Ζήνωνος, τοῦ Κρητὸς, ἢ Πολυκρίτου, τοῦ Μενδαίου· τούτων δ' ἦν ὁ μὲν Ζήνων ὁ ῥηστής, ὁ δὲ Πολύκριτος ἰατρός· ἂν δ' οὗτοι μὴ παρῶσι, διὰ Κτησίου,

§ 94, fr. 45-48. Εὐαγόρα] Diod. xiv. 98, 110; xv. 2 sq.
Κόνωνος ἐπιστολῇ] Cf. Justin, vi. 2; Nepos, *Conon*, 3.

ὡς δ' ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, κ. τ. λ.] Diod. xiv. 39; Justin, viii. 1; Nepos, *Conon*, 4.

τοῦ ἱατροῦ. [Λέγεται δ' ὁ Κτησίας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λαβὼν παρεγγράψαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἐπεσταλμένοις, ὅπως καὶ Κτησίαν ἀποστείλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἀφέλιμον ὄντα ταῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσῃ πράξεσιν. Ὁ δὲ Κτησίας αὐτὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα φησὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην.]

FRAGMENTUM 45.

(Athenaeus, i. 40, p. 83, Schweig.) [Ὁρχησταὶ δὲ ἔνδοξοι . . . Ζήνων δὲ, ὁ Κρής ὁ πάνυ Ἀρταξέρξη προσφιλέστατος, παρὰ Κτησίᾳ.]

EPITOME PHOTII.

§ 95 (64). Κτησίου εἰς Κνίδον τὴν πατρίδα ἄφιξις καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ κρίσις πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀγγέλους ἐν Ρόδῳ, καὶ ἄφεςις. Ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου μέχρι Βάκτρων καὶ Ἰνδικῆς ἀριθμὸς σταθμῶν, ἡμερῶν, παρασαγγῶν. Κατάλογος βασιλέων ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως μέχρι Ἀρτοξέρξου.

[Ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ τέλος.]

§ 95. Ἀπὸ Ἐφέσου, κ. τ. λ.] Of the two appendices to the *Persika*, the list of kings is preserved, but no traces of the list of stages survive. Its nature may, however, be gathered from Herodotus, v. 52-54, where the distance from Ephesus to Susa is given as 14,040 stadia,¹ and Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2, 5-i. 7, 14, where the stages from Sardis to Kunaxa are given as 514

parasangs (about 15,420 stadia) and 84 stages. These measurements are of course inconsistent.

It is possible that the passage quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius, *Argon.* ii. 1017, from the first book *Περὶ ὁδῶν* (usually printed among the fragments *De montibus*) may come from this part of the *Persika*.

¹ 450 parasangs = 13,500 stadia, and 90 stages from Sardis to Susa, 540 stadia from Ephesus to Sardis; but his items and his total disagree.

FRAGMENTUM 46.

Catalogus Regum Assyriorum.

(a)	(b)	(c)
(EUSEBIUS, <i>Chronicon</i> , in versione Latina Hieronymi, fo. 11, et 15 sq.)	(SYNCELLUS).	(MOSES CHORENENSIS, <i>Hist. Arm.</i> i. 18).
Primus omnium Asiae exceptis Indis Ninus [Beli filius] regnavit.	Nίνος ἔτη νβ'.	Ninus.
Ninus primus an. 52.	Σεμίραμις ἔτη μβ'.	Semiramis.
Semiramis 2 an. 42.	Νινύας ἔτη λη'.	Ninyas, vel Zamessis.
Zameis qui et Ninias 3 an. 38.		
Arius 4 an. 30.	Ἀρίος ἔτη λ'.	Arios.
Aralius 5 an. 40.	Ἀράλιος ἔτη μ'.	Aralios.
Xerxes qui et Balaeus 6 an. 30.	Ξέρξης ἔτη λ'.	Baleus Cheochsar.
Armamitres 7 an. 38.	Ἀρμαμίθρης ἔτη λη'.	Armatrites.
Belochus 8 an. 35.	Βήλωχος ἔτη λε'.	Belochos.
Baleus 9 an. 52.	Βαλαῖδος ἔτη νβ'.	
Altadas 10 an. 32.	Σεθῶς ἔτη λβ'.	Azatagus.
Mamitus 11 an. 30.	Μαμουθὸς ἔτη λ'.	Mamidos.
Mancalaeus 12 an. 30.	Ἀσχάλιος ἔτη κη'.	Maschalcos.
Iphereus 13 an. 20.	Σφαίριος ἔτη κβ'.	Spharos.
Mamylas 14 an. 30.	Μάμυλος ἔτη λ'.	Samilos.
Sparetus 15 an. 40.	Σπαρθαῖος ἔτη μβ'.	Sparetos.
Ascades 16 an. 40.	Ἀσκατάδης ἔτη μη'.	Askatades.
Amyntas 17 an. 45.	Ἀμύντης ἔτη με'.	Amindes.
Bellothus 18 an. 25.	Βήλωχος ἔτη κε'.	Vestaskalus.
Bellepares 19 an. 30.	Βαλατόρης ἔτη λ'.	
Lamprides 20 an. 32.	Λαμπρίδης ἔτη λ'.	
Sosares 21 an. 20.	Σωσάρης ἔτη κ'.	Sousares.
Lampares 22 an. 30.	Λαμπραῖος ἔτη λ'.	
Pannias 23 an. 45.	Πανύας ἔτη με'.	Paneas.
Sosarmus 24 an. 19.	Σώσαρμος ἔτη κβ'.	Sosarmos.
Mithreus 25 an. 27.	Μιθραῖος ἔτη λβ'.	Mithreos.
Tautanes 26 an. 32.	Τεῦταμος ἢ Ταυτάνης ἔτη λβ'.	Teutamios.
Tauteus 27 an. 40.	Τευταῖος ἔτη μδ'.	
	Ἀραβήλος ἔτη μβ'.	Thineus.
Thineus 28 an. 30.	Χάλαος ἔτη με'.	
	Ἀνεβος ἔτη λη'.	
	Βάβιος ἢ Ταυτάνης ἔτη λζ'.	

Fr. 46. *Catalogus Regum Assyriorum*] This list has been already to some extent discussed in the Introduction to Books I.-III., and

the notes on those books. It is one of the least valuable portions of Ktesias' work, and has unfortunately taken the place in the chro-

FRAGMENTUM 46.—*Catalogus Regum Assyriorum.*—continued.

(a) (EUSEBIUS.)	(b) (SYNCELLUS.)	(c) (MOSES CHORENENSIS, <i>Hist. Arm.</i> i. 18.)
Dercilus 29 an. 40.	Δερκύλος ἔτη μ'.	Derkylos.
Eupoles 30 an. 38.	Εὐπάκης ἔτη λη'.	Eupalmes.
Laosthenes 31 an. 45.	Λαοσθένης ἔτη με'.	
Piritiades 32 an. 30.	Περτιάδης ἔτη λ'.	Prideazes.
Orphrateus 33 an. 20.	Ὀφραταῖος ἔτη κα'.	Pharates.
Ophratanes 34 an. 30.	Ὀφεχέρης ἔτη νβ'.	
Acrzapas 35 an. 42.	Ἀκραζάνης ἔτη μβ'.	Akrazanes.
Tonus Concoleros qui vocabatur Graece Sardanapalus an. 20.	Θῶνος Κογκόλερος ἔτη ιε'.	Sardanapalos, <i>vel</i> Thonos Konkoleros.
Omnes anni regni Assyriorum a primo anno Nini supputantur, 1240.	[Summa an. 1460].	

nographers' compilations, occupied by the lists of Manetho for Egypt, thus displacing the genuine lists of Berosus, of which a considerable part has perished altogether.

It is useless to try and assign dates to the kings in Ktesias' list, because we do not know what date he intended by *his* capture of Nineveh. Assuming a reign of 35 years for Astyages, we may place it either—(1) 317 years before v. c. 549, the real date of his overthrow by Kyrus, *i. e.* v. c. 866, when Assurnasirpal (n. c. 885–860) was king; or (2) 317 years before v. c. 559, which Ktesias apparently regarded as the date (30 years before v. c. 529, see § 40); or (3) as coinciding with the accession of Tiglathpileser II. (*Pulu* = *Belesys*, in Babylon), v. c. 745; or (4) as coinciding with the real date of the final fall of Assyria, v. c. 606.

Moreover, the discrepancies in the readings of the regnal years are so great that we cannot tell

within a limit of 220 years (1460 total in Syncellus, 1240 in Eusebius) how long a duration he assigned to the Assyrian monarchy.

Berosus divided the kings of Babylon after the Deluge into eight dynasties, of which one is mythical. The kings of the sixth and seventh dynasties are called Assyrians, and correspond with the period of the Assyrian empire, and the break between them with a revolution in Assyria; but he may have intended two dynasties of Assyrian origin reigning in Babylon; however, it is convenient to designate the Assyrian kings from v. c. 1273–747 the sixth dynasty, and those from 747–625 the seventh dynasty.

Ninus] See Introduction to Books I.–III., and note on § 1.

Semiramis] See Introduction to Books I.–III. and note on § 4.

Zameis] Assyro-Babylonian divine name = Shamas, the sun-god.

FRAGMENTUM 47.

Reges Medorum.

Ἀρβάκης ἔτη κη'.
Μαδαύκης ἔτη ν'.
Σώσαρμος ἔτη λ'.
Ἀρτύκας ἔτη ν'.
Ἀρβιάνης ἔτη κβ'.

Ἀρταῖος ἔτη μ'.
Ἀρτύνης ἔτη κβ'.
Ἀστιβάρας ἔτη μ'.
Ἀσπάδας ὁ καὶ Ἀστυγύς.

Arius] = Persian *Arja*, noble, an epithet suited to any king.

Aralius] Babylonian divine name *Aralli* = Hades, according to Sayce. Aramus in Excerpta Barbara.

Xerxes qui et Balaeus] Balaeus; Babylonian divine name *Bel*, more correctly made by later writers the father of Ninus (since Bel was father of the god Nin). Xerxes is intended as the Persian equivalent.

Armamitres] Mamithrus in Excerpta Barbara, where he is given 37 years.

Belochus] An Assyrian royal name. S. Augustin (*Civ. Dei*, xviii. 3) calls him Belocus.

Baleus] A repetition of No. 6 omitted by Moses Chor.

Altadas] This name is very variously given. Exc. Barb. gives him 35 years.

Mancalaeus] Ittafferus in Exc. Barb., with 20 years.

Iphereus] In Exc. Barb. this king (as Spareus), and Mamylyus (as Mamythus) change places. Mamythus is given 35, and Spareus 40 years. In S. Augustin (*Civ. Dei*, xviii. 8) the fourteenth king is Saphrus.

Sparetus] A repetition of Sphaerus. Exc. Barb. omits.

Amyntas] A Greek name. He has 50 years in Exc. Barb.

Bellothus] Babylonian royal name (a repetition of No. 8) = Bel-kudur-uzur (king of Assyria *circa* v. c. 1240), according to Sayce. Exc. Barb. substitute 'Actosai et Semiramis 23.' The Atossa of Hellanikus (see Introduction to Books I.–III.) is dragged in here by the chronographers, probably because of some indications given by him as to her date, though he makes her a Persian queen, daughter of king Ariaspes. Bellothus, or Belochus, is turned into Belimus by Kephalion in quoting fr. 13, who (perhaps from Ktesias) makes a synchronism between him and Perseus, founded no doubt on chronological reasons.

Bellepares (better Balatores; Belleroparus, with 34 years, in Exc. Barb.) is an Assyrian royal name = Tiglathipalzirra, who is called by this name by Dion and Polyhistor.

Lamprides] Probably a Greek name.

Sosares] Posarus in Exc. Barb. Lampraes] Repetition of No. 20 Pannias] 'Paunias et Zeus' in Exc. Barb. He is made to synchronize with the Argonauts in fr. 13.

FRAGMENTUM 48.

Reges Persarum.

Κῦρος ἔτη λ'.
 Καμβύσης ἔτη υ'.
 Σφενδαδάτης μῆνας ζ'.
 Δαρείος ἔτη λά'.
 Ξέρξης.

Ἄρτοξέρξης ἔτη μβ'.
 Ξέρξης ἡμέρας με'.
 Σεκυδιανὸς μῆνας ἕξ ἡμέρας ιε'.
 Ὀχος ὁ καὶ Δαρειάσιος ἔτη λε'.
 Ἄρτοξέρξης.

Sosarmus] Repetition of No. 21: cf. fr. 47.

Mithraeus] Persian name, 'belonging to Mithra.' He is made to synchronize with Medeia in fr. 13, and is placed 1000 years after Semiramis, which does not agree with the list, in Eusebius' version of which he is only about 800 years after her accession. Perhaps the text in fr. 13 should be altered.

Tautanes] Or Teutamus. A Greek name. Müller (Dorians, i. 37) mentions a prince of Larissa of that name, and suggests it should be read for Tektamus in Diod. iv. 60. See § 23, fr. 13, and notes thereon. In Exc. Barb. he is turned into Tautelus. Eusebius makes it 883 or 882 years down to this reign; Exc. Barb. 964.

Teutaeus] Repetition of No. 26. Euteus in Exc. Barb.

Thineus] This king has 29 years in Exc. Barb.

Ἀραβῆλος] Assyrian local name from Arbela. This name and three following are omitted here by Eusebius and Moses, the latter of whom puts them between Belus and Ninus, professedly following Abydenus.

Χάλαος] Assyrian local name from Kalah, perhaps represented

by Thineus in the other lists.

Βάβιος] Babylonian local name from Babylon.

Dereylus] Babylonian royal name Durrigalazu; but, according to Rawlinson, derived from the city called after that king (*Herodotus*, i. p. 429). He is Cereillus in Exc. Barb. S. Augustin (*Civ. Dei*, xviii. 11) calls the 29th king Oneus.

Eupoles] Greek name. He has 36 years in Exc. Barb.

Laosthenes] Greek name.

Peritiades] Greek name.

Ophrataeus] Assyro-Babylonian local name from Euphrates.

Ophratanes] Repetition of No. 34.

Acraganes] Local name: see Rawlinson, l. c. Acrazapus in Exc. Barb., with 40 years.

Tonos Konkoleros] Or Konos Konkoleros. According to Lenormant, a misunderstanding of the words found at the end of contracts 'Κυ-*nuk kanuki*' 'qu'il le confirme par l'apposition de son cachet.' Exc. Barb. give this king 30 years, and add (from Kastor) Ninus II., 19 years, making the total 1514. The total in Eusebius is 1239 or 1237 (stated as 1240); in Syncellus, 1460.

FRAGMENTA SEDIS INCERTAE.

FRAGMENTUM 49.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.*, iii. 641). [Νόμος κοῖνος τις Περσικός ἐστὶ κατ' ἀχαρίστων, τοὺς δυναμένους σύμπαντας χάριν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ μὴ διδόντας ἰσχυρῶς εὐθύνων καὶ κολάζων. Τοὺς ἀχαρίστους οἴονται καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πρὸς γονεῖς καὶ πρὸς θεὸν, ἀσεβεστάτους εἶναι. Τὴν μὲν τοῦ Κύρου Ξενοφῶν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ Πέρσου νόμου Κτησίας καὶ Ἡρόδοτος γράφουσιν ἱστορίαν.]

FRAGMENTUM 50.

(Athenaeus, ii. p. 45 B). [Ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὡς φησὶν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Ἡρόδοτος, ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεωπιεῖν ἄγεται, τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος· τοῦ μόνου πίνει ὁ βασιλεύς. Τοῦ δὲ τοιοῦτου ὕδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλὰ κάρτα ἄμαξαι τετράκνκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοις ἀργυρέοισιν ἔπονται οἱ. Κτησίας δὲ ὁ Κνίδιος καὶ ἱστορεῖ, ὅπως] ἔφηται τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦτο ὕδωρ καὶ ὅπως ἐναποτιθέμενον τοῖς ἀγγείοις φέρεται τῷ βασιλεῖ, [λέγων] αὐτὸ καὶ ἐλαφρότατον καὶ ἡδιστον εἶναι.

(Apud Eustathium ad Hom. *Odyss.*, iv. p. 173, post quaedam ex Athenaeo sumpta 'sequuntur haec verba et ipsa ex Ctesianis expressa.')

καὶ μὲν καὶ τὸ ἐλαίῳ ἀκανθίνῳ χρῆσθαι μετὰ λουτρόν.

Fr. 49.] "Verba τὴν μὲν τοῦ Κύρου Ξενοφῶν ad antecedentia spectant ubi de Cyro ex Xenophon-tis narratione traditur. [Κυροπ. i., p. 8] de lege autem Persica quae hic memoratur, vid. Barnab. Brisson de Reg. Pers. Princ. ii. 91, pag. 423 seq."—Bachr.

Fr. 50.] Compare Herodotus, i. 188; Strabo, xv. 3, p. 330 (1068), Plinius, *II. N.*, xxxi. 3 (Parthorum reges ex Choaspe et Eulco tantum bibunt et eae quamvis in longinquo comitantur illos), &c., on the Choaspes. See Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 424 sq.

FRAGMENTUM 51.

(Athenaeus, iv. p. 146 C). 'Ο δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς [ὡς φησι Κτησίας καὶ Δίνων ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς,] ἐδείπνει μετὰ ἀνδρῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, καὶ ἀνηλίσκετο εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον τάλαυτα τετρακόσια.

FRAGMENTUM 52.

(Athenaeus, xi. p. 464 A). [Κτησίας] παρὰ Πέρσαις, [φησὶν,] ὃν ἂν βασιλεὺς ἀτιμάσῃ, κεραμέοις χρῆται.

FRAGMENTUM 53.

(a)

(AELIANUS, *Nat. Animal.*, vii. 1.)

[Πέπνυμα δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἀριθμητικῆς τὰς βοῦς οὐκ ἀμοίρους εἶναι τὰς Σουσίδας. Καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλως κόμπος τὸ εἶρημένον, μάρτυς ὁ λέγων] ἐν Σούσοις τῷ βασιλεὶ βοῦς ἐς τοὺς παραδείσους πολλὰς ἐς τὰ ἦττον ἐπὶ ῥύτα ἀντλεῖν ἐκάστην κάδους ἑκατόν. Οὐκοῦν ἢ τὸν ἐπινησθέντα αὐταῖς ἢ τὸν συντραφέντα ἐκ πολλοῦ μόχθου προθυμώτατα ἐκτελοῦσιν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν βλακεύουσάν τινα θεάσαιο· εἰ δὲ πέρα τῆς προειρημένης ἑκατοντάδος ἕνα γοῖν προσλιπαρήσαις κάδον, ἀμμήσασθαι, οὐ πείσεις οὐδὲ ἀναγκάσεις, οὔτε παῖων οὐδὲ κολακεῖων [λέγει Κτησίας].

(b)

(PLUTARCHUS, *De Solertia Animal.*, cap. 21, p. 974 E.)

[*ἦττον δὲ ταῦτα θαυμαστά, καίπερ ὄντα θαυμάσια, ποιοῦσιν αἱ νόησιν ἀριθμοῦ καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ ἀριθμεῖν ἔχουσαι φύσεις ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν αἱ περὶ Σούσα βόες*] εἰσι γὰρ αὐτοῖσι τὸν βασιλικὸν παράδεισον ἄρδουσαι περιάκτοις ἀντλήμασιν, ἃν ῥιπταῖ τὸ πλῆθος· ἑκατόν γὰρ ἐκάστη βοῦς ἀναφέρει καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀντλήματα, πλείονα δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε βιάσασθαι βουλόμενον· ἀλλὰ καὶ πείρας ἕνεκα πολλὰς προστιθέντων, ἰφίσταται, καὶ οὐ πρόεισιν, ἀποδοῦσα τὸ τεταγμένον· οὕτως ἀκριβῶς συντίθησι καταμνημονεῖ τὸ κεφάλαιον [ὡς Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος ἰστόρηκε].

FRAGMENTUM 54.

(Aelianus, *Nat. Animal.*, xvi. 42). [Κτησίας γε μὴν ὁ Κνίδιος φησὶ] περὶ τὴν Περσικὴν Σιττάκην ποταμὸν εἶναι,

Fr. 51.] See Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, i. p. 254.

Fr. 53. περιάκτοις ἀντλήμασιν] Compare Herodotus, i. 193, &c. The *Shadoof*, or irrigation wheel, is referred to. It is represented on the Assyrian and Egyptian monu-

ments (see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. p. 315). Mr. Romanes (*Times*, Sept. 26, 1888), mentions several instances which show that some animals can count up to five at least.

Fr. 54. Σιττάκην] See Strabo, xv. 3. p. 324; Steph. Byzant, s. v.

'Αργάδην ὄνομα· ὄφεις δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι πολλοὺς, ἕλανας τὸ σῶμα, πλὴν γε τῆς κεφαλῆς· εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς λευκὴν ταύτην· προῖέναι δὲ εἰς ὄργυιαν τὸ μῆκος τοὺς ὄφεις τοῦσδε· τοὺς οὖν ὑπὸ τούτων δηχθέντας ἀποθνήσκου. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν μὴ ὄρασθαι, ὑφύδρους δὲ νήχεσθαι· νύκτωρ δὲ ἢ τοὺς ὑδρινομένους ἢ τοὺς τὴν ἐσθήτα φαιδρύνοντας διαφθεῖρειν· πολλοὺς δὲ ἄρα πάσχειν τοῦτο, ἢ χρεῖα ὕδατος ἐπιλείποντος, ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀσχοληθέντας καὶ ἀποπλύναι τὴν ἐσθήτα μὴ δεδυνημένους.

FRAGMENTUM 55.

(a)

(ATHENAEUS, x., p. 434 D.)

[Κτησίας δὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς φησιν] οὐκ εἶναι τῷ βασιλεὶ μεθυσθῆναι· παρὰ δὲ Πέρσαις τῷ βασιλεὶ ἐφέται μεθύσκεσθαι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ἢ θύουσι τῷ Μίθρη. [Γράφει δὲ οὕτως περὶ τούτων Δοῦρις.]

(b)

(EUSTATHIUS, *ad Odys.*, xviii. 3, p. 651.)

[Ἰνδοὶ παρ' οἷς ὡς ἰστορεῖ Κτησίας,] οὐκ ἔστι τῷ βασιλεὶ μεθυσθῆναι. [Παρὰ δὲ γε Πέρσαις ὡς φησι Δοῦρις ἐφέται τῷ βασιλεὶ μεθύσκεσθαι ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐν ἢ τῷ Μίθρη ἔθουον.]

FRAGMENTUM 56.

(Antigonus Caryst., *Mirab.*, c. 15, narrat duos tantum Cranone corvos esse, ac manere eos Cranone donec pullos genuissent, deinde abire et ipsarum loco pullos relinquere). [Καὶ ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις δὲ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις Κτησίας ἰστορεῖ παραπλήσιόν τι τούτοις· διὰ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸν πολλὰ ψεύδεσθαι παρελείπομεν τὴν ἐκλογὴν· καὶ γὰρ ἐφαίμετο τερατώδης.]

E LIBRO DE ASIATICIS TRIBUTIS.

FRAGMENTUM 1.

(a) (Athenaeus, ii. p. 67 A). [Κτησίας δ' ἐν Καρμανία [φησὶ] γίνεσθαι ἔλαιον ἀκάνθινον ᾧ χρῆσθαι βασιλέα· [ὃς καὶ καταλέγων ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν φόρων τούτῳ (al. τρίτῳ) βιβλίῳ, πάντα τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρασκευαζόμενα ἐπὶ τὸ δειπνον, οὔτε πεπέρεως μέμνηται, οὔτε ὄξους, ὃ μόνον ἄριστον ἐστὶ τῶν ἠδυσμάτων.]

(b) (Eustathius, *ad Odysss.*, 2, p. 248, 19 Basil.) Ἐν Καρμανία [ἱστορεῖ Κτησίας] ἔλαιον γίνεσθαι ἀκάνθινον, ᾧ χρῆσθαι τὸν βασιλέα.

FRAGMENTUM 2.

(Athenaeus, x., p. 442 A). [Ἀμύντας ἐν τοῖς Σταθμοῖς, τὸ τῶν Ταπύρων ἔθνος φησὶν οὕτω φίλοιον εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἀλείμματι ἄλλῳ μηδενὶ χρῆσθαι ἢ τῷ οἴνῳ· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Κτησίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν φόρων. Οὗτος δὲ καὶ δικαιωτάτους αὐτοὺς λέγει εἶναι.]

E LIBRIS DE MONTIBUS.

LIBER I.

FRAGMENTUM 1.

(Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 1017). [Ὅρος (scil. τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος) οὕτω καλούμενον τὸ καθῆκον εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον. Μέμνηται αὐτοῦ καὶ Κτησίας ἐν τῷ α' Περιόδων (περὶ ὄρων Meursius).]

LIBER II.

FRAGMENTUM 2.

(Plutarch, *de Flum.* xxi. 5). [Γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ (in Teuthrante, Mysiae monte) λίθος Ἀντιπαθῆς καλούμενος· ὃς κάλλιστα ποιεῖ πρὸς ἄλφους καὶ λεπρούς δι' οἶνον τριβόμενος· καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κτησίας Κνίδιος ἐν β' περὶ ὄρων.]

“Eadem Stobaeus Sermon. 213 omisso tamen auctoris nomine.”

FRAGMENTUM 3.

(Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 401). [Ὅτι δὲ Ἀμάραντα ὄρη ἐστὶ Κόλχων ἱστορεῖ Κτησίας ἐν β'.]

E LIBRIS DE FLUMINIBUS.

LIBER I.

FRAGMENTUM 1.

(Plutarch, *de Flum.* xix. 2). [Γεννᾶται δ' ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ τούτῳ (Alpheo) βοτάνη κεγχρῖτις προσαγορευομένη, μελικήρῳ παρόμοιος· ἣν οἱ ἰατροὶ καθέψοντες, πιεῖν διδύασιν τοῖς ἀπηλλοτριωμέναις ἔχουσι τὰς φρένας, καὶ ἀπαλλάττουσιν αὐτοὺς τῆς μανίας καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Κτησίας ἐν α' περὶ ποταμῶν.]

FRAGMENTUM 2.

(Servius ad Vergil, *Georg.* i. 182). [Ubi sit Eridanus multi errant . . . Thesias (*leg.* Ctesias) hunc in Media esse (putat).]

E PERIPLO.

LIBER I.

FRAGMENTUM 1.

(Stephanus Byz.) [Σίγυνος, πόλις Αἰγυπτίων ὡς Κτησίας ἐν πρώτῳ περίπλῳ.]

FRAGMENTUM 2.

(Suidas). [Σκιάποδες . . . ἔθνος ἐστὶ Λιβυκόν· Κτησίας ἐν τῷ περίπλῳ Ἀσίας φησίν] Ἵπὲρ δὲ τούτων Σκιάποδες. οἱ τοὺς τε πόδας ὡς χήνες ἔχουσι κάρτα πλατέας καὶ ὅταν θέρμη ᾗ, ὑπτιον ἀναπесόντες ἄραυτες τὰ σκέλη, σκιάζονται τοῖς ποσὶ.

Fere eadem habent Photius, *Lex.*, p. 384, Harpocration, p. 320.

LIBER III.

FRAGMENTUM 3.

(Steph. Byz.) [Κοσύτη, πόλις Ὀμβρική, Κτησίας τρίτη περιγηγήσεως.]

FRAGMENTUM 4.

(Tzetzes, *Hist.* viii. 987). [Κτησίας, πάντες ἄλλοι λέγουσι τὴν εὐδαίμονα τυγχάνειν Ἀραβίαν, ὡσπερ καὶ γῆν τὴν Ἰνδικήν. εὐωδεστάτην ἄγαν ἀρώμασιν ἐκπνεύσαν, ὡς καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκείνης καὶ λίθους κοπτομένους δὲ ταύτης ἀρωματίζειν· τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ λυθέντας εὐωδαίως, ὅστᾳ τινὰ καὶ κέρατα καὶ φύσεις τὰς ὀζώδεις, τότε καπνίζεσθαι λοιπὸν καὶ ἀνακτᾶσθαι πάλιν.]

FRAGMENTUM 5.

(Servius ad Virg., *Georg.* i. 30). [Thule . . . miracula in hac insula feruntur sicut apud Graecos Ctesias . . . dicit.]

Periplus, fr. 2. Σκιάποδες] Compare *Indika*, fr. 84 (Müller), Plinius, *H. N.*, vii. 2.

EX OPERE INCERTO.

FRAGMENTUM 1.

(a)

(ANTIGONUS, *Hist. Mirab.*, 181).

Τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς πέτρας Ἀρμενίων ἐκπίπτου
[καὶ. ὕδωρ] [Κτησίαν ἱστορεῖν ὅτι] συμ-
βάλλει ἰχθὺς μέλανας, ὧν τὸν ἀπογευσά-
μενον τελευτᾷ.

(b)

(PLINIUS, *H. N.* xxi. 2).

[Ctesias] in Armenia [scribit] esse
fontem, ex quo nigros pisces illico mor-
tem afferre in cibis.

E COMMENTARIIS MEDICIS (?)

FRAGMENTUM 1.

(Galenus, tom. v., p. 652). [Κατεγνώκασιν Ἴπποκράτους ἐπ' ἐμβαλεῖν τὸ κατ' ἰσχίον ἄρθρον, ὡς ἂν ἐκπίπτου ἀντίκα, πρῶτος μὲν Κτησίας ὁ Κνίδιος συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ.]

FRAGMENTUM 2.

(Ex Oribasii codice Mosquensi). [Κτησίου περὶ ἑλλέβορον.]

Ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πάππου ἰατρὸς οὐδεὶς εἰσεδίδου ἑλλέβορον· οὐ γὰρ ἠπίσταντο τὴν κρᾶσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέτρον καὶ σταθμὸν, ὅπόσον χρῆ διδόναι. Εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἐδίδου ἑλλέβορον πιεῖν, διαθέσθαι πρῶτον ἐκέλευεν, ὡς μέγαν κίνδυνον μέλλοντα κινδυνεύειν· τῶν δὲ πινόντων πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπεπνίγοντο. Νῦν δὲ δοκεῖ ἀσφαλίστατον εἶναι.

ADNOTATIO CRITICA.

- Frag. 20. Σίμμα ὄντος] Sic corr. Heeren, codd. Σιμοεντος.
 Epit. 5. Ὁξυάρτης] "Codd. Dindorfii A. B. D., Ἐξαόρτης; F., ὁ Ξαόρτης; G. M., ὁ Ζαόρτης; Poggius, Zoroastres et Zoroastes."—Müllerus.
 Epit. 12. Χαύονα] *Al.* Χάθωνα, *al.* Χάονα, *al.* Χάονα.
 Epit. 13. Ἀγβατάνων] Diodorus et Photius semper Ἐκβατάνων, &c., scribunt sed sec. Steph. Byz. s. v.: Κτησίας δὲ πανταχοῦ τῶν Περσικῶν τὰ παρὰ Μήδοις Ἀγβάτανα διὰ τοῦ α γράφει.
 Epit. 23. Σαρδαναπάλου] Athenaei codices (vide fr. 14) Σαρδανάπαλλος duplicata littera λ praebent.
 ἔτι δ' ἐξήκοντα] Syncellus omit.
 Epit. 24. τριακοστὸς] τριακοστὸς καὶ πέμπτος, sec. Syncellum, p. 132.
 Fr. 15 a. Σπαραμείζον] *Al.* Παραμείζον.
 Fr. 19 a, p. 100. Ἀρταίου] Ἀρβάκου, *Cod. Turon.*
 Νάναρον] Νάνυβρον, *Codex h. l.*
 Ἀρβάκω] Ἀρβάκω, *Cod. Turon.*
 P. 102. Μύλιπτα] Μόλιν, *Cod. Turon.*
 P. 103. Νανάρω] Νανίβρω, *Cod. Turon.*
 Fr. 19 b. Νάνναρον] Apud Athenaeum hodie legimus Ἄνναρον.
 Epit. 31. Ἀστιβαραν] "Codd. Dindorf.; A. B. Γαρταμάρνην; D. Γαρταμέρνην."—Müllerus.
 Fr. 20 a. Στρυγγαίου] *Cod.* τοῦ ἀγγαίου.
 Epit. 33. Ἀγβατάνοις] Vide ad sect. 13.
 Ἀμύτιν] Hoeschel et *Codex Monacensis*, Ἄμυντιν.
 Fr. 23. Ἀστυέγα] Ἀστυάγη, Tzetzes.
 Epit. 35. καὶ θνήσκει] καὶ οὐ θνήσκει, *Baehrius*.
 καταφεύγει ὁ Κροῖσος] καταφεύγει καὶ θνήσκει, *Baehrius*; καταφεύγει ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θνήσκει, D. H.

- Fr. 26. νομίζουσιν] Müller. conj. ποτίζουσιν.
 Epit. 40. Ἰξαβάτης] *D. H. et Müll.*; Ἰξαβάτης, *Baehr.*; Ἰξαλάβτης, *Cod. Monac.*
 ἦν μετὰ] *Al.* καὶ μετὰ.
 ἑπτακισχίλιοι] δύο, *Baehr.*
 Epit. 41 *ad init.* Μάγος] *Monac. et al.* μέγας.
 Ταννοξάρκην] Τανυξάρκην, *Monac.*
 οὐδὲν . . . ἐμέλετα] ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀνελεῖν ἐμελέτα, *Monac.*; ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἀνελεῖν ἐμελέτα, *Max. Margun.*
 Epit. 42. Λάβυζον] *Al.* Λάβυξον.
 Epit. 44. Νορονδάβατης] Νοροδαβάτης, D. H.
 Βαρίσσης] Βαρίσης, D. H.
 Epit. 47. Ἀριαράμνη] Πριαράμνη, *Stephanus in edit. alt.*; Ἀριάμνη, D. H.
 Μασσαγέτην] Μασαγέτην, *Monac. et D. H.*
 Epit. 48. Σκυθάρκης] *Monac.*; Σκυθάρκης, *Baehrius*; Σκυθάρβης, *Bekker et Müll.*; Σκυθάρκης, Σκυθάρβης, Σκυθάρης, *al.*
 Σκυθάρχω] Σκυθάρκου, *Monac.*; Σκυθάρκου, *Baehr.*; σκυθάρων, D. H.; Σκυθάρκω, *Müll.*; Σκυθαβρέων, *al.*
 Χαλκηδονίων] Καρχηδονίων, *Monac. et D. H.*; Χαλκεδονίων, *Baehr.*
 Epit. 49. Μηδικοῦ] Ποντικοῦ, *D. H.*
 Epit. 50. οβ'] ιβ' πρὸ τῆς βασιλείας, *Baehr.*
 Epit. 51. Ματάκας] Νατάκας, *Baehrius et Müllerus hoc loco*; ἠδύνατονατακας, *Monac.*
 § 63. Λιβίου] *Al.* Λυδίου; *Baehr.* Λυβίου.
 § 66. Σαρσάμαν] D. H., Σαρτάμαν.
 Ἀρτοξέρην] *Codd. et Müller.*, Ξέρην; in marg. *cod. Monac. manu correctoris*, ἴσως Ἀρταξέρην.
 § 67. Ἀμῆστρις] *Codd.* Ἄμυτις.
 § 68. ἱππέων] *Codd.* ἱππέων καὶ τῶν πεζῶν.
 Οὔσιρις] D. H., Ὀσιρις.
 τοῦτο] *Baehr.*, τοῦτον.
 § 69. Μενοστάνης] D. H. et Müll., Μενοστάτης.
 § 70. σπείσασθαι] *Cod. Monac.*, πείσασθαι.
 εἰνούχος] *Cod. Monac.* omit.
 Fr. 31. Ἀρτοξέρης] Apud Stephanum, Ἀρταξέρξης.
 § 73. βλληχρῶς] *Monac.*, ἀλλησχρῶς; D. H., ἀβλησχρῶς.
 § 74. τελευτᾶ, κ. τ. λ.] Haec verba desunt in *cod. Monac.*

§ 75. ἐν ἧ καὶ Ξέρξης] Conj. Baehr., Ἄρτοξέρξης.

Σεκυνδιανός] Baehr., Σεκυνδιανός.

Κοσμοαρτιδηνῆς] D. H., γυναικὸς Μαρτιδηνῆς.

αὐτῆ—ἐγένετο] Forte hic omittenda et inserenda post οἰκεία.

§ 76. Φαρνακίαν τὸν εἰνούχον] Verba τὸν εἰνούχον desunt in Cod. Monac.

§ 83. Τισαφέρνης] Baehrius, Τισσαφέρνης.

Τισαφέρνη δοὺς τῆν] “D. H., Τίσσαφερνίδης τῆν. Atque ita reapse in libro Monacensi ubi tamen ante Τισσοφ. signum correct. manu positum reperitur hoc:† quo aliquid excidisse indicetur; quanquam in margine nihil omnino suppletum.”—Baehrius.

§ 86. Μιτραδάτης] D. H., Μιθριδάτης.

Ad fin. lib. xviii., Τέλος, κ. τ. λ.] Ita Baehrius, “Ex. D. Hoesch. editione sunt recepta, in marg. libri Monac. appicta.” Müllerus legit, τελευτᾷ ἡ νή.

§ 89. Συνένσεις] “Συνένσεις etiam Cod. Vatic. et Max. Margunii. D. H., Συνένσεις obloquente libro Monac. qui haec verba usque ad Ἄρτοξέρξη in margine habet suppleta.”—Baehrius.

Ἄρταβάριος] Baehr., καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος; al., καὶ Ἄρβάριος.

ἅμα τῶν—κατάληψης] Monac., ἅμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ Ἑλληνισι καὶ τοῖς τῆς Περσῆδος πόλεως μιᾶς κατάληψις.

§ 90. Μιτραδάτην] D. H., Μιθριδάτην; Baehr., Μιθραδάτην (in adnot.).

§ 94. Ῥόδῳ] D. H., λόγῳ.

Fr. 46. Balacus] Steph., Balaneus.

Mancalacus] Al. Macchalacus; al. Manchalius.

an. 20 (post nomen Mancalaci)] Arm. Euseb. 32.

Ἀσχάλιος ἔτη κή] Al. κβ’.

Iphereus] Al. Spherus, an. 22.

Mamylas] Al. Mamitus.

Ascades] Al. Askatades; Arm., Astakadis.

Bellothus] Al. Belochus, “Hujus filia Actosa quae et Semiramis regnat cum patre an 7.”—Euseb. in Vers. Hieron.

Pannias . . . 45] Al. 42.

Σφαῖρος . . . κβ’] Al. κή.

Ἀσκατάδης . . . μή] Al. λή.

Tautanes 26, an. 32] Al. 31, “Sub isto Tautane rege Assyriorum Troia capta est.”—Euseb. in Vers. Hieron., fo. 39.

Tauteus] Al. Teuteos.

Eupoles] Al. Eupacmes.

Orphrateus . . . 20] Al. 21.

Acraszapes] Arm., Okrazapes; al. Acraganes.

Sardanapulas, an. 20], “Sub Ariphronē Assyriorum regnum destructum, et Sardanapalum ut nonnulli scriptitant eodem tempore Tharsum et Anchialem condidit, et in proelio victus ab Arbace Medo, semet incendio concremavit.”—Eus. in Vers. Hieron., fo. 52.

Fr. 47. Μαδαύκης] Al. Μανδαύκης,

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Introduction, p. 1, line 19] For "Sparta," read "Rhodes."

§ 8, p. 42, πλίνθοις] The discovery by the French archæologists at Susa of whole walls covered with splendidly coloured scenes of the Achaemenid period, wrought in enamelled bricks, should have been also referred to.

§ 8, p. 44, ἱερὸν Διός, ὃν καλοῦσιν Βῆλον] A Babylonian description of the Temple of Bel at Babylon is quoted by Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 43, sq. (from George Smith). From this it appears that the building was surrounded by several courts, of which the outer was 1156 ft. × 900 ft. In the inner court was a building 200 ft. × 200 ft. connected with the great Ziggurat, or tower, round the base of which were ranged the chapel of the chief gods; viz., on the east, Nebo and his wife Tasmit and fourteen others; on the north, Ea and Nusku; on the south, Anu and Bel; on the west was a building which contained the couch of the god and the golden throne, mentioned by Herodotus. The Ziggurat was one of seven stages, the highest stage being the sanctuary of Bel; the total height was about 300 feet. The temple (which bore the title of E-Saggil) is said to have been founded by Khammuragas (b.c. 2250, according to Sayce). Just within the gate was the seat or shrine of Zarpanit, the wife of Bel-Merodach, and perhaps the Hera of Ktesias.

Fr. 10. Σακίαν] Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 68), proposes to identify the Babylonian Sakea with the festival of Zagmuku, held at the beginning of the year.

§ 30 Παρωώδη] Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 157) while adopting Lenormant's explanation of the name of Nannarus, compares for that of Parsondes the town of Parsindu, near Agbatana.

§ 52, Βελιτανᾶ τάφον] The name *Bel-etan*, i.e. "Bel the mighty" (scarcely = Βῆλος ὁ ἀρχαῖος, as in Aelian, V. H. xiv. 3), has been conjecturally read on a seal cylinder from the Lebanon.—(*Proc. S. B. A.* vi. 17.)

Fr. 46. Sosarmus] Assyrian royal name = Shamas-rimmon.

Teutamus] "The man of the sea, or *tartim*, the name by which the sea coast of Babylonia, with its capital Eridu, was known."—Sayce (*Hibb. Lect.*, p. 109.)

Acraganes] Assyrian royal name = Sargon, according to Sayce.

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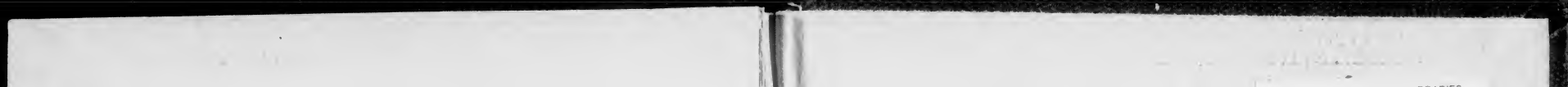
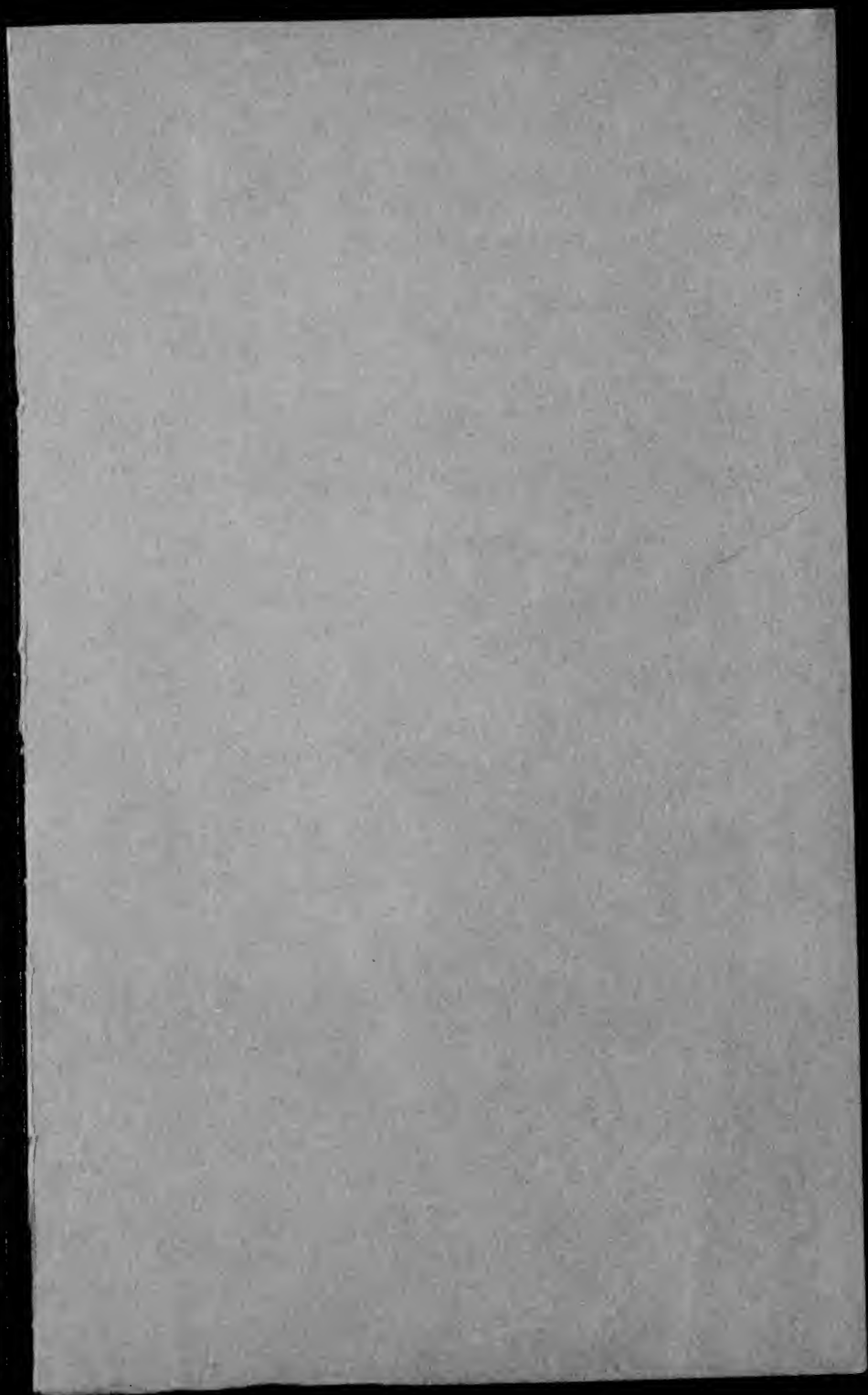
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